THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD, IN FIVE BOOKS.

THE FIRST,
Intreating of the Beginning and First Ages of the same, from the Creation unto ABRAHAM.

THE SECOND,
Of the Times from the Birth of ABRAHAM to the Destruction of the Temple of SOLOMON.

THE THIRD,
From the Destruction of JERUSALEM to the Time of PHILIP of MACEDON.

THE FOURTH,
From the Reign of PHILIP of MACEDON, to the Establishing of that Kingdom in the Race of ANTIGONUS.

THE FIFTH,
From the settled Rule of ALEXANDER's Successors in the East, until the ROMANS (prevailing over all) made Conquest of ASIA and MACEDON.

By Sir WALTER RALEGH, Knight.

Whereunto is added in this EDITION, the
LIFE and TRYAL of the AUTHOR.

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THE PREFACE.

HOW unfit, and how unworthy a choice I have made of my ſelf, to undertake a Work of this mixture; mine own reaſon, though exceeding weak, hath ſufficiently reſolved me. For had it been begotten then with my firſt dawn of Day, when the light of common Knowledge began to open it ſelf to my younger Years: and before any wound received, either from Fortune or Time: I might yet well have doubted, that the darkneſs of Age and Death would have covered over both it and me, long before the performance. For, beginning with the Creation, I have proceeded with the Hiſtory of the World; and laſtly purpoſed (ſome few ſallies excepted) to confine my diſcourſe, within this our renowned Iſland of *Great Britain*. I confeſs that it had better ſorted with my diſability, the better part of whoſe times are run out in other Travels; to have ſet together (as I could) the unjoynted and ſcattered frame of our *Engliſh* Affairs, than of the Univerſal: in whom had there been no other defect, (who am all defect) than the time of the Day, it were enough; the Day of a tempeſtuous life, drawn on to the very Evening ere I began. But thoſe inmoſt, and ſoul-piercing wounds, which are ever akeing while uncured: with the deſire to ſatisfie thoſe few Friends, which I have tried by the Fire of Adverſity; the former enforcing, the latter perſwading; have cauſed me to make my thoughts Legible, and my ſelf the Subject of every Opinion, wiſe or weak.

To the World I preſent them, to which I am nothing indebted: neither have others that were, (Fortune changing) ſped much better in any Age. For, Proſperity and Adverſity have ever-more tied and untied vulgar Affections. And as we ſee it in experience, That Dogs do always bark at thoſe they know not; and that it is in their nature to accompany one another in thoſe clamours: ſo is it with the inconſiderate Multitude. Who, wanting that vertue which we call Honeſty in all Men, and that eſpecial Gift of GOD which we call Charity in Chriſtian Men; condemn, without hearing; and wound, without offence given: led thereunto by uncertain report only; which his Majeſty truly acknowledgeth for the Author of all Lyes. *Daemonolog. l. 3. c. 1.*

Eccl. c. 11. v. 7.

Blame no Man (saith Siracides) *before thou have inquired the matter: understand first, and then reform righteously. Rumor, res sine teste, sine judice, maligna, fallax; Rumor is without witness, without judge, malicious and deceivable.* This vanity of vulgar opinion it was, that gave S. *Augustine* Argument to affirm, That he feared the praise of good Men, and detested that of the evil. And herein no Man hath given a better rule, than this of *Seneca*, *Conscientiæ satisfacimus: nihil in famam laboremus; sequatur vel mala, dum benè mereris. Let us satisfie our own Consciences, and not trouble our selves with fame: be it never so ill, it is to be despised so we deserve well.*

Laudari à bonis timeo, & amari à malis detestor. Sen. de ira. l. 3. c. 11.

For my self, if I have in any thing served my Country, and prised it before my private: the general acceptation can yield me no other profit at this time, than doth a fair Sunshine Day to a Sea-man after Shipwrack; and the contrary, no other harm than an outragious Tempest after the Port attained. I know that I lost the love of many, for my fidelity towards Her, whom I must still honour in the Dust; though further than the Defence of Her excellent Person, I never persecuted any Man. Of those that did it, and by what device they did it: He that is the Supreme Judge of all the World, hath taken the account; so as for this kind of suffering, I must say with *Seneca*, *Mala opinio, benè parta, delectat.*

As for other Men; if there be any that have made themselves Fathers of that fame, which hath been begotten for them: I can neither envy at such their purchased glory, nor much lament mine own mishap in that kind; but content my self to say with *Virgil*, *Sic vos non vobis*, in many particulars.

To labour other satisfaction, were an effect of phrenzie, not of hope: seeing it is not Truth, but Opinion, that can travel the World without a Passport. For were it otherwise; and were there not as many internal forms of the Mind, as there are external Figures of Men; there were then some possibility, to perswade by the mouth of one Advocate, even Equity alone.

But such is the multiplying and extensive vertue of dead Earth, and of that breath-giving life which GOD hath cast upon Slime and Dust: as that among those that were, of whom we read and hear, and among those that are, whom we see and converse with; every one hath received a several Picture of Face, and every one a divers Picture of Mind; every one a form apart, every one a fancy and cogitation differing: there being nothing wherein Nature so much triumpheth, as in dissimilitude. From whence it cometh, that there is found so great diversity of Opinions; so strong a contrariety of inclinations; so many natural and unnatural; wise, fooliſh; manly, and childish Affections and Passions in Mortal Men. For it is not the visible fashion and shape of Plants, and of reasonable Creatures, that makes the difference, of working in the one, and of condition in the other; but the form internal.

And though it hath pleased GOD, to reserve the Art of reading Mens thoughts to himself: yet, as the Fruit tells the name of the Tree; so do the outward works of Men (so far as their cogitations are acted) give us whereof to guess at the rest. Nay, it were not hard to express the one by the other, very near the life: did not craft in many, fear in the most, and the Worlds love in all, teach every capacity, according to the compass it hath, to qualifie and mask over their inward deformities for a time. Though it be also true, *Nemo potest diu personam ferre fictam: cito in naturam suam recidunt, quibus veritas non subest. No Man can long continue masked in a counterfeit behaviour: the things that are forced for pretences, having no ground of truth, cannot long dissemble their own Natures.* Neither can any Man (saith

Plutarch

Plutarch) ſo change himſelf, but that his Heart may be ſometimes ſeen at his Tongues end.

In this great diſcord and diſſimilitude of reaſonable Creatures, if we direct our ſelves to the Multitude; *Omnis honeſtæ rei malus judex eſt vulgus*, *The common People are evil Judges of honeſt things*, and *whoſe Wiſdom* (ſaith *Eccleſiaſtes*) *is to be deſpiſed*; if to the better ſort; every Underſtanding hath a peculiar Judgment, by which it both cenſureth other Men, and valueth it ſelf. And therefore unto me it will not ſeem ſtrange, though I find theſe my worthleſs Papers torn with Rats: ſeeing the ſlothful Cenſurers of all Ages, have not ſpared to tax the Reverend Fathers of the Church, with Ambition; the ſevereſt Men to themſelves, with Hypocriſie; the greateſt lovers of Juſtice, with Popularity; and thoſe of the trueſt Valour and Fortitude, with Vain-glory. But of theſe Natures, which lie in wait to find Fault, and to turn good into evil, ſeeing *Solomon* complained long ſince: and that the very Age of the World renders it every day after other more malicious; I muſt leave the Profeſſors to their eaſie ways of reprehenſion, than which there is nothing of more facility. Eccl. cap. 11. *Nihil facilius, quam reprehendere alium.*

To me it belongs in the firſt part of this Preface, following the common and approved Cuſtom of thoſe who have left the memories of time paſt to after Ages; to give, as near as I can, the ſame Right to Hiſtory which they have done. Yet ſeeing therein I ſhould but borrow other Mens words; I will not trouble the Reader with the Repetition. True it is, that among many other Benefits, for which it hath been honoured; in this one it triumpheth over all humane Knowledge, that it hath given us Life in our Underſtanding, ſince the World it ſelf had Life and Beginning, even to this day: yea it hath triumphed over Time, which beſides it, nothing but Eternity hath triumphed over: for it hath carried our Knowledge over the vaſt and devouring ſpace of ſo many thouſands of Years, and given ſo fair and piercing Eyes to our Mind; that we plainly behold living now, as if we had lived then, that great World, *Magni Dei ſapiens opus*, *the wiſe Work* (ſaith Hermes) *of a great GOD*, as it was then, when but new to it ſelf. By it I ſay it is, that we live in the very time when it was created: we behold how it was governed: how it was covered with Waters, and again re-peopled: How Kings and Kingdoms have flouriſhed and fallen; and for what Vertue and Piety GOD made proſperous; and for what Vice and Deformity he made wretched, both the one and the other. And it is not the leaſt Debt which we owe unto Hiſtory, that it hath made us acquainted with our dead Anceſtors; and, out of the depth and darkneſs of the Earth, delivered us their Memory and Fame. In a word, we may gather out of Hiſtory a Policy no leſs wiſe than eternal; by the compariſon and application of other Mens fore-paſſed Miſeries, with our own like Errours and ill deſervings.

But it is neither of Examples the moſt lively Inſtructions, nor the words of the wiſeſt Men, nor the terror of future Torments, that hath yet ſo wrought in our blind and ſtupified Minds; as to make us remember, That the infinite Eye and Wiſdom of GOD doth pierce through all our Pretences; as to make us remember, That the Juſtice of GOD doth require none other Accuſer, than our own Conſciences: which neither the falſe Beauty of our apparent Actions, nor all the Formality, which (to pacifie the Opinions of Men) we put on; can in any, or the leaſt kind, cover from his Knowledge. And ſo much did that Heathen Wiſdom confeſs, no way as yet qualified by the Knowledge of a true GOD. If any (ſaith *Euripides*) having in his Life com-

mitted wickedneſs, think he can hide it from the everlaſting gods, he thinks not well.

To repeat GOD's Judgments in particular, upon thoſe of all degrees, which have played with his Mercies; would require a Volume apart: for the Sea of examples hath no bottom. The marks, ſet on private Men, are with their Bodies caſt into the Earth; and their Fortunes, written only in the memories of thoſe that lived with them: ſo as they who ſucceed, and have not ſeen the fall of others, do not fear their own faults. GOD's Judgments upon the greater and greateſt, have been left to Poſterity; firſt, by thoſe happy Hands which the Holy Ghoſt hath guided; and ſecondly, by their vertue, who have gathered the acts and ends of Men, mighty and remarkable in the World. Now to point far off, and to ſpeak of the converſion of Angels into Devils, for Ambition: Or of the greateſt and moſt glorious Kings, who have gnawn the Graſs of the Earth with Beaſts, for Pride and Ingratitude towards GOD: Or of that wiſe working of *Pharaoh*, when he ſlew the Infants of *Iſrael*, ere they had recovered their Cradles: Or of the Policy of *Jezebel*, in covering the Murder of *Naboth* by a trial of the *Elders*, according to the Law: with many thouſands of the like: what were it other, than to make an hopeleſs proof, that far-of examples would not be left to the ſame far-of reſpects, as heretofore? For who hath not obſerved, what labour, practice, peril, bloodſhed, and cruelty, the Kings and Princes of the World have undergone, exerciſed, taken on them, and committed; to make themſelves and their iſſues Maſters of the World? And yet hath *Babylon*, *Perſia*, *Ægypt*, *Syria*, *Macedon*, *Carthage*, *Rome*, and the reſt, no Fruit, Flower, Graſs, nor Leaf, ſpringing upon the Face of the Earth, of thoſe Seeds: No; their very Roots and Ruins do hardly remain. *Omnia quæ manu hominum facta ſunt, vel manu hominum everruntur, vel ſtando & durando deficiunt. All that the Hand of Man can make, is either overturn'd by the Hand of Man, or at length by ſtanding and continuing conſumed.* The reaſons of whoſe ruines, are diverſly given by thoſe that ground their Opinions on ſecond cauſes. All Kingdoms and States have fallen (ſay the Politicians) by outward and Foreign Force, or by inward negligence and diſſenſion, or by a third cauſe ariſing from both. Others obſerve, That the greateſt have ſunk down under their own weight; of which *Livie* hath a touch: *eo crevit, ut magnitudine laboret ſua*: Others, That the Divine Providence (which *Cratippus* objected to *Pompey*) hath ſet down the Date and Period of every Eſtate, before their firſt Foundation and Erection. But hereof I will give my ſelf a Day over to reſolve.

For ſeeing the firſt Books of the following Story, have undertaken the diſcourſe of the firſt Kings and Kingdoms: and that it is impoſſible for the ſhort life of a Preface, to travel after and overtake far-of Antiquity, and to judge of it; I will, for the preſent, examine what profit hath been gathered by our own Kings, and their Neighbour Princes: who having beheld, both in Divine and Humane Letters, the ſucceſs of Infidelity, Injuſtice, and Cruelty; have (notwithſtanding) planted after the ſame Pattern.

True it is that the Judgments of all Men are not agreeable; nor (which is more ſtrange) the Affection of any one Man ſtirred up alike with examples of like Nature: But every one is touched moſt, with that which moſt nearly ſeemeth to touch his own private; or otherwiſe beſt ſuteth with his apprehenſion. But the Judgments of GOD are for ever unchangeable;

unchangeable; neither is he wearied by the long proceſs of time, and won to give his Bleſſing in one Age, to that which he hath Curſed in another. Wherefore thoſe that are wiſe, or whoſe wiſdom, if it be not great, yet is true and well grounded; will be able to diſcern the bitter Fruits of irreligious policy, as well among thoſe examples that are found in Ages removed far from the preſent, as in thoſe of latter times. And that it may no leſs appear by evident proof, than by aſſeveration, That ill doing hath always been attended with ill ſucceſs; I will here, by way of Preface, run over ſome examples, which the work enſuing hath not reached.

Among our Kings of the *Norman* Race, we have no ſooner paſſed over the violence of the *Norman* Conqueſt; than we encounter with a ſingular and moſt remarkable example of God's Juſtice, upon the Children of *Henry* the Firſt. For that King, when both by force, craft, and cruelty, he had diſpoſſeſt, over-reach'd, and laſtly made blind and deſtroyed his elder Brother *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, to make his own Sons Lords of this Land: GOD caſt them all, Male and Female, Nephews and Nieces (*Maud* excepted) into the bottom of the Sea, with above a hundred and fifty others that attended them; whereof a great many were Noble, and of the King dearly beloved.

To paſs over the reſt, till we come to *Edward* the Second; it is certain, that after the Murder of that King, the iſſue of Blood then made, though it had ſome times of ſtay and ſtopping, did again break out; and that ſo often, and in ſuch abundance, as all our Princes of the *Maſculine* Race (very few excepted) died of the ſame Diſeaſe. And although the young Years of *Edward* the Third, made his knowledge of that horrible fact no more than ſuſpicious: yet in that he afterwards cauſed his own Uncle the Earl of *Kent* to die, for no other offence than the deſire of his Brothers Redemption, whom the Earl as then ſuppoſed to be living; (the King making that to be Treaſon in his Uncle, which was indeed Treaſon in himſelf, had his Uncle's intelligence been true) this I ſay made it manifeſt, that he was not ignorant of what had paſt, nor greatly deſirous to have had it otherwiſe; though he cauſed *Mortimer* to die for the ſame.

This cruelty the ſecret and unſearchable Judgment of GOD revenged, on the Grand-child of *Edward* the Third: and ſo it fell out, even to the laſt of that Line, that in the ſecond or third deſcent they were all buried under the ruines of thoſe Buildings, of which the Mortar had been tempered with innocent Blood. For *Richard* the Second, who ſaw, both his *Treaſurers*, his *Chancellor*, and his *Steward*, with divers others of his Counſellors, ſome of them ſlaughtered by the People, others in his abſence executed by his Enemies; yet he always took himſelf for over-wiſe, to be taught by examples. The Earls of *Huntington* and *Kent*, *Montague* and *Spencer*, who thought themſelves as great Politicians in thoſe Days, as others have done in theſe: hoping to pleaſe the King, and to ſecure themſelves, by the Murder of *Gloceſter*; died ſoon after, with many other their adherents, by the like violent Hands; and far more ſhamefully than did that Duke. And as for the King himſelf (who in regard of many deeds, unworthy of his Greatneſs, cannot be excuſed, as the diſavowing himſelf by breach of Faith, Charters, Pardons, and Patents) he was in the Prime of his Youth depoſed; and murdered by his Couſen-german and Vaſſal, *Henry* of *Lancaſter*, afterwards *Henry* the Fourth.

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This King whoſe Title was weak, and his obtaining the Crown traiterous: who brake Faith with the Lords at his Landing, proteſting to intend only the recovery of his proper Inheritance; brake Faith with *Richard* himſelf; and brake Faith with all the Kingdom in Parliament, to whom he ſwore that the depoſed King ſhould live. After that he had enjoyed this Realm ſome few years, and in that time had been ſet upon on all ſides by his Subjects, and never free from Conſpiracies and Rebellions: he ſaw (if Souls immortal ſee and diſcern any things after the Bodies death) his Grandchild *Henry* the ſixth, and his Son the Prince, ſuddenly, and without mercy, murdered; the poſſeſſion of the Crown (for which he had cauſed ſo much Blood to be poured out) transferred from his Race; and by the Iſſues of his Enemies worn and enjoyed: Enemies, whom by his own Practice he ſuppoſed, that he had left no leſs powerleſs, than the Succeſſion of the Kingdom queſtionleſs; by Entailing the ſame upon his own Iſſues by Parliament. And out of doubt, humane Reaſon could have judged no otherwiſe, but that theſe cautious Proviſions of the Father, ſeconded by the Valour and ſignal Victories of his Son *Henry* the fifth, had buried the hopes of every Competitor, under the deſpair of all Reconqueſt and Recovery. I ſay, that humane Reaſon might ſo have judged: were not this paſſage of *Caſaubon* alſo true, *Dies, hora, momentum, evertendis dominationibus ſufficit, quæ adamantinis credebantur radicibus eſſe fundatæ; A day, an hour, a moment, is enough to overturn the things, that ſeemed to have been founded and rooted in Adamant.*

Now for *Henry* the ſixth, upon whom the great ſtorm of his Grandfathers grievous Faults fell, as it formerly had done upon *Richard* the Grand-child of *Edward*: although he was generally eſteemed for a gentle and innocent Prince; yet as he refuſed the Daughter of *Armaignac*, of the Houſe of *Navarre*, the greateſt of the Princes of *France*, to whom he was affianced (by which Match he might have defended his Inheritance in *France*) and married the Daughter of *Anjou*, (by which he loſt all that he had in *France*) ſo as in condeſcending to the unworthy Death of his Uncle of *Glouceſter*, the main and ſtrong Pillar of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*; He drew on himſelf and this Kingdom the greateſt Joynt-loſs and Diſhonour, that ever it ſuſtained ſince the *Norman* Conqueſt. Of whom it may truly be ſaid, which a Counſellor of his own ſpake of *Henry* the Third of *France*, *Q'uil eſtoit un fort gentil Prince; mais ſon reigne eſt advenu en une fort mauvois temps*, That he was a very gentle Prince; but his Reign happened in a very unfortunate Seaſon.

It is true, that *Buckingham* and *Suffolk* were the Practiſers and Contrivers of the Dukes death: *Buckingham* and *Suffolk*, becauſe the Duke gave Inſtructions to their Authority, which otherwiſe under the Queen had been abſolute; the Queen, in reſpect of her perſonal wound, *ſpretæque injuria formæ*, becauſe *Glouceſter* diſſwaded her Marriage. But the Fruit was anſwerable to the Seed; the ſucceſs to the Counſel. For after the cutting down of *Glouceſter*, *York* grew up ſo faſt, as he dared to diſpute his Right, both by Arguments and Arms; in which Quarrel, *Suffolk* and *Buckingham*, with the greateſt number of their Adherents, were diſſolved. And although for his breach of Oath by Sacrament, it pleaſed God to ſtrike down *York*: yet his Son the Earl of *March*, following the plain Path which his Father had troden out, deſpoyled *Henry* the Father, and *Edward*, the Son, both of their Lives and Kingdoms. And what was the end now of that politick *Lady* the *Queen*, other than this, That ſhe lived to behold

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the wretched ends of all her partakers: that ſhe lived to look on, while her Husband the King, and her only Son the Prince, were hewen in ſunder; while the Crown was ſet on his Head that did it. She lived to ſee her ſelf deſpoiled of her Eſtate, and of her Moveables: and laſtly, her Father, by rendring up to the Crown of *France*, the *Earldom* of *Provence* and other places, for the payment of Fifty thouſand Crowns for her Ranſom, to become a ſtark Beggar. And this was the end of that ſubtilty, which *Siracides* calleth *fine*, but *unrighteous*: for other Fruit hath it never yielded ſince the World was. *Sirac. c. 19.*

And now came it to *Edward* the Fourth's turn (though after many difficulties) to triumph. For all the Plants of *Lancaſter* were rooted up; one only Earl of *Richmond* excepted: whom alſo he had once bought of the Duke of *Britain*, but could not hold him. And yet was not this of *Edward* ſuch a Plantation, as could any way promiſe it ſelf ſtability. For this *Edward* the King (to omit more than many of his other cruelties) beheld and allowed the ſlaughter, which *Gloceſter*, *Dorſet*, *Haſtings*, and others, made of *Edward* the Prince in his own preſence: of which tragical Actors, there was not one that eſcaped the Judgment of GOD in the ſame kind. And he, which (beſides the execution of his Brother of *Clarence*, for none other offence than he himſelf had formed in his own imagination) inſtructed *Gloceſter* to kill *Henry* the Sixth, his Predeceſſor; taught him alſo by the ſame art to kill his own Sons and Succeſſors *Edward* and *Richard*. *For thoſe Kings, which have ſold the Blood of others at a low Rate; have but made the Market for their own Enemies, to buy of theirs at the ſame Price.*

To *Edward* the Fourth ſucceeded *Richard* the Third, the greateſt Maſter in miſchief of all that fore-went him: who although, for the neceſſity of his Tragedy, he had more Parts to play, and more to perform in his own Perſon, than all the reſt; yet he ſo well fitted every affection that plaid with him, as if each of them had but acted his own intereſt. For he wrought ſo cunningly upon the affections of *Haſtings* and *Buckingham*, enemies to the Queen and to all her Kindred: as he eaſily allured them to condeſcend, that *Rivers* and *Grey*, the Kings Maternal Uncle and half Brother, ſhould (for the firſt) be ſevered from him: ſecondly, he wrought their conſent to have them impriſoned: and laſtly (for the avoiding of future inconvenience) to have their Heads ſevered from their Bodies. And having now brought thoſe his chief Inſtruments to exerciſe that common Precept, which the Devil hath written on every Poſt; namely, To depreſs thoſe whom they had grieved, and to deſtroy thoſe whom they had depreſt; He urged that Argument ſo far and ſo forcibly, as nothing but the Death of the young King himſelf, and of his Brother, could faſhion the concluſion. For he cauſed it to be hammered into *Buckingham's* Head, That, whenſoever the King, or his Brother, ſhould have able years to exerciſe their power; they would take a moſt ſevere revenge of that cureleſs wrong, offered to their Uncle and Brother, *Rivers* and *Grey*. *Scelera ſceleribus tuenda. Sen. de clem.*

But this was not his manner of reaſoning with *Haſtings*, whoſe fidelity to his Maſters Sons was without ſuſpect: and yet the Devil, who never diſſwades by impoſſibility, taught him to try him. And ſo he did. But when he found by *Catesby*, who ſounded him, that he was not fordable; he firſt reſolved to kill him ſitting in Council: wherein having failed with his Sword; he ſet the Hangman upon him, with a Weapon of more weight. And becauſe nothing elſe could move his Appetite, he cauſed his Head to be ſtricken off, before he eat his Dinner. A greater Judgment of GOD, than this

this upon *Haſtings*, I have never obſerved in any Story. For the ſelf-ſame Day that the Earl *Rivers*, *Grey*, and others, were (without trial of Law, or offence given) by *Haſtings* advice executed at *Pomfret*: I ſay *Haſtings* himſelf in the ſame Day and (as I take it) in the ſame Hour, in the ſame lawleſs manner had his Head ſtricken off in the *Tower* of *London*. But *Buckingham* lived a while longer; and with an Eloquent Oration perſwaded the *Londoners* to elect *Richard* for their King. And having received the Earldom of *Hereford* for reward, beſides the high hope of marrying his Daughter to the Kings only Son; after many grievous vexations of mind, and unfortunate attempts, being in the end betrayed and delivered up by his truſtieſt Servant; he had his Head ſevered from his Body at *Salisbury*, without the trouble of any of his Peers. And what ſucceſs had *Richard* himſelf after all theſe Miſchiefs and Murders, Policies and Counter-policies to Chriſtian Religion: and after ſuch time, as with a moſt mercileſs Hand he had preſſed out the breath of his Nephews and Natural Lords; other than the proſperity of ſo ſhort a life, as it took end, ere himſelf could well look over and diſcern it? The great outcry of innocent Blood, obtaining at GOD's Hands the effuſion of his; who became a ſpectacle of ſhame and diſhonour, both to his Friends and Enemies.

This cruel King, *Henry* the Seventh cut off; and was therein (no doubt) the immediate Inſtrument of GOD's Juſtice. A politick Prince he was, if ever there were any, and who by the Engine of his Wiſdom, beat down and overturned as many ſtrong oppoſitions both before and after he ware the Crown as ever King of *England* did: I ſay by his Wiſdom, becauſe as he ever left the reins of his Affections in the hands of his Profit, ſo he always weighed his Undertakings by his Abilities, leaving nothing more to hazzard than ſo much as cannot be denied it in all humane actions. He had well obſerved the proceedings of *Loys* the Eleventh, whom he followed in all that was Royal or Royal-like, but he was far more juſt, and begun not their Proceſſes whom he hated or feared by the execution, as *Loys* did.

He could never indure any mediation in rewarding his Servants, and therein exceeding wiſe; for whatſoever himſelf gave, he himſelf received back the thanks and the love, knowing it well that the affections of Men (purchaſed by nothing ſo readily as by benefits) were Trains that better became great Kings, than great Subjects. On the contrary, in whatſoever he grieved his Subjects, he wiſely put it off on thoſe, that he found fit Miniſters for ſuch actions. Howſoever, the taking off, of *Stanley*'s Head, who ſet the Crown on his, and the Death of the young Earl of *Warwick*, Son to *George* D. of *Clarence*, ſhews, as the ſucceſs alſo did, that he held ſomewhat of the Errors of his Anceſtors, for his poſſeſſion in the firſt Line ended in his Grand-children, as that of *Edward* the Third and *Henry* the Fourth had done.

Now for King *Henry* the Eight: if all the Pictures and Patterns of a mercileſs Prince were loſt in the World, they might all again be painted to the life, out of the Story of this King. For how many Servants did he advance in haſte (but for what vertue no Man could ſuſpect) and with the change of his fancy ruined again; no Man knowing for what offence? To how many others of more deſert gave he abundant Flowers, from whence to gather Hony, and in the end of Harveſt burnt them in the Hive? How many Wives did he cut off, and caſt off, as his fancy and affection changed? How many Princes of the Blood (whereof ſome of them for Age could hardly crawl towards the Block) with a world of others of all Degrees

(of

(of whom our common Chronicles have kept the account) did he Execute? Yea, in his very death Bed, and when he was at the point to have given his account to GOD for the abundance of Blood already ſpilt: he imprisoned the Duke of *Norfolk* the Father; and executed the Earl of *Surrey* the Son; the one, whoſe deſervings he knew not how to value, having never omitted any thing that concerned his own honour, and the Kings ſervice; the other, never having committed any thing worthy of his leaſt diſpleaſure: the one exceeding valiant and adviſed, the other, no leſs valiant than learned, and of excellent hope. But beſides the ſorrows which he heaped upon the Fatherleſs, and Widows at home: and beſides the vain enterprises abroad, wherein it is thought that he conſumed more Treaſure, than all our victorious Kings did in their ſeveral Conqueſts: what cauſeleſs and cruel Wars did he make upon his own Nephew King *James* the fifth? What Laws and Wills did he deviſe, to eſtabliſh this Kingdom in his own iſſues? uſing his ſharpeſt Weapons to cut off, and cut down thoſe Branches, which ſprang from the ſame Root that himſelf did. And in the end (notwithſtanding theſe his ſo many irreligious proviſions) it pleaſed GOD to take away all his own, without increaſe; though, for themſelves in their ſeveral kinds, all Princes of eminent vertue. For theſe words of *Samuel* to *Agag* King of the *Amalekites*, have been verified upon many others: *As thy Sword hath made other Women childleſs: ſo ſhall thy Mother be childleſs among other Women.* And that Blood, which the ſame King *Henry* affirmed, that the cold Air of *Scotland* had frozen up in the *North*, GOD hath diffuſed by the Sunſhine of his Grace: from whence His Majeſty now living, and long to live, is deſcended. Of whom I may ſay it truly, That if all the malice of the World were infuſed into one Eye: yet could it not diſcern in His life, even to this day, any one of thoſe foul ſpots, by which the Conſciences of all the forenamed Princes (in effect) have been defiled; nor any drop of that innocent Blood on the Sword of his Juſtice, with which the moſt that forewent him, have ſtained both their hands and fame. And for this Crown of *England*; it may truly be avowed, That he hath received it even from the hand of GOD, and hath ſtayed the time of putting it on, howſoever he were provoked to haſten it: That He never took revenge of any Man, that ſought to put him beſide it: That He refuſed the aſſiſtance of Her Enemies, that wore it long, with as great glory as ever Princeſs did: That His Majeſty entred not by a breach, nor by Blood; but by the ordinary Gate, which his own right ſet open; and into which, by a general love and obedience, He was received. And howſoever His Majeſties preceding Title to this Kingdom, was preferred by many Princes (witneſs the Treaty at *Cambray* in the Year 1559) yet he never pleaſed to diſpute it, during the life of that renowned Lady, his Predeceſſor; no, notwithſtanding the injury of not being declared Heir, in all the time of Her long Reign.

Neither ought we to forget, or neglect our thankfulneſs to GOD for the uniting of the Northern parts of *Britany* to the *South*, to wit, of *Scotland* to *England*, which though they were ſevered but by ſmall Brooks and Banks, yet by reaſon of the long continued War, and the cruelties exerciſed upon each other, in the affection of the Nations, they were infinitely ſevered. This I ſay is not the leaſt of God's Bleſſings which His Majeſty hath brought with him unto this Land: No, put all our petty grievances together, and heap them up to their height, they will appear but as a Mole-hill, compared with the Mountain of this Concord. And if all the Hiſtorians ſince then, have acknowledged the uniting of the red Roſe, and the white, for

the greateſt happineſs, (Chriſtian Religion excepted) that ever this Kingdom received from GOD, certainly the Peace between the two Lions of Gold and Gules, and the making them one, doth by many degrees exceed the former; for by it, beſides the ſparing of our *Britiſh* Blood, heretofore and during the difference ſo often and abundantly ſhed, the State of *England* is more aſſured, the Kingdom more inabled to recover her ancient Honour and Rights, and by it made more invincible than by all our former Alliances, Practices, Policies and Conqueſts. It is true that hereof we do not yet find the effect. But had the Duke of *Parma* in the Year 1588, joyned the Army which he commanded, with that of *Spain*, and landed it on the South-Coaſt; and had his Majeſty at the ſame time declared himſelf againſt us in the North: it is eaſie to Divine what had become of the Liberty of *England*, certainly we would then without murmur have bought this Union at a far greater price than it hath ſince coſt us.

It is true, that there was never any Common-weal or Kingdom in the World, wherein no Man had cauſe to lament. Kings live in the World and not above it. They are not infinite to examine every Man's cauſe, or to relieve every Man's wants. And yet, in the latter, (though to his own prejudice) His Majeſty hath had more compaſſion of other Men's neceſſities, than of his own Coffers. Of whom it may be ſaid, as of *Salomon*, *Dedit Deus Salomoni latitudinem Cordis*: which if other Men do not underſtand with *Pineda*, to be meant by *Liberality*, but by *Latitude of knowledge*; yet may it be better ſpoken of His Majeſty, than of any King that ever *England* had; who as well in Divine, as Humane underſtanding, hath exceeded all that fore-went him, by many degrees.

Pin. Comment. in Sal. 1 K. 4.

I could ſay much more of the Kings Majeſty, without flattery: did I not fear the imputation of preſumption, and withal ſuſpect, that it might befal theſe Papers of mine, (though the loſs were little) as it did the Pictures of Queen *Elizabeth*, made by unskilful and common Painters; which by her own Commandment, were knockt in pieces and caſt into the Fire. For ill Artiſts, in ſetting out the beauty of the external: and weak Writers, in deſcribing the vertues of the internal; do often leave to Poſterity, of well-formed Faces a deformed memory; and of the moſt perfect and Princely minds, a moſt defective repreſentation. It may ſuffice, and there needs no other diſcourſe, if the honeſt *Reader* but compare the cruel and turbulent paſſages of our former Kings, and of other their Neighbour Princes (of whom for that purpoſe I have inſerted this brief diſcourſe) with His Majeſties temperate, revengeleſs, and liberal diſpoſition: I ſay, that if the honeſt *Reader* weigh them juſtly, and with an even hand: and withal, but beſtow every deformed Child on his true Parent; he ſhall find, that there is no Man which hath ſo juſt cauſe to complain, as the King himſelf hath.

Now as we have told the ſucceſs of the trumperies and cruelties of our own Kings, and other great Perſonages, ſo we find, that GOD is every where the ſame GOD. And as it pleaſed him to puniſh the uſurpation, and unnatural cruelty of *Henry* the Firſt, and of our Third *Edward*, in their Children for many Generations: ſo dealt he with the Sons of *Loys Debonaire*, the Son of *Charles* the Great, or *Charlemain*. For after ſuch time as *Debonaire* of *France*, had torn out the Eyes of *Bernard* his Nephew, the Son of *Pepin*, the eldeſt Son of *Charlemain*, and Heir of the Empire, and then cauſed him to die in Priſon, as did our *Henry* to *Robert* his elder Brother: there followed nothing but Murders upon Murders, Poyſonings, Impriſonments, and civil War; till the whole Race of that famous Emperour was extinguiſhed.

And

And though *Debonaire*, after he had rid himſelf of his Nephew by a violent death; and of his Baſtard Brothers by a civil death (having incloſed them with ſure Guard, all the days of their Lives, within a Monaſtery) held himſelf ſecure from all oppoſition: Yet GOD raiſed up againſt him (which he ſuſpected not) his own Sons, to vex him, to invade him, to take him Priſoner, and to depoſe him; his own Sons, with whom (to ſatisfie their Ambition) he had ſhared his Eſtate, and given them Crowns to wear, Kingdoms to govern, during his own Life. Yea his eldeſt Son *Lothaire* (for he had four, three by his firſt Wife, and one by his ſecond; to wit, *Lothaire*, *Pepin*, *Loys*, and *Charles*) made it the cauſe of his Depoſition, That he had uſed violence towards his Brothers and Kinſmen; and that he had ſuffered his Nephew (whom he might have delivered) to be ſlain, *eo quod*, ſaith the Text, *fratribus & propinquis violentiam intulerit, & nepotem ſuum, quem ipſe liberare poterat, interfici permiſerit. Becauſe he uſed violence to his Brothers and Kinſmen, and ſuffered his Nephew to be ſlain whom he might have delivered.* *Step. Paſquiere recher. l. 5. c. 1.*

Yet did he that which few Kings do; namely, repent him of his Cruelty. For among many other things, which he performed in the General Aſſembly of the States, it follows, *Poſt hæc autem palam ſe erraſſe confeſſus, & imitatus Imperatoris* Theodoſii *exemplum, pœnitentiam ſpontaneam ſuſcepit, tam de his, quam quæ in* Bernardum *proprium nepotem geſſerat. After this he did openly confeſs himſelf to have erred, and following the example of the Emperour* Theodoſius, *he under-went voluntary Penance as well for his other Offences, as for that which he had done againſt* Bernard *his own Nephew.* *Paſq. Ibidem.*

This he did: and it was Praiſe-worthy. *But the Blood that is unjuſtly ſpilt, is not again gathered up from the ground by Repentance. Theſe Medicines, miniſtred to the dead, have but dead Rewards.*

This King, as I have ſaid, had four Sons. To *Lothaire* his eldeſt he gave the Kingdom of *Italy*; as *Charlemain*, his Father, had done to *Pepin* the Father of *Bernard*, who was to ſucceed him in the Empire. To *Pepin* the ſecond Son he gave the Kingdom of *Aquitaine*: to *Loys*, the Kingdom of *Bavier*: and to *Charles*, whom he had by a ſecond Wife, called *Judith*, the Remainder of the Kingdom of *France*. But this ſecond Wife, being a Mother-in-law to the reſt, perſwaded *Debonaire* to caſt his Son *Pepin* out of *Aquitaine*; thereby to greaten *Charles*: which, after the death of his Son *Pepin*, he proſecuted to effect, againſt his Grand-child bearing the ſame Name. In the mean while, being invaded by his Son *Loys* of *Bavier*, he dies for Grief.

Debonaire dead: *Loys* of *Bavier*, and *Charles* afterwards called the *Bald*, and their Nephew *Pepin* of *Aquitaine*, joyn in League againſt the Emperour *Lothaire* their eldeſt Brother. They fight near to *Auxerre* the moſt bloody Battel that ever was ſtrucken in *France*: in which, the marvellous loſs of Nobility, and Men of War, gave courage to the *Saracens* to invade *Italy*; to the *Hunnes*, to fall upon *Almain*; and the *Danes*, to entet upon *Normandy*. *Charles* the *Bald* by Treaſon ſeizeth upon his Nephew *Pepin*, kills him in a *Cloyſter*, *Carloman* rebels againſt his Father *Charles* the *Bald*, the Father burns out the Eyes of his Son *Carloman*; *Bavier* invades the Emperour *Lothaire* his Brother, *Lothaire* quits the Empire, He is aſſailed and wounded to the Heart by his own Conſcience, for his Rebellion againſt his Father and for his other Cruelties, and dies in a Monaſtery. *Charles* the *Bald* the Uncle oppreſſeth his Nephews the Sons of *Lothaire*, he uſurpeth the Empire to the prejudice of *Loys* of *Bavier* his elder Brother, *Bavier*'s Armies and his Son *Carloman* are beaten, he dies of Grief, and the Uſurper *Charles* is poiſoned by *Zedekias* a Jew his Phyſician, his Son *Loys le Beque* dies of the ſame Drink.

Beque had *Charles* the ſimple, and two Baſtards, *Loys* and *Carloman*; they rebel againſt their Brother, but the eldeſt breaks his Neck, the younger is ſlain by a wild Boar; the Son of *Bavier* had the ſame ill Deſtiny and brake his Neck by a Fall out of a Window in ſporting with his Companions. *Charles* the *groſs* becomes Lord of all that the Sons of *Debonaire* held in *Germany*, wherewith not contented, he invades *Charles* the *ſimple*, but being forſaken of his Nobility, of his Wife, and of his Underſtanding, he dies a diſtracted Begger. *Charles the ſimple* is held in Wardſhip by *Eudes Major* of the Palace, then by *Robert* the Brother of *Eudes*, and laſtly being taken by the Earl of *Vermandois*, he is forced to die in the Priſon of *Peron*: *Loys* the Son of *Charles the ſimple* breaks his Neck in chaſing a Wolf, and of the two Sons of this *Loys*, the one dies of Poyſon, the other in the Priſon of *Orleans*, after whom *Hugh Capet* of another Race, and a ſtranger to the *French*, makes himſelf King.

Theſe miſerable ends had the iſſues of *Debonaire*: who after he had once apparelled Injuſtice with Authority, his Sons and Succeſſors took up the Faſhion; and wore that Garment ſo long without other Proviſions, as when the ſame was torn from their ſhoulders, every Man deſpiſed them as miſerable and naked Beggers. The wretched ſucceſs they had, (ſaith a learned *French-man*) ſhews, *què en ceſte mort il y avoit plus du fait des hommes que de Dieu, ou de la juſticè*: *That in the death of that Prince, to wit of* Bernard *the Son of* Pepin, *the true Heir of* Charlemaine, *Men had more medling, than either* GOD, *or Juſtice had.*

But to come nearer home; it is certain that *Francis* the firſt, one of the worthieſt Kings (except for that Fact) that ever the *French-men* had, did never enjoy himſelf; after he had commended the deſtruction of the Proteſtants of *Mirandol* and *Cabrieres*, to the Parliament of *Provence*, which poor People were thereupon burnt, and murdered; Men, Women, and Children. It is true, that the ſaid King *Francis* repented himſelf of the Fact, and gave Charge to *Henry* his Son, to do Juſtice upon the Murderers; threatning his Son with GOD's Judgments, if he neglected it. But this unſeaſonable Care of his, GOD was not pleaſed to accept for Payment. For after *Henry* himſelf was ſlain in Sport by *Montgomery*, We all may remember what became of his four Sons, *Francis*, *Charles*, *Henry* and *Hercules*. Of which although three of them became Kings, and were married to beautiful and vertuous Ladies: Yet were they, one after another, caſt out of the World, without Stock or Seed. And notwithſtanding their ſubtilty, and breach of Faith; with all their Maſſacres, upon thoſe of the Religion, and great effuſion of Blood; the Crown was ſet upon his Head, whom they all laboured to diſſolve; the Proteſtants remain more in number than ever they were, and hold to this day more ſtrong Cities than ever they had.

Let us now ſee if GOD be not the ſame GOD in *Spain*, as in *England* and *France*. Towards whom we will look no further back than to *Don Pedro* of *Caſtile*: in reſpect of which Prince, all the Tyrants of *Sicil*, our *Richard* the third, and the great *Evan Vaſilowich* of *Muſcovia*, were but petty ones: this *Caſtilian*, of all Chriſtian and Heathen Kings, having been the moſt mercileſs. For beſides thoſe of his own Blood and Nobility which he cauſed to be ſlain in his own Court and Chamber, as *Sancho Ruis* the great Maſter of *Calatrava*, *Ruis Gonſales*, *Alphonſo Tello*, and *Don John* of *Arragon*, whom he cut in pieces and caſt into the Streets, denying him Chriſtian Burial: I ſay beſides theſe, and the Slaughter of *Gomes Manriques*, *Diego Peres*, *Alphonſo Gomes*, and the great Commander of *Caſtile*;

ſtile; He made away the two Infants of *Arragon* his Couſin-germans, his Brother *Don Frederick*, *Don John de la Cerde*, *Albuquerques*, *Nugnes de Guzman*, *Comel*, *Cabrera*, *Tenorio*, *Mendes de Toledo*, *Guttiere* his great Treaſurer, and all his Kindred; and a world of others. Neither did he ſpare his two youngeſt Brothers, innocent Princes: whom after he had kept in cloſe Priſon from their Cradles, till one of them had lived ſixteen years, and the other, fourteen; he murdered them there. Nay he ſpared not his Mother, nor his Wife the Lady *Blanch* of *Bourbon*. Laſtly as he cauſed the Arch-Biſhop of *Toledo*, and the Dean, to be killed of Purpoſe to enjoy their Treaſures: ſo did he put to death *Mahomet Aben Alhamar* King of *Barbary*, with ſeven and thirty of his Nobility; that came unto him for Succour, with a great Summ of Money, to levy (by his Favour) ſome Companies of Souldiers to return withall. Yea he would needs aſſiſt the Hangman with his own hand, in the execution of the old King; in ſo much as Pope *Urban* declared him an Enemy both to GOD and Man. But what was his End? Having been formerly beaten out of his Kingdom, and re-eſtabliſhed by the Valour of the *Engliſh* Nation, led by the famous Duke of *Lancaſter*: He was ſtabbed to death by his younger Brother the Earl of *Aſtramara*, who diſpoſſeſt all his Children of their Inheritance; which, but for the Father's Injuſtice and Cruelty, had never been in danger of any ſuch thing. *Hiſt. of Spain.*

If we can parallel any Man with this King, it muſt be Duke *John* of *Burgoigne*: who, after his traiterous murder of the Duke of *Orleans*, cauſed the Conſtable of *Armagnac*, the Chancelour of *France*, the Biſhops of *Conſtance*, *Bayeux*, *Eureux*, *Senlis*, *Saintes*, and other religious and Reverend Church-men, the Earl of *gran Prè Hector* of *Chartres*, and (in effect) all the Officers of Juſtice, of the Chamber of Accompts, Treaſury and Requeſt, (with ſixteen hundred others to accompany them) to be ſuddenly and violently ſlain. Hereby, while he hoped to govern, and to have maſtered *France*: He was ſoon after ſtrucken with an Axe in the Face, in the preſence of the *Dauphin*; and, without any leiſure to repent his miſdeeds, preſently ſlain. Theſe were the Lovers of other Mens miſeries: and Miſery found them out. *French Invent. in Anno* 1418.

Now for the Kings of *Spain*, which lived both with *Henry* the ſeventh, *Henry* the eighth, Queen *Mary*, and Queen *Elizabeth*; *Ferdinand* of *Arragon* was the firſt: and the firſt that laid the Foundation of the preſent *Auſtrian* greatneſs. For this King did not content himſelf to hold *Arragon* by the Uſurpation of his Anceſtor; and to faſten thereunto the Kingdom of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, which *Iſabel* his Wife held by ſtrong hand, and his aſſiſtance, from her own Niece the Daughter of the laſt *Henry*: but moſt cruelly and craftily, without all colour or pretence of Right; He alſo caſt his own Niece out of the Kingdom of *Navarre*; and, contrary to Faith, and the Promiſe that he made to reſtore it, fortified the beſt Places, and ſo waſted the reſt, as there was no means left for any Army to invade it. This King I ſay, that betrayed alſo *Ferdinand* and *Frederick* Kings of *Naples*, Princes of his own Blood, and by double Alliance tied unto him; ſold them unto the *French*: and with the ſame Army, ſent for their Succour under *Gonſalvo*, caſt them out; and ſhared their Kingdom with the *French*, whom afterwards he moſt ſhamefully betrayed.

This wiſe and politick King, who ſold Heaven and his own Honour, to make his *Son*, the Prince of *Spain*, the greateſt Monarch of the World: ſaw him die in the flower of his years; and his Wife great with Child, with her untimely Birth, at once and together buried. His eldeſt Daughter married unto *Don Alphonſo* Prince of *Portugal*, beheld her firſt Husband break his Neck in her preſence; and being with Child by her ſecond, died with it. A

juſt

juſt Judgment of GOD upon the Race of *John*, Father to *Alphonſo*, now wholly extinguiſhed: who had not only left many diſconſolate Mothers in *Portugal*, by the ſlaughter of their Children; but had formerly ſlain, with his own Hand, the Son and only comfort of his Aunt the Lady *Beatrix*, Dutcheſs of *Viſeo*. The ſecond Daughter of *Ferdinand*, married to the Arch-Duke *Philip*, turned Fool, and died mad and deprived. His third Daughter, beſtowed on King *Henry* the Eighth, he ſaw caſt off by the King: the Mother of many troubles in *England*; and the Mother of a Daughter that in her unhappy zeal ſhed a world of innocent Blood; loſt *Callice* to the *French*; and died heart-broken without increaſe. To conclude, all thoſe Kingdoms of *Ferdinand* have Maſters of a new name; and, by a ſtrange Family are governed and poſſeſt.

Charles the Fifth, Son to the Arch-duke *Philip*, in whoſe vain enterpriſes upon the *French*, upon the *Almans*, and other Princes and States, ſo many Multitudes of Chriſtian Soldiers, and renowned Captains, were conſumed: who gave the while a moſt perilous entrance to the *Turks*, and ſuffered *Rhodes*, the Key of Chriſtendom, to be taken; was in concluſion chaced out of *France*, and in a ſort out of *Germany*; and left to the *French*, *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, places belonging to the Empire; ſtole away from *Inſpurg*; and ſcaled the *Alpes* by Torch-light, purſued by Duke *Maurice*; having hoped to ſwallow up all thoſe Dominions, wherein he concocted nothing ſave his own diſgraces. And having, after the ſlaughter of ſo many Millions of Men, no one Foot of Ground in either: He crept into a Cloyſter, and made himſelf a Penſioner of an Hundred thouſand Duckets by the Year to his Son *Philip*; from whom he very ſlowly received his mean and ordinary maintenance.

Nether. Hiſt. l. 7. fol. 313.

His Son again, King *Philip* the Second, not ſatisfied to hold *Holland* and *Zeland* (wreſted by his Anceſtors from *Jaqueline* their lawful Princeſs) and to poſſeſs in peace many other Provinces of the *Netherlands*: perſwaded by that miſchievous Cardinal of *Granvil*, and other *Romiſh* Tyrants; not only forgot the moſt remarkable ſervices, done to his Father the Emperor by the Nobility of thoſe Countries; not only forgot the Preſent, made him upon his entry, of Forty Millions of *Florens*, called the *Noval aid*; nor only forgot, that he had twice moſt ſolemnly ſworn to the General States, to maintain and preſerve their Ancient Rights, Priviledges, and Cuſtoms, which they had enjoyed under their thirty and five Earls before him, conditional Princes of thoſe Provinces: but beginning firſt to conſtrain them, and enthral them by the *Spaniſh Inquiſition*, and then to impoveriſh them by many new deviſed and intolerable Impoſitions; He laſtly, by ſtrong hand and main force, attempted to make himſelf not only an abſolute Monarch over them, like unto the Kings and Sovereigns of *England* and *France*; but *Turk*-like, to tread under his Feet all their National and Fundamental Laws, Priviledges, and Ancient Rights. To effect which, after he had eaſily obtained from the Pope a Diſpenſation of his former Oaths (which Diſpenſation was the true cauſe of all the War and bloodſhed ſince then) and after he had tried what he could perform, by dividing of their own Nobility, under the Government of his baſe Siſter *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, and the Cardinal *Granvil*; He employed that moſt mercileſs *Spaniard Don Ferdinand Alvarez* of *Toledo* Duke of *Alva*, followed with a powerful Army of ſtrange Nations: by whom he firſt ſlaughtered that renowned Captain the Earl of *Egmont*, Prince of *Gavare*; and *Philip Montmorency* Earl of *Horn*: made away *Montigue*, and the Marquis of *Bergues*; and cut off in thoſe ſix Years

Hiſtory of the *Netherlands.*

(that

(that *Alva* governed) of Gentlemen and others, eighteen thouſand and ſix hundred, by the Hands of the Hangman, beſides all his other barbarous Murders and Maſſacres. By whoſe miniſtery when he could not yet bring his affairs to their wiſhed ends, having it in his hope to work that by ſubtlety, which he had failed to perform by force: He ſent for Governor his Baſtard Brother *Don John* of *Auſtria*; a Prince of great hope, and very gracious to thoſe People. But he, uſing the ſame Papal advantage that his Predeceſſors had done; made no ſcruple to take Oath upon the Holy *Evangeliſts*, to obſerve the Treaty made with the general States; and to diſcharge the *Low Countries* of all *Spaniards*, and other Strangers, therein gariſoned. Towards whoſe Pay and Paſport, the *Netherlands* ſtrained themſelves to make payment of ſix hundred thouſand pounds. Which Monies received, he ſuddenly ſurpriſed the Citadels of *Antwerp* and *Nemeures*: not doubting (being unſuſpected by the States) to have poſſeſt himſelf of all the maſtering places of thoſe Provinces. For whatſoever he overtly pretended, He held in ſecret a contrary Council with the *Secretary Eſcovedo*, *Rhodus*, *Barlemont*, and others, Miniſters of the *Spaniſh* Tyranny; formerly practiſed, and now again intended. But let us now ſee the effect and end of this Perjury, and of all other the Dukes Cruelties. Firſt for himſelf, after he had murdered ſo many of the Nobility; executed (as aforeſaid) Eighteen thouſand ſix hundred in ſix years; and moſt cruelly ſlain Man, Woman, and Child, in *Mecklin*, *Zutphen*, *Naerden*, and other places: and after he had conſumed ſix and thirty Millions of Treaſure in ſix Years: notwithſtanding his *Spaniſh* vaunt, That he would ſuffocate the *Hollanders* in their own Butter-barrels, and Milk-tubs: He departed the Country no otherwiſe accompanied, than with the Curſe and Deteſtation of the whole Nation; leaving his Maſters Affairs in a tenfold worſe Eſtate, than he found them at his firſt arrival. For *Don John*, whoſe haughty conceit of himſelf overcame the greateſt difficulties; though his Judgment were over weak to manage the leaſt: what wonders did his fearful breach of Faith bring forth, other than the King his Brothers jealouſie and diſtruſt; with the untimely death that ſeized him, even in the flower of his youth. And for *Eſcovedo* his ſharp-witted Secretary, who in his own imagination had conquered for his Maſter both *England* and the *Netherlands*; being ſent into *Spain* upon ſome new project, He was at the firſt arrival, and before any acceſs to the King, by certain Ruffians appointed by *Anthony Peres* (though by better warrant than his) rudely murdered in his own Lodging. Laſtly, if we conſider the King of *Spain*'s Carriage, his Council, and Succeſs in this buſineſs; there is nothing left to the memory of Man more remarkable. For he hath paid above an hundred Millions, and the lives of above four hundred thouſand Chriſtians, for the loſs of all thoſe Countries; which, for beauty gave place to none, and for Revenue, did equal his *Weſt-Indies*: for the loſs of a Nation, which moſt willingly obeyed him; and who at this Day, after forty Years War, are in deſpight of all his Forces become free Eſtates, and far more rich and powerful, than they were, when he firſt began to impoveriſh and oppreſs them.

Oh by what plots, by what forſwearings, betrayings, oppreſſions, impriſonments, tortures, poyſonings, and under what reaſons of State, and politick ſubtilty, have theſe fore-named Kings, both Strangers, and of our own Nation, pulled the vengeance of GOD upon themſelves, upon theirs, and upon their prudent Miniſters! and in the end have brought thoſe things to paſs for their Enemies, and ſeen an effect ſo directly contrary to all their own

own counſels and cruelties; as the one could never have hoped for themſelves; and the other never have ſucceeded; if no ſuch oppoſition had ever been made. GOD hath ſaid it and performed it ever: *Perdam ſapientiam ſapientum, I will deſtroy the wiſdom of the wiſe.*

But what of all this? and to what end do we lay before the Eyes of the living, the fall and fortunes of the dead: ſeeing the World is the ſame that it hath been; and the Children of the preſent time, will ſtill obey their Parents? It is in the preſent time, that all the wits of the World are exerciſed. To hold the times we have, we hold all things lawful: and either we hope to hold them for ever; or at leaſt we hope, that there is nothing after them to be hoped for. For as we are content to forget our own experience, and to counterfeit the ignorance of our own knowledge, in all things that concern our ſelves; or perſwade our ſelves, that GOD hath given us Letters Patents to purſue all our irreligious affections, with a *non obſtante*: ſo we neither look behind us what hath been, nor before us what ſhall be. It is true, that the quantity which we have, is of the Body: we are by it joyned to the Earth: we are compounded of Earth; and we inhabit it. The Heavens are high, far off and unſearchable: we have ſenſe and feeling of Corporal things; and of Eternal grace, but by Revelation. No marvel then that our thoughts are alſo Earthly: and it is leſs to be wondred at, that the words of worthleſs Men cannot cleanſe them; ſeeing their Doctrine and Inſtruction, whoſe Underſtanding the Holy Ghoſt vouchſafed to inhabit, have not performed it. For as the Prophet *Iſaiah* cried out long agone, *Lord, who hath believed our reports?* And out of doubt, as *Iſaiah* complained then for himſelf and others: ſo are they leſs believed, every day after other. For although Religion, and the truth thereof, be in every Man's Mouth, yea in the diſcourſe of every Woman, who for the greateſt number are but *Idols of vanity*: what is it other than an univerſal diſſimulation? We profeſs that we know GOD: but by works we deny him. For Beatitude doth not conſiſt in the knowledge of Divine things, but in a Divine life: for the Devils know them better than Men. *Beatitudo non eſt divinorum cognitio, ſed vita divina.* And certainly there is nothing more to be admired, and more to be lamented, than the private Contention, the paſſionate Diſpute, the perſonal Hatred, and the perpetual War, Maſſacres, and Murders, for Religion among *Chriſtians*: the diſcourſe whereof hath ſo occupied the World, as it hath well-near driven the practice thereof out of the World. Who would not ſoon reſolve, that took knowledge but of the Religious diſputations among Men, and not of their lives which diſpute, that there were no other thing in their deſires, than the purchace of Heaven; and that the World it ſelf were but uſed as it ought, and as an Inn or Place, wherein to repoſe our ſelves in paſſing on towards our Celeſtial habitation? when on the contrary, beſides the diſcourſe and outward profeſſion, the Soul hath nothing but Hypocriſie. We are all (in effect) become Comedians in Religion: and while we act in geſture and voice, Divine vertues, in all the courſe of our lives we renounce our Perſons, and the Parts we Play. For Charity, Juſtice, and Truth, have but their being *in terms*, like the Philoſophers *Materia prima.*

Paul to *Titus* *Ch.*1. *ver.* 10.

Neither is it that Wiſdom, which *Salomon* defineth to be the *School-Miſtreſs of the knowledge of God*, that hath valuation in the World: it is enough that we give it our good word; but the ſame which is altogether exerciſed in the ſervice of the World, as the gathering of Riches chiefly; by which we purchaſe and obtain honour, with the many reſpects which attend it.

Theſe

These indeed be the Marks (which when we have bent our Consciences to the highest) we all shoot at. For the obtaining whereof it is true, that the Care is our own; the Care our own in this Life, the Peril our own in the future: and yet when we have gathered the greatest abundance, we our selves enjoy no more thereof, than so much as belongs to one Man. For the rest; He that had the greatest Wisdom, and the greatest Ability that ever Man had, hath told us that this is the Use: *When Goods increase* (*saith* Salomon) *they also increase that eat them; and what good cometh to the Owners, but the beholding thereof with their Eyes?* As for those that devour the rest, and follow us in fair Weather: they again forsake us in the first Tempest of Misfortune, and steer away before the Sea and Wind; leaving us to the malice of our Destinies. Of these, among a thousand Examples, I will take but one out of Master *Damet*, and use his own words: *Whilst the Emperour* Charles *the Fifth, after the resignation of his Estates, stayed at* Vlushing *for Wind, to carry him his last Journey into* Spain; *He conferred on a time with* Seldius, *his Brother* Ferdinand's *Embassadour, till the deep of the Night. And when* Seldius *should depart, the Emperour calling for some of his Servants, and no body answering him (for those that attended upon him, were some gone to their Lodgings, and all the rest asleep) the Emperour took up the Candle himself, and went before* Seldius *to light him down the Stairs; and so did, notwithstanding all the resistance that* Seldius *could make. And when He was come to the Stairs foot, He said thus unto him:* Seldius, *remember this of* Charles *the Emperour, when he shall be dead and gone, That Him, whom thou hast known in thy Time environed with so many mighty Armies, and Guards of Souldiers, thou hast also seen alone, abandoned, and forsaken, yea even of his own domestical Servants, &c. I acknowledge this change of Fortune to proceed from the mighty hand of* GOD; *which I will by no means go about to withstand.*

Eccles. 5. 10. 11.

But you will say that there are some things else, and of greater regard than the former. The first, is the reverend Respect that is held of great Men, and the Honour done unto them by all sorts of People. And it is true indeed: provided, that an inward Love for their Justice and Piety, accompany the outward Worship given to their Places and Power; without which what is the Applause of the Multitude, but as the outcry of an Herd of *Animals*, who, without the knowledge of any true Cause, please themselves with the Noise they make? For seeing it is a thing exceeding rare, to distinguish Vertue and Fortune: the most impious (if prosperous) have ever been applauded; the most vertuous (if unprosperous) have ever been despised. For as Fortune's Man rides the Horse, so Fortune her self rides the Man. Who, when he is descended and on Foot: the Man taken from his Beast, and Fortune from the Man; a base Groom beats the one, and a bitter Contempt spurns at the other, with equal liberty.

The second, is the greatning of our Posterity, and the contemplation of their Glory whom we leave behind us. Certainly, of those which conceive that their Souls departed take any comfort therein, it may truly be said of them, which *Lactantius* spake of certain Heathen Philosophers, *quod sapientes sunt in re stulta.* For when our Spirits immortal shall be once separate from our mortal Bodies, and disposed by GOD: there remaineth in them no other Joy of their Posterity which succeed, than there doth of Pride in that Stone, which sleepeth in the Wall of a King's Palace; nor any other Sorrow for their Poverty, than there doth of Shame in that, which beareth up a Begger's Cottage. *Nesciunt mortui, etiam sancti, quid agunt vivi etiam eorum filii; quia animæ mortuorum rebus viventium non intersunt. The Dead though holy, know nothing of the Living, no, not of their own Children; for the Souls of those departed,*

Lact. de falsâ sap. 3. c. 29.

S. Aug. de cura pro mort.

are not converſant with their Affairs that remain. And if we doubt of Saint *Auguſtine*, we cannot of *Job*; who tells us, *That we know not if our Sons ſhall be Honourable: neither ſhall we underſtand concerning them, whether they ſhall be of low Degree.* Which *Eccleſiaſtes* alſo confirmeth: *Man walketh in a ſhadow, and diſquieteth himſelf in vain: he heapeth up Riches, and cannot tell who ſhall gather them. The living* (ſaith he) *know that they ſhall die, but the dead know nothing at all. For who can ſhew unto Man, what ſhall be after him under the Sun?* He therefore accounted it among the reſt of Worldly Vanities, to labour and travel in the World, not knowing after Death, whether a Fool or a wiſe Man ſhould enjoy the Fruits thereof: *which made me* (ſaith he) *endeavour even to abhor mine own Labour.* And what can other Men hope, whoſe bleſſed or ſorrowful eſtates after Death GOD hath reſerved? Man's Knowledge lying but in his Hope; ſeeing the Prophet *Eſay* confeſſeth of the Elect, That *Abraham is ignorant of us, and Iſrael knows us not.* But hereof we are aſſured, that the long and dark Night of Death: of whoſe following Day we ſhall never behold the dawn, till his return that hath triumphed over it) ſhall cover us over, till the World be no more. After which, and when we ſhall again receive Organs glorified and incorruptible, the ſeats of Angelical Affections: in ſo great admiration ſhall the Souls of the bleſſed be exerciſed, as they cannot admit the mixture of any ſecond or leſs Joy; nor any return of forgone and mortal Affection, towards Friends, Kindred or Children. Of whom whether we ſhall retain any particular knowledge, or in any ſort diſtinguiſh them: no Man can aſſure us; and the wiſeſt Men doubt. But on the contrary; If a Divine Life retain any of thoſe Faculties, which the Soul exerciſed in a mortal Body; we ſhall not at that time ſo divide the Joys of Heaven, as to caſt any part thereof on the memory of their Felicities which remain in the World. No; be their Eſtates greater than ever the World gave, we ſhall (by the difference known unto us) even deteſt their conſideration. And whatſoever Comfort ſhall remain of all forepaſt, the ſame will conſiſt in the Charity, which we exerciſed living: and in that Piety, Juſtice, and firm Faith, for which it pleaſed the infinite mercy of GOD to accept of us, and receive us. Shall we therefore value Honour and Riches at nothing, and neglect them, as unneceſſary and vain? certainly no. For that infinite Wiſdom of GOD, which hath diſtinguiſhed his Angels by Degrees: which hath given greater and leſs Light, and Beauty to Heavenly Bodies: which hath made differences between Beaſts and Birds: created the Eagle and the Fly, the Cedar and the Shrub: and among Stones, given the faireſt tincture to the Ruby, and the quickeſt light to the Diamond; hath alſo ordained Kings, Dukes or Leaders of the People, Magiſtrates, Judges, and other Degrees among Men. And as Honour is left to Poſterity, for a Mark and Enſign of the Vertue and Underſtanding of their Anceſtors: ſo, ſeeing *Siracides* preferreth Death before Beggery: and that Titles, without proportionable Eſtates, fall under the miſerable ſuccour of other Mens Pity; I account it fooliſhneſs to condemn ſuch a Care: Provided, that worldly Goods be well gotten, and that we raiſe not our own Buildings out of other Mens Ruines. For as *Plato* doth firſt prefer the perfection of bodily Health; ſecondly, the Form and Beauty; and thirdly, *Divitias nulla fraude quæſitas*: ſo *Jeremy* cries, *Wo unto them that erect their Houſes by unrighteouſneſs, and their Chambers without Equity*: and *Eſay* the ſame, *Wo to thoſe that ſpoil and were not ſpoiled.* And it was out of the true Wiſdom of *Salomon*, that he commandeth us, *not to drink the Wine of Violence; not to lie in wait for Blood; and not to ſwallow them up alive, whoſe Riches we covet: for ſuch are the Ways* (ſaith he) *of every one that is greedy of Gain.*

Job 1. 14. 11.

Eccleſ. 9. 5. & 1. 2.

Eſai. 63. 16.

Syra. c. 40. v. 28.

Plat. de leg. 1. 2. 6. & *in Gorgea.*

Jer. 22. 13.

Prov. 1. 18. 12. Prov. 23. 1, 3. 8. 9. 3 T. 8. 9.

And

And if we could afford our ſelves but ſo much Leiſure as to conſider, That he which hath moſt in the World, hath, in reſpect of the World, nothing in it: and that he which hath the longeſt time lent him to live in it, hath yet no proportion at all therein, ſetting it either by that which is paſt when we were not, or by that time which is to come in which we ſhall abide for ever: I ſay, if both, to wit our proportion in the World, and our time in the World, differ not much from that which is nothing; it is not out of any excellency of Underſtanding, that we ſo much priſe the one, which hath (in effect) no being: and ſo much neglect the other, which hath no ending: coveting thoſe mortal things of the World, as if our Souls were therein immortal, and neglecting thoſe things which are immortal, as if our ſelves after the World were but mortal.

But let every Man value his own Wiſdom, as he pleaſeth. Let the rich Man think all Fools, that cannot equal his abundance; the Revenger eſteem all negligent, that have not troden down their Oppoſites; the Politician, all groſs, that cannot Merchandize their Faith: Yet when we once come in ſight of the Port of Death, to which all Winds drive us; and when by letting fall that fatal Anchor, which can never be weighed again, the Navigation of this Life takes end: Then it is I ſay, that our own Cogitations (thoſe ſad and ſevere Cogitations, formerly beaten from us by our Health and Felicity) return again, and pay us to the uttermoſt for all the pleaſing Paſſages of our Lives paſt. It is then that we cry out to GOD for mercy; then, when our ſelves can no longer exerciſe Cruelty towards others: and it is only then, that we are ſtrucken through the Soul with this terrible Sentence, *That GOD will not be mockt.* For if according to Saint *Peter*, *The Righteous ſcarcely be ſaved*: *and that GOD ſpared not his Angels*: where ſhall thoſe appear, who, having ſerved their Appetites all their Lives, preſume to think, that the ſevere Commandments of the All-powerful GOD were given but in ſport; and that the ſhort Breath, which we draw when death preſſeth us, if we can but faſhion it to the ſound of *Mercy* (without any kind of Satisfaction or Amends) is ſufficient? *O quam multi*, ſaith a reverend Father, *cum hac ſpe ad æternos labores & bella deſcendunt*: I confeſs that it is a great Comfort to our Friends, to have it ſaid, that we ended well: for we all deſire (as *Balaam* did) *to die the death of the righteous.* But what ſhall we call a diſeſteeming, an appoſing, or (indeed) a mocking of GOD; if thoſe Men do not appoſe him, diſeſteem him, and mock him, that think it enough for GOD, to ask him forgiveneſs at leiſure, with the remainder and laſt drawing of a malicious Breath? For what do they otherwiſe, that die this kind of well-dying, but ſay unto GOD as followeth? We beſeech thee O GOD, that all the Falſhoods, Forſwearings, and Treacheries of our Lives paſt, may be pleaſing unto thee; that thou wilt for our ſakes (that have had no leiſure to do any thing for thine) change thy Nature (though impoſſible) and forget to be a juſt GOD; that thou wilt love Injuries and Oppreſſions, call Ambition Wiſdom, and Charity Fooliſhneſs. For I ſhall prejudice my Son (which I am reſolved not to do) if I make reſtitution; and confeſs my ſelf to have been unjuſt (which I am too proud to do) if I deliver the oppreſſed. Certainly, theſe wiſe Worldlings have either found out a new GOD; or have made One: and in all likelihood ſuch a Leaden One, as *Lewis* the Eleventh ware in his Cap; which, when he had cauſed any that he feared, or hated, to be killed, he would take it from his Head and kiſs it: beſeeching it to pardon him this one evil act more, and it ſhould be the laſt, which, (as at other times) he did; when by the practice of a *Cardinal* and a falſified Sacrament, he cauſed the Earl of *Armagnack*

Gal. 6. 7. 1 Pet. 4.

magnack to be ſtabbed to death; Mockeries indeed fit to be uſed towards a Leaden, but not towards the ever-living GOD. But of this Compoſition are all the devout lovers of the World, that they fear all that is dureleſs and ridiculous: they fear the Plots and Practices of their Oppoſites, and their very Whiſperings: they fear the Opinions of Men which beat but upon ſhadows: they flatter and forſake the proſperous and unproſperous, be they Friends or Kings: yea they dive under Water, like Ducks, at every Pebble-ſtone, that's but thrown towards them by a powerful hand: and on the contrary, they ſhew an obſtinate and Giant-like Valour, againſt the terrible Judgments of the All-powerful GOD: yea they ſhew themſelves gods againſt GOD, and ſlaves towards Men; towards Men whoſe Bodies and Conſciences are alike rotten.

Now for the reſt: If we truly examine the difference of both Conditions; to wit of the Rich and Mighty, whom we call Fortunate; and of the Poor and Oppreſſed, whom we account Wretched: we ſhall find the Happineſs of the one, and the miſerable Eſtate of the other, ſo tied by GOD to the very inſtant, and both ſo ſubject to interchange (witneſs the ſudden downfall of the greateſt Princes, and the ſpeedy upriſing of the meaneſt Perſons) as the one hath nothing ſo certain, whereof to boaſt; nor the other ſo uncertain, whereof to bewail it ſelf. For there is no Man ſo aſſured of his Honour, of his Riches, Health or Life; but that he may be deprived of either or all, the very next Hour or Day to come. *Quid veſper vehat, incertum eſt, What the Evening will bring with it, it is uncertain.* *And yet ye cannot tell* (ſaith Saint *James*) *what ſhall be to morrow. To day he is ſet up, and to morrow he ſhall not be found? for he is turned into duſt, and his Purpoſe periſheth.* Jam. 4. 14. And although the Air which compaſſeth Adverſity, be very obſcure: yet therein we better diſcern GOD, than in that ſhining Light which environeth worldly Glory; through which, for the clearneſs thereof, there is no Vanity which eſcapeth our Sight. And let Adverſity ſeem what it will; to happy Men, ridiculous, who make themſelves merry at other Mens Misfortunes; and to thoſe under the *Croſs*, grievous: yet this is true, That for all that is paſt, to the very inſtant, the Portions remaining are equal to either. For be it that we have lived many years, *and* (according to *Salomon*) *in them all we have rejoyced*; or be it that we have meaſured the ſame length of Days, and therein have evermore ſorrowed: yet looking back from our preſent being, we find both the one and the other, to wit, the Joy and the Woe, ſailed out of ſight; and Death which doth purſue us and hold us in chace, from our Infancy, hath gathered it. *Quicquid ætatis retro eſt, mors tenet: Whatſoever of our age is paſt, Death holds it.* So as whoſoever he be, to whom Fortune hath been a Servant, and the Time a Friend: let him but take the account of his Memory (for we have no other keeper of our Pleaſures paſt) and truly examine what it hath reſerved, either of Beauty and Youth, or foregone Delights; what it hath ſaved, that it might laſt, of his deareſt Affections, or of what ever elſe the amarous Spring-time gave his thoughts of Contentment, then unvaluable; and he ſhall find that all the Art which his elder years have, can draw no other Vapour out of theſe Diſſolutions, than heavy, ſecret, and ſad Sighs. He ſhall find nothing remaining, but thoſe Sorrows, which grow up after our faſt-ſpringing Youth; overtake it, when it is at a ſtand; and over-top it utterly, when it begins to wither: in ſo much as looking back from the very inſtant time, and from our now being; the poor, diſeaſed, and captive Creature, hath as little Senſe of all his former Miſeries and Pains; as he, that is moſt bleſt in common Opinion, hath of his fore-paſſed Pleaſures and

and delights. For whatſoever is caſt behind us, is juſt nothing: and what is to come, deceitful hope hath it. *Omnia quæ eventura ſunt, in incerto jacent.* Only thoſe few black Swans I muſt except, who having had the grace to value worldly vanities at no more than their own price; do, by retaining the comfortable memory of a well-acted life, behold Death without dread, and the Grave without fear; and embrace both, as neceſſary guides to endleſs Glory.

For my ſelf, this is my conſolation, and all that I can offer to others, that the ſorrows of this life, are but of two ſorts: whereof the one hath reſpect to GOD; the other, to the World. In the firſt, we complain to GOD againſt our ſelves, for our offences againſt him; and confeſs, *Et tu juſtus es in omnibus quæ venerunt ſuper nos. And thou, O Lord, art juſt in all that hath befallen us.* In the ſecond, we complain to our ſelves againſt GOD, as if he had done us wrong, either in not giving us worldly Goods and Honours, anſwering our Appetites; or for taking them again from us, having had them: forgetting that humble and juſt acknowledgment of *Job*, *The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken* To the firſt of which S. *Paul* hath promiſed Bleſſedneſs; to the ſecond, Death. And out of doubt he is either a Fool or ungrateful to GOD, or both, that doth not acknowledge, how mean ſoever his Eſtate be, that the ſame is yet far greater, than that which GOD oweth him: or doth not acknowledge, how ſharp ſoever his Afflictions be, that the ſame are yet far leſs, than thoſe which are due unto him. And if an Heathen wiſe Man call the Adverſities of the World, but *tributa vivendi, the tributes of living*: a wiſe Chriſtian Man ought to know them, and bear them, but as the tributes of offending. He ought to bear them Manlike, and reſolvedly; and not as thoſe whining Soldiers do, *qui gementes ſequuntur Imperatorem.*

For ſeeing God, who is the Author of all our Tragedies, hath written out for us, and appointed us all the Parts we are to Play: and hath not, in their diſtribution, been partial to the moſt mighty Princes of the World; That gave unto *Darius* the part of the greateſt Emperor, and the part of the moſt miſerable Begger; a Begger begging Water of an Enemy, to quench the great drought of Death; That appointed *Bajazet* to play the *Grand Signior* of the *Turks* in the Morning, and in the ſame Day the *Foot-ſtool* of *Tamerlane* (both which Parts *Valerian* had alſo played, being taken by *Sapores*) that made *Beliſarius* play the moſt Victorious Captain, and laſtly the Part of a blind Begger; of which examples many thouſands may be produced: why ſhould other Men, who are but as the leaſt Worms, complain of wrongs? Certainly there is no other account to be made of this ridiculous World, than to reſolve, That the change of Fortune on the great *Theatre*, is but as the change of Garments on the leſs. For when on the one and the other, every Man wears but his own Skin; the Players are all alike. Now if any Man, out of weakneſs, prize the paſſages of this World otherwiſe (for ſaith *Petrarch*, *Magni ingenii eſt revocare mentem à ſenſibus*) it is by reaſon of that unhappy fantaſie of ours, which forgeth in the Brains of Man all the miſeries (the corporal excepted) whereunto he is ſubject: Therein it is, that Misfortune and Adverſitie work all that they work. For ſeeing Death, in the end of the Play, takes from all, whatſoevet Fortune or Force takes from any one: it were a fooliſh madneſs in the Shipwrack of worldly things, where all ſinks but the Sorrow, to ſave it. That were, as *Seneca* ſaith, *Fortunæ ſuccumbere, quod triſtius eſt omni fato; to fall under Fortune, of all other the moſt miſerable deſtiny.*

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But it is now time to ſound a Retreat; and to deſire to be excuſed of this long purſuit: and withal, that the good intent, which hath moved me to draw the Picture of time paſt (which we call *Hiſtory*) in ſo large a table, may alſo be accepted in place of a better reaſon.

The examples of Divine Providence, every where found (the firſt Divine Hiſtories being nothing elſe but a continuation of ſuch examples) have perſwaded me to fetch my beginning from the beginning of all things; to wit, Creation. For though theſe two glorious actions of the Almighty be ſo near, and (as it were) linked together, that the one neceſſarily implieth the other: Creation, inferring Providence: (for what Father forſaketh the Child that he hath begotten? and Providence preſuppoſing Creation) yet many of thoſe that have ſeemed to excel in worldly wiſdom, have gone about to diſ-joyn this coherence; the *Epicure* denying both Creation and Providence, but granting that the World had a beginning; the *Ariſtotelian* granting Providence, but denying both the Creation and the Beginning.

Now although this Doctrine of Faith, touching the Creation in time (for *by Faith we underſtand, that the World was made by the Word of God*) be too weighty a Work for *Ariſtotle's* rotten Ground to bear up, upon which he hath (notwithſtanding) founded the Defences and Fortreſſes of all his *Verbal* Doctrine: Yet that the neceſſity of Infinite Power, and the Worlds beginning, and the impoſſibility of the contrary even in the judgment of Natural reaſon, wherein he believed, had not better informed him; it is greatly to be marvelled at. And it is no leſs ſtrange, that thoſe Men which are deſirous of knowledge, (ſeeing *Ariſtotle* hath failed in this main point; and taught little other than *terms* in the reſt) have ſo retrench'd their minds from the following and overtaking of truth, and ſo abſolutely ſubjected themſelves to the Law of thoſe Philoſophical Principles; as all contrary kind of teaching, in the ſearch of cauſes, they have condemned either for phantaſtical, or curious. But doth it follow, that the poſitions of Heathen Philoſophers, are undoubted Grounds and Principles indeed, becauſe ſo called? Or that *ipſi dixerunt*, doth make them to be ſuch? certainly no. But this is true, That where natural reaſon hath built any thing ſo ſtrong againſt it ſelf, as the ſame reaſon can hardly aſſail it, much leſs batter it down: the ſame in every queſtion of Nature, and finite Power, may be approved for a Fundamental Law of Humane knowledge. For ſaith *Charron* in his Book of Wiſdom, *Tout propoſition humaine a autant d'authorité que l'autre, ſi la raiſon n'on fait la difference. Every Humane propoſition hath equal Authority, if reaſon make not the difference*, the reſt being but the Fables of Principles. But hereof how ſhall the upright and unpartial Judgment of Man give a Sentence, where Oppoſition and Examination are not admitted to give in Evidence? And to this purpoſe it was well ſaid of *Lactantius*, *Sapientiam ſibi adimunt, qui ſine ullo judicio inventa majorum probant, & ab aliis pecudum more ducuntur. They neglect their own Wiſdom, who without any Judgment approve the invention of thoſe that fore-went them; and ſuffer themſelves, after the manner of Beaſts, to be led by them.* By the advantage of which ſloth and dulneſs, ignorance is now become ſo powerful a Tyrant: as it hath ſet true Philoſophy, Phyſick, and Divinity, in a Pillory; and written over the firſt, *Contra negantem Principia*; over the ſecond, *Virtus ſpecifica*; and over the third, *Eccleſia Romana.*

Charron de Sageſſe.

Lact. de Orig. Erroris. l.2.c.8.

But for my ſelf, I ſhall never be perſwaded, that GOD hath ſhut up all light of Learning within the Lanthorn of *Ariſtotle's* Brains: or that it was ever ſaid unto him, as unto *Eſdras*, *Accendam in Corde tuo Lucernam intellectus*: that GOD hath given invention but to the Heathen; and that they only

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have invaded Nature, and found the ſtrength and bottom thereof; the ſame Nature having conſumed all her Store, and left nothing of Price to after-ages. That theſe and theſe be the cauſes of theſe and theſe effects, Time hath taught us; and not Reaſon: and ſo hath Experience, without Art. The Cheeſe-wife knoweth it as well as the Philoſopher, that ſowre Runnet doth coagulate her Milk into a Curd. But if we ask a reaſon of this cauſe, why the ſowreneſs doth it? whereby it doth it? and the manner how; I think that there is nothing to be found in vulgar Philoſophy, to ſatisfie this and many other like vulgar queſtions. But Man, to cover his ignorance in the leaſt things, who cannot give a true reaſon for the Graſs under his Feet, why it ſhould be green rather than red, or of any other colour; that could never yet diſcover the way and reaſon of Natures working, in thoſe which are far leſs noble Creatures than himſelf; who is far more Noble than the Heavens themſelves: *Man* (*ſaith* Salomon) *that can hardly diſcern the things that are upon the Earth, and with great labour find out the things that are before us*; that hath ſo ſhort a time in the World, as he no ſooner begins to learn, than to die; that hath in his memory but borrowed knowledge; in his underſtanding, nothing truly; that is ignorant of the Eſſence of his own Soul, and which the wiſeſt of the Naturaliſts (if *Ariſtotle* be he) could never ſo much as define, but by the action and effect, telling us what it works (which all Men know as well as he) but not what it is, which neither he, nor any elſe, doth know, but GOD that created it; (*for though I were perfect, yet I know not my Soul*, ſaith *Job*.) Man I ſay, that is but an Idiot in the next cauſe of his own life, and in the cauſe of all the actions of his life, will (notwithſtanding) examine the Art of GOD in Creating the World; of GOD *who* (ſaith *Job*) *is ſo excellent as we know him not*; and examine the beginning of the Work, which had end before Mankind had a beginning of being. He will diſable GOD's Power to make a World, without matter to make it of. He will rather give the Moths of the Air for a cauſe; caſt the work on neceſſity or chance; beſtow the honour thereof on Nature; make two Powers, the one to be the Author of the *Matter*, the other of the *Form*; and laſtly, for want of a Work-man, have it Eternal: which latter opinion *Ariſtotle*, to make himſelf the Author of a new Doctrine, brought into the World: and his Sectators have maintained it; *parati ac conjurati, quos ſequuntur, Philoſophorum animis invictis opiniones tueri*. For *Hermes*, who lived at once with, or ſoon after, *Moſes*, *Zoroaſter*, *Muſæus*, *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Anaximenes*, *Anaxagoras*, *Empedocles*, *Meliſſus*, *Pherecydes*, *Thales*, *Cleanthes*, *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, and many others (whoſe opinions are exquiſitely gathered by *Steuchius Eugubinus*) found in the neceſſity of invincible reaſon, *one Eternal and Infinite Being*, to be the Parent of the Univerſal. *Horum omnium ſententia quamvis ſit incerta, eodem tamen ſpectat, ut Providentiam unam eſſe conſentiant: ſive enim Natura, ſive Æther, ſive Ratio, ſive mens, ſive fatalis neceſſitas, ſive divina Lex; idem eſſe quod à nobis dicitur Deus.* *All theſe Mens opinions* (*ſaith* Lactantius) *though uncertain, come to this, That they agree upon one Providence; whether the ſame be Nature, or Light, or Reaſon, or Underſtanding, or Deſtiny, or Divine Ordinance; that it is the ſame which we call GOD.* Certainly, as all the Rivers in the World, though they have divers riſings, and divers runnings; though they ſometimes hide themſelves for a while under Ground, and ſeem to be loſt in Sea-like Lakes; do at laſt find, and fall into the great *Ocean*: ſo after all the ſearches that Humane capacity hath; and after all Philoſophical contemplation and curioſity; in the neceſſity of this Infinite Power, all the Reaſon of Man ends and diſſolves it ſelf.

Salomon. 1. 9.

Job. 26.

Lact. 5.

As

As for others; and first touching those, which conceive the *matter* of the World to have been *Eternal*, and that God did not create the World *ex nihilo*, but *ex materiâ præexistente*: the supposition is so weak, as is hardly worth the answering. For (saith *Eusebius*) *Mihi videntur qui hoc dicunt, fortunam quoque Deo annectere. They seem unto me, which affirm this, to give part of the work to God, and part to Fortune.* Insomuch as if God had not found this *first matter* by chance, He had neither been Author, nor Father, nor Creator, nor Lord of the Universal. For were the *Matter* or *Chaos*, Eternal: it then follows, That either this supposed *Matter* did fit it self to God; or God, accommodate himself to the *Matter*. For the first; it is impossible, that things without sense could proportion themselves to the Workman's will. For the second; it were horrible to conceive of God, That as an Artificer he applied himself, according to the proportion of *Matter* which he lighted upon.

Euseb. de Prap. Evang. l. 7. c. 8.

But let it be supposed, That this *matter* had been made by any Power, not Omnipotent, and infinitely wise: I would gladly learn how it came to pass, that the same was proportionable to his intention, that was Omnipotent and infinitely wise; and no more, nor no less, than served to receive the form of the Universal. For, had it wanted any thing of what was sufficient; then must it be granted, That God created *out of nothing* so much of new *matter*, as served to finish the work of the World: Or had there been more of this *matter*, than sufficed, then did God dissolve and annihilate whatsoever remained and was superfluous. And this must every reasonable Soul confess, That it is the same Work of God alone, to Create any thing *out of nothing*; And by the same Art and Power, and by none other, can those things, or any part of that Eternal *matter*, be again changed into Nothing; by which those things, that once were nothing, obtained a beginning of being.

Again, to say that this *matter* was the cause of it self; this, of all other, were the greatest Idiotism. For, if it were the cause of it self at any time; then there was also a time when it self was not: at which time of not being, it is easie enough to conceive, that it could neither produce it self, nor any thing else. For to be, and not to be, at once, is impossible, *Nihil autem seipsum præcedit, neque seipsum componit corpus. There is nothing that doth precede it self, neither do Bodies compound themselves.*

For the rest; Those that feign this *matter* to be Eternal, must of necessity confess, that Infinite cannot be separate from Eternity. And then had *infinite matter* left no place for *infinite form*, but that the *first matter was finite*, the *form* which it received proves it. For conclusion of this part; whosoever will make choice, rather to believe in Eternal deformity, or in Eternal dead matter, than in Eternal light and Eternal life: let Eternal death be his reward. For it is a madness of that kind, as wanteth terms to express it. For what reason of Man (whom the curse of presumption hath not stupified) hath doubted, That Infinite Power (of which we can comprehend but a kind of Shadow, *quia comprehensio est intra terminos, qui infinito repugnant*) hath any thing wanting in it self, either for *matter* or *form*; yea for as many Worlds (if such had been GOD's Will) as the Sea hath Sands? For where the Power is without limitation, the Work hath no other limitation, than the Workman's will. Yea Reason it self finds it more easie for infinite Power, to deliver from it self a finite World, without the help of matter prepared; than for a finite Man, a Fool and Dust, to change the form of matter made to his Hands. They are *Dionysius* his words, *Deus in una existentia omnia*

omnia præhabet; and again, *Esse omnium est ipsa Divinitas, omne quod vides, & quod non vides*; to wit, *causaliter*, or in better terms, *non tanquam forma, sed tanquam causa universalis*. Neither hath the World Universal closed up all of GOD: *For the most parts of his Works* (saith *Siracides*) *are hid*. Neither can the depth of his Wisdom be opened, by the glorious Work of the World: which never brought to knowledge all it can; for then were his Infinite Power bounded, and made finite. And hereof it comes, That we seldome entitle GOD, the *all-shewing*, or the *all-willing*; but the *all-mighty*; that is, infinitely able. *Cap. 16. v. 21.*

But now for those, who from that ground, *That out of nothing, nothing is made*, infer the Worlds Eternity; and yet not so salvage therein, as those are, which give an Eternal being to dead matter: It is true, if the word [*nothing*] be taken in the Affirmative; and the *making*, imposed upon Natural Agents and finite Power; That out of nothing, nothing is made. But seeing their great Doctor *Aristotle* himself confesseth, *Quod omnes antiqui decreverunt quasi quoddam rerum principium, ipsumque infinitum. That all the Ancient decree a kind of beginning, and the same to be Infinite*: and a little after, more largely and plainly, *Principium ejus est nullum, sed ipsum omnium cernitur esse principium, ac omnia complecti ac regere*. It is strange that this Philosopher, with his followers, should rather make choice out of falshood, to conclude falsly; than out of truth, to resolve truly. For if we compare the World Universal, and all the unmeasurable Orbs of Heaven, and those marvellous Bodies of the *Sun*, *Moon*, and *Stars*, with *ipsum infinitum*: it may truly be said of them all, which himself affirmeth of his imaginary *Materia prima*, That they are neither *quid*, *quale*, nor *quantum*; and therefore to bring finite (which hath no proportion with infinite) out of infinite (*qui destruit omnem proportionem*) is no wonder in GOD's Power. And therefore *Anaximander*, *Melissus*, and *Empedocles*, call the World Universal, but *particulam Universitatis & Infinitatis: a parcel of that which is the Universality and the Infinity it self*; and *Plato*, but a *shadow of GOD*. But the other, *to prove* the Worlds Eternity, urgeth this *Maxime*, That, *A sufficient and effectual cause being granted, an answerable effect thereof is also granted*: inferring, that GOD being for ever a sufficient and effectual cause of the World, the effect of the cause should also have been for ever; to wit, the World Universal. But what a strange mockery is this in so great a Master, to confess a sufficient and effectual cause of the World, (to wit an almighty GOD) in his Antecedent: and the same GOD to be a GOD restrained in his Conclusion; to make GOD free in Power, and bound in Will; able to effect, unable to determine; able to make all things, and yet unable to make choice of the time when? For this were impiously to resolve of GOD, as of natural necessity; which hath neither choice, nor will, nor understanding; which cannot but work matter being present; as fire, to burn things combustible. *Stenc. Eng. l 3. c. 9. ex Arist. Phys. 3. 20.*

Again he thus disputeth, That every Agent which can work, and doth not work: if it afterward work, it is either thereto moved by it self, or by somewhat else; and so it passeth from power to act. But GOD (saith he) is immovable, and is neither moved by himself, nor by any other; but being always the same, doth always work: whence he concludeth, if the World were caused by GOD, that he was for ever the cause thereof; and therefore Eternal. The answer to this is very easie; For that GOD's performing in due time that, which he ever determined at length to perform, doth not argue any alteration or change, but rather constancy in him. For the same action of his Will, which made the World for ever, did also with-

hold the effect to the time ordained. To this Answer, in it self sufficient, others add further, that the Pattern or Image of the World may be said to be Eternal: which the *Platonicks* call, *spiritualem mundum*; and do in this sort distinguish the *Idæa*, and *Creation in time*. *Spiritualis ille mundus, mundi hujus exemplar, primumque Dei opus, cvita æquali est Architecto; fuit semper cum illo, eritque semper. Mundus autem corporalis, quod secundum opus est Dei, decedit jam ab opifice ex parte una, quia non fuit semper; retinet alteram, quia sit semper futurus.* *That Representative, or the intentional World* (say they) *the Samplar of this visible World, the first Work of GOD, was equally ancient with the Architect; for it was for ever with him, and ever shall be. This material World, the second Work or Creature of GOD, doth differ from the Worker in this, That it was not from everlasting, and in this it doth agree, that it shall be for ever to come.* The first Point, That it was not for ever, all Christians confess: The other they understand no otherwise, than that after the consummation of this World, there shall be *a new Heaven and a new Earth; without any new creation of Matter.* But of these things we need not here stand to argue: though such Opinions be not unworthy the propounding; in this Consideration, of an eternal and unchangeable Cause, producing a changeable and temporal Effect. Touching which Point *Proclus* the *Platonist* disputeth, That the compounded essence of the World, (and because compounded, therefore dissipable) is continued, and knit to the Divine Being, by an individual and inseparable Power, flowing from Divine Unity; and that the Worlds natural Appetite of GOD sheweth, that the same proceedeth from a Goodness and Understanding Divine; and that this Vertue, by which the World is continued and knit together, must be infinite, that it may infinitely and everlastingly continue and preserve the same. Which infinite Vertue, the finite World (saith he) is not capable of, but receiveth it from the divine Infinite, according to the temporal Nature it hath, successively every moment by little and little; even as the whole Material World is not altogether: but the abolished Parts are departed by small Degrees, and the parts yet to come, do by the same small Degrees succeed; as the shadow of a Tree in a River, seemeth to have continued the same a long time in the Water, but it is perpetually renewed, in the continual ebbing and flowing thereof.

Mar. Ficin. de immort. Anima. l. 18. c. 1.

But to return to them, which denying that ever the World had any beginning, withall deny that ever it shall have any end; and to this purpose affirm, That it was never heard, never read, never seen, no not by any reason perceived, that the Heavens have ever suffered Corruption; or that they appear any way the Elder by continuance; or in any sort otherwise than they were; which had they been subject to final corruption, some change would have been discerned in so long a time: To this it is answered, That the little change as yet perceived, doth rather prove their newness, and that they have not continued so long; than that they will continue for ever as they are. And if conjectural Arguments may receive Answer by Conjectures: it then seemeth, that some alteration may be found. For either *Aristotle, Pliny, Strabo, Beda, Aquinas*, and others were grosly mistaken: or else those parts of the World, lying within the burnt *Zone*, were not in elder times habitable, by reason of the Sun's Heat; neither were the Seas under the Equinoctial, navigable. But we know by Experience, that those Regions, so situate, are filled with People, and exceeding temperate; and the *Sea*, over which we navigate, passable enough. We read also many Histories of Deluges: and how that in the time of *Phaeton*, divers places in the World were burnt up by the Sun's violent Heat.

Arist. Met. 2. Plin. l. 2. c. 8. Strab. l. 3. Beda de ratione tem. 11. c. 32. Thom. 1. p. q. 102. art. 2.

But

But in a Word, this observation is exceeding feeble. For we know it for certain, That Stone-walls, of matter moldring and friable, have stood two or three thousand years: that many things have been digged up out of the Earth, of that depth, as supposed to have been buried by the general Flood; without any alteration either of Substance or Figure, yea it is believed, and it is very probable, that the Gold which is daily found in Mines, and Rocks, under ground, was created together with the Earth.

And if Bodies elementary, and compounded, the eldest times have not invaded and corrupted: what great alteration should we look for in Celestial and Quintessential Bodies? And yet we have reason to think, that the Sun, by whose help all Creatures are generate, doth not in these latter Ages assist Nature, as heretofore. We have neither Gyants, such as the eldest World had: nor mighty Men, such as the elder World had: but all things in general are reputed of less Vertue, which from the Heavens receive Vertue. Whence, if the nature of a Preface would permit a larger Discourse, we might easily fetch store of proof: as that this World shall at length have end, as that once it had beginning.

And I see no good Answer that can be made to this Objection: If the World were Eternal; why not all things in the World Eternal? If there were no *First*, no *Cause*, no *Father*, no *Creator*, no *incomprehensible Wisdom*, but that every *Nature* had been alike eternal; and Man more Rational than every other *Nature*: Why had not the eternal Reason of Man, provided for his eternal being in the World? For if all were equal: why not equal Conditions to all? why should Heavenly Bodies live for ever; and the Bodies of Men rot and die.

Again, who was it that appointed the Earth to keep the Center, and gave Order that it should hang in the Air: that the *Sun* should travel between the Tropicks, and never exceed those Bounds, nor fail to perform that Progress once in every Year: The *Moon* to live by borrowed Light: the fixt Stars (according to common Opinion) to be fastened like Nails in a Cart-Wheel, and the Planets to wander at their Pleasure? Or if none of these had power over other: was it out of Charity and Love, that the *Sun* by his perpetual travel within those two Circles, hath visited, given Light unto, and relieved all parts of the Earth, and the Creatures therein, by turns and times? Out of doubt, if the *Sun* have of his own accord kept this Course in all Eternity: He may justly be called eternal Charity, and everlasting Love. The same may be said of all the Stars: who being all of them most large and clear Fountains of Vertue and Operation, may also be called eternal Vertues: the Earth may be called eternal Patience; the Moon, an eternal Borrower and Begger; and Man of all other the most miserable, eternally Mortal. And what were this, but to believe again in the old Play of the gods? Yea in more gods by Millions, than ever *Hesiodus* dream'd of. But in stead of this mad folly, we see it well enough with our feeble and mortal Eyes: and the Eyes of our Reason discern it better; That the Sun, Moon, Stars, and the Earth, are limited, bounded, and constrained: themselves they have not constrained, *nor* could. *Omne determinatum causam habet aliquam efficientem, quæ illud determinaverit, Every thing bounded hath some efficient cause, by which it is bounded.*

Now for *Nature*; As by the ambiguity of this Name, the School of *Aristotle* hath both commended many Errors unto us, and sought also thereby to obscure the Glory of the high Moderator of all things, shining in the Creation, and in the governing of the World: so if the best defi-

nition be taken out of the ſecond of *Ariſtotle's Phyſicks*, or *primo de Cœlo*, or out of the fifth of his *Metaphyſicks*; I ſay that the beſt is but nominal, and ſerving only to difference the beginning of Natural Motion, from Artificial: which yet the *Academicks* open better, when they call it *A ſeminary Strength, infuſed into Matter by the Soul of the World*: who give the firſt place to *Providence*, the ſecond to *Fate*, and but the third to *Nature*. *Providentia* (by which they underſtand GOD) *dux & caput; Fatum, medium ex Providentia prodiens; Natura poſtremum.* But be it what he will, or be it any of theſe (GOD excepted) or participating of all: yet that it hath Choice or Underſtanding (both which are neceſſarily in the cauſe of all things) no Man hath avowed. For this is unanſwerable of

Lact. de ira Dei l. 1. c. 10. *Lactantius*: *Is autem facit aliquid, qui aut voluntatem faciendi habet, aut ſcientiam; He only can be ſaid to be the doer of a thing, that hath either will or knowledge in the doing it.*

Ficin. in Plat. But the Will and Science of Nature, are in theſe words truly expreſt by *Ficinus*: *Poteſt ubique Natura, vel per diverſa media, vel ex diverſis materiis, diverſa facere: ſublata vero mediorum materiarumque diverſitate, vel unicum vel ſimillimum operatur, neque poteſt quando adeſt materia non operari; It is the power of Nature by diverſity of Means, or out of diverſity of Matter, to produce divers things: but taking away the diverſity of Means, and the diverſity of Matter, it then works but one or the like Work; neither can it but work, Matter being preſent.* Now if *Nature* made choice of diverſity of Matter, to work all theſe variable Works of Heaven and Earth; it had then both Underſtanding and Will; it had Counſel to begin; Reaſon to diſpoſe; Vertue and Knowledge to finiſh; and Power to govern: without which, all things had been but one and the ſame: all of the Matter of Heaven; or all of the Matter of Earth. And if we grant *Nature* this Will, and this Underſtanding, this Counſel, Reaſon, and Power: *Cur Natura potius, quam Deus nominetur?* Why ſhould we then call ſuch a Cauſe rather Nature, than GOD? GOD of whom all Men have Notion, and give the firſt and higheſt place to Divine Power: *Omnes homines rationem deorum habent, omneſque ſummum locum divino cuidam numini aſſignant.* And this I ſay in ſhort; that it is a true effect of true Reaſon in Man (were there no Authority more binding than Reaſon) to acknowledge and adore the firſt and moſt ſublime Power. *Vera Philoſophia, eſt aſcenſus ab his quæ fluunt, & oriuntur, & occidunt, ad ea quæ vere ſunt, & ſemper eadem*: True Philoſophy, is an aſcending from the things which flow, and riſe, and fall, to the things that are for ever the ſame.

Lact. de ira Dei l. 1. c. 10.

Ariſt. l. 1. de cœlo. c. 3. T. 22.

For the reſt; I do alſo account it not the meaneſt, but an impiety monſtrous, to confound GOD and Nature: be it but in terms. For it is GOD, that only diſpoſeth of all things according to his own Will; and maketh of one Earth, *Veſſels of Honour and Diſhonour*. It is Nature that can diſpoſe of nothing, but according to the will of the matter wherein it worketh. It is GOD, that commandeth all: It is Nature that is obedient to all. It is GOD that doth good unto all, knowing and loving the good he doth: It is Nature, that ſecondarily doth alſo good, but it neither knoweth nor loveth the good it doth. It is GOD, that hath all things in himſelf: Nature, nothing in it ſelf. It is GOD, which is the Father, and hath begotten all things: It is Nature, which is begotten by all things; in which it liveth and laboureth; for by it ſelf it exiſteth not. For ſhall we ſay, that it is out of affection to the Earth, that heavy things fall towards it? Shall we call it Reaſon, which doth conduct every River into the ſalt Sea? Shall we term it knowledge in Fire, that makes it to

conſume

conſume combuſtible matter? If it be Affection, Reaſon, and Knowledge in theſe: by the ſame Affection, Reaſon, and Knowledge it is, that Nature worketh. And therefore ſeeing all things work as they do, (call it by *Form*, by *Nature*, or by what you pleaſe) yet becauſe they work by an impulſion, which they cannot reſiſt; or by a faculty, infuſed by the ſupremeſt Power: we are neither to wonder at, nor to worſhip, the faculty that worketh, nor the Creature wherein it worketh. But herein lies the Wonder, and to him is the Worſhip due, who hath created ſuch a Nature in things, and ſuch a Faculty, as neither knowing it ſelf, the matter wherein it worketh, nor the vertue and power which it hath; doth yet work all things to their laſt and uttermoſt perfection. And therefore every reaſonable Man, taking to himſelf for a ground that which is granted by all Antiquity, and by all Men truly learned that ever the World had; to wit, That there is a Power Infinite, and Eternal, (which alſo neceſſity doth prove unto us, without the help of Faith; and Reaſon, without the force of Authority) all things do as eaſily follow which have been delivered by Divine Letters, as the Waters of a running River do ſucceſſively purſue each other from the firſt Fountains.

This much I ſay it is, that Reaſon it ſelf hath taught us: and this is the beginning of Knowledge. *Sapientia præcedit, Religio ſequitur: quia prius eſt Deum ſcire, conſequens colere*; Sapience goes before, Religion follows: becauſe it is firſt to know God, and then to worſhip him. This Sapience *Plato* calleth, *abſoluti boni ſcientiam*; The Science of the abſolute good: and another, *Scientiam rerum primarum, ſempiternarum, perpetuarum.* For Faith (ſaith *Iſidore*) is not extorted by violence; but by reaſon and examples perſwaded: *fides nequaquam vi extorquetur; ſed ratione & exemplis ſuadetur.* I confeſs it, That to inquire further, as of the Eſſence of GOD, of his Power, of his Art, and by what mean he created the World: Or of his ſecret Judgment, and the Cauſes; is not an effect of Reaſon: *Sed cum ratione inſaniunt*, but they grow mad with Reaſon; that inquire after it. For as it is no ſhame nor diſhonour (ſaith a *French* Author) *de faire arreſt aubut qu'on naſceu ſurpaſſer*; For a Man to reſt himſelf there, where he finds it impoſſible to paſs on further: ſo whatſoever is beyond, and out of the reach of true Reaſon, it acknowledgeth it to be ſo; as Underſtanding it ſelf not to be Infinite, but according to the Name and Nature it hath, to be a Teacher, that beſt knows the end of his own Art. For ſeeing both Reaſon and Neceſſity teach us (Reaſon, which is *pars divini ſpiritus in corpus humanum merſi*) that the World was made by a Power Infinite; and yet how it was made, it cannot teach us: and ſeeing the ſame Reaſon and Neceſſity make us know, that the ſame Infinite Power is every where in the World; and yet how every where, it cannot inform us: our belief hereof is not weakned, but greatly ſtrengthned, by our ignorance; becauſe it is the ſame Reaſon that tells us, That ſuch a Nature cannot be ſaid to be God, that can be in all conceived by Man.

Lact. l. 4. c. 4. de vera Sapientia.

Iſaac de defin.

Quod eſt infinitum & non ſecundum naturam terminatum, non continetur à Scientia; Ariſt. Poſter.

I have been already over-long, to make any large diſcourſe either of the parts of the following Story, or in mine own excuſe: eſpecially in the excuſe of this or that paſſage; ſeeing the whole is exceeding weak and defective. Among the groſſeſt, the unſuitable diviſion of the Books, I could not know how to excuſe, had I not been directed to inlarge the Building after the Foundation was laid, and the Firſt Part finiſhed. All Men know that there is no great Art in the dividing evenly of thoſe things, which are ſubject to number and meaſure. For the reſt, it ſuits well enough with a great many Books of this Age, which ſpeak too much, and yet ſay little; *Ipſi nobis furto ſubducimur*,

We are ſtollen away from our ſelves, ſetting a high price on all that is our own. But hereof, though a late good Writer, make complaint, yet ſhall it not lay hold on me, becauſe I believe as he doth; that who ſo thinks himſelf the wiſeſt Man, is but a poor and miſerable ignorant. Thoſe that are the beſt Men of War, againſt all the vanities and fooleries of the World, do always keep the ſtrongeſt Guards againſt themſelves, to defend them from themſelves, from ſelf-love, ſelf-eſtimation, and ſelf-opinion.

Generally concerning the order of the Work, I have only taken counſel from the Argument. For of the *Aſſyrians*, which after the downfal of *Babel* take up the firſt part, and were the firſt great Kings of the World, there came little to the view of Poſterity: ſome few enterpriſes, greater in fame than faith, of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* excepted.

It was the Story of the *Hebrews*, of all before the *Olympiads*, that overcame the conſuming Diſeaſe of Time; and preſerved it ſelf, from the very cradle and beginning to this Day: and yet not ſo entire, but that the large diſcourſes thereof (to which in many Scriptures we are referred) are no where found. The fragments of other Stories, with the actions of thoſe Kings and Princes which ſhot up here and there in the ſame time, I am driven to relate by way of digreſſion: of which we may ſay with *Virgil*,

Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vaſto.

They appear here and there floting in the great gulf of time.

To the ſame firſt Ages do belong the report of many Inventions therein found, and from them derived to us; though moſt of the Authors Names have periſhed in ſo long a Navigation. For thoſe Ages had their Laws; they had diverſity of Government; they had Kingly Rule; Nobility, Policy in War; Navigation; and all, or the moſt of needful Trades. To ſpeak therefore of theſe (ſeeing in a general Hiſtory we ſhould have left a great deal of Nakedneſs by their omiſſion) it cannot properly be called a digreſſion. True it is that I have alſo made many others: which if they ſhall be laid to my charge, I muſt caſt the fault into the great heap of Humane error. For ſeeing we digreſs in all the ways of our lives: yea ſeeing the life of Man is nothing elſe but digreſſion; I may the better be excuſed, in writing their Lives and Actions. I am not altogether ignorant in the Laws of Hiſtory, and of the Kinds.

The ſame hath been taught by many; but by no Man better, and with greater brevity, than by that excellent learned Gentleman Sir *Francis Bacon*. Chriſtian Laws are alſo taught us by the Prophets and Apoſtles; and every Day preach'd unto us. But we ſtill make large digreſſions: yea the Teachers themſelves do not (in all) keep the path which they point out to others.

For the reſt; after ſuch time as the *Perſians* had wreſted the Empire from the *Chaldæans*, and had raiſed a great Monarchy, producing Actions of more importance than were elſewhere to be found: it was agreeable to the order of Story, to attend this Empire; whilſt it ſo flouriſhed, that the Affairs of the Nations adjoyning had reference thereunto. The like obſervance was to be uſed towards the fortunes of *Greece*, when they again began to get ground upon the *Perſians*, as alſo towards the Affairs of *Rome*, when the *Romans* grew more mighty than the *Greeks*.

As

As for the *Medes*, the *Macedonians*, the *Sicilians*, the *Carthaginians*, and other Nations, who reſiſted the beginnings of the former Empires, and afterwards became but parts of their compoſition and enlargement: it ſeemed beſt to remember what was known of them from their ſeveral beginnings, in ſuch times and places, as they in their flouriſhing eſtates oppoſed thoſe Monarchies; which in the end ſwallowed them up. And herein I have followed the beſt Geographers, who ſeldom give names to thoſe ſmall Brooks, whereof many joyned together, make great Rivers; till ſuch time as they become united, and run in a main Stream to the Ocean Sea. If the Phraſe be weak, and the Stile not every where like it ſelf: the firſt, ſhews their legitimation and true Parent; the ſecond, will excuſe it ſelf upon the variety of Matter. For *Virgil*, who wrote his *Eclogues*, *gracili avena*, uſed ſtronger Pipes when he ſounded the Wars of *Æneas*. It may alſo be laid to my charge, that I uſe divers *Hebrew* words in my Firſt Book, and elſewhere: in which Language others may think, and I my ſelf acknowledge it, that I am altogether ignorant: but it is true, that ſome of them I find in *Montanus*; others in *Latin* Character in *S. Senenſis*, and of the reſt I have borrowed the interpretation of ſome of my learned Friends. But ſay I had been beholding to neither, yet were it not to be wondred at, having had Eleven Years leiſure, to attain the knowledge of that, or of any other Tongue; howſoever, I know that it will be ſaid by many, That I might have been more pleaſing to the Reader, if I had written the Story of mine own times; having been permitted to draw Water as near the Well-head as another. To this I anſwer, That whoſoever in writing a modern Hiſtory, ſhall follow truth too near the Heels, it may happily ſtrike out his Teeth. There is no Miſtreſs or Guide, that hath led her followers and ſervants into greater miſeries. He that goes after her too far off, loſeth her ſight, and loſeth himſelf: and he that walks after her at a middle diſtance; I know not whether I ſhould call that kind of courſe Temper or Baſeneſs. It is true, that I never travelled after Mens opinions, when I might have made the beſt uſe of them: and I have now too few days remaining, to imitate thoſe, that either out of extream ambition, or extream cowardice, or both, do yet, (when death hath them on his Shoulders) flatter the World, between the Bed and the Grave. It is enough for me (being in that ſtate I am) to write of the eldeſt times: wherein alſo, why may it not be ſaid, that in ſpeaking of the paſt, I point at the preſent, and tax the vices of thoſe that are yet living, in their Perſons that are long ſince dead; and have it laid to my charge. But this I cannot help, though innocent. And certainly if there be any, that finding themſelves ſpotted like the Tigers of old time, ſhall find fault with me for painting them over a new, they ſhall therein accuſe themſelves juſtly, and me falſly.

For I proteſt before the Majeſty of GOD, That I malice no Man under the Sun. Impoſſible I know it is to pleaſe all: ſeeing few or none are ſo pleaſed with themſelves, or ſo aſſured of themſelves, by reaſon of their ſubjection to their private paſſions; but that they ſeem divers Perſons in one and the ſame day. *Seneca* hath ſaid it, and ſo do I: *Unus mihi pro populo erat*: and to the ſame effect *Epicurus*, *Hoc ego non multis ſed tibi*; or (as it hath ſince lamentably fallen out) I may borrow the reſolution of an ancient Philoſopher, *Satis eſt unus*, *Satis eſt nullus*. For it was for the ſervice of that ineſtimable Prince *Henry*, the ſucceſſive hope, and one of the greateſt of the Chriſtian World, that I undertook this Work. It pleaſed him to peruſe ſome part thereof, and to pardon what was amiſs. It is now left to the World without a Maſter; from which all that is preſented, hath received both blows

and

and thanks. *Eadem probamus, eadem reprehendimus: hic exitus eſt omnis judicii, in quo lis ſecundùm plures datur.* But theſe diſcourſes are idle. I know that as the charitable will judge charitably: ſo againſt thoſe, *qui gloriantur in malitia*, my preſent adverſity hath diſarmed me. I am on the ground already; and therefore have not far to fall: and for riſing again, as in the Natural privation there is no receſſion to habit; ſo is it ſeldom ſeen in the privation politick. I do therefore forbear to ſtile my Readers *Gentle*, *Courteous*, and *Friendly*, thereby to beg their good Opinions, or to promiſe a Second and Third Volume (which I alſo intend) if the Firſt receive Grace and good Acceptance. For that which is already done, may be thought enough; and too much: and it is certain, let us claw the Reader with never ſo many courteous Phraſes; yet ſhall we evermore be thought Fools, that write fooliſhly. For concluſion, all the hope I have lies in this, That I have already found more ungentle and uncourteous Readers of my Love towards them, and well-deſerving of them, than ever I ſhall do again. For had it been otherwiſe, I ſhould hardly have had this leiſure, to have made my ſelf a Fool in Print.

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§. XX.

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THE

THE

LIFE

OF THE

VALIANT and LEARNED

Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight.

WITH HIS

TRYAL

AT

WINCHESTER.

The Third Edition.

By John Shirley.

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THE
TALE

THE LIFE OF Sr Walter Raleigh.

I Determine to write the Life, the Riſe, Fortunes and End of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Knight, his Memoires being certainly worthy to be tranſmitted to Poſterity, who hath been ſo ſucceſsfully induſtrious in retrieving the Actions of former Ages from the Ruines of Time, even in its very Infancy, in a well-compil'd, maſculine, and learned Hiſtory of the World. The Image of ſo great a Perſon ſhould not be quite loſt, though drawn in little, which deſerves to be pourtray'd by the greateſt Maſters of Policy, and with the boldeſt Touches. Indeed his Shadows cannot now well be left exact, ſeeing they muſt be taken ſo long after his Death; when Time hath defac'd his beſt Features, and ſhed *Oblivion* on the moſt beautiful of his Actions. Who follows Truth (as Sir *Walter* has wiſely remark'd) too near the heels, may have his teeth ſtruck out: and he that goes after her, oft loſeth her ſight, and himſelf too. Diſtance of time doth ſometimes, like ſome *mediums*, make the ſtreighteſt Actions ſeem crooked, and ſometimes gives them the advantage of Land-ſcapes, which appear taking and agreeable afar off, though when nearly ſearch'd, and pry'd into by a curious and intelligent Eye, they ſeem rude, harſh, and unpleaſant. We muſt therefore deſpair of a juſt and exact Account of him, unleſs we could by ſome Magick Power (as the Author of a Pamphlet has done, to terrifie and make *Gondamore* ſpeak the Truth) raiſe him from the Dead, and converſe a while with his Ghoſt. I ſhall however with what imperfect Clue our Hiſtories have bequeathed, trace him through the various Labyrinths of Fortune, and take a Proſpect of him in the ſeveral Scenes of Court and Camp, Peace and War, till I have followed him to the Scaffold, the place of his much lamented and unhappy End; keeping as near as I can a *medium* between *Thoſe* who in their Annals drive on with an implicit faith; and *Thoſe*, who to get the reputation of Obſervers and Men of Reach, ſteal into the private Receſſes of Princes, and diſrobe Majeſty it ſelf to find ſome Deformities; which Love to their Prince, and Intereſt of State ſhould cover; The beſt Vail for all deform'd Actions.

In his Preface to the Hiſtory of the World.

I find him born at a place, call'd *Budely*, or *Budleigh*, in the County of *Devon*, in an Houſe which his Family had long poſſeſt, call'd *Hays*: A County (as Mr. *Camden* has obſerv'd) renown'd among foreign Nations for the Valour of its Inhabitants in Sea-Services of all ſorts. That *Spain* thought ſo, Sir *Francis Drake*, with many others of that County, as well as our

In his Britannia.

Sir *Walter*, are very convincing Arguments.

That he was well deſcended, was never yet queſtioned, but by my Lord of *Oxon*, who indeed was wont to call him the Jack, and Upſtart. But theſe were words which only Envy and Emulation could extort, and every one very eaſily confute.

Indeed that he was a Gentleman, becauſe a Favourite, was no ill Argument amongſt the Politicians of thoſe Times, if we may believe a Secretary of State, who hath left this as a Maxim then, That the Queen through her whole Reign never was guilty of creation, never in her choice took into her Favour a mere New-Man, or a Mechanick.

Sir *Rob. Naunton.*

That he was but poor in the beginning ſeems not ſtrange, if we conſider him the youngeſt Brother, and the Fortunes of his Family much diminiſhed by the Generoſity (if not Prodigality) of his Anceſtors. But the wants of Fortune are often recompenc'd with the richer gifts of the Mind; Nature foreſeeing the diſability of his Eſtate, ſtock'd him with a larger portion of Senſe, bequeath'd him the fairer Patrimony of a faithful Memory, plauſible Tongue, ſtrong Wit, and ſolid Judgment.

But becauſe the natural Endowments of the Mind, though never ſo great, are capable of Advancement by the help of Education, he reſolv'd for one of the Univerſities. *Oxon* had the happineſs to own him, where I find him in *Oriel* Colledg. His ſlender Fortune, and his active Genius, always pointed with a reſtleſs Ambition, would not let him ſettle here, ſo that he could only (like a Spy) take a tranſient view of, or (like an haſty Enemy) make ſome incurſions and inrodes into thoſe parts of Learning, which he afterward conquered, and was entirely Maſter of.

Therefore that he might the better feed thoſe Hopes Ambition had kindled in his thoughts, and remove nearer to the Miſtreſs he courted; He reſolved for one of the Inns of Court, which he knew were always Places of Eſteem with the Queen, who would ſay, *they fitted youth for the future.* Here he ſpent his time, and improv'd himſelf in the intricate knowledge of our Laws, and in the ſtudies of all Manly and Real Accompliſhments.

But he ſtaid not long here neither; for Fate it ſeems would have him of the Sword firſt. Yet though he laid aſide his Gown, it was not with a deſign of never re-aſſuming it; for through the frequent Viciſſitudes of his whole Life, he challenged a Reputation amongſt the moſt Eminent Statesmen, being upon all Emergencies of Affairs conſulted, as one of the beſt Oracles of Government and Policy in his time. It's true he was never ſworn, for ſome Reaſons of State which Courts ſpread a Vail over, but was frequently called to Counſil. Through his Life he made good his Motto, *Tam Marti, quam Mercurio*: and it is ſtill a Queſtion, whether he was the better States-man or Souldier? incomparably excelling in both the Arts of Peace and War. To riſe by his Studies, probably his Condition and Ambition would not let him judge the ſpeedieſt courſe; much time and a conſiderable Fortune being often ſpent in climbing up the tedious ſteps of Preferment that way. He thought it more eaſie to fight, than talk himſelf into a Reputation. Active times, and a buſie War-like Princeſs, pointed him out the readieſt way to the Temple of Honour. The Sword he judged, with *Alexander*, the quickeſt Inſtrument to unty all the Knots and tedious Obſtacles of Greatneſs.

Nor could he want Occaſions enough to draw forth his Spirits into Action. *France* was engaged in a Civil War; And the Queen whether out of concern for the *Proteſtants*, or for Reaſon of State, to divert the Giant-Enemy the *Spaniard*, aſſiſted the poor diſtreſſed *Dutch*. And the *Spaniard* by a Policy of the ſame nature, raiſes Rebellions in *Ireland*; which like ſubterranean Fires, broke out over all that Kingdom at ſeveral times; When one *Mac* had in one place ſpent his Force, preſently we hear of the eruption of another. This Fire was kept in to the end of her Reign, being maintained by that laſting fewel of Rebellion, and common pretext of change in Government, *RELIGION*: the Pope pretending the Kingdom belonged to S. *Peter*.

Of his firſt Publick Appearance Mr. *Camden* hath given us this Account: The *Queen* though imbroil'd in a Rebellion at home of the Earl of *Northumberland* and *Dacres* in the North, yet failed not to relieve the *Proteſtants* in *France*, who were now brought into a diſtreſſed and almoſt deſperate condition; ſhe exhorted all the *Proteſtant* Princes to aſſiſt the Common Cauſe, ſupplied the *Queen* of *Navarr* with Money, taking Jewels in pawn; Permitted *Henry Champernoun* to carry into *France* a Troop of Gentlemen-Volunteers, who were reſolved to make good the Motto their Colours bore, *Finem det nobis Virtus*. Among theſe Sir *Walter* engaged himſelf, though (as Mr. *Camden* goes on) very young, and now firſt beginning to be of any note. So ſoon the early bloſſoms of his Valour began to appear, which afterwards grew up to an exact ripeneſs and perfection. *France* was the firſt School, wherein he learnt the Rudiments of War; and the *Low-Countries* and *Ireland* (the Military Academies of thoſe Times) made him Maſter of that Diſcipline; for in both places he

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he expoſed himſelf afterwards to Land-Service: But their ſlender Pay diſcouraged him from ſtaying long in either. The Service of *Ireland* eſpecially, ſcarce ſupplying the neceſſities of a Military Life.

Being reſtleſs and impatient of a narrow and low Condition, and his Services being not ſo ſucceſsful as his Hopes were great, and his Merits not anſwered with a Fortune ſtrong enough to buoy up his Reputation, he was reſolv'd to leave no Stone unturned, nor any Method of living unexperimented. And ſince his Land-Expeditions could make no Additions to his Fortunes, Novelty, and a deſire of putting himſelf into a better capacity, urg'd him to a Sea-Voyage. At both Sea and Land he was the true Pattern of Induſtry; and if any Man ever manag'd Neceſſity to its furtheſt Improvements, it was He. No expert Souldier or Mariner eſcap'd his Acquaintance or Enquiries; nothing that related to the Arts of War and Navigation miſs'd his peruſal: and one who was Maſter of thoſe parts he enjoy'd, could with no great difficulty make thoſe Arts his own. Add to this the Methods he uſed to improve himſelf: He ſlept but five hours; four he ſpent in reading and maſtering the beſt Authors, two in a ſelect Converſation and an Inquiſitive Diſcourſe, the reſt in Buſineſs. He underwent all the labours that attend a Souldier, and fared as the meaneſt. No common Mariner took more pains, or hazarded more in the moſt difficult Attempts.

What his Sea-Voyages produc'd, Hiſtories are ſilent in; but not long after his return I find him got again into *Ireland*, appearing with his own Colours flying in the Field, under the command of the
1580. Lord *Grey*, who ſucceeded *Pelham* in the Deputyſhip of that Kingdom. He had not been long there, before a Quarrel was rais'd between the Lord-Deputy and our Captain, (for with that Title he went into *Ireland*) which being complain'd of to a Council of War, was referr'd to the Council-Table in *England*. Our Hiſtorians would make the Lord *Grey*'s Cauſe the faireſt; but Juſtice, and the Reſult of the Council, gave *Raleigh* the Victory. What were the occaſions of this Quarrel our Annals ſlip over, and have only left a large Field for Conjecture to tire it ſelf in. Whether an eager purſuit after Honour, without exact obedience to Military Command, occaſioned by a reſtleſs deſire of doing ſomething Great, or what ever elſe it might be, we leave the Reader to fancy: However if his Cauſe had not been good, no Apology, how well ſo ever manag'd, could have brib'd the Judgment of ſo wiſe a Council, wholly ſtrangers to his Worth and Perſon.

About this time Authors place the *Æra* of his Riſe, but cannot well agree about the occaſion of it. Some would have *Leiceſter* to be the chief Agent in it, and that he related the whole buſineſs at Council to the Queen with no little advantage to our Captain. Not ſo much probably out of reſpect to *Raleigh*, as to his own Intereſt. For Favourites, like their Princes, ſeldom eſpouſe any Cauſe upon any other ground than what advances or ſtands with their own Deſigns. His own Deſigns indeed on the Queen were blaſted, and finding the burden and envy of a Stateſman too heavy for his aged ſhoulders, he was willing handſomly to impart them to a more active *Genius*. Though great Favourites ſeldom admit of a Partner, till Age makes them willing to withdraw, and leave the trouble of Buſineſs to more ſpritely years. They care not to have new Plants ſet, till themſelves are almoſt wither'd and ſapleſs.

Others would have his Riſe attributed to *Suſſex*, who brought him to Court to outſhine *Leiceſter*, and eclipſe the ſplendor of his Enemy. But what was the ſtrongeſt Argument and only Perſwaſive with the Queen was his Merits, which ſhe ſoon ſaw, and preſently encouraged. Nor muſt I here paſs by one ſmall ſtep to his future Heighth, which our Chronicles have over-look'd, as below the Pen of an Hiſtorian, though ſome have judged an Account of ſome little tranſactions the beſt Inlets to Truth and Myſteries of State. The occaſion was thus: Our Captain coming over out of *Ireland* upon the aforemention'd Cauſe to Court, in very good habit, (which it ſeems was the greateſt part of his Eſtate) which is often found to be no mean Introducer where Deſerts are not known, found the Queen walking, till ſhe was ſtopt by a plaſhy-place which ſhe ſcrupled treading on; preſently he ſpread his new Plush-Coat on the Ground, on which the Queen gently trod, being not a little pleas'd, as well as ſurpris'd with ſo unexpected a Complement. Thus, as one remarks upon this Story, *An Advantagious Admiſſion into the firſt Notices of a Prince, is more than half a degree to Preferment.* For he preſently after found ſome gracious Beams of Favour reflecting on him, which he was reſolv'd, and well knew how to cheriſh and contract. To put the Queen in remembrance, he wrote in a Window obvious to her Eye, *Fuller's Worthies.*

Fain would I climb, yet fear I to fall.

Which her Majeſty either eſpying, or being ſhewn, under-wrote this Anſwer,

If

If thy heart fail thee, climb not at all.

But his aſpiring Soul could not reſt in the lower, though ſafer way of living; He could not be mean, whoſe Reſolutions were ſo great, and whoſe Prudence and Activity made him capable of the higheſt Preferments. Inſpir'd with a reſtleſs and ambitious *Genius*, he deſign'd nothing but what was extreme; and had rather not be, than not be one of the moſt Eminent. And to the greateſt height probably he had arrived, had he lived in any other Princes Reigns than that of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*; the former being not over-haſty to raiſe any to any great Honour, and the latter not caring for Men of War and Blood.

Raleigh was ſo towardly an Apprentice in the Court-Trade, that he ſoon ſet up for himſelf, and would have improved this ſtock of favour to a great advantage, had he not loſt by thoſe common Enemies to it, Envy and Jealouſy. In a ſhort time he is become a *Minion*, obtains the *Queen's* Ear, is often conſulted, and nothing done without him. Her Favour and his Parts began to alarm his Rivals, who like ſome envious Neighbours will not eaſily permit any Fabrick to ſtand long that hinders their own Proſpect. Jealous Favourites, like wiſe Planters, will not ſuffer the Under-Wood to raiſe, which may obſtruct the growth of taller Trees.

Leiceſter began to repent his choice of his Creature, and thought he grew too faſt in his Miſtreſſes Favour. To ſtop the current of her Affection, he privately endeavours to undermine his Eſteem, and introduce a new Favourite that might be his Rival. To bring about this Deſign, *Leiceſter* thought there would be nothing wanting, if by *Raleigh's* abſence he could have opportunity to introduce the Earl of *Eſſex*; nor did he long expect before one offer'd it ſelf: for the Queen being willing to encourage *Raleigh*, (who, as Mr. *Camden* is pleaſed to tell us, was never ſufficiently to be commended for the great pains he took to diſcover remote Countries, and to advance the Glory of the *Engliſh* Navigation and Trade) ſent him on a Voyage to Sea. Nor did he make a vain and fruitleſs one; for at his Return he brought news of a new Country, diſcover'd by him in the Year 1584. called in honour of the Queen, *Virginia*, before call'd Wingandacoa by the barbarous Inhabitants. A Country that hath been ſince of no inconſiderable Profit to our Nation. But though Patents were granted to him to ſettle a Plantation there, it grew not famous till the Reign of King *James*: Wherein this Nation quickly found out the Excellency and Fruitfulneſs of the Place, ſo agreeable to our *Engliſh* Bodies, and profitable to the *Exchequer*. Nature there is prodigal, and makes amends for her parſimony to other parts of the World. An Acre there yieldeth often forty Buſhels of Corn; and, which is more ſtrange, there being three Harveſts in a Year: For, their Corn is ſow'd, ripe, and cut down in little more than two Months.

For this, and other beneficial Expeditions and Deſigns, this Year her Majeſty was pleas'd to confer on him the Honour of Knighthood, which in her Reign was more eſteemed than in her Succeſſors. The Queen keeping the Temple of Honour cloſe ſhut, and never open'd but to Vertue and Deſert. Nor was ſhe indeed ever haſty to reward; for ſhe ſeldom paid in any other Coin than Patents and good Words. So that the greateſt number of thoſe who might pretend to Favour, were the Architects of their own Fortunes, and had little or no Encouragement from her, more than that of a *Spectator*, who praiſes the Workmanſhip, and commends the handſom Contrivances of a Building, but is at no part of the Expences of raiſing it. Hence our Sir *Walter's* Rewards are quickly enumerated, for he got nothing after all his Exploits and Deſigns, but the Wardenſhip of the *Stanneries*, Command of the Guard, and the Government of *Jerſey* and *Virginia*; Places of no very great Profit, nor anſwerable to his Worth, or juſt Ambition. 1584.

In 1588, the grand *Clymacterick* of *Spain*, (for Bodies Politick have their *Critical* Times) I find Sir *Walter* by his Example encouraging others of the Gentry to ſet out Ships at their proper Charges, and by his admirable Conduct and Courage to put them to the beſt uſe. Which hired Ships were Actors of no ſmall uſe in that fatal Blow given to the *Invincible Armada*. Three Years this Giant had been growing to that portentous Greatneſs, with infinite Expences and Induſtry; but was beaten, ruin'd, and diſhonourably overthrown in leſs than a Months ſpace: the *Spaniards* finding that our Ships as well as the Heavens could fight againſt them. 1588.

But this Shock, like ſome Ague-fit, was eaſily recover'd, and in a ſhort time after the *Spaniards* began to renew their former Deſigns. For in the Parliament which began *Febr.* 19. 1592. I find Sir *Walter Raleigh* informing the Houſe, that the Queen could not without Subſidies prevent the eminent dangers threatned from the *Spaniard*. Of which Subſidies he ſpake (as he proteſted) not only to pleaſe the *Queen*, to whom he was infinitely oblig'd, but 1592.

but for the necessity he both saw and knew; He told them, he very well discovered the great Strength of the King of *Spain*; and to shew his Mightiness, he inform'd the house how he possest all the World. And that his Malice and ill purposes against this Realm might be evident, he shewed how on every side he had beleaguer'd us; In *Denmark*, the King being young, he had corrupted the Council and Nobility; so it was very likely he would speed himself of Ships from thence. In the Maritime Towns of the *Low-Countries*, and in *Norway* he hath laid in great store of Shipping. In *France* he hath the Parliament-Towns at command; In *Britanny* he hath all the best Havens; and in *Scotland* he hath corrupted the Nobility, and promis'd them Forces to assist the *Papists*, and that they were ready to joyn with any Foreign Aids, that would make them strong enough to be by themselves, and to resist others; for, as he thought, there were not six Gentlemen of that Country of one Religion. In his own Country there are all possible Preparations making, and he is coming with sixty Galleys besides other Shipping. If our Subsidies are not sudden, he may with ease invade us riding at Anchor; but all will be little enough to withstand him. At his coming he fully resolveth to get *Plymouth*, or at least to possess some of the Havens this Summer within our Land. And *Plymouth* is in most danger; for no Ordnance can be carried thither to remove him, the Passages will not give leave. Now the way to defeat him, is to send a Royal Army and supplant him in *Britanny*, and to possess our selves there; and to send a strong Navy to Sea, and to lie with it on the Cape, and at *Lambuck*; to which places come all his Ships with Riches from all places, and there they may set upon all that come.

What success this Speech alone had I know not, but the Subsidy was granted with the general Consent of the House, to carry on the War against *Spain*. His Expedition a little after demonstrates that the Queen took his Advice, which was to afflict the *Spaniards* at a distance; and whilst she could not handsomly assault his more neighbourly and guarded parts, to disturb those that were more naked and farther off, his *Indies*. The Moneys brought from thence being the Nerves and Sinews of his Power, and the chiefest Incendiary in the *Irish Rebellion*, which if handsomly stopt, would put an end to his Greatness, and humble the Mighty Monarch.

That he might not want an opportunity to shew his Valour and Conduct in this Affair, the Queen sends him to Sea to manifest both; thinking none more fit to be imploy'd in a Business, than the Person that counsell'd and started it; having the Courage of a Souldier to put in execution the sober Advices of the Gown-man. To *America* he is sent with 15 Men of War to possess himself of *Panama*, where the *Spaniards* ship their Riches, or to intercept them in their passage homewards. But he found more Encouragement from the willingness of the Seamen than from the Winds, which held the Ships in their Havens for three Months: A Circumstance which put an ill look upon the enterprize, and had almost made it vain. But nothing could allay the Courage of the Seamen, who were buoy'd up with the hopes of Prey, and the success of their Commander. Having set sail at last, they got beyond the *Spanish* Cape, called the *Lands-end*, where they met with unwelcome Intelligence, *viz.* That by expres command from his *Catholick* Majesty no Ship was to stir from the *West-Indies* that Year. Together with this News, instead of meeting with the long'd-for Enemy, they were attacq'd with a more invincible one, a furious Tempest, which disperst and disorder'd the Fleet, and sunk their Ship-Boats. Thus being on all sides assaulted with Tempests, Disasters, and the worse news of the *Spaniards* stay in the other World, he thought the Heavens had dash'd his Designs, and rendred a well-ordered Contrivance abortive. Upon which at first he intended to make for home with the whole Fleet; but another Project offer'd it self after second thoughts, of dividing the Navy into two Squadrons, from the hope that though while together they had been successless, yet Fortune might offer to them when separated something worthy their patience and desires. Immediately one Squadron is committed to the Conduct of Sir *John Burroughs*, Son to the Lord *Burroughs*; the other to Sir *Martin Forbisher*, with their respective Commissions. Sir *Martin*'s charge was to lie off and on the Coast of *Spain*, to hinder the coming in of their Vessels. Sir *John*'s to wait at the *Azores* for the coming of the Caracks out of the *East-Indies*.

Sir *Walter* was much blamed for this Action, and thought short in his Politicks, in giving over the hopeful part of the Design to Sir *John Burroughs*, and retiring himself to Court. But the Success was the only Argument of his Oversight, and nothing but the Event could charge him with Imprudence. The Division of the Fleet prov'd a wise Design, and amazed the *Spaniard*. For while the *Spanish* Admiral eyed *Forbisher*, the mighty Carracks were unregarded, and left to the mercy of *Burrough*'s Men of War as an easie Prey. Who having

ving according to Order arriv'd at *Santa Cruce*, a ſmall Town in the Iſle of *Azores*, a little after got ſight of a *Portugal* Merchant-man, (briskly purſued by a Privateer of the Earl of *Cumberland's*) but could not reach her, an unhappy Calm keeping him at too far a diſtance. But a more welcome Storm ariſing in the night, forc'd both to weigh Anchor. Aſſoon as day appear'd, the *Portugees* was unlading as faſt as ſhe could at *Flores*, and upon the approach of the *Engliſh* fired their Carack: But though their Deſigns were ruin'd as to that Ship, yet the news they got from ſome Priſoners taken, gave them freſh hopes, and heartned them with the Information, that ſeveral other Merchant-men were behind coming for *Spain*. This put Sir *John Burroughs* upon placing his Men of War at ſeveral diſtances to reach as far about as was poſſible. But they had not long waited, before their diligence was rewarded with the ſurpriſal of a large Veſſel, call'd *The Mother of God*, which was 165 foot long from Head to Stern, and ſeven Decks high, laden with Goods to the value of 150000 *l. Engliſh*, beſides what the Seamen privately took for their own uſe.

Sir *Walter* having now deſerted his Naval Employ, and become again a Courtier, it was not long before he was ſeiz'd with the idle Court-diſeaſe of Love, the unfortunate occaſion of the worſt Action of his
1595. whole Life. For in the Year 1595, I find him under a Cloud, baniſh'd the Court, and his Miſtreſſes Favour withdrawn, for devirginating a Maid of Honour. But why for this one Action he ſhould lie under the imputation of an *Atheiſt*, and from a ſingle crime get the denomination of a Debauch, is the Logick of none but the Vulgar. By the ſame reaſon the other Favourites of thoſe Times (*Leiceſter*, *Cecil*, and *Eſſex*) bid as fair for thoſe titles, the latter making the Parallel good in this Vice with his ſucceſſor *Buckingham*, though in other Circumſtances there was a great diſparity. Neither ever was it accounted any great Crime in the Orb of Courts. But to ſtop the Mouth of Fame, which is always open on ſuch occaſions, and to wipe out the Infamy of the Fact, he was ſhortly after married to the Object of his Love, the deflowred Lady. And to get Reputation among the People, who always were unjuſt to him in their ſentiments, he put himſelf on a Voyage to *Guiana*, for the Improvement and honour of his Country. Having therefore obtained his Liberty, (for, for this Action he was impriſoned ſome months) and finding all things with an unpleaſant Aſpect, he followed his *Genius* of diſcovering New Places, and tracing Nature in her more retired and hidden Paths; thinking that Abſence, and a Fortunate Voyage, might re-inveſt him in his Miſtreſſes thoughts, and merit a new Eſteem.

Guiana had been talk'd of much by the *Spaniards* as an excellent Country, and for one Commodity the *Spaniards* had a great reverence for, very famous *Gold*, which put Sir *Walter* upon the Attempt, judging it beſides a place (if maſter'd) very convenient for its ſituation to annoy and diſturb the *Spaniards American* Traffick, and would be no little help in Building his Fortunes, and what was more eſtimable, place him in his Miſtreſſes Favour again.

From *Plymouth* he ſet ſail on the ſixth of *February*, and on the 22d of *March* arriv'd at the Iſle of *Trinidado*, eight degrees on this ſide the *Equinoctial*-Line; where he ſoon made himſelf Maſter of S. *Joſephs*, a ſmall City; and, which was more conſiderable, of the Governour *Antonio Bereo*, from whom he got the beſt account of thoſe Parts, and its Trade. Leaving his Ship at *Trinidado*, with ſome Pinaces and an hundred Men, and the ſmall ſtock of Knowledge he obtain'd of *Bereo*, he made up the great River *Ormus*, in ſearch of *Guiana*. What he found, ſaw, and performed there, his moſt Ingenious Hiſtory of thoſe Parts may ſatisfie the Curious.

In his Return he fired *Cumana*, becauſe the Inhabitants would not redeem it with Money; beſides ſeveral Cottages at S. *Maries*, and *Rio de la Hatch*. Neither did he deſiſt in this Deſign of *Guiana*, for once or twice Mr. *Cambden* tells us afterwards he proſecuted it with vaſt Expences, although the *Spaniards* had plac'd a Colony at *Trinidado* to hinder his farther Attempts.

Whilſt Sir *Walter* is ſearching for a new World, *Hawkins* and *Drake* are attempting freſh Things in thoſe parts of *America* which the *Spaniards* were already poſſeſt of. But their old Fortune had left them, and the unhappineſs of the Action put an end to their Lives; In the Year 1596 both 1956.
died with Grief, and bequeath'd their Hatred of the *Spaniard* to Sir *Walter Raleigh* to revenge their Quarrel.

Who this Year return'd, being ſatisfi'd with his Expedition, and much more with the Reception he found at Court. The Storm was blown over, and his Miſtreſſes Brow was more ſmooth than at his departure; after his Eclipſe he ſhone brighter at Court, and the Death of thoſe two famous Sea-men, put them upon courting Sir *Walter*, whom the neceſſity of State forc'd them to cheriſh and encourage. It's ſtrange, that what was *Eſſex*'s Ruine, ſhould confirm Sir *Walter* in Favour, frequent Abſence from his Miſtreſs. But Sir *Walter*'s Obſequiouſneſs work'd much upon the humour of the Queen, who lov'd Pliantneſs, and exact Obedience, which *Eſſex* could not always counterfeit.

The

The *Spaniard* being encouraged with the poſſeſſion of *Cales*, from whence it was but a ſhort cut over into *England*, the Death of *Hawkins*, and their former ſcourge, *Drake*, and the earneſt ſolicitations of the *Iriſh*, (who through her Reign had got the Itch of Rebellion, which was fed and maintained by the *Spaniard*, though they had been ſufficiently blooded by the *Engliſh*;) And the Queen foreſeeing a Storm gathering, thought 'twas the beſt way to ſcatter it before it grew too great, and came too near. She reſolved therefore to begin with the *Spaniard* firſt, and fairly ſet on the Enemy in his own Ports. She ſpeedily riggs a brave Fleet, conſiſting of 150 Ships, Mann'd by 6360 Souldiers, 1000 Volunteer-Gentlemen, 6772 Sea-men. *Robert* Earl of *Eſſex*, and the Lord *Howard* were Commanders of equal Authority, having been both at an exceſſive charge in carrying on the War. To theſe were joyn'd a Council of War, conſiſting of ſeveral eminent Seamen and Souldiers, among whom was our Sir *Walter*. The Fleet was divided into four Squadrons; the firſt commanded by the Lord Admiral *Howard*; the ſecond by *Eſſex*; the third by Sir *Thomas Howard*; the fourth by Sir *Walter Raleigh*.

In the beginning of *June* they ſet ſail, and got to *Gades* the 20*th* their Deſign being perfectly unknown, as well to their Enemies as their own Men. *Eſſex* heated with Youth, and an ambition of doing bravely, would have preſently landed and aſſaulted the Enemy: but this heat was allayed and corrected by Sir *Walter*'s Advice, who impugned all ſuch raſh Attempts. At laſt a fit Opportunity preſented it ſelf, and by all it was reſolv'd to fight them. At which News the Earl threw up his hat for joy. The Ebbing-Waters would not permit the great Ships to engage, the Shelves being of greater hazard than the Enemy. Therefore *Raleigh* is pitch'd on as the moſt proper Perſon in the midſt of the Channel to provoke them, who accordingly in a little Ship, called the *Waſtſpight*, directed his Prow againſt the *Spaniſh* Men of War, who thereupon preſently fell back. Upon this the reſt of the Fleet came in, and burnt and took ſeveral of their Ships. After this Victory at Sea, the Men were very importunate to go on ſhore, whom *Eſſex* landed at *Puntal*, a league from the City. At firſt the *Spaniards* received them with a great deal of Courage, but the *Engliſh* charged ſo warmly, that they thought it their prudenteſt way to retire with more ſpeed than they came out. The *Engliſh* purſued ſo cloſe that they had almoſt recover'd the City-Gates as ſoon as they. The Earl got upon a Bulwark near the Gate, and from thence he eſpied an Entrance into the Town, but very hazardous, it being down a very ſteep Precipice but this did not affright ſeveral of our *Engliſh*, who leap'd from thence into the Town, and engaged the Enemy in the Streets. In the mean time Sir *Walter* and others having forced the Gates, entred the Town, and the Caſtle was ſurrendred upon Merciful Conditions. But Sir *Walter* was not idle, or eager after the enjoyment of his Conqueſt; for whilſt others were reaping the plentiful Harveſt of War, he with ſome ſmall Ships who could paſs up the Chanel, fired their Merchant-Men which were withdrawn to *Port-Real*, although they offered two millions of Ducats for their Redemption. Great were the Loſſes to the *Spaniards* by this War; and if we may believe our Hiſtories, amounted to no leſs than Twenty Millions of Ducats. Upon Conſultation it was reſolv'd to quit the Town, though contrary to the Opinion of *Eſſex*, who was for keeping it, as a future Annoyance to the *Spaniards*. After this they took *Faro* in *Algarbe*; and being weary at laſt of their Victories, they reſolv'd for home, though much againſt *Eſſex*'s will, whoſe youthful heat was but inflam'd by their Succeſſes, but was wiſely ſlack'd by the Prudence of the Admiral, and the ſober Advice of Sir *Walter*: who finding their Men ſick, and having gotten ſo ample Rewards, were not again for hazarding their Fortune upon hopes of a future Prey.

At their Return the Queen welcom'd and encourag'd her Souldiers with new Honours. All but *Eſſex* were pleaſed, who found State-Preferments not diſpos'd of according to his mind. *Vere* was made Governour of the *Briel*, and Sir *Robert Cecil* Secretary of State.

To recover their Loſſes at *Gades*, the *Spaniard* riggs out a new Fleet, which were baffled alone by the Winds; for the greateſt part were caſt away and wreck'd. With the Reliques of this Fleet; in the Year following I find him upon his old Deſigns of *Ireland*: But the Queen was always too nimble for the grave *Don* whoſe Deſigns, like his Ships, mov'd ſlow and heavy.

Twenty Ships were rigg'd out at preſent, and afterwards encreaſed to an hundred and twenty Men of War and Victuallers; five thouſand Men rais'd, beſides a thouſand old Souldiers brought from the *Netherlands* by *Vere*. To appeaſe *Eſſex*, the whole Conduct of the Expedition is committed to him. The Navy was divided into three Squadrons; The firſt led by *Eſſex* himſelf; The ſecond by *Howard*; The third by Sir *Walter*, who now was eſteemed the ableſt Seaman of his Age. To ennoble this Expedition, ſeveral Perſons of quality of all ſorts engag'd themſelves, who look'd rather like Courtiers than Souldiers, 1597.

being more adorn'd with Feathers and gay Cloaths, than arm'd with Courage and Reſolution. On the ninth of *July* they ſet out with theſe Inſtructions, *viz.* To ſteer to *Farol* and the *Groine*, to ſurprize the *Spaniards* in their Harbours, and to intercept their *Indian* Fleet (the Bait of the War) at the *Azores*. Which Deſign was built upon very good Maximes of State: For it would hinder the Fleet intended againſt *England*; Their Merchant-men wanting Convoys, might be ſeized on; The *Azores* won, (where the *Indian* Fleet always call'd for freſh Water in their Return); the Queen have the Dominion of the Seas, and the *Spaniard* be obliged to a Treatment of Peace. *Eſſex* gave out that he was reſolv'd to ſacrifice Himſelf and the Navy for his Country: But his brisk Reſolutions were quickly daunted by a diſmal Tempeſt, which aſtoniſh'd the Mariners themſelves, and forc'd home our gaudy Volunteers, who thought no Enemy ſo terrible as a Tempeſt, and the ſevere motions of a Sea-ſick ſtomach. Thus by this Contradiction of Heaven their Ships were torn, their Victuals ſpent, and they upon this Emergency forc'd to a Conſultation what to do. Some were for laying aſide the *Farol* and the *Groine* Attempts; others for a Voyage to the *Azores*, which was contradicted by *Vere*. So that at laſt *Eſſex* and *Raleigh* were pitch'd on to ride Poſt for Advice to the Queen. *Eſſex* talkt to the Queen of ſtrange *Chimera's*; how that if he were permitted to have the Fleet, he would with eaſe fire the *Spaniſh* Navy, and perform many other bold Deſigns; about which the Queen caution'd him, and deſir'd the whole Buſineſs ſhould be managed as their joynt diſcretion ſhould prompt, and opportunity offer it ſelf. But if it were poſſible, if any occaſion courted them to it, they ſhould fire the Ships in *Farol* Haven, and intercept what other Ships they could from the *Indies*; And upon all Occaſions manifeſt their Conduct and Valour. With theſe Inſtructions they ſet ſail again from *Plymouth*, (whither they were returned the ſeventeenth of *Auguſt*) but were ſeparated by a Tempeſt near the Lands-end. A croſs Yard in *Raleigh's* Ship was broken by the impetuouſneſs of the Storm, and fell, which forc'd him to ſtay behind to make it good; And having been falſly inform'd that the *Spaniſh* Fleet was bound for the *Azores*, after having repaired his Ship, he ſteer'd his courſe thitherwards. In the mean time *Eſſex's* Jealouſie, and the pernicious Inſinuations of *Raleigh's* Enemies, had wrought him into a belief that this Diviſion of the Navy was on purpoſe laid and fore-deſign'd by *Raleigh*: But however the buſineſs was put up at his arrival, and *Eſſex* welcom'd him, making an *Apology* for acquainting the *Queen* with the Diviſion falſly repreſented, and built (as it appear'd) on wrong ſuppoſitions.

Here wanting Water, Sir *Walter* landed without leave, and ſcarce had taken in Water before he received Orders immediately to follow *Eſſex* to *Fayal*, whither he repaired: but not finding *Eſſex* there according to his Order, he ſpent his time in taking an exact ſurvey of the Haven, and of the People there, who from the fear and apprehenſion of what followed, were haſtily packing away their Goods. This fair Opportunity, upon Conſultation, puts him upon taking the Town, and egg'd on the Souldiers in hopes of an ample Prey. Sir *Gilly Merrick* (one of *Eſſex* his Creatures) diſſwaded Sir *Walter* from the Deſign, alledging it would rob the Earl of the honour of taking it, and ſo confirm him his Enemy. But *Sir Walter's* deſire of Glory, and the Souldiers Avarice, urg'd him (after he had ſtaid ſome time for *Eſſex's* Arrival) to the Aſſault of the Place, which was at laſt taken. The next day after this Exploit *Eſſex* arrived at *Fayal*, where he was quickly inform'd of what *Raleigh* had done, and that the whole buſineſs was tranſacted with no other deſign than to rob him of the Glory, which his Jealouſie made him eaſily believe.

Some perſwaded the Earl to try *Sir Walter* by a Council of War, and Caſhier him; others without more a do would have him put to Death, for landing without Orders: At laſt ſome of *Raleigh's* Officers were Caſhier'd, He himſelf frown'd on, and ſeverely reprov'd by *Eſſex*. But he never wanted an Apology for his Ambition; inſtancing that he was not obliged to the Orders the inferiour Officers and Souldiers were, that the Commiſſion did not reach Him; being one of the three Generals; Moreover, that he ſtaid for him four days; and that he was neceſſitated at laſt to land, being in extreme want of Water, which was not to be had without fighting. However, the Lord *Howard* became his Mediator, and perſwaded him to an honourable ſubmiſſion; which was perform'd, and accepted of; and thereupon both himſelf and the caſhier'd Officers and Souldiers were again admitted into favour. But this was only laying their Paſſions aſleep a while, which in the ſequel of our ſtory were again awaken'd. I cannot here omit a ſpeech of the Earls upon this occaſion, (which Sir *Henry Wotton* calls a Noble Word) who being urged to put Sir *Walter* on Martial Law: *That I would do*, ſaid he, *if he were my Friend.*

However, this Expedition was not ſo glorious and great as at firſt they hoped it might have been. For after burning the Town, and taking *Flores*, *Gratioſa*, and *Villa Franca* in S. *Michaels*, with three *American*

rican *Spaniſh* Ships, together with the burning of a *Carack*, they came home much torn, leaky, and weather-beaten, about the end of *October*. This Expedition was commented on variouſly by the People, who were ſtrangely carried on with a blind Paſſion for *Eſſex*, and ſo very prone to miſconſture *Raleigh*'s Actions, from a Prejudice they had entertain'd, that becauſe he was not *Eſſex*'s friend, he muſt be an Enemy to his Country. However, the Queen look'd on him with another eye, and he grew faſter in her favour than his Rival, who from this time began rather to decline, by a fault Sir *Walter* was afterwards guilty of, inſatiable Ambition; a Principle that put him on thoſe Practices which brought him afterwards to the Block. *Eſſex* was incens'd that Sir *Robert Cecil*, *Raleigh*'s Friend, was preferr'd in his abſence. And becauſe the Earl's Concerns are woven amongſt *Sir Walter*'s, it will not be impertinent to give ſome Account of him here.

Eſſex was arrived to the heighth of Favour, and might have ſtaid there, had he taken his meaſures aright; had he own'd an Obſequiouſneſs to the Queen, or been Maſter of the great Requiſite in a Courtier, *Diſſimulation*; but it was a part of his Character to be a great Reſenter, and a weak Diſſembler of the leaſt Diſgrace. His *Ireland* Tranſactions were ill conſtrued, and his Miſcarriages nicely diſſected by the curious Eyes of thoſe State-Anatomiſts, the Lord-Treaſurer *Buckhurſt*, the Lord-Admiral *Nottingham*, and his mortal Enemy Secretary *Cecil*, who began to remove him out of that Favour he had long poſſeſt. But it was true, as the Earl of *Clarendon* has obſerv'd, "That though he was Rival'd by a "ſtrong and ſubtile Faction, which cared, "conſulted for his Ruine; yet the Danger "was thus allayed, that they were all his "publick and profeſſed Enemies, and ſo "known to the Queen, that they durſt ne"ver impertinently urge ought againſt him, "ſince they were ſure that Malice was con"cluded, when the Reaſon of their Objecti"on haply might not be conſidered.

However, in 1601 the Earl drew near his Ruine: for being hurried on by *Cuffs* ill Counſel and his own Diſcontents, he projects new Plots againſt the State, and tampers with the King of *Scots* to remove his Enemies at Court by force, informing him that the Power of the Nation lay in their hands, *Raleigh* being Governour of *Jerſey*, *&c.* and other of his Enemies having the ſtrength of the Nation at their command. And vainly preſuming upon the Love of the Citizens, he projects to ſeize the Court, and ſecure *Raleigh*, as the moſt conſiderable Enemy he had. Of which Deſigns *Gorges* informs Sir *Walter*. The better to carry on his deſigns, *Eſſex* goes into *London*, where he endeavour'd to excite the Citizens to an Inſurrection: But the City then being Rich, was not ſo apt to rebel; Rebellion being uſually the Daughter of Poverty and Diſcontent. For theſe Treaſonable Actions, being found guilty, he was condemned and executed.

That he died bravely and like a Gentleman, is not to be queſtion'd; but that Sir *Walter Raleigh* ſhould come openly to ſee him dye on purpoſe only to fat his Eyes with the Sacrifice of his Enemy, can never be granted, if we may believe himſelf in the ſame circumſtances on the Scaffold, where he told his Auditors on the words of a Dying-man, he only came there to defend himſelf if any thing had been urg'd againſt him by the Earl.

Thus ended that Favourite, whoſe Death ſtruck a damp on the Queens proſperous days, and gave blackneſs to her declining Reign. This Blow, like that of Gunpowder, not only blew up his Friends and Neighbours, but ſhook his Enemies at a diſtance; for it reach'd Sir *Walter* too, who wanting ſtrength to grapple with his Rival the Treaſurer, and not owning humility enough to be his Servant, periſh'd at laſt in the Encounter. This himſelf preſag'd (if we may believe *Oſborn*) as he came from the Execution of *Eſſex*, in a Boat, when he was heard to ſay, *That it was more ſafe to have many Enemies at Court of equal power, than one falſe and ambitious Friend who hath attain'd to the abſoluteneſs of Command.*

The Queen could not long ſurvive her Favourite; for I find her Death to be the next year following. A Queen who had enrich'd the Nation, reform'd Religion, curb'd the Pride of *Spain*, ſupported *France*, preſerv'd *Scotland*, protected the *Hollander* againſt the *Spaniard*, and had vanquiſh'd his Armies by Sea and Land, reduc'd *Ireland* to obedience notwithſtanding all the ſubtil practices of *Spain*, and open Aſſiſtance given in Arms to her *Iriſh* Rebels; with many other things, which might ſeem too much to be the Atchievements of one Reign.

King *James* her Succeſſor came to the poſſeſſion of a Kingdom arrived at the heighth of Proſperity, which like other Bodies when they are at their Ἀκμὴ tend to Corruption, and degenerate. This Sir *Walter* perceiv'd, and would have (as he thought) remedied. Sir *John Forteſcue*, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Walter*, and others, would have obliged the King by Articles before his coming to the Crown, that his Country-mens number ſhould be limited: But this was ſtopt by the prudent Treaſurer, and the bold *Northumberland*. Sir *Walter* fear'd that the *Scots*, like Locuſts, would quickly devour this Kingdom; it being probable that (like the *Goths* and *Vandals*) they 1603.

would ſettle in any Country rather than their own, and would make it their buſineſs to render our Nation as poor as their own: for this, he, with the reſt of them, was afterwards frown'd on by the King, and loſt his Command of the Guards.

However, Sir *Walter* ſtill purſued the Good and Glory of his Country; and as formerly in Active Times, gave his Advice againſt the Peace with *Spain*, which might now with no great difficulty be brought on its knees. At the entrance of the King he preſented him with a Manuſcript of his own writing, with no weak Arguments againſt the Peace. But Sir *Walter* was miſtaken; for his Counſel was ill tim'd, and a new *Part* was now to be acted, the *Scene* being changed. Peace was the King's Aim, whether out of Fear, or Religious Principles I determine not. But with *Spain* a Peace is concluded, with an Enemy already humbled, who now had time given them to recover their former Loſſes, and were as it were cheriſh'd to aſſault us with the greater vigour: which how true it proved, every Man can tell. And as if the King would quite run counter to the Queens Politicks, the Eſtates of the *Netherlands* are deſpiſed, ſlighted, and deſerted, under pretence that it was of ill example for a Monarch to protect them.

The King is hardly warm in his Throne, but there is a great noiſe of a Plot, generally call'd Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s *Treaſon*; but upon what Grounds I know not, ſince he had the leaſt hand in it, as by his Tryal will appear. A Plot that is ſtill a Myſtery, and hath a Vail ſpread over it; A Plot compos'd of ſuch a Hodgpodg of Religion and Intereſts, that the World ſtands amazed Sir *Walter Raleigh* ſhould ever be drawn into it; A Plot ſo unlikely to hurt others, or benefit themſelves, that as *Osborn* tells us, *If ever Folly was capable of the title, or Pity due to Innocence, theirs might claim ſo large a ſhare, as not poſſibly to be too ſeverely condemn'd, or ſlightly enough puniſhed.* Envy and Diſdain, as Sir *Walter* has told us in his *Remains*, ſeek Innovation by Faction. Diſcontent is the great Seducer, which at firſt put him to ſearch into a Plot, he afterwards was betray'd into. The chief Ingredients in this Medley were two Prieſts, *Watſon* and *Clerk*, and Count *Aremberg*, Ambaſſador Extraordinary for the Arch-Duke, who brought in *Cobham*, and he his Brother *George Brook*, both *Proteſtants*, at leaſt ſeeming ſo; *George Brook* hook'd in *Parham* and others, and they the Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, a rank *Puritan*; then came in Sir *Walter*, the wiſeſt of them all according to *Sanderſon*, who as he tells us, dallied like a Fly in the flame till it conſum'd him. Willing he was to know it, and thought by his Wit to over-reach the Confederates, whom he knew well enough, though he dealt with none but *Cobham*, as I can find out. One Mr. *Lawrency* an *Antwerp*-Merchant, was the property made uſe of by *Arembergh*, and a Crony of the Lord *Cobham*'s. Theſe carried on the Contrivance a long while, which (as *Sanderſon* tells us) was betray'd by *Lawrency*, and the vigilancy of *Cecil*. And indeed it was morally impoſſible that ſo many diſagreeing weak Souls ſhould carry on a Project without taking Air; the leaſt glimpſe being enough to give light to the States-men of thoſe times. Their Deſigns were,

1. To ſet the Crown on the Lady *Arabella*; or to ſeize the King, and make him grant their Deſires, and a Pardon.
2. To have a Toleration of Religion.
3. To procure Aid and Aſſiſtance from Foreign Princes.
4. To turn out of the Court ſuch as they diſlik'd, and place themſelves in Offices.

Watſon to be Lord-Chancellor.
George Brook Lord-Treaſurer.
Sir *Griffin Markham* Secretary of State.
Lord *Grey* Maſter of the Horſe, and Earl-Marſhal of *England*.

But it ſeems they made no proviſion for Sir *Walter*; which is no inconſiderable Argument of his Innocency, who could have deſerv'd, and might have expected as great a Reward as any of them, had he been engaged in the Plot.

To oblige to Secrecy, *Watſon* draws up an Oath. But all is betray'd; they are ſeiz'd, examin'd, and try'd. How well or ill Sir *Walter* has acquitted himſelf, we ſhall leave to the Opinion of the Readers of the following TRYAL, which was exactly and faithfully taken.

THE

THE ARRAIGNMENT OF Sr Walter Raleigh, Knight.

AT *Winton*, Thurſday the 17th of *November*, *Anno Dom.* 1603, before the Right Honourable, the Earl of *Suffolk*, Lord Chamberlain,
Earl of *Devon*.
Lord *Henry Howard*.
Lord *Cecil*, Earl of *Salisbury*.
Lord *Wotton*.
Sir *John Stanhope*, Vice-Chamberlain.
Lord Chief-Juſtice of *England*, *Popham*.
Lord Chief-Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, *Anderſon*.
Juſtice *Gaudie*.
Juſtice *Warburton*, and Sir *William Wade* Commiſſioners.

Firſt, The Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer* was read by the Clerk of the Crown-Office; and the Priſoner bid hold up his Hand.

And then preſently the INDICTMENT was in effect as followeth:

THAT *he did Conſpire, and go about to deprive the King of his Government; to raiſe up Sedition within the Realm; to alter Religion, to bring in the* Roman Superſtition, *and to procure Foreign Enemies to invade the Kingdoms. That the Lord* Cobham, *the ninth of* June *laſt, did meet with the ſaid Sir* Walter Raleigh *in* Durham-Houſe, *in the Pariſh of St.* Martins *in the* Fields, *and then and there had Conference with him, how to advance* Arabella Stuart *to the Crown and Royal Throne of this Kingdom; and that then and there it was agreed, that* Cobham *ſhould treat with* Aremberg, *Embaſſador from the Arch-Duke of* Auſtria, *to obtain of him* 600000 *Crowns, to bring to paſs their intended Treaſons. It was agreed that* Cobham *ſhould go to the Arch-Duke* Albert, *to procure him to advance the pretended Title of* Arabella: *from thence knowing that* Albert *had not ſufficient means to maintain his own Army in the* Low-Countries, Cobham *ſhould go to* Spain *to procure the King to aſſiſt and further her pretended Title.*

It was agreed, the better to effect all this Conſpiracy, that Arabella *ſhould write three Letters, one to the Arch-Duke, another to the King of* Spain, *and a third to the Duke of* Savoy, *and promiſe three things: Firſt, to eſtabliſh firm Peace between* England *and* Spain. *Secondly, To tolerate the* Popiſh *and* Roman *Superſtition. Thirdly, To be ruled by them in contracting of her Marriage.*

And for the effecting theſe Traiterous Purpoſes, Cobham *ſhould return by the Iſle of* Jerſey, *and ſhould find Sir* Walter Raleigh *Captain of the ſaid Iſle there, and take Counſel of* Raleigh *for the diſtributing of the aforeſaid Crowns, as the Occaſion or Diſcontentment of the Subjects ſhould give cauſe and way.*

And

And further, That Cobham *and his Brother* Brook *met on the 9th of* June *laſt*, *and* Cobham *told* Brook *all theſe Treaſons: To the which Treaſons* Brook *gave his Aſſent, and did joyn himſelf to all theſe; and after on the Thurſday following*, Cobham *and* Brook *did ſpeak theſe words*: That there would never be a good World in *England*, till the King (*meaning our Soveraign Lord*) and his Cubs (*meaning his Royal Iſſue*) were taken away.

And the more to diſable and deprive the King of his Crown, and to confirm the ſaid Cobham *in his Intents*, Raleigh *did publiſh a Book, falſly written againſt the moſt juſt and Royal Title of the King, knowing the ſaid Book to be written againſt the juſt Title of the King; which Book* Cobham *after that received of him. Further, for the better effecting theſe Traiterous Purpoſes, and to eſtabliſh the ſaid* Brook *in his Intent, the ſaid* Cobham *did deliver the ſaid Book unto him the 14th of* June. *And further, the ſaid* Cobham, *on the 16th of* June, *for accompliſhment of the ſaid Conference, and by the Traiterous Inſtigation of* Raleigh, *did move* Brook *to incite* Arabella *to write to the three forenamed Princes, to procure them to advance her Title; and that ſhe, after ſhe had obtained the Crown, ſhould promiſe to perform three things*, viz. *Peace between* England *and* Spain. 2. *To tolerate with impunity the* Popiſh *and* Roman *Superſtitions.* 3. *To be ruled by them three in the contracting of her Marriage.*

To theſe Motions the ſaid Brook *gave his Aſſent. And for the better effecting of the ſaid Treaſons*, Cobham *on the ſeventeenth of* June, *by the Inſtigation of* Raleigh, *did write Letters to Count* Aremberg, *and did deliver the ſaid Letters to one* Matthew *de* Lawrency, *to be delivered to the ſaid Count: which he did deliver for the obtaining of the* 600000 *Crowns; which Money by other Letters Count* Aremberg *did promiſe to perform the payment of; and this Letter* Cobham *received the eighteenth of* June. *And then did* Cobham *promiſe to* Raleigh, *that when he had received the ſaid Money, he would deliver* 8000 *Crowns to him: to which motion he did conſent; and afterwards* Cobham *offered* Brook, *that after he ſhould receive the ſaid Crowns, he would give to him* 10000 *thereof; to which Motion* Brook *did aſſent.*

To the Indictment Sir *Walter Raleigh* pleaded Not Guilty.

The JURY.

Sir *Ralph Conſby*,
Sir *Thomas Fowler*,
Sir *Edward Peacock*,
Sir *William Rowe*,
} Knights.

Henry Goodyer,
Roger Wood,
Thomas Walker,
Thomas Whitby,
} Eſquires.

Thomas Highgate,
Robert Kempthon,
John Chawkey,
Robert Brumley,
} Gentlemen.

Sir *Walter Raleigh* Priſoner, was asked, whether he would take Exceptions to any of the Jury?

Raleigh. I know none of them; they are all Chriſtians, and honeſt Gentlemen, I except againſt none.

E. *Suff.* You Gentlemen of the Kings Learned Counſel, follow the ſame courſe as you did the other day.

Raleigh. My Lord, I pray you I may anſwer the Points particularly as they are delivered, by reaſon of the weakneſs of my memory and ſickneſs.

Popham, Chief Juſtice. After the Kings Learned Counſel have delivered all the Evidence, Sir *Walter*, you may anſwer particularly to what you will.

Heale, the Kings Serjeant at Law. You have head of *Raleigh*'s Bloody Attempts to kill the King and his Royal Progeny, and in place thereof to advance one *Arabella Stuart*: The particulars of the Indictment are theſe. Firſt, That *Raleigh* met with *Cobham* the ninth of *June*, and had Conference of an Invaſion, of a Rebellion, and an Inſurrection, to be made by the King's Subjects, to depoſe the King, and to kill his Children, poor Babes that never gave offence: Here is Blood, here is a new King and Governour. In our King conſiſts all our Happineſs, and the true uſe of the Goſpel, a thing which we all wiſhed to be ſetled after the Death of the Queen. Here muſt be money to do this, for Money is the Sinew of War. Where ſhould that be had? Count *Aremberg* muſt procure it of *Philip* King of *Spain*, five or ſix hundred thouſand Crowns, and out of this Sum *Raleigh* muſt have eight thouſand. But what is that Count *Aremberg*? though I am no good *Frenchman*, yet it is as much as to ſay in *Engliſh*, Earl of *Aremberg*. Then there muſt be Friends to effect this: *Cobham* muſt go to *Albert* Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*, for whom *Aremberg* was Ambaſſador at that time in *England*. And what then? He muſt preſwade the Duke to aſſiſt the pre-

tended

tended Title of *Arabella*. From thence *Cobham* muſt go to the King of *Spain*, and perſwade him to aſſiſt the ſaid Title. Since the Conqueſt there was never the like Treaſon. But out of whoſe Head came it? Out of *Raleigh*'s, who muſt alſo adviſe *Cobham* to uſe his Brother *Brook* to incite the Lady *Arabella* to write three ſeveral Letters, as aforeſaid in the Indictment; all this was on the ninth of *June*. Then three days after *Brook* was acquainted with it: After this *Cobham* ſaid to *Brook*, It *will never be well in* England *till the King and his* Cubs *are taken away*. Afterwards *Raleigh* delivered a Book to *Cobham*, treacherouſly written againſt the Title of the King. It appears that *Cobham* took *Raleigh* to be either a God, or an Idol. *Cobham* endeavours to ſet up a new King, or Governour. God forbid mine Eyes ſhould ever ſee ſo unhappy a change. As for the Lady *Arabella*, ſhe upon my Conſcience hath no more title to the Crown than I have, which before God I utterly renounce. *Cobham* a Man bred in *England*, hath no experience abroad: but *Raleigh*, a Man of great Wit, Military, and a Sword-Man. Now whether theſe things were bred in a hollow Tree, I leave to them to ſpeak of, who can ſpeak far better than my ſelf. *And ſo ſat him down again.*

Sir Edward Cook, the King's Attorney.

I muſt firſt, my Lords, before I come to the Cauſe give one Caution, becauſe we ſhall often mention Perſons of eminent Places, ſome of them great Monarchs: Whatever we ſay of them, we ſhall but repeat what others have ſaid of them; I mean the Capital Offenders in their Confeſſions: We profeſſing Law, muſt ſpeak reverently of Kings and Potentates. I perceive theſe honourable Lords, and the reſt of this great Aſſembly, are come to hear what hath been ſcattered upon the Wrack of Report. We carry a juſt Mind, to condemn no Man but upon plain Evidence. Here is Miſchief, Miſchief in *ſumma Gradu*, exorbitant Miſchief. My Speech ſhall chiefly touch theſe three Points; *Imitation, Supportation*, and *Defence*.

The Imitation of Evil ever exceeds the Precedent; as on the contrary Imitation of Good ever comes ſhort. Miſchief cannot be ſupported but by Miſchief; yea, it will ſo multiply, that it will bring all to confuſion. Miſchief is ever underprop'd by Falſhood of foul Practices. And becauſe all theſe things did concur in this Treaſon, you ſhall underſtand the Main, as before you did the Bye.

The Treaſon of the Bye, conſiſteth in theſe Points: Firſt, That the Lord *Grey*, *Brook*, *Markham*, and the reſt, intended by Force in the Night to ſurprize the King's Court: which was a Rebellion in the Heart of the Realm, yea in the Heart of the Heart, in the Court. They intended to take him that is a Sovereign, to make him ſubject to their Power, purpoſing to open the Doors with Muſquets and Calievers, and to take alſo the Prince and Council. Then under the King's Authority to carry the King to the Tower; and to make a *Stale of the Admiral*. When they had the King there, to extort three things from him: Firſt, A Pardon for all their Treaſons. Secondly, A Toleration of the *Roman* Superſtition: Which, their Eyes ſhall ſooner fall out than they ſhall ever ſee; for the King hath ſpoken theſe words in the hearing of many, *I will loſe the Crown, and my Life, before ever I will alter Religion*. And, Thirdly, To remove Counſellors: In the room of the Lord Chancellor, they would have plac'd one *Watſon* a Prieſt, abſurd in Humanity, and ignorant in Divinity. *Brook*, of whom I will ſpeak nothing, Lord-Treaſurer. The great Secretary muſt be *Markham*, *Oculus Patriæ*. A Hole muſt be found in my Lord Chief Juſtice's Coat. *Grey* muſt be Earl-Marſhal, and Maſter of the Horſe, becauſe he would have a Table in the Court: marry, he would advance the Earl of *Worceſter* to an higher Place. All this cannot be done without a Multitude. Therefore *Watſon* the Prieſt tells a Reſolute Man that the King was in danger of *Puritans* and *Jeſuites*; ſo to bring him in blindfold into the Action, ſaying, That the King is no King till he be Crown'd; therefore every Man might right his own Wrongs: but he is *Rex natus*, His Dignity deſcends as well as yours, my Lords. Then *Watſon* impoſeth a *blaſphemous Oath*, That they ſhould ſwear to defend the King's Perſon; to keep ſecret what was given them in charge, and ſeek all ways and means to advance the Catholick Religion. Then they intend to ſend for the Lord Mayor and the Aldermen, in the King's Name, to the Tower, leſt they ſhould make any Reſiſtance, and then to take Hoſtages of them; and to enjoyn them to provide for them Victuals and Munition. *Grey*, becauſe the King removed before *Midſummer*, had a farther reach, to get a company of Sword-men to aſſiſt the Action: Therefore he would ſtay till he had obtained a Regiment from *Oſtend*, or *Auſtria*. So you ſee theſe Treaſons were like *Sampſon*'s Foxes, which were joyned in their Tails, though their Heads were ſevered.

Raleigh.

Raleigh. You Gentlemen of the Jury, I pray remember I am not charged with the Bye, being the Treason of the Priest.

Attourney. You are not. My Lords, you shall observe three things in the Treasons: First, They had a Watch-word (the King's safety) their Pretence was *Bonum in se*, their Intent was *Malum in se*. Secondly, They avouched Scripture; both the Priests had *Scriptum est*; perverting and ignorantly mistaking the Scriptures. Thirdly, They avouched the Common Law, to prove that he was no King till he was Crowed; alledging a Statute of *Eliz.* 13. This, by way of Imitation, hath been the course of all Traytors.

In the 20th of *Edw.* the 2*d*, *Isabella* the Queen, and the Lord *Mortimer*, gave out, That the King's Person was not safe, for the good of the Church and Common-wealth.

The Bishop of *Carlile* did preach on this Text, *My Head is grieved*: meaning by the Head, the King; that when the Head began to be negligent, the People might reform what is amiss.

In the 3*d Hen.* 4. Sir *Roger Claringdon* accompanied with two Priests, gave out, that *Richard* the Second was Alive when he was Dead.

Edward the 3*d* caused *Mortimer*'s Head to be cut off, for giving counsel to Murther the King.

The 3 *Hen.* 7. Sir *Henry Stanly* found the Crown in the Dust, and set it on the King's Head; when *Fitzwater* and *Garret* told him that *Edward* the 5*th* was alive, he said, *If Ibe alive, I will assist him.* But this cost him his Head.

Edmond de la Pool, Duke of *Suffolk*, killed a Man in the Reign of King *Henry* the 7*th*, for which the King would have him hold up his hand at the Bar, and then Pardoned him. Yet he took such an Offence thereat, that he sent to the Noblemen, to help to reform the Common-wealth; and then said, he would go to *France*, and get Power there. Sir *Roger Compton* knew all the Treason, and discovered *Windon* and others, that were Attainted.

He said there was another thing that would be stood upon, namely, *that they had but one Witness.* Then he vouched one *Appleyard*'s Case, a Traytor in *Norfolk*, who said a Man must have two Accusers. *Helms* was the Man that accused him; but Mr. *Just. Catlin* said, that that Statute was not in force at that day. His words were [*Thrust her into the Ditch.*] :

Then he went on speaking of Accusers, and made this difference: An Accuser is a speaker by Report, when a Witness is he that upon his Oath shall speak his knowledge of any Man.

A third sort of Evidence there is likewise, and this is held more forcible than either of the other two; and that is, when a Man by his Accusation of another, shall by the same Accusation also condemn himself, and make himself liable to the same Fault and Punishment: this is more forcible than many Witnesses. So then so much by way of Imitation. Then he defined Treason; there is Treason in the Heart, in the Hand, in the Mouth, in Consummation: comparing that in *Corde* to the Root of a Tree; in *Ore*, to the Bud; in *Manu*, to the Blossom; and that which is *in Consummatione*, to the Fruit.

Now I come to your Charge, you of the Jury. The greatness of Treason is to be considered in these two things, *Determinatione finis*, and *Electione mediorum.* This Treason excelleth in both, for that it was to destroy the King and his Progeny. These Treasons are said to be *Crimen læsæ Majestatis*; this goeth further, and may be term'd *Crimen extirpandæ Regiæ Majestatis, & totius Progeniei suæ.* I shall not need, my Lords, to speak any thing concerning the King, nor of the Bounty and Sweetness of his Nature, whose Thoughts are Innnocent, whose Words are full of Wisdom and Learning, and whose Works are full of Honour; although it be a true saying, *Nunquam nimis quod nunquam satis.* But to whom do you bear your Malice? To the Children?

Raleigh. To whom speak you this? You tell me News I never heard of.

Attourney. Oh Sir, do I? I will prove you the Notoriousest Traytor that ever came to the Bar. After you have taken away the King, you would alter Religion: as you, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, have followed them of the Bye in Imitation; for I will charge you with the words.

Raleigh. Your words cannot condemn me, my Innocency is my Defence: Prove one of these things wherewith you have charg'd me, and I will confess the whole Indictment, and that I am the horriblest Traytor that ever lived, and worthy to be Crucifi'd with a thousand thousand *Torments.*

Attourney. Nay, I will prove all: Thou art a Monster, thou hast an *English* Face, but a *Spanish* Heart. Now you must have Money: *Aremberg* was no sooner in *England* (I Charge thee *Raleigh*) but thou incitedst *Cobham* to go unto him, and to deal with him for Money, to bestow on discontented Persons, to raise Rebellion on the Kingdom.

Raleigh. Let me Answer for my self.

Attourney. Thou shalt not.

Raleigh. It concerneth my Life.

Lord Chief Justice Popham. Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Mr. *Attourney* is but yet in the Gene-

general, but when the Kings Counsel have given the Evidence wholly, you shall answer every Particular.

Attourney. Oh! do I touch you.

Lord Cecil. M. *Attourney*, when you have done with this general Charge, do you not mean to let him answer to every Particular?

Attourney. Yes, when we deliver the Proofs to be read. *Raleigh* procured *Cobham* to go to *Aremberg*, which he did by his Instigation: *Raleigh* supped with *Cobham* before he went to *Aremberg*; after Supper, *Raleigh* conducted him to *Durham* House; from whence *Cobham* went with *Lawrency*, a Servant of *Aremberg*'s, unto him, and went in by a Back-way. *Cobham* could never be quiet until he had entertain'd this Motion, for he had four Letters from *Raleigh*. *Aremberg* answered, the Money should be performed, but knew not to whom it should be distributed. Then *Cobham* and *Lawrency* came back to *Durham* House, where they found *Raleigh*. *Cobham* and *Raleigh* went up, and left *Lawrency* below, where they had secret Conference in a Gallery, and after *Cobham* and *Lawrency* departed from *Raleigh*. Your *Jargon* was Peace! What is that? *Spanish* Invasion, *Scotish* Subversion. And again, you are not a fit Man to take so much Money for procuring of a Lawful Peace, for Peace procur'd by Money is dishonourable. Then *Cobham* must go to *Spain*, and return by *Jersey*, where you were Captain: And then because *Cobham* had not so much Policy, or at least Wickedness as you, he must have your advice for the distribution of the Money. Would you have deposed so good a King, lineally descended of *Elizabeth*, Eldest Daughter of *Edward* the 4*th*? Why then must you set up another? I think you meant to make *Arabella* a Titular Queen, of whose Title I will speak nothing, but sure you meant to make her a Stale: Ah good Lady! you could mean her no good.

Raleigh. You tell me News, Mr. *Attourney*.

Attourney. Oh Sir! I am the more large, because I know with whom I deal: For we have to deal to day with a Man of Wit.

Raleigh. Did I ever speak with this Lady?

Attourney. I will track you out before I have done: *English-Men* will not be led by perswasion of Words, but they must have Books to perswade.

Raleigh. The Book was written by a Man of your Profession, Mr. *Attourney*.

Attourney. I would not have you impatient.

Raleigh. Methinks you fall out with your self, I say nothing.

Attourney. By this Book you would perswade Men that he is not the Lawful King. Now let us consider some Circumstances: My Lords, you know my Lord *Cobham* (for whom we all Lament, and Rejoyce; Lament in that his House, which hath stood so long unspotted, is now Ruinated; Rejoyce, in that his Treasons are Reveal'd): he is neither Politician nor Sword-man; *Raleigh* was both, united in the Cause with him, and therfore cause of his Destruction. Another Circumstance is the secret Contriving of it. *Humphry Stafford* claimed Sanctuary for Treason. *Raleigh* in his Machivilian Policy hath made a Sanctuary for Treason. He must talk with none but *Cobham*, because (saith he) one Witness can never condemn me. For *Brook* said unto Sir *Griffith Markham*, *Take heed how you do make my Lord* Cobham *acquainted; for whatsoever he knoweth*, Raleigh *the Witch will get out of him.* As soon as *Raleigh* was examined on one Point of Treason concerning my Lord *Cobham*, he wrote to him thus; *I have been examined of you, and confessed nothing.* Further you sent to him by your trusty *Francis Kemish*, that one Witness could not condemn; and therefore bad his Lordship be of good Courage. Came this out of *Cobham*'s Quiver? No: But out of *Raleigh*'s Machivilian and Deviliſh Policy. Yea, but *Cobham* did retract it; Why then did you urge it? Now then see the most horrible Practices that ever came out of the bottomless Pit of the Lowest Hell. After that *Raleigh* had Intelligence that *Cobham* had Accused him, he endeavoured to have Intelligence from *Cobham*, which he had gotten by young Sir *John Payton*: But I think it was the Error of his Youth.

Raleigh. The Lords told it me, or else I had not been sent to the Tower.

Attourney. Thus *Cobham* by the Instigation of *Raleigh*, entred into these Actions: So that the Question will be, Whether you are not the principal Traitor, and he would nevertheless have entred into it? Why did *Cobham* retract all that same? First, because *Raleigh* was so Odious, he thought he should fare the worse for his sake. Secondly, he thought thus with himself, If he be free, I shall clear my self the better. After this *Cobham* asked for a *Preacher* to confer with, pretending to have Doctor *Andrews*; but indeed he meant not to have him, but Mr. *Galloway*; a Worthy and Reverend *Preacher*, who can do more with the King (as he said) than any other; that he, seeing his constant Denial, might inform the King thereof. Here he plays with the *Preacher*. If *Raleigh* could perswade the Lords, that *Cobham* had no Intent to travel, then he thought all should be well. Here is Forgery. In the Tower *Cobham* must write to Sir *Thomas Vane*, a Worthy Man, that he meant not to go into *Spain*; which Letter *Raleigh* devised in *Cobham*'s Name.

***

Raleigh.

Raleigh. I will wash my hands of the Indictment, and die a true Man to the King.

Attourney. You are the absoluteſt Traytor that ever was.

Raleigh. Your Phraſes will not prove it, Mr. *Attourney.*

Attourney. Cobham writeth a Letter to my Lord *Cecil*, and doth will *Mellis* his Man, to lay it in a *Spaniſh* Bible, and to make as though he found it by chance. This was after he had Intelligence with this Viper, that he was falſe.

Lord Cecil. You mean a Letter intended to me, I never had it.

Attourney. No, my Lord, you had it not. You, my Maſters of the Jury, reſpect not the Wickedneſs and Hatred of the Man, reſpect his *Cauſe*; if he be guilty, I know you will have care of it, for the Preſervation of the King, the Continuance of the Goſpel authoriſed, and the Good of us all.

Raleigh. I do not hear yet, that you have ſpoken one word againſt me, here is no Treaſon of mine done: If my Lord *Cobham* be a Traytor, what is that to me?

Attourney. All that he did was by thy Inſtigation, thou Viper; for I *thou* thee, thou *Traytor.*

Raleigh. It becometh not a Man of Quality and Vertue, to call me ſo: But I take comfort in it, it is all you can do.

Attourney. Have I anger'd you?

Raleigh. I am in no Caſe to be angry.

Popham. Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Mr. *Attourney* ſpeaketh out of the Zeal of his duty, for the Service of the King, and you for your Life; be valiant on both ſides.

Now they proceed to the Reading the Proofs.

The Lord Cobham's *Examination read.*

'He confeſſeth he had a Paſſport to go 'into *Spain*, intending to go to the Arch-'Duke to confer with him about theſe Pra-'ctices; and becauſe he knew the Arch-'Duke had not Money to pay his own Ar-'my, from thence he meant to go to *Spain*, 'to deal with the King for the 600000 'Crowns, and to return by *Jerſey*, and that 'nothing ſhould be done, until he had ſpo-'ken with Sir *Walter Raleigh* for diſtributi-'on of the Money, to them which were diſ-'contented in *England.* At the firſt begin-'ning he breathed out Oaths and Exclama-'tions againſt *Raleigh*, calling him Villain 'and Traytor; ſaying he had never entred 'into theſe Courſes, but by his Inſtigation, 'and that he would never let him alone.

Here Mr. *Attourney* willed the Clerk of the Crown Office to read over theſe laſt words again (*he would never let him alone.*)

The Lord Cobham's *Examination.*

'Beſides he ſpake of Plots and Invaſions: 'Of the Particulars whereof he could give 'no Account, though *Raleigh* and he had 'conferred of them. Further, he ſaid, He 'was afraid of *Raleigh*, that when he ſhould 'return by *Jerſey*, that he would have him 'and the Money to the King. Being Exa-'mined of Sir *Arthur Gorge*, he freed him, 'ſaying:

They never durſt truſt him, but Sir *Arthur Savage* they intended to uſe, becauſe they thought him a fit Man.

Raleigh. Let me ſee the Accuſation: This is abſolutely all the Evidence can be brought againſt me; poor ſhifts! You Gentlemen of the Jury, I pray you underſtand this: This is that which muſt either condemn, or give me Life; which muſt free me, or ſend my Wife and Children to beg their Bread about the Streets. This is that muſt prove me a nororious Traytor, or a true Subject to the King. Let me ſee my Accuſation, that I may make my Anſwer.

Clerk of the Council. I did read it, and ſhew you all the Examinations.

Raleigh. At my firſt Examination at *Windſor*, my Lords asked me, what I knew of *Cobham*'s Practice with *Aremberg*? I anſwered Negatively: And as concerning *Arabella*, I proteſt before God, I never heard one word of it. If that be proved, let me be guilty of ten thouſand Treaſons. It is a ſtrange thing you will impute that to me, when I never heard ſo much as the Name of *Arabella Stuart*, but only the Name of *Arabella.*

After being Examined, I told my Lords, that I thought my Lord *Cobham* had Conference with *Aremberg*, I ſuſpected his Viſiting of him; For after he departed from me at *Durham* Houſe, I ſaw him paſs by his own Stairs, and paſſed over to S. *Mary Saviours*, where I knew *Lawrency*, a Merchant, and a Follower of *Aremberg*, lay, and therefore likely to go unto him. My Lord *Cecil* asked my Opinion concerning *Lawrency*; I ſaid, that if you do not apprehend *Lawrency*, it is dangerous he will flie; if you do apprehend him, you ſhall give my Lord *Cobham* notice thereof. I was asked likewiſe, who was the greateſt Man with my Lord *Cobham*? I anſwered, I knew no Man ſo great with him, as young *Wyat* of *Kent.*

Aſſoon as *Cobham* ſaw my Letter to have diſcovered his Dealing with *Aremberg*, in his Fury he accuſed me, but before he came to the Stair-foot he repented, and ſaid he had done me Wrong. When he came to the end of his Accuſation, he added, That

if

if he had brought this Money to *Jersey*, he fear'd that I would have deliver'd him and the money to the King. Mr. *Attourny*, you said this never came out of *Cobham*'s Quiver, he is a simple Man. Is he so simple? No: He hath a Disposition of his own, he will not easily be guided by others, but when he has once taken Head in a Matter, he is not easily drawn from it; he is no Babe. But it is strange for me to devise with *Cobham*, that he should go to *Spain*, to perswade the King to disburse so much Money, he being a Man of no Love in *England*, and I having resigned my room of chiefest Command, the Wardenship of the *Stanneries*: Is it not strange for me to make my self *Robin Hood*, or a *Kett*, or a *Cade*? I knowing *England* to be in better Estate to defend it self than ever it was. I knew *Scotland* United; *Ireland* Quieted, wherein of late our Forces were dispersed; *Denmark* assured, which before was suspected. I knew that having a Lady whom Time had surprized, we had now an active King, a lawful Successor, who would himself be present in all his Affairs. The State of *Spain* was not unknown to me. I had written a Discourse, which I had intended to present unto the King, against Peace with *Spain*. I knew the *Spaniard* had six Repulses, three in *Ireland*, and three at Sea, and once in 1588 at *Cales*, by my Lord Admiral. I knew he was Discouraged and Dishonoured. I knew the King of *Spain* to be the proudest Prince in Christendom; but now he cometh Creeping to the King my Master for Peace. I knew whereas before he had in his Port six or seven score Sail of Ships, he hath now but Six or Seven. I knew of Twenty five Millions he had from his *Indies*, he hath scarce one left. I knew him to be so Poor, that the Jesuites in *Spain*, who were wont to have such large Allowance, were fain to beg at the Church-Door. Was it ever read or heard, that any Prince should disburse so much Money without a sufficient Pawn? I knew her own Subjects, the Citizens of *London*, would not lend her Majesty Money without Lands in Mortgage. I knew the Queen did not lend the States Money without *Flushing*, *Brill*, and other Towns for a Pawn. And can it be thought, that he would let *Cobham* have so great a Sum?

I never came to the Lord *Cobham*'s but about matters of his Profit, as the Ordering of his House, Paying of his Servants Board-wages, *&c.* I had of his when I was examined, Four Thousand Pounds worth of Jewels for a Purchase; a Pearl of three thousand Pound, and a Ring worth five hundred Pound: If he had had a fancy to run away, he would not have left so much to have purchased a Lease in Fee Farm. I saw him buy three hundred Pounds worth of Books to send to his Library at *Canterbury*, and a Cabinet of thirty Pound to give to Mr. *Attourney*, for drawing the Conveyances; and God in Heaven knoweth, not I, whether he intended to travel or no. But for that Practice with *Arabella*, or Letters to *Aremberg* framed, or any Discourse with him, or in what Language he spake unto him; if I knew any of these things, I would absolutely confess the Indictment, and acknowledge my self worthy ten thousand Deaths.

Cobham's *second Examination Read.*

The Lord *Cobham* being required to subscribe to an Examination, there was shewed a Note under Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s hand, the which when he had perused, he paused and after brake forth into these Speeches; Oh Villain! Oh Traytor! I will now tell you all the Truth: And then said, His purpose was to go into *Flanders*, and into *Spain*, for the obtaining the aforesaid Money, and that *Raleigh* had appointed to meet him in *Jersey* as he returned Home, to be advised of him about the Distribution of the Money.

Popham, Lord Chief Justice. When *Cobham* answer'd to the Interrogatories, he made scruple to subscribe, and being urged to it, he said, If he might hear me affirm, that a Person of his Degree ought to set his Hand, he would; I lying then at *Richmond*, for fear of the Plague, was sent for, and I told he ought to subscribe; otherwise it were a Contempt of a high Nature: Then he subscribed. The Lords questioned with him further, and he shewed them a Letter, as I thought written to me, but it was indeed written to my Lord *Cecil*: He desired to see the Letter again, and then said, Oh Wretch! Oh Traytor! Whereby I perceived you had not performed that Trust he had reposed in you.

Raleigh. He is as passionate a Man as lives, for he hath not spared the best Friends he hath in *England* in his Passion. My Lords, I take it, he that has been examined, has ever been asked at the time of his Examination, if it be according to his meaning, and then to subscribe. Methinks, my Lords, when he accuses a Man, he should give some Account and Reason of it; it is not sufficient to say, we talked of it. If I had been the Plotter, would not I have given *Cobham* some Arguments, whereby to perswade the King of *Spain*, and answer his Objections. I knew *Westmorland*, and *Bothwell*, Men of other Understandings than *Cobham*, were ready to beg their Bread.

Sir Thomas Fowler, one of the Jury. Did Sir *Walter Raleigh* write a Letter to my Lord before he was examined concerning him, or not?

Attourney. Yes.

Lord Cecil. I am in great Dispute with my self to speak in the Case of this Gentle-

man: A former Dearneſs between me and him tied ſo firm a Knot of my Conceit of his Virtues, now broken by a Diſcovery of his Imperfections. I proteſt, did I ſerve a King that I knew would be diſpleaſed with me for ſpeaking, in this Caſe I would ſpeak whatever came of it: But ſeeing he is compacted of Piety and Juſtice, and one that will not miſlike of any Man for ſpeaking a Truth, I will anſwer your Queſtion.

Sir *Walter Raleigh* was ſtaid by me at *Windſor*, upon the firſt News of *Coply*, that the Kings Perſon ſhould be ſurpriſed by my Lord *Grey*, and Mr. *George Brook*; when I found *Brook* was in, I ſuſpected *Cobham*, then I doubted *Raleigh* to be a partaker. I ſpeak not this, that it ſhould be thought I had greater Judgment than the reſt of my Lords, in making this haſte to have them examined. *Raleigh* following to *Windſor*, I met with him, upon the *Tarras*, and willed him as from the King to ſtay, ſaying the Lords had ſomething to ſay to him: Then he was examined, but not concerning my Lord *Cobham*, but of the Surpriſing Treaſon. My Lord *Grey* was apprehended, and likewiſe *Brook*; by *Brook* we found, that he had given notice to *Cobham* of the ſurpriſing Treaſon, as he delivered it to us, but with as much ſparingneſs of a Brother as he might: We ſent for my Lord *Cobham* to *Richmond*, where he ſtood upon his Juſtification and his Quality; ſometimes being froward, he ſaid he was not bound to ſubſcribe, wherewith we made the King acquainted. *Cobham* ſaid, if my Lord Chief Juſtice would ſay it were a Contempt, he would ſubſcribe; whereof being reſolved, he ſubſcribed. There was a Light given to *Aremberg*, that *Lawrency* was examined, but that *Raleigh* knew that *Cobham* was examined, is more than I know.

Raleigh. If my Lord *Cobham* had truſted me in the Main, was not I as fit a Man to be truſted in the Bye?

Lord Cecil. *Raleigh* did by his Letters acquaint us, that my Lord *Cobham* had ſent *Lawrency* to *Aremberg*, when he knew not he had any Dealings with him.

Lord H. How. It made for you, if *Lawrency* had been only acquainted with *Cobham*, and not with you. But you knew his whole Eſtate, and were acquainted with *Cobham*'s Practice with *Lawrency*, and it was known to you before, that *Lawrency* depended on *Aremberg*.

Attourney. 1. *Raleigh* proteſted againſt the ſurpriſing Treaſon. 2. That he knew not of the Matter touching *Arabella*. I would not charge you, Sir *Walter*, with a matter of Falſhood: You ſay, you ſuſpected the Intelligence that *Cobham* had with *Aremberg*, by *Lawrency*.

Raleigh. I thought it had been no other Intelligence, but ſuch as might be warranted.

Attourney. Then it was but lawful Suſpicion. But to that whereas you ſaid, that *Cobham* had accuſed you in Paſſion, I anſwer three Ways: 1. I obſerved when *Cobham* ſaid, Let me ſee the Letter again? he pauſed, and when he did ſee that Count *Aremberg* was touched, he cried out, Oh Traytor! Oh Villain! Now will I confeſs the whole Truth. 2. The Accuſation of a Man on Hear-ſay, is nothing: Would he accuſe himſelf on Paſſion, and ruinate his Cauſe and Poſterity, out of Malice to accuſe you? 3. Could this be out of Paſſion? Mark the manner of it: *Cobham* had told this at leaſt two months before to his Brother *Brook*, *You are Fools, you are on the Bye.* Raleigh *and I are on the Main, we mean to take away the King and his Cubs*; this he delivered two months before. So mark the manner and the matter, he would not turn the Weapon againſt his own Boſom, and accuſe himſelf to accuſe you.

Raleigh. Hath *Cobham* confeſſed that?

Lord Chief Juſtice. This is ſpoken by Mr. *Attourney*, to prove that *Cobham*'s Speech came not out of Paſſion.

Raleigh. Let it be proved that *Cobham* ſaid ſo.

Attourney. *Cobham* ſaith, He was a long time doubtful of *Raleigh*, that he would ſend him and the money to the King. Did *Cobham* fear leſt you would betray him in *Jerſey*? Then of neceſſity there muſt be Truſt between you. No man can betray a man but he that is truſted, in my underſtanding. This is the greateſt Argument to prove that he was acquainted with *Cobham*'s Proceedings. *Raleigh* has a deeper reach than to make himſelf, as he ſaid, *Robin Hood*, a *Kett* or *Cade*, yet I never heard that *Robin Hood* was a Traytor; they ſay he was an Outlaw. And whereas he ſaith, that our King is not only more Wealthy and Potent than his Predeceſſors, but alſo more Politick and Wiſe, ſo that he could have no hope to prevail. I anſwer, There is no King ſo Potent, Wiſe and Active, but he may be overtaken through Treaſon. Whereas you ſay *Spain* is ſo Poor, diſcourſing ſo largely thereof: it had been better for you to have kept in *Guiana*, than to have been ſo well acquainted with the State of *Spain*. Beſides, if you could have brought *Spain* and *Scotland* to have joyned, you might have hoped to prevail a great deal the better. For his ſix Overthrows, I anſwer; He hath the more Malice, becauſe Repulſes breed deſire of Revenge. Then you ſay, you never talked with *Cobham* but about Leaſes, and letting Lands, and ordering his Houſe; I never knew you Clerk of the Kitchin, *&c.* If you had fallen on your

your Knees at firſt, and confeſſed the Treaſon, it had been better for you. You ſay, he meant to have given me a Cabinet of thirty Pounds, perhaps, he thought by thoſe means to have anticipated me therewith. But you ſay, all theſe are Circumſtances. I anſwer, all this Accuſation in Circumſtance is true: Here now I might appeal to my Lords, that you take hold of this, that he ſubſcribed not to the Accuſation.

Lord H. How. Cobham was not then preſſed to ſubſcribe.

Attourney. His Accuſation being teſtified by the Lords, is of as great force, as if he had ſubſcribed. *Raleigh* ſaith again, if the Accuſer be alive, he muſt be brought face to face to ſpeak, and alledges 25*th Edw.* 3*d.* That there muſt be two ſufficient Witneſſes that muſt be brought face to fece before the Accuſed, and alledgeth 10, and 13 *Eliz.*

Raleigh. You try me by the *Spaniſh* Inquiſition, if You proceed only by the Circumſtances without two Witneſſes.

Attourney. This is a Treaſonable Speech.

Raleigh. Evertere hominem juſtum in Cauſa ſua injuſtum eſt: Good my Lords, let it be proved either by the Laws of the Land, or the Laws of God, that there ought not to be two Witneſſes appointed; yet I will not ſtand to defend this Point in Law, if the King will have it ſo: it is no rare thing for a Man to be falſly accuſed. A Judg condemned a Woman in *Sarum* for killing her Husband, on the Teſtimony of one Witneſs; afterwards his Man confeſſed the Murther, when ſhe was executed. Who after being touched in Conſcience for the Judgment, was uſed to ſay, *Quod nunquam de hoc facto animam in vita ſua purgaret.* It is alſo commanded by the Scripture, *Allocutus eſt Jehova Moſen, In Ore duorum aut trium Teſtium,* &c.

If Chriſt requireth it, as it appeareth, *Matth.* 18. If by the Canon, Civil Law, and God's Word, it be required, that there muſt be two Witneſſes at the leaſt, bear with me if I deſire one.

I would not deſire to live, if I were privy to *Cobham*'s Proceedings: I had been a Slave, a Villain, a Fool, if I had endeavoured to ſet up *Arabella*, and refuſed ſo Gracious a Lord and Sovereign: But urge your Proofs.

Lord Chief Juſtice. You have offered Queſtions on divers Statuters, all which mention two Accuſers in caſe of Indictments; you have deceived your ſelf, for the Laws of 25 *Ed.* 3. and 5 *Ed.* 6. are repeal'd. It ſufficeth now if there be Proofs made either under Hand, or by Teſtimony of Witneſſes, or by Oaths; it needs not the Subſcription of the Party, ſo there be Hands of credible Men to teſtifie the Examination.

Raleigh. It may be an Error in me, and if thoſe Laws be repeal'd, yet I hope the Equity of them remains ſtill; but if you affirm it, it muſt be a Law to Poſterity. The Proof of the Common Law is by Witneſs and Jury, let *Cobham* be here, let him ſpeak it: Call my Accuſer before my Face, and I have done.

Attourney. Scientia ſceleris eſt mera Ignorantia: You have read the Letter of the Law, but underſtand it not. Here was your Anchor-hold, and your Randeſvous: you truſt to *Cobham*, either *Cobham* muſt accuſe you, or no body; if he did, then it would not hurt you, becauſe he is but one Witneſs; if he did not, then you are ſafe.

Raleigh. If ever I read word of the Law or Statute before I was Priſoner in the Tower, God confound me.

Attourney. Now I come to prove the Circumſtances of the Accuſation to be true. *Cobham* confeſſed he had a paſſport to travel, hereby intending to preſent Overtures to the Arch-Duke, and from thence to go to *Spain*, and there to have Conference with the King for Money: You ſay he promiſed to come home by *Jerſey*, to make merry with you and your Wife.

Raleigh. I ſaid, in his return from *France*, not *Spain.*

Attourney. Further, in his Examination he ſaith, nothing could be ſet down for the Diſtribution of the Money to the Diſcontented, without Conference with *Raleigh.* You ſaid it ſhould have been for procurement of Peace, but it was for raiſing Rebellion. Further, *Cobham* ſaith, he would never have entred into theſe Courſes, but by your Inſtigation, and that you would never let him alone. Your Scholar was not apt enough to tell us all the Plots, that is enough for you to do, that are his Maſter: You intended to truſt Sir *Arthur Savage*, whom I take to be an honeſt and true Gentleman, but not Sir *Arthur Gorge.*

Raleigh. All this is but one Accuſation of *Cobham*'s, I hear no other thing; to which Accuſation he never ſubſcribed nor avouched it; I beſeech you, my Lords, let *Cobham* be ſent for, charge him on his Soul, on his Allegiance to the King; if he affirm it, I am Guilty.

Lord Cecil. It is the Accuſation of my Lord *Cobham*, it is the Evidence againſt you, muſt it not be of force without his Subſcription? I deſire to be reſolved by the Judges, whether by the Law it is not a forcible Argument of Evidence.

The Judges. My Lord, it is.

Raleigh. The King at his Coronation is ſworn, *In omnibus Judiciis ſuis Æquitatem, non Rigorem Regis, obſervare*: by the Rigour and Cruelty of the Law it may be a forcible Evidence.

Lord Chief Juſtice. That is not the Rigour of the Law, but the Juſtice of the Law;

Law; else when a Man hath made a plain Accusation, by Practice he might be brought to retract it again.

Raleigh. Oh my Lord, you may use Equity.

Lord Chief Justice. That is from the King, you are to have Justice from us.

Lord Anderson. The Law is, if the Matter be proved to the Jury, they must find you Guilty; for *Cobham*'s Accusation is not only against you, there are other things sufficient.

Lord Cecil. Now that Sir *Walter Raleigh* is satisfied, that *Cobham*'s Subscription is not necessary: I pray you Mr. *Attourney* go on.

Raleigh. Good Mr. *Attourney* be patient, and give me leave.

Lord Cecil. An unnecessary Patience is a hindrance, let him go on with his Proofs, and then refel them.

Raleigh. I would answer particularly.

Lord Cecil. If you would have a Table, and Pen, and Ink, you shall.

Then Paper and Ink was given him.

Here the Clerk of the Crown read the Letter, which the Lord *Cobham* did write in *July*, which was to the effect of his former Examination, further saying, *I have disclosed all; to accuse any one falsely, were to burden my own Conscience.*

Attourney. Read *Coplie*'s Confession the 8th of *June*, he saith, *He was offered* 1000 *Crowns to be in this Action.*

Here *Watson*'s Additions were read.

"The great Mass of Money from the "Count was impossible, saith *Brook*, &c.

Brook's Confession read.

"There have Letters passed, saith he, be-"tween *Cobham* and *Aremberg*, for a great Sum of Money, to assist a second Action for the surprising of his Majesty.

Attourney. It is not possible it was of Passion; for it was in talk before three Men being severally examined, who agreed in the Sum to be bestowed on discontented Persons. That *Grey* should have 12000 Crowns, and *Raleigh* should have 8000, or 10000 Crowns.

Cobham's Examination, *July* 18.

"If the Money might be procured (saith "he) then a Man may give Pensions. Be-"ing asked if a Pension should not be given "to his Brother *Brook*, he denied it not.

Lawrency's Examination.

"Within five days after *Aremberg* arri-"ved; *Cobham* resorted unto him. That "Night that *Cobham* went to *Aremberg* "with *Lawrency*, *Raleigh* supped with him.

Attourney. Raleigh must have his part of the Money, therefore now he is a Traytor. The Crown shall never stand one Year on the Head of the King (my Master) if a Traytor may not be condemned by Circumstances: For if A. tells B. and B. tells C. and C. D. *&c.* you shall never prove Treason by two Witnesses.

Raleigh's Examination was read

He confesseth *Cobham* offered him 8000 Crowns, which he was to have for the furtherance of the Peace between *England* and *Spain*; and that he should have it within three days. To which, he said, he gave this Answer, When I see the Money I will tell you more; for I had thought it had been one of his ordinary idle Conceits, and therefore made no account thereof.

Raleigh. The *Attourney* hath made a long Narration of *Copley*, and the Priests, which concerns me nothing, neither know I how *Cobham* was alter'd. For he told me, if I would agree to further the Peace, he would get me 8000 Crowns. I asked him, Who shall have the rest of the Money? He said, I will offer such a Noble Man (who was not named) some of the Money. I said, he will not be perswaded by you, and he will extreamly hate you for such a Motion. Let me be pinched to Death with hot Irons, if ever I knew there was any Intention to bestow the Money on discontented Persons. I had made a Discourse against the Peace, and would have Printed it: If *Cobham* changed his mind; if the Priests, if *Brook* had any such intent, what is that to me? They must answer for it. He offered me the Money before *Aremberg* came, that is difference of time.

Serjeant Philips. Raleigh confesseth the Matter, but avoideth it by distinguishing of Times. You said it was offer'd you before the coming of *Aremberg*; which is false. For you being examined whether you should have such money of *Cobham*, or not: You said yea, and that you should have it within two or three days. *Nemo meriturus præsumitur mentiri.*

Lord Hen. How. Alledg me any Ground or Cause, wherefore you gave ear to my Lord *Cobham* for receiving Pensions, in Matters you had not to deal with.

Raleigh. Could I stop my Lord *Cobham*'s Mouth?

Lord Cecil. Sir *Walter Raleigh* presseth, that my Lord *Cobham* should be brought face to face. If he ask things of Favour and Grace, they must come only from him that can give them. If we sit here as Commissioners, how shall we be satisfied whether he ought to be brought, unless we hear the Judges speak.

Lord Chief Justice. This thing cannot be granted, for then a number of Treasons should flourish: The Accuser may be drawn by Practice, whilst he is in Person.

Judge

Judg Gawdy. The Statute you ſpeak of, concerning two Witneſſes in caſe of Treaſon is found to be inconvenient, therefore by another Law it was taken away.

Raleigh. The common Trial of *England* is by Jury and Witneſſes.

Lord Chief Juſtice. No, by Examination: If three conſpire a Treaſon, and they all confeſs it; here is never a Witneſs, yet they are condemned.

Judg Warburton. I marvel, Sir *Walter*, that you being of ſuch Experience and Wit, ſhould ſtand on this Point; for ſo many Horſe-ſtealers may eſcape, if they may not be condemned without Witneſſes. If one ſhould ruſh into the King's Privy-Chamber, whilſt he is alone, and kill the King (which God forbid) and this man be met coming with his Sword drawn all Bloody; ſhall not he be condemned to Death? My Lord *Cobham* hath, perhaps, been laboured withal; and to ſave you, his old Friend, it may be that he will deny all that which he hath ſaid.

Raleigh. I know not how you conceive the Law.

Lord Chief Juſtice. Nay, we do not conceive the Law, but we know the Law.

Raleigh. The Wiſdom of the Law of God is abſolute and perfect, *Hæc fac, & vives, &c.* But now by the Wiſdom of the State, the Wiſdom of the Law is uncertain. Indeed where the Accuſer is not to be had conveniently, I agree with you; but here my Accuſer may, he is alive, and in the Houſe. *Suſanna* had been condemned, if *Daniel* had not cried out: *Will you condemn an innocent Iſraelite, without Examination or Knowledge of the Truth?* Remember, it is abſolutely the Commandment of God: If a falſe Witneſs riſe up, you ſhall cauſe him to be brought before the Judges; if he be found falſe, he ſhall have the Puniſhment which the Accuſed ſhould have had. It is very ſure for my Lord to accuſe me is my certain Danger, and it may be a means to excuſe himſelf.

Lord Chief Juſtice. There muſt not ſuch a Gap be opened for the Deſtruction of the King, as would be if we ſhould grant this. You plead hard for your ſelf, but the Laws plead as hard for the thing. I did never hear that Courſe to be taken in a Caſe of Treaſon, as to write one to another, or ſpeak one to another during the time of their Impriſonment. There hath been Intelligence between you, and what underhand Practices there may be, I know not. If the Circumſtances agree not with the Evidence, we will not condemn you.

Raleigh. The King deſires nothing but the knowledge of the Truth, and would have no advantage taken by Severity of the Law. If ever we had a Gracious King, now we have; I hope, as he is, ſuch are his Miniſters. If there be but a Trial of five Marks at common Law, a Witneſs muſt be depoſed. Good my Lords, let my Accuſer come face to face, and be depoſed.

Lord Chief Juſtice. You have no Law for it: God forbid any man ſhould accuſe himſelf upon his Oath.

Attourney. The Law preſumes, a man will not accuſe himſelf to accuſe another. You are an odious man: For *Cobham* thinks his Cauſe the worſe that you are in it. Now you ſhall hear of ſome Stirs to be raiſed in *Scotland.*

Part of Coplie's *Examination.*

"Alſo *Watſon* told me, that a ſpecial "Perſon told him, that *Aremberg* offer'd to "him a thouſand Crowns to be in that "Action; and that *Brook* ſaid, the Stirs in "*Scotland* came out of *Raleigh*'s Head.

Raleigh. Brook hath been taught his Leſſon.

Lord H. How. This Examination was taken before me; Did I teach him his Leſſon?

Raleigh. I proteſt before God, I meant it not by any Privy Counſellor; but becauſe Money is ſcant, he will juggle on both ſides.

Raleigh's *Examination.*

"The way to invade *England*, were to "begin with Stirs in *Scotland.*

Raleigh. I think ſo ſtill: I have ſpoken it to divers of the Lords of the Council, by way of Diſcourſe and Opinion.

Attourney. Now let us come to thoſe words of *Deſtroying the King and his Cubs.*

Raleigh. O barbarous! if they, like unnatural Villains, ſhould uſe thoſe words, ſhall I be charged with them? I will not hear it, I was never any Plotter with them againſt my Country, I was never falſe to the Crown of *England.* I have ſpent 4000 Pounds of my own againſt the *Spaniſh* Faction, for the Good of my Country. Do you bring the words of theſe *Helliſh* Spiders, *Clark*, *Watſon*, and others againſt me?

Attourney. Thou haſt a *Spaniſh* Heart, and thy ſelf art a Spider of Hell; for thou confeſſeſt the King to be a moſt Sweet and Gracious Prince, and yet haſt conſpired againſt him.

Watſon's *Examination read.*

"He ſaid, that *George Brook* told him "twice, That his Brother, the Lord *Cobham*, "ſaid to him, That you are but on the Bye, "but *Raleigh* and I are on the Main.

Brook's

Brook's *Examination read.*

"Being askt what was meant by this *Jargon* the Bye and the Main? he ſaid, That "the Lord *Cobham* told him, That *Grey* and "others were in the Bye, he and *Raleigh* "were on the Main. Being askt what Expoſition his Brother made of theſe words? "he ſaid, he is loth to repeat it. And after ſaith, by the Main was meant the taking away of the King and his Iſſue; and thinks on his Conſcience, it was infuſed "into his Brother's Head by *Raleigh*.

Cobham's *Examination read.*

"Being askt, if ever he had ſaid, *It will "never be well in* England, *till the King "and his Cubs were taken away.* He ſaid, he "had anſwered before, and that he would "anſwer no more to that Point.

Raleigh. I am not named in all this: There is a Law of two ſorts of Accuſers, one of his own Knowledge, another by Hear-ſay.

Earl of Suffolk. See the Caſe of *Arnold.*

Lord Chief Juſtice. It is the Caſe of Sir *Will. Thomas*, and Sir *Nicholas Arnold.*

Raleigh. If this may be, you will have any Mans Life in a Week.

Attourney. Raleigh ſaith, That *Cobham* was in a Paſſion when he ſaid ſo. Would he tell his Brother any thing of Malice againſt *Raleigh*, whom he lov'd as his Life?

Raleigh. Brook never loved me; until his Brother had accuſed me, he ſaid nothing.

Lord Cecil. We have heard nothing that might lead us to think that *Brook* accuſed you, he was only in the Surpriſing Treaſon; for by accuſing you he ſhould accuſe his Brother.

Raleigh. He doth not care much for that.

Lord Cecil. I muſt judge the beſt. The Accuſation of his Brother was not voluntary; he pared every thing as much as he could, to ſave his Brother.

Cobham's *Examination read.*

"He ſaith he had a Book written againſt "the Title of the King, which he had of "*Raleigh*, and that he gave it to his Brother "*Brook*: and *Raleigh* ſaid it was fooliſhly written.

Attourney. After the King came within twelve miles of *London*, *Cobham* never came to ſee him; and intended to travel without ſeeing the Queen and the Prince. Now in this Diſcontentment you gave him the Book, and he gave it his Brother.

Raleigh. I never gave it him, he took it off my Table. For I well remember a little before that time I received a Challenge from Sir *Amias Preſton*, and for that I did intend to anſwer it, I reſolved to leave my Eſtate ſetled, therefore laid out all my looſe Papers, amongſt which was this Book.

Lord Howard. Where had you this Book?

Raleigh. In the old Lord Treaſurer's Study, after his Death.

Lord Cecil. Did you ever ſhew or make known the Book to me?

Raleigh. No, my Lord.

Lord Cecil. My Father being employed in the Affairs of State at that time, it was like enough, he had many Books and Papers written againſt the then Queen and State, which might come to his hands by the Diſcovery of ſuch Offences.

Attourney. I obſerve there was Intelligence between you and *Cobham* in the Tower; for after he ſaid, it was againſt the King's Title, he denied it again.

Sir William Wade. Firſt my Lord *Cobham* confeſſeth it, and after he had ſubſcribed it, he revoked it again: To me he always ſaid, that the Drift of it was againſt the King's Title.

Raleigh. I proteſt before God, and all his Works, I gave him not the Book.

Nota. *Sir* Robert Wroth *ſpeaketh, or whiſpereth ſomething ſecretly.*

Attourney. My Lords, I muſt complain of Sir *Robert Wroth*, he ſays this Evidence is not material.

Sir *Robert Wroth.* I never ſpake the words.

Atturney. Let Mr. *Serjeant Philips* teſtifie, whether he heard him ſay the Words or no.

Lord Cecil. I will give my Word for Sir *Robert Wroth.*

Sir Robert Wroth. I will ſpeak as truely as you, Mr. *Attourney*, for by God, I never ſpake it.

Lord Chief Juſtice. Wherefore ſhould this Book be burnt?

Raleigh. I burned it not.

Sergeant Philips. You preſented your Friend with it, when he was diſcontented. If it had been before the Queens Death it had been a leſs matter; but you gave it him preſently when he came from the King, which was the time of his Diſcontentment.

Raleigh. Here is a Book ſuppoſed to be Treaſonable; I never read it, commended it, or delivered it, nor urged it.

Attourney. Why this is cunning.

Raleigh. Every thing that doth make for me is cunning, and every thing that maketh againſt me is probable.

Attourney. Lord *Cobham* ſaith, that *Kemiſh* came to him with a Letter torn, and did wiſh him not to be diſmaid, for one Witneſs could not hurt him.

Raleigh. This poor Man hath been cloſe Priſoner theſe eighteen Weeks; he was offered the Rack to make him confeſs. I never ſent any ſuch Meſſage by him, I only writ

writ to him, to tell him what I had done with Mr. *Attourney*; having of his at that time a great Pearl and a Diamond.

Lord H. Howard. No Circumſtance moveth me more than this. *Kemiſh* was never on the Rack, the King gave charge that no Rigour ſhould be uſed.

Commiſſioners. We proteſt before God, there was no ſuch matter intended to our knowledges.

Raleigh. Was not the Keeper of the Rack ſent for, and he threatned with it?

Sir *William Wade.* When Mr. Sollicitor and my ſelf examined *Kemiſh*, we told him he deſerved the Rack, but did not threaten him with it.

Commiſſioners. It was more than we knew.

Cobham's *Examination read.*

'He ſaith, *Kemiſh* brought him a Letter 'from *Raleigh*, and that part which was 'concerning the Lords of the Council, was 'rent out; the Letter contained, that he 'was examined and cleared himſelf of all; 'and that the Lord *H. Howard* ſaid, be-'cauſe he was diſcontent, he was fit to be in 'the Action. And further, that *Kemiſh* 'ſaid to him from *Raleigh*, that he ſhould 'be of good Comfort, for one Witneſs could 'not condemn a Man for Treaſon.

Lord Cecil. Cobham was ask'd, whether, and when he heard from you? he ſaid, *Every Day.*

Raleigh. Kemiſh added more, I never had him ſpeak thoſe Words.

Nota. Mr. *Attourney here offered to interrupt him.*

Lord Cecil. It is his laſt Diſcourſe. Give him leave, Mr. *Attourney.*

Raleigh. I am accuſed concerning *Arabella*, concerning Money out of *Spain.* My Lord Chief Juſtice ſaith, a Man may be condemned with one Witneſs, yea, without any Witneſs. *Cobham* is guilty of many things, *Conſcientia mille Teſtes*; he hath accuſed himſelf, what can he hope for but mercy? My Lords vouchſafe me this Grace. Let him be brought, being alive, and in the Houſe; let him avouch any of theſe things, I will confeſs the whole Indictment, and renounce the King's Mercy.

Lord Cecil. Here hath been a touch of the Lady *Arabella Stuart*, a near Kinſwoman of the Kings. Let us not ſcandal the innocent by confuſion of Speech: She is as innocent of all theſe things as I, or any Man here; only ſhe received a Letter from my Lord *Cobham*, to prepare her; which ſhe laught at, and immediately ſent it to the King. So far was ſhe from Diſcontentment that ſhe laught him to ſcorn. But you ſee how far the Count of *Aremberg* did conſent.

The Lord Admiral (Nottingham) *being by in a Standing, with the Lady* Arabella, *ſpake to the Court.*

The Lady doth here proteſt upon her Salvation, that ſhe never dealt in any of theſe things; and ſo ſhe willed me to tell the Court.

Lord Cecil. The Lord *Cobham* wrote to my Lady *Arabella*, to know if he might come to ſpeak with her, and gave her to underſtand, that there were ſome about the King, that laboured to diſgrace her; ſhe doubted it was but a Trick. But *Brook* ſaith, his Brother moved him to procure *Arabella* to write Letters to the King of *Spain*; but he ſaith, he never did it.

Raleigh. The Lord *Cobham* hath accuſed me, you ſee in what manner he hath forſworn it. Were it not for his Accuſation, all this were nothing. Let him be asked, if I knew of the Letter which *Lawrency* brought to him from *Aremberg*. Let me ſpeak for my Life, it can be no hurt for him to be brought; he dares not accuſe me. If you grant me not this Favour, I am ſtrangely uſed. *Campion* was not denied to have his Accuſers face to face.

Lord Chief Juſtice. Since he muſt needs have Juſtice, the Acquitting of his old Friend may move him to ſpeak otherwiſe than the Truth.

Raleigh. If I had been the Infuſer of all theſe Treaſons into him. You Gentlemen of the Jury, mark this, he ſaid I have been the Cauſe of all his Miſeries, and the Deſtruction of his Houſe, and that all Evil hath happened unto him, by my wicked counſel. If this be true, whom hath he cauſe to accuſe, and to be revenged on, but on me? And I know him to be as revengefull as any man on Earth.

Attourney. He is a Party, and may not come; the Law is againſt it.

Raleigh. It is a Toy to tell me of Law. I defie ſuch Law, I ſtand on the Fact.

Lord Cecil. I am afraid my often ſpeaking (who am inferiour to my Lords here preſent) will make the World think I delight to hear my ſelf talk. My Affection to you, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, was not extinguiſhed, but ſlacked in regard of your deſerts. You know the Law of the Realm (to which your mind doth not conteſt) that my Lord *Cobham* cannot be brought.

Raleigh. He may be, my Lord.

Lord Cecil. But dare you challenge it?

Raleigh. No.

L. Cecil. You ſay that my Lord *Cobham*, your main Accuſer, muſt come to accuſe you. You ſay, he hath retracted: I ſay, many particulars are not retracted. What the Validity of all this is, is meerly left to the Jury. Let me ask you this, If my Lord *Cobham* will ſay you were the only In-

ſtigator of him to proceed in the Treaſons, dare you put your ſelf on this?

Raleigh. If he will ſpeak it before God and the King, that ever I knew of *Arabella*'s Matter, or the Money out of *Spain*, or of the ſurpriſing Treaſon; I put my ſelf on it. God's Will and the King's be done with me.

Lord H. Howard. How if he ſpeak things equivalent to that you have ſaid.

Raleigh. Yes in the main Point.

Lord Cecil. If he ſay, you have been the Inſtigator of him to deal with the *Spaniſh* King, had not the Council cauſe to draw you hither?

Raleigh. I put my ſelf on it.

Lord Cecil. Then Sir *Walter Raleigh*, call upon God, and prepare your ſelf; for I do verily believe my Lords will prove this. Excepting your faults (I call them no worſe) by God I am your Friend. The Heat and Paſſion in you, and the Attorney's Zeal in the King's Service makes me ſpeak this.

Raleigh. Whoſoever is the Workman, it is reaſon he ſhould give account of his Work to the Work-maſter. But let it be proved that he acquainted me with any of his Conferences with *Aremberg*: he would ſurely have given me ſome account.

L. Cecil. That follows not. If I ſet you on work, and you give me no account, am I therefore innocent?

Attourney. For the Lady *Arabella*, I ſaid ſhe was never acquainted with the matter. Now that *Raleigh* had Conference in all theſe Treaſons, it is manifeſt; The Jury hath heard the matter. There is one *Dyer*, a Pilot, that being in *Lisbon*, met with a *Portugal* Gentleman, who ask'd him if the King of *England* was Crown'd yet? To whom he anſwered, *I think not yet, but he ſhall be ſhortly.* Nay, ſaith the *Portugal*, that ſhall never be, for his Throat will be cut by *Don Raleigh* and *Don Cobham* before he be Crowned.

Dyer was called and ſworn, and delivered this Evidence.

Dyer. *I came to a Merchants Houſe in* Lisbon, *to ſee a Boy that I had there; there came a Gentleman into the Houſe, and enquiring what Countryman I was? I ſaid, an* Engliſhman. *Whereupon he asked me, if the King was crowned? And I anſwered, No, but that I hoped he ſhould be ſo ſhortly.* Nay, *ſaith he,* he ſhall never be Crowned; for *Don Raleigh* and *Don Cobham* will cut his Throat ere that day come.

Raleigh. What infer you upon this?

Attourney. That your Treaſon hath wings.

Raleigh. If *Cobham* did practiſe with *Aremberg*, how could it not but be known in *Spain*? Why did they name the Duke of *Buckingham* with *Jack Straw*'s Treaſon, and the Duke of *York* with *Jack Cade*, but that it was to countenance his Treaſon.

Conſider you Gentlemen of the Jury, there is no Cauſe ſo doubtful which the Kings Council cannot make good againſt the Law. Conſider my Diſability, and their Ability: They prove nothing againſt me, only they bring the Accuſation of my Lord *Cobham*, which he hath lamented and repented as heartily, as if it had been for an horrible Murther for he knew that all this Sorrow which ſhould come to me, is by his means. Preſumptions muſt proceed from precedent or ſubſequent Facts. I have ſpent 40000 Crowns againſt the *Spaniard*. I had not purchaſed 40 Pound a Year. If I had died in *Guiana*, I had not left 300 Marks a Year to my Wife and Son. I that have always condemned the *Spaniſh* Faction, methinks it is a ſtrange thing that now I ſhould affect it! Remember what S. *Auſtin* ſays, *Sic judicate tanquam ab alio mox judicandi, unus Judex, unum Tribunal.* If you would be contented on Preſumptions to be delivered up to be ſlaughtered, to have your Wives and Children turned into the Streets to beg their Bread; If you would be contented to be ſo judged, judge ſo of me.

Serj. Philips. I hope to make this ſo clear as that the Wit of Man ſhall have no Colour to anſwer it. The Matter is Treaſon in the higheſt Degree, the end to deprive the King of his Crown. The particular Treaſons are theſe: Firſt, To raiſe up Rebellion, and, to effect that, to procure Money to raiſe up Tumults in *Scotland*, by divulging a Treaſonable Book againſt the Kings Right to the Crown; the Purpoſe, to take away the Life of his Majeſty and his Iſſue. My Lord *Cobham* confeſſeth Sir *Walter Raleigh* to be guilty of all theſe Treaſons. The Queſtion is, Whether he be guilty as joyning with him, or inſtigating of him? The Courſe to prove this was by my Lord *Cobham*'s Accuſation. If that be true, he is guilty; if not, he is clear. So whether *Cobham* ſay true, or *Raleigh*? that is the Queſtion. *Raleigh* hath no Anſwer, but the Shadow of as much Wit, as the Wit of Man can deviſe. He uſeth his bare Denial; the Denial of a Defendant muſt not move the Jury. In the Star-Chamber, or in the Chancery, for matter of Title, if the Defendant be called in Queſtion, his Denial on his Oath is no Evidence to the Court to clear him, he doth it in *propria cauſa*; therefore much leſs in matters of Treaſon. *Cobham*'s Teſtification againſt him before then, and ſince, hath been largely diſcourſed.

Raleigh. If Truth be conſtant, and Conſtancy be in Truth, why hath he forſworn that that he hath ſaid? You have not proved any one thing againſt me by

by direct Proofs, but all by Circumſtances.

Attourney. Have you done? The King muſt have the laſt.

Raleigh. Nay, Mr. *Attourney*, he which ſpeaketh for his Life, muſt ſpeak laſt. Falſe Repetitions and Miſtakings muſt not mar my Cauſe. You ſhould ſpeak *ſecundum allegata & probata.* I appeal to God and the King in this Point, whether *Cobham*'s Accuſation be ſufficient to condemn me?

Attourney. The Kings Safety and your Clearing cannot agree. I proteſt before God, I never knew a clearer Treaſon.

Raleigh. I never had intelligence with *Cobham* ſince I came to the Tower.

Attourney. Go to, I will lay thee upon thy Back, for the confidenteſt Traytor that ever came at a Bar. Why ſhould you take 8000 Crowns for a Peace?

Lord Cecil. Be not ſo impatient good Mr. *Attourney*, give him leave to ſpeak.

Attourney. If I may not be patiently heard, you will incourage Traytors, and diſcourage us. I am the King's ſworn Servant, and muſt ſpeak: If he be guilty, he is a Traytor; if not, deliver him.

Nota. *Here Mr.* Attourney *ſat down in a Chafe, and would ſpeak no more, until the Commiſſioners urged and intreated him. After much ado he went on, and made a long Repetition of all the Evidence, for the direction of the Jury; and at the repeating of ſome things Sir* Walter Raleigh *interrupted him, and ſaid,* He did him wrong.

Attourney. Thou art the moſt vile and execrable Traytor that ever lived.

Raleigh. You ſpeak indiſcreetly, barbarouſly and uncivilly.

Attourney. I want words ſufficent to expreſs thy viperous Treaſons.

Raleigh. I think you want words indeed, for you have ſpoken one thing half a dozen times.

Attourney. Thou art an odious Fellow, thy Name is hateful to all the Realm of *England* for thy Pride.

Raleigh. It will go near to prove a meaſuring Caſt between you and me, Mr. *Attourney.*

Attourney. Well, I will now make it appear to the World, that there never lived a viler Viper upon the face of the Earth than thou, and therewithal he drew a Letter out of his Pocket, ſaying further, My Lords, you ſhall ſee, this is an Agent that hath writ a Treatiſe againſt the *Spaniard*, and hath ever ſo deteſted him; this is he that hath ſpent ſo much money againſt him in ſervice; and yet you ſhall all ſee whether his Heart be not wholly *Spaniſh.* The Lord *Cobham*, who of his own nature was a good and honourable Gentleman, till overtaken by this Wretch, now finding his Conſcience heavily burthened with ſome Courſes which the Subtilty of this Traytor had drawn him into, my Lords, he could be at no reſt with himſelf, nor quiet in his thoughts, until he was eaſed of that heavy weight; out of which Paſſion of his Mind, and diſcharge of his Duty to his Prince, and his Conſcience to God; taking it upon his Salvation that he wrote nothing but the Truth, with his own hands he wrote this Letter. Now Sir you ſhall ſee whether you had intelligence with *Cobham*, within four days before he came to the Tower. If he be wholly *Spaniſh*, that deſired a Penſion of 1500 Pound a Year from *Spain*, that *Spain* by him might have intelligence, then *Raleigh* is a Traytor. He hath taken an Apple, and pinned a Letter unto it, and threw it into my Lord *Cobham*'s Window; the Contents whereof were this, *It is doubtful, whether we ſhall be proceeded with or no, perhaps you ſhall not be tryed.* This was to get a Retractation. Oh! it was *Adam*'s Apple, whereby the Devil did deceive him. Further he wrote thus, *Do not as my Lord of* Eſſex *did; take heed of a Preacher; for by his perſwaſion he confeſſed, and made himſelf guilty.* I doubt not but this day God ſhall have as great a Conqueſt by this Traytor, and the Son of God ſhall be as much glorified, as when it was ſaid, *Viciſti Galilee*; you know my meaning. What though *Cobham* retracted, yet he could not reſt nor ſleep till he confirmed it again. If this be not enough to prove him a Traytor, the King my Maſter ſhall not live three years to an end.

Nota. *Here Mr.* Attourney *produced the* Lord Cobham's *Letter, and as he read it, inſerted ſome ſpeeches.*

'I have thought fit to ſet down this to 'my Lords, wherein I proteſt on my Soul 'to write nothing but the truth. I am now 'come near the period of my time, there'fore I confeſs the whole Truth before 'God, and his Angels. *Raleigh*, four days 'before I came from the *Tower*, cauſed an 'Apple (*Eves Apple*) to be thrown in 'at my Chamber Window; the effect of it 'was to entreat me to right the wrong that 'I had done him, in ſaying, *that I ſhould 'have come home by* Jerſey; which under 'my hand to him I have retracted. His 'firſt Letter I anſwered not, which was 'thrown in the ſame manner, wherein he 'prayed me to write him a Letter, which 'I did. He ſent me word that the Judges 'met at Mr. *Attourney*'s Houſe, and that 'there was good hope the Proceedings 'againſt us ſhould be ſtayed; He ſent me 'another time a little *Tobacco.* At *A*'remberg's coming, *Raleigh* was to have pro-

'cured a Penſion of fifteen hundred Pounds a 'Year; for which he promiſed that no A-'ction ſhould be againſt *Spain*, the *Low-'Countries*, or the *Indies*, but he would 'give knowledge before-hand. He told me 'the States had Audience with the King. '(*Attourney. Ah! is not this a* Spaniſh 'Heart in an Engliſh *Body*?) He hath been 'the Original Cauſe of my Ruine; for I 'had no dealing with *Aremberg*, but by his 'inſtigation. He hath alſo been the cauſe 'of my Diſcontentment; he adviſed me 'not to be overtaken with Preachers, as '*Eſſex* was; and that the King would better 'allow of a conſtant denial, than to ac-'cuſe any.

Attourney. Oh damnable Atheiſt! he hath learned ſome Text of Scripture to ſerve his own purpoſe, but falſly alledged. He counſels him not to be counſelled by Preachers, as *Eſſex* was: He died the Child of God, God honoured him at his death; thou waſt by when he died. *Et Lupus & turpes inſtant morientibus Urſæ.* He died indeed for his Offence. The King himſelf ſpake theſe words; *He that ſhall ſay* Eſſex *died not for Treaſon is puniſhable.*

Raleigh. You have heard a ſtrange Tale of a ſtrange Man. Now he thinks, he hath matter enough to deſtroy me; but the King, and all of you ſhall witneſs, by our Deaths, which of us was the ruine of the other. I bid a poor Fellow throw in the Letter at his Window, written to this purpoſe, *You know you have undone me, now write three Lines to juſtifie me.* In this I will die, that he hath done me wrong: Why did not he acquaint me with his Treaſons, if I acquainted him with my Diſpoſitions?

Lord Chief Juſtice. But what ſay you now of the reſt of the Letter, and the Penſion of 1500 l. *per annum*?

Raleigh. I ſay that *Cobham* is a baſe diſhonourable poor Soul.

Attourny. Is he baſe? I return it into thy Throat, on his behalf: But for thee, he had been a good Subject.

Lord Chief Juſtice. I perceive you are not ſo clear a Man, as you have proteſted all this while; for you ſhould have diſcovered theſe matters to the King.

Nota. *Here* Raleigh *pulled a Letter out of his Pocket, which the Lord* Cobham *had written to him, and deſired my Lord* Cecil *to read it, becauſe he only knew his hand; the Effect of it was as followeth.*

Cobham's *Letter of Juſtification to* Raleigh

'Seeing my ſelf ſo near my End, for the 'diſcharge of my own Conſcience; and free-'ing my ſelf from your Blood, which elſe 'will cry Vengeance againſt me: I pro-'teſt upon my Salvation, I never pra-'ctiſed with *Spain* by your procurement; 'God ſo comfort me in this my Affliction, as you are a true Subject for any 'thing that I know. I will ſay as *Daniel*, '*Purus ſum à ſanguine hujus.* So God have 'mercy on my Soul, as I know no Treaſon by you.

Raleigh. Now I wonder how many Souls this Man hath! he damns one in this Letter, and another in that.

Here was much ado, Mr. Attourney *alledged that his laſt Letter was politickly and cunningly urged from the Lord* Cobham, *and that the firſt was ſimply the Truth; and that leſt it ſhould ſeem doubtful that the firſt Letter was drawn from my Lord* Cobham *by promiſe of mercy, or hope of favour, the* Lord Chief Juſtice *willed that the* Jury *might herein be ſatisfied.*

Whereupon the Earl of Devonſhire *delivered that the ſame was meer voluntary, and not extracted from the Lord* Cobham *upon any hopes or promiſe of Pardon.*

Nota. *This was the laſt Evidence: whereupon a Marſhal was ſworn to keep the* Jury *preſent. The* Jury *departed, and ſtaid not a quarter of an hour, but returned; and gave their Verdict,* Guilty.

Serj. Heale demanded Judgment againſt the Priſoner.

Clerk of the Crown. Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Thou haſt been indicted, arraigned, and pleaded not Guilty, for all theſe ſeveral Treaſons, and for tryal thereof haſt put thy ſelf upon thy Country; which Country are theſe, who have found thee guilty. What canſt thou ſay for thy ſelf, why Judgment and Execution of Death ſhould not paſs againſt thee?

Raleigh. My Lords, the Jury have found me Guilty. They muſt do as they are directed. I can ſay nothing why Judgment ſhould not proceed. You ſee whereof *Cobham* hath accuſed me. You remember his Proteſtations, that I was never guilty. I deſire the King ſhould know of the Wrongs done unto me ſince I came hither.

Lord Chief Juſtice. You have had no wrong, Sir *Walter.*

Raleigh. Yes, of Mr. *Attourney.* I deſire my Lords to remember three things to the King. 1. I was accuſed to be a Practiſer with *Spain.* I never knew that my Lord *Cobham* meant to go thither; I will ask no mercy

mercy at the Kings hands if he will affirm it. 2. I never knew of the practice with *Arabella*. 3. I never knew of my Lord *Cobham*'s practice with *Aremberg*, nor of the ſurpriſing Treaſon.

Lord Ch. Juſtice. In my Conſcience I am perſwaded that *Cobham* hath accuſed you truly. You cannot deny but that you were dealt with to have a Penſion to be a Spy for *Spain*; therefore you are not ſo true to the King as you have proteſted your ſelf to be.

Raleigh. I ſubmit my ſelf to the King's Mercy; I know his Mercy is greater than my Offence. I recommend my Wife, and Son of tender years, unbrought up, to his Compaſſion.

Lord Chief Juſtice. I had thought I ſhould never have ſeen this Day, to have ſtood in this place to give Sentence of Death againſt you; becauſe I thought it impoſſible, that one of ſo great Parts ſhould have fallen ſo grievouſly. God hath beſtowed on you many Benefits. You had been a Man fit and able to have ſerved the King in good Place. You had brought your ſelf into a good State of living, if you had entred into a good Conſideration of your Eſtate, and not ſuffered your own Wit to have entrapped your ſelf, you might have lived in good comfort. It is beſt for Man not to ſeek to climb too high, leſt he fall; nor yet to creep too low, leſt he be trodden on. It was the Poſie of the wiſeſt and greateſt Counſellor of our time in *England*, *In medio ſpatio mediocria firma locantur*. You might have lived well with 3000 Pound a Year, for ſo I have heard your Revennes to be. I know nothing might move you to be diſcontented; but if you had been down, you know Fortunes Wheel, when it is turned about, riſeth again. I never heard that the King took away any thing from you, but the Captainſhip of the Guard, which he did with very good Reaſon, to have one of his one knowledge, whom he might truſt, in that Place. You have been taken for a wiſe Man, and ſo have ſhewed Wit enough this Day. Again, for Monopolies for Wine, *&c.* If the King had ſaid, it is a matter that offends my People, ſhould I burthen them for your private Good? I think you could not well take it hardly, that his Subjects were eaſed, though by your private hindrance. Two Vices have lodged chiefly in you; one is an eager Ambition, the other corrupt Covetouſneſs. Ambition in deſiring to be advanced to equal Grace and Favour, as you have been before-time; that Grace you had then you got not in a Day or Year. For your Covetouſneſs, I am ſorry to hear that a Gentleman of your Wealth ſhould become a baſe Spy for the Enemy, which is the vileſt of all other; wherein on my Conſcience *Cobham* hath ſaid true; by it you would have increaſed your Living 1500 Pound a Year. This Covetouſneſs is like a Canker, that eats the Iron Place where it lives. Your Caſe being thus, let it not grieve you, if I ſpeak a little out of zeal, and love to your good. You have been taxed by the World, with the Defence of the moſt Heatheniſh and Blaſphemous opinions, which I liſt not to repeat, becauſe Chriſtian Ears cannot endure to hear them, nor the Authors and Maintainers of them ſuffered to live in any Chriſtian Common-Wealth. You know what Men ſaid of *Harpool*. You ſhall do well before you go out of the World to give ſatisfaction therein, and not to die with theſe Imputations on you. Let not any Devil perſwade you to think there is no Eternity in Heaven: for if you think thus, you ſhall find Eternity in Hell-Fire. In the firſt Accuſation of my Lord *Cobham*, I obſerved his manner of ſpeaking; I proteſt before the living God, I am perſwaded he ſpoke nothing but the Truth. You wrote that he ſhould not in any caſe confeſs any thing to a Preacher, telling him an Example of my Lord of *Eſſex*, that noble Earl that is gone; who if he had not been carried away with others, had lived in Honour to this day among us. He confeſſed his Offences, and obtained Mercy of the Lord, for I am verily perſwaded in my Heart, he died a worthy Servant of God. Your conceit of not confeſſing any thing is very inhumane and wicked. In this World is the time of Confeſſing, that we may be abſolved at the Day of Judgment. You have ſhewed a fearful ſign of denying God, in adviſing a Man not to confeſs the Truth. It now comes in my mind, why you may not have your Accuſer come face to face: for ſuch an one is eaſily brought to retract, when he ſeeth there is no hope of his own Life. It is dangerous that any Traytors ſhould have any Acceſs to, or Conference with one another; when they ſee themſelves muſt die, they will think it beſt to have their Fellow live, that he may commit the like Treaſon again, and ſo in ſome ſort ſeek Revenge.

Now it reſteth to pronounce the Judgment, which I wiſh you had not been this day to have received of me: For if the fear of God in you had been anſwerable to your other great Parts, you might have lived to have been a ſingular good Subject. I never ſaw the like Tryal, and hope I ſhall never ſee the like again.

The Judgment.

But ſince you have been found guilty of theſe horrible Treaſons, the Judgment of this Court is, That you ſhall be had from hence to the Place whence you came, there to remain until the day of Execution; and from thence you ſhall be drawn upon a Hurdle through the open Streets to the place of Execution, there to be hanged and cut down alive, and your Body ſhall be opened, your Heart and Bowels pluckt out, and your Privy Members cut off, and thrown into the fire before your Eyes; then your Head to be ſtrucken off from your Body, and your Body ſhall be divided into four Quarters, to be diſpoſed of at the King's Pleaſure: And

God have Mercy upon your Soul.

Sir *Walter Raleigh* beſought the Earl of *Devonſhire*, and the Lords to be Suiters on his behalf to the King; that in regard of Places of Eſtimation he did bear in his Majeſties time, the Rigour of his Judgment might be qualified, and his Death honourable, and not ignominious.

Wherein after they had promiſed him to do their utmoſt Endeavours, the Court roſe, and the Priſoner was carried up again to the Caſtle.

Here follows the Continuation of the Life.

IT was obſerved, that before the Lords (principally to my Lord *Cecil*) at *Wincheſter* (for there he was tried, the Sickneſs then reigning in *London*) he was humble, but not proſtrate; dutiful, but not deject: For in ſome caſes he would humbly thank them for gracious Speeches; in others acknowledge that their Honours ſaid true, as in relating ſome Circumſtances. And in ſuch points wherein he would not yield unto them, he would crave pardon, and with reverence urge them, and anſwer them as in points of Law, or eſſential matters of Fact. To the Jury he was affable, but not fawning; hoping, but not truſting in them; carefully perſwading them with Reaſon, not diſtemperately importuning them with Conjuration; rather ſhewing love of Life, than fear of Death. What made ill for Sir *Walter* was his Diſcovery of *Lawrency* and *Cobham*'s frequent private Conferences; which ſo incenſed *Cobham*, that he poſitively accuſed him: though the ſingle Evidence of one already convicted of what Sir *Walter* was but yet impeached, could only make a Circumſtance, and not convict him. The Judges and the King's Counſel did what they could to bawl him out of his Life; and ſince they wanted Proof, they would endeavour to tire him out. If we may believe *Osborn*, ſeveral of the Jurymen, after he was caſt, were ſo far touch'd in Conſcience as to ask of him pardon on their Knees.

A further Confirmation of his Innocency may be a Paſſage of his own in a Letter to Secretary *Winwood*, wherein he tells him, 'That the worthy Prince of 'Wales was extream curious in ſearching 'out the nature of his Offences. The 'Queens Majeſty had informed her 'ſelf from the beginning. The King of 'Denmark at both times of his being here, 'was throughly ſatisfied of his Innocency; 'they would otherwiſe never have moved 'his Majeſty on his behalf. The Wife, 'the Brother, and the Son of a King do 'not uſe to ſue for Men ſuſpect. Nay, further yet, the *Scots* themſelves declar'd in favour of him, if we may believe him in another Letter of his to Sir *Robert Car*, after Earl of *Somerſet*, wherein are theſe words: 'I have ever been bound to your 'Nation, as well for many other Graces, 'as for the true Report of my Trial to the 'King's Majeſty, againſt whom had I been 'malignant, the hearing of my Cauſe 'could not have changed Enemies into 'Friends, Malice into Compaſſion, and 'the Minds of the greateſt number then 'preſent into Commiſeration of mine E'ſtate: It is not the nature of ſoul Trea'ſon to beget ſuch fair Paſſions; neither 'could it agree with the duty and love of 'faithful Subjects (eſpecially of your Na'tion) to bewail his Overthrow that had 'conſpired againſt their moſt natural and 'liberal Lord.

Two days after *Raleigh*'s Tryal, were ſentenced *Brook*, who pretended his intention was only to try faithful Subjects, and ſaid he had a Commiſſion for ſo doing, but produc'd it not; *Markham*, who confeſt the Indictment, pleaded Diſcontent, and deſired Mercy; *Watſon*, who confeſt he drew them all in, holding the King to be no Sovereign till he were crown'd, inſtancing in *Saul* and *Jeroboam*; And

Clark,

Clark, who ſaid the like. *Parham* and *Brookſby* were acquitted by the Jury: *Watſon*, *Clark*, and *Brook* were executed; *Markham*, *Cobham*, and *Grey* brought ſeverally on the Scaffold to dye, and at the inſtant on the Block, had their particular Executions remitted, by a Letter to the Sheriff under the King's own Hand, without the knowledge of any, ſays Mr. *Gibs*, Gentleman of the Bedchamber, that brought it. However an evil Fate did attend theſe Men; *Grey* died in the Tower, the laſt of his Line; the reſt were diſcharg'd but died miſerably poor: *Markham* and ſome others abroad; but *Cobham* (as *Osborn* tells us) in a Room aſcended by a Ladder, at a poor Womans Houſe in the *Minories* (formerly his Landreſs) died rather of hunger than a natural diſeaſe.

Sir *Walter* was left to his Majeſties Mercy, who thought him too great a Malecontent to have his Freedom, and probably too Innocent to loſe his Life. Therefore in the Tower he is confin'd, but permitted to enjoy *Liberam Cuſtodiam*; where he improv'd his Impriſonment to the greateſt advantage of Learning and Inquiſitive Men. Since his Majeſty had civilly buried him, and as it were baniſh'd him this World, he thought it no Treaſon to diſturb the Aſhes of former times, and bring to view the Actions of deceaſed Heroes. And certainly none was ſo fit to comment on their Atchievements, and ſo able to raiſe excellent Maxims from them, as he who had been brought up in ſo wiſe a Court as Queen *Elizabeth*'s, and read ſo many wiſe Men. After ſome time paſt there, he was delivered of that great *Minerva*, the *Hiſtory of the World*; a Book which for the Exactneſs of its Chronology, Curiouſneſs of its Contexture and Learning of all Sorts, ſeems to be the Work of an Age. An Hiſtory which never yet met with a Detractor, and was the Envy, if ſome Authors may be credited, of King *James* himſelf, who thought none could out-do him at the Pen. That a Man who had been the greateſt part of his life taken up in Action, ſhould write ſo judiciouſly, ſo critically of Times and Actions, is as great a Wonder as the Book it ſelf. It ſtill remains a Diſpute whether the Age he lived in was more obliged to his Pen or his Sword, the one being buſie in conquering the *New*, the other in ſo bravely deſcribing the *Old* World. An Hiſtory wherein the only fault, or defect rather, is, that it wanteth one half thereof; which was occaſioned, as our Story tells us, thus: Some few days before he ſuffered, he ſent for Mr. *Walter Burr*, who formerly Printed his firſt Volume of the *Hiſtory of the World*, whom taking by the Hand, after ſome other Diſcourſe, he ask'd how it had ſold? Mr. *Burr* returned this Anſwer, *It ſold ſo ſlowly that it had undone him.* At which words of his Sir *Walter* ſtepping to his Desk, reaches his other unprinted Part of his Hiſtory, which he had brought down to the Times he lived in, and clapping his hands upon his breaſt, ſaid with a ſigh, *Ah, my Friend, hath the firſt Part undone thee? the ſecond Part ſhall undo no more; this ungrateful World is unworthy of it:* and immediately going to the Fire-ſide, threw it in, and ſet his foot upon it till it was conſumed. As great a loſs to Learning as Chriſtendom could have ſuſtained; the greater, becauſe it could be repaired by no hand but his. It often happening to Authors, as to great Maſters in Painting, their Pieces are not valued till they are dead, and the ſucceeding Age find the Originals inimitable.

Whilſt Sir *Walter* was thus confined, Death took away his and *Eſſex*'s mortal Enemy, Sir *Robert Cecil*, after Earl of *Salisbury*, who had purchaſed the monopoly of Favour, and being jealous of Sir *Walter*'s Parts, had ſome fear he might ſupplant him; which was the Cauſe, according to *Osborn*, that he was brought to the aforementioned Tryal. However Sir *Walter* outlived his Enemies deſigns and hatred, and for all his kindneſſes beſtowed upon him the following Epitaph, which I am upon very good grounds aſſured to be his. King *James* was ſo much taken with the ſmartneſs of it, that he hoped the Author would die before him. The Verſes are theſe:

Here lies Hobinal, *our Paſtor while here,*
That once in a quarter our fleeces did ſhear.
To pleaſe us, his Cur he kept under clogg,
And was ever after both Shepherd and Dog.
For Oblation to Pan *his Cuſtom was thus,*
He firſt gave a triſle, then offer'd up us.
And through his falſe Worſhip ſuch pow'r he did gain,
As kept him'oth Mountain, and us on the Plain:
Where many a Hornpipe he tun'd to his Phillis,
And ſweetly ſung Walſingham *to's* Amarillis;
Till Atropos *clapt him, a Pox on the Drab,*
For ſpight of his Tar-box he dy'd of the Scab.

If the Reader deſires a Key to theſe Verſes, he may meet with it in *Osborn*'s Memoires, who yet for all his Intelligence hath not informed us that his Miſtreſſes name was *Walſingham.*

Fourteen

Fourteen Years Sir *Walter* had ſpent in the *Tower*, and being weary of a ſtate wherein he could be only ſerviceable by his Pen, but not in a capacity of ſerving and enriching his Country any other way (of whom Prince *Henry* would ſay, that no King but his Father would keep ſuch a Bird in a Cage;) At length he fell upon an Enterprize of a Golden Mine in *Guiana* in the Southern parts of *America*. The Propoſition of this was preſented and recommended to his Majeſty by Sir *Ralph Winwood* the Secretary of State, as a Matter not in the Air, or Speculative, but Real, and of certainty: for that Sir *Walter* had ſeen of the Ore of the Mine, and tried the richneſs of it, having gotten a pound from thence by the hands of Captain *Kemiſh* his ancient Servant.

Sir *Ralph Winwood*'s Recommendations of the Deſign, and the earneſt Sollicitations for his Enlargement, of the Queen, the Prince, and the *French* Lieger (with much affection to his Deſerts, not without ſome Politick Deſigns on *Spain*) together with the Aſſeverations of Sir *Walter* of the truth of the Mine, work'd upon his Majeſty, who thought himſelf in Honour obliged, nay in a a manner ingaged (as the Declaration which he publiſhed after the Death of Sir *Walter* tells us) not to deny unto his People the Adventure and Hope of ſo great Riches to be ſought and atchieved at the Charge of Voluntiers, eſpecially ſince it ſtood ſo well with his Majeſties Politick and Magnanimous Courſes, in theſe his flouriſhing Times of Peace, to nouriſh and encourage Noble and Generous Enterprizes for Plantations, Diſcoveries, and opening of a new Trade.

Count *Gondamor* (an active and ſubtile Inſtrument to ſerve his Maſter's ends) took Allarm at this, and repreſented to his Majeſty the Enterprize of Sir *Walter* to be hoſtile, and predatory, intending a breach of the Peace between the two Crowns. But notwithſtanding, Power at laſt is granted to Sir *Walter* to ſet forth Ships and Men for that Service. However, the King commanded him upon pain of his Allegiance to give him under his Hand (promiſing on the word of a King to keep it ſecret) the number of his Men, the burthen and ſtrength of his Ships; together with the Country and River which he was to enter; which being done accordingly by Sir *Walter*, that very Original Paper was found in the *Spaniſh* Governours Cloſet at St. *Thoma*. So active were the *Spaniſh Miniſters*, that Advertiſement was ſent to *Spain*, and thence to the *Indies*, before the *Engliſh* Fleet got out of the *Thames*.

But as we have juſt Cauſe to admire the more than uſual Activity of the *Spaniſh* Agents, ſo may we wonder no leſs at the Miſcarriage of his Majeſties preſent *Miniſters*, who notwithſtanding he had paſt his Royal Word to the contrary, yet they did help Count *Gondamor* to that very Paper; So much both King and Court were at *Gondamor*'s ſervice.

A Commiſſion indeed is granted, but by *Gondamor*'s means is limited; that the Fleet ſhould commit no Outrages upon the King of *Spain*'s Subjects by Land, unleſs they began firſt; with other limitations in the Commiſſion, which for the Rearders Curioſity and Satisfaction I have here inſerted.

James

JAMES, by the Grace of GOD, &c. To all to whom these presents shall come, to be read, heard, or seen, and to every of them greeting: Whereas Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, intendeth to undertake a Voyage by Sea and Shipping, unto the South parts of America, or elsewhere within America, possessed and inhabited by Heathen and Savage People; to the end, to discover and find out some Commodities and Merchandizes in those Countries, that be necessary and profitable for the Subjects of these Our Kingdoms and Dominions, whereof the Inhabitants there make little or no use or estimation; whereupon also may ensue by Trade and Commerce, some propagation of the Christian Faith, and reformed Religion amongst those Savage and Idolatrous People: And whereas We are credibly informed, that there are divers Merchants and owners of Ships, and others, well disposed to assist the said Sir Walter Raleigh in this his Enterprise, had they sufficient Assurance to enjoy their due parts of the Profits returned (in respect of the Peril of Law wherein the said Sir Walter Raleigh now standeth:) And whereas also We are informed, that divers other Gentlemen, the Kinsmen and Friends of the said Sir Walter Raleigh, and divers Captains and other Commanders, are also desirous to follow him, and to adventure their Lives with him in this his Journey, so as they might be commanded by no other than himself.

Know ye, that We, upon deliberate Consideration had of the Premisses, being desirous by all ways and means to work and procure the benefit and good of Our loving Subjects, and to give our Princely furtherance to the said Sir Walter Raleigh, his Friends and Associates herein, to the Incouragement of others in the like laudable Journeys and Enterprizes, to be hereafter prosecuted and pursued; and especially in advancement and furtherance, as well of the Conversion of Savage People, as of the increase of Trade, Traffique, and Merchandizes used by Our Subjects of this Our Kingdom, being most famous throughout all Nations: Of Our special Grace, certain knowledge, and meer motion, have given and granted, and by these Presents for Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, do give and grant unto the said Sir Walter Raleigh, full Power and Authority, and free Licence and Liberty out of this our Realm of England, or any other Our Dominions, to have, carry, take, and lead for and towards his said intended Voyage unto the said South parts, or other parts of America, (possessed and inhabited, as aforesaid) and to Travel thither, all such, and so many of Our loving Subjects, or any other Strangers that will become Our loving Subjects, and live under Our Obeysance and Allegiance, as shall willingly accompany him, with sufficient Shipping, Armour, Weapons, Ordnance, Munition, Powder, Shot, Habiliments, Victuals, and such Wares and Merchandizes, as are esteemed by the wild People in those parts, Cloathing, Implements, Furniture, Cattle, Horses, and Mares, and all other such things as he shall think most necessary for his Voyage, and for the use and defence of him and his Company, and Trade with the People there; and in passing and returning to and fro, and in those parts, to give away, Sell, Barter, Exchange, or otherwise dispose of the same Goods, Merchandizes, and Provisions, to the most benefit, and at the will and pleasure of the said Sir Walter Raleigh and his Company, and such other Person, or Persons, as shall be Adventurers or Assistants with, or unto him in this his intended Voyage, and from thence to Return, Import, Convey, and bring into this Our Kingdom, or any other Our Dominions, such Gold, Silver, Bullion, or any other Wares, or Merchandizes, or Commodities whatsoever, as they shall think most fit and convenient; and the same being so Returned, Imported, Conveyed, and Brought into this Our Kingdom, or any other Our Dominions, to have, take, keep, retain, and convert to the only proper Use, Benefit, and Behoof of the said Sir Walter Raleigh, and his said Company, and other Persons Adventurers and Assistants with, or to him in his Voyage, without the Lett, Interruption, Molestation, and Disturbance of Us, Our Heirs or Successors, or any the Officers, or Ministers of Us, Our Heirs or Successors whatsoever; Paying and Answering unto Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, the full fifth part, in five parts to be divided, of all such Gold, and Silver, and Bullion, and Ore of Gold, or Silver, and Pearl, and precious Stones, as shall be Imported over and besides; and together with such Customs, Subsidies, and other Duties, as shall be due for, or in respect of any other Goods, Wares, or Merchandizes whatsoever to be so Imported by the true meaning of these

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Presents. And to the end the said Sir Walter Raleigh may be the more Encouraged to go forward in this his Enterprise, and all Our loving Subjects desirous to be Adventurers with him, or Assistant unto him, may be the more incited to further his Proceedings: We do hereby in verbo Regio, for Us, Our heirs and Successors, Covenant, Promise, and Grant, to and with the said Sir Walter Raleigh, and all other Persons that shall accompany him, or to be attendant upon him, or to be Adventurers or Assistants with, or to him in this his Voyage, that no Gold, Silver, Goods, Wares, or Merchandises whatsoever, of what kind or sort soever, by him or them, or any of them to be Imported into this Our Kingdom of England, or any other Our Dominions, from any the said South, or other parts of America, (Possessed or Inhabited, as aforesaid) shall be attached, seized, or taken by Us, Our heirs or Successors, or to the use of Us, Our heirs or Successors, or by any the Officers or Ministers of Us, Our heirs or Successors whatsoever; But that the same, and every of them (the fifth part of the said Gold, Silver, or Bullion, and Ore of Gold and Silver, and Pearl, and pretious Stones, and other the Customs and Duties aforesaid, being truly answered and payed) shall be, and remain to the sole and proper use and behoof of the said Sir Walter Raleigh, and his said Company, and such Persons as shall be Adventurers with him, or Assistant to him in this his Voyage; any Law, Statute, Act of Parliament, Proclamation, Provision, or Restraint, or any Right, Title, or Claim of Us, Our heirs or Successors, or any other matter or thing whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. And further, of Our more especial Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion, We do hereby for Us, Our heirs and Successors, ordain, constitute and appoint the said Sir Walter Raleigh to be the sole Governour and Commander of all Persons that shall travel, or be with him in the said Voyage, to the said South, or other parts of America, (so possessed and inhabited as aforesaid) or in returning from thence. And we do hereby give unto him full Power and Authority to Correct, Punish, Pardon, Govern, and Rule them, or any of them, according to such Orders, Ordinances, Constitutions, Directions, and Instructions, as by the said Sir Walter Raleigh shall be from time to time Established, as well in cases Capital and Criminal, as Civil, both Marine and other; So always as the said Statutes, Ordinances, and Proceedings (as near as conveniently may be) be agreeable to the Laws, Statutes, Government and Policy of this Our Realm of England, and not against the true Christian Faith now professed in the Church of England. And because that in such and the like Enterprises and Voyages, great Inconveniencies have grown by the mutinous and disorderly carriage of the Mariners and Soldiers employed in the same, for want of sufficient Authority to punish them according to their Offences; We do therefore by these Presents for Us, Our heirs and Successors, give full Power and Authority to the said Sir Walter Raleigh, in case of Rebellion or Mutiny by Sea or Land, to use and exercise Martial Law (upon just ground and apparent necessity) in as large and ample manner as our Lieutenant General by Sea or Land, or our Lieutenants in Our Counties, within Our Realm of England, have, had, or ought to have by force of their Commission of Lieutenancy. And we do further by these Presents, give full Power and Authority to the said Sir Walter Raleigh, to Collect, Nominate and Appoint such Captains, and other inferiour Commanders and Ministers under him, as shall be requisite for the better ordering and governing of his Company, and the good of the Voyage. And further, We do by these Presents, for Us, Our heirs and Successors, straightly Charge and Command the Warden of Our Cinque Ports, and all the Customers, Comptrollers, Surveyers, Searchers, Waiters, and other Officers and Ministers of Us, Our heirs and Successors, for the time being, that they and every of them do quietly permit and suffer the said Sir Walter Raleigh, and all Person and Persons that shall be willing to Travel and Adventure with him in this Voyage with their Ships, Munition, Goods, Wares, and Merchandizes whatsoever out of this Our Realm, or any other Our Dominions, to pass into the said South or other parts of America, (Possessed and Inhabited as aforesaid) and from thence to return and import into this Our Realm, or any other Our Dominions, any Goods, Wares, or Merchandizes whatsoever, and there to Sell, or otherwise dispose of the same, to the best benefit and advantage, and to the only use and behoof of the said Sir Walter Raleigh, and his Company, and such other Persons as shall be Adventurers with him in this Voyage; paying

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ing the fifth part of all Gold, and Silver, and Bullion, and Ore of Gold, and Silver, and of Pearl, and pretious Stones imported, and other the Customs and Duties aforesaid. And these Presents, or the Inrolement thereof, shall be unto the said Wardens of the Cinque Ports, Customers, Comptrollers, and other the Officers and Ministers aforesaid, for the time being, a sufficient Warrant and Discharge in that behalf. And Our Will and Pleasure is; And by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, We do grant unto the said Sir Walter Raleigh, That these Our Letters Patents, or the Inrolment thereof, and all and singular Grants, Clauses, and things therein contained, shall be firm, strong, sufficient, and effectual in Law, according to Our gracious Pleasure and Meaning herein expressed; Any Law, Statute, Act, Provision, Ordinance, or Restraint, or any other Matter or Thing to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding. Although express mention, &c. In Witness whereof, &c. Witness Our Self at Westminster the six and twentieth Day of August, in the fourteenth Year of Our Reign of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the fiftieth.

Per breve de privato Sigillo.

With this Commission, and the Company of several brave Captains, and other Knights and Gentlemen of great Blood and Worth, he set out in Quest of the Mine, with a compleat Fleet of Twelve Sail; letting fall a Speech at his Departure, which was rather an Argument of his Wit than his Wisdom, *That his whole History of the World had not the like President: Of a Kings Prisoner to purchase Freedom, and his bosome Favorite to have the Halter; but in Scripture*, Mordecai *and* Haman: Meaning himself and the Duke of *Sommerset*. To which he was told, that the King replied, *He might die in that Deceit*; which he did, for *Sommerset* was saved. Of whom was made good what Sir *Walter* used to say of Favourites; That Minions were not so happy as Vulgar Judgments thought them, being frequently commanded to uncomely, and sometimes to unnatural Imployments.

On the 17th of *November*, he arrived at *Guiana*, having been much retarded by contrary Winds, and having lost several of his Voluntiers in the Voyage, by a violent *Calenture*. But of the whole Transactions, Sir *Walter* hath given us an exact Account, in his Letter to Sir *Ralph Winwood*, Secretary; which I have here transcribed.

SIR,

AS I have not hitherto given you any Account of our Proceedings and Passages towards the Indies, *so have I no other Subject to write of, than of the greatest Misfortunes that ever befell any Man. For whereas for the first, all those that navigate between* Cape de Verd, *and* America, *do pass between Fifteen or Twenty Days at most, we found the Wind so contrary, and (which are also contrary to Nature) so many Storms and Rains, as we spent six Weeks in the Passage; by reason whereof, and that in so great Heat, we wanted Water. For at the Isle* Prano *of* Cape de Verd, *we lost our Anchors and Cables, and our Water-Casks; and being driven from the Isle with a* Hurricane, *we were like all to have perished. Great sickness fell amongst us, and carried away great numbers of our ablest Men, both for Sea and Land. The* 17th *of* November, *we had sight of* Guiana, *and soon after came to Anchor in five Degrees of the River* Galliano; *here we staid till the fourth of* December, *landed our Sick-men, set up our Barges and Shallops, which were brought out of* England *in Quarters, washed our Ships, and took in Fresh-water, being fed and cherished by the* Indians *of my old Acquaintance, with a great deal of Love and Respect. My self being in the hands of Death this six Weeks, and not able otherwise to move, than as I was carried in a Chair, gave order to five small Ships to sail into* Orinoque, *having Captain* Kemish *for their Conductor towards the Mines: And in those five Ships, five Companies of fifty, under the Command of Captain* Parker, *Captain* North, *Brethren to the Lord* Monteagle, *and the Lord* North, *valiant Gentlemen, and of infinite Patience, for the Labour, Hunger, and Heat which they have endured: My Son had the third Company; Captain* Thornix *of* Kent *the fourth Company; Captain* Chidly, *by his Lieutenant, the fifth. But as my Serjeant Major, Captain* Piggot, *died in the former miserable Passage; so my Lieutenant Sir* Warham Saint Leiger, *lay sick without*

hope of Life, and the Charge conferred on my Nephew, George Raleigh, *who had alſo ſerved long with infinite Commendations; but by reaſon of my abſence, and of Sir* Warham's, *was not ſo well obeyed as the Enterpriſe required. As they paſſed up the River, the* Spaniards *began the War, and ſhot at us, both with their Ordnance and Muskets; whereupon the Companies were forced to charge them, and ſoon after beat them out of the Town. In the Aſſault my Son (more deſirous of Honour than Safety) was ſlain; with whom, to ſay truth, all the reſpects of this World have taken end in me; and although theſe five Captains had as weak Companies as ever followed valiant Leaders, yet were there among them ſome twenty or thirty valiant adventurous Gentlemen, and of ſingular Courage; as of my Sons Company, Mr.* Knivet, *Mr.* Hammond, *Mr.* Langworth, *Mr.* John Pleaſington; *his Officers, Sir* John Hambden, *Mr.* Simon Leak, *Corporal of the Field, Mr.* Hammond, *the elder Brother, Mr.* Nicholas *of* Buckingham, *Mr.* Roberts *of* Kent, *Mr.* Perin, *Mr.* Treſham, *Mr.* Mollinax, *Mr.* Winter, *and his Brother, Mr.* Wray, *Mr.* Miles Herbert, *Mr.* Bradſhaw, *Captain* Hall, *and others.*

Sir, I have ſet down the Names of theſe Gentlemen, to the end that if his Majeſty ſhall have cauſe to uſe their ſervice, it may pleaſe you to take notice of them for very ſufficient Gentlemen. The other five Ships ſtaid at Trinidado, *having no other Port capable of them near* Guiana. *The ſecond Ship was Commanded by my Vice-Admiral Captain* John Pennington, *of whom (to do him right) he is one of the ſufficienteſt Gentlemen for the Sea that* England *hath. The third by Sir* Warham Saint Legier, *an exceeding valiant and worthy Gentleman. The fourth by Sir* John Fern. *The fifth by* Captain Chidley *of* Devon. *With theſe five Ships I dayly attended their Armada of* Spain, *which had they ſet upon us, our Force divided, the one half in* Orinoque, 150 *Miles from us, we had not only been torn in pieces, but all thoſe in the River had alſo periſhed, being of no force at all for Sea-fight. But we had reſolved to be burnt by their ſides, had the Armada arrived: But belike they ſtaid for us at* Margaret, *by which they knew we muſt paſs to the* Indies. *For it pleaſed his Majeſty to value us at ſo little, as to command me upon my Allegiance, to ſet down under my hand the Country, and River by which I was to enter it; to ſet down the Number of my Men, and Burthen of my Ships, and what Ordnance every Ship carried: which being known to the* Spaniſh *Ambaſſador, and by him unto the King of* Spain, *a diſpatch was made, and Letters ſent from* Madrid, *before my departure out of the* Thames. *For his firſt Letter, ſent by a Barque of Advice, was dated the* 19th *of* March, 1617. *at* Madrid, *which Letter I have here incloſed ſent to your Honour; the reſt I reſerve, not knowing whether they may be intercepted or not. The ſecond by the King, dated the ſecond of* May, *ſent alſo by a Colonel of* Diego de Polonioque, *Governour of* Guiana, Elderedo, *and* Trinidado. *The third by the Biſhop of* Pererícho, *and delivered to* Polonioque, *the fifteenth of* July *at* Trinidado. *And the fourth was ſent from the Farmer and Secretary of his Cuſtoms in the* Indies. *At the ſame time by that of the Kings Hand ſent by the Biſhop, there was alſo a Commiſſion for the ſpeed Levying of* 300 *Souldiers, and ten Pieces of Ordnance, to be ſent from* Portriche, *for the Defence of* Guiana. *One* 150 *from* Nueno Remo de Grando, *under the Command of Captain* Anthony Muſica; *and the other* 150 *from* Portricho, *to be conducted by Captain* Francis Landio.

Now Sir, if all that have traded to the Indies *ſince his Majeſties time, knew that the* Spaniards *have flayed alive all the poor Men which they have taken, being but Merchant Men, what Death and cruel Torment ſhall we expect, if they conquer us? Certainly, they have hitherto failed groſly, being ſet out thence as we were, both for Number, Time, and Place.*

Laſtly, To make an Apology *for not working the Mine (though I know his Majeſty expected it, whom I am to ſatisfie as much as my ſelf) having loſt my Son and my Eſtate in the Enterprize; yet it is true, that the* Spaniards *took more care to defend the Paſſage leading unto it, than they did the Town, which by the King's Inſtructions they might eaſily do, the Countries being* Aſpera & Nemoroſa.

But it is true, that when Captain Kemiſh *found the River low, and that he could not approach the Banks in moſt places near the Mine by a Mile, and where he found a deſcent, a volley of Muſquet ſhot came from the Woods upon the Boat, and ſlew two Rowers, hurt ſix others, and ſhot a valiant Gentleman of Captain* Thornix, *of which wound he languiſheth to this day. He, to wit, Captain* Kemiſh, *following his own Advice, thought it was in vain to diſcover the Mine; and he gave me this for an Excuſe at his return, that the Companies of* Engliſh *in the Town of S.* Thoma *were not able to defend it againſt the daily and nightly Aſſaults of the* Spaniards; *that the Paſſages to the Mines were thick and unpaſſable Woods; and that the Mine being diſcovered, they had no*

Men

Men to work it; did not discover it at all. For it is true, the Spaniards *having two Gold Mines near the Town; the one possessed by* Pedro Rodrigo de Paran, *the second by* Harmian Frotinio, *the third of Silver by* Captain Francisco, *are useless for want of Negroes to work them: For as the* Indians *cannot be constrained, by a Law of* Charles *the 5th, so the* Spaniards *will not, nor can endure the labour of those Mines, whatsoever the* Bragadocio *the* Spanish *Ambassador saith. I shall prove under the Proprietors hands, by the Custom-Brook and the King's* Quinto, *of which I recovered an Ingot or two: I shall also make it appear to any Prince, or State, that will undertake it, how easily those Mines, and five or six more of them, may be possessed, and the most of them in those Parts, which have never as yet been attempted by any, nor by any Passage to them, nor ever discovered by the* English, French, *or* Dutch. *But at* Kemish's *return from* Orinoque, *when I rejected his counsel and his course, and told him he had undone me, and wounded my Credit with the King past recovery, he slew himself: For I told him, seeing my Son was slain, I cared not if I had lost one hundred more in opening the Mine, so my Credit had been saved. For I protest before God, had not Captain* Whitny *(to whom I gave more countenance than to all the Captains of my Fleet) run from me at the* Granadoes, *and carried another Ship with him of Captain* Woolastons, *I would have left my Body at Saint* Thome, *by my Sons, or have brought with me out of that or other Mines, so much Gold Ore as should have satisfied the King. I propounded no vain thing, what shall become of me I know not. I am unpardoned in* England, *and my poor Estate consumed, and whether any Prince will give me Bread or no, I know not. I would desire your Honour to hold me in your good Opinion, to remember my Service to my Lord of* Arundel *and* Pembrook, *to take some pity on my poor Wife, to whom I dare not write for renewing her sorrow for her Son. And I beseech you to give a Copy of this to my Lord* Carew; *for to a broken Mind, a sick Body, and weak Eyes, it is a torment to write many Letters. I have found many things of Importance for discovering the State and Weakness of the* Indies, *which if I live I shall hereafter impart unto your Honour, to whom I shall remain a faithful Servant,*

WALTEER RALEIGH.

Whilst this Action of S. *Thome* was performed, and the Repulse in the way to the Mine, Sir *Walter* staid at S. *Point de Gallo* the space of nine weeks, where the unwelcome news was brought him of the loss of his Son, and the Defeat they met with in their Design upon the Mine. However this ill News could not alter the Resolutions of Sir *Walter*, of Returning to *England*, though he knew he should meet with several Enemies there, who had by their Calumnies rendred the Voyage nothing but a Design; and though several of his Men were for landing at *New-found-Land*. For if we may believe himself at the hour of his Death, the two Noble Earls, *Thomas* of *Arundel*, and *William* of *Pembrook*, engaged him to return; and Sir *Walter* was resolv'd, though inevitable Danger threatened him, to keep his Promise.

No sooner had they arrived upon the Coasts of *Ireland*, but the Taking and Sacking of Saint *Thome*, firing of the Town, and putting the *Spaniards* there to the Sword (though in their own defence) was noised abroad in all parts, and was by special Advertisement come unto the knowledge of Count *de Gondamor*: Who thereupon desiring Audience of his Majesty, said he had but one word to say: His Majesty much wondring what might be delivered in one word; when he came before him, he only bawl'd out, *Pyrates, Pyrates, Pyrates*. A very pretty short Speech for an Ambassadour. Whereupon his Majesty published his Royal Proclamation, for the discovery of the Truth of Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s Proceedings, and the Advancement of Justice. But after all this Noise, Sir *Walter* is not question'd for his *Guiana* Action. For it is believed, not without very good Ground, that neither the transgression of his Commission, nor any thing acted beyond the Line, where the Articles of Peace between the two Crowns did not extend, could have in a legal course of Tryal shortned his days.

When Sir *Walter* was arrived at *Plymouth*, Sir *Lewis Steukly*, Vice-Admiral of the County of *Devon*, seiz'd him, being Commissioned by his Majesty to bring him to *London*; which could add no Terrour to a Person who could expect nothing less; and was now forc'd to make use of all the Arts imaginable to appease his Majesty, and defer his Anger. To which intent, *Manowry*, a *French* Quack at *Salisbury*, gave him several Vomits, and an Artificial Com-

position, which made him look gaſtly and dreadful, full of Pimples and Bliſters, and put the Cheat upon the very Phyſicians themſelves, who could not tell what to make of his Urine (though often inſpected) being adulterated with a Drug in the Glaſs, that turn'd it even in their very hands, into an earthy humour of a blackiſh colour, and of a very offenſive ſavour.

While he lay under this Politick diſguiſe, he penn'd his *Declaration* and *Apology*, which have ſufficiently proved his honourable Deſigns in that Voyage, and anſwered the little Calumnies of his Enemies. When he was brought to *London*, he was permitted the Confinement of his own Houſe: But finding the Court wholly guided by *Gondamor*, he could hope for little Mercy; therefore he wiſely contriv'd the deſign of an Eſcape into *France*, which Sir *Lewis Steuckley* betrayed. But the fate of Traytors purſued him, and brought him to a Contemptible End, to dye a poor diſtracted Begger in the Iſle of *Lindey*, having for a Bag of Money falſified his Faith, confirmed by the tye of the holy Sacrament, (if we may give credit to Mr. *Howel*, who hath given us this Story;) as alſo before the Year came about, to be found clipping the ſame very Coyn in the King's own Houſe at *White-Hall*, which he had received for a Reward of his Perfidiouſneſs: for which, being condemn'd to be hang'd, he was forc'd to ſell himſelf to his Shirt, to purchaſe his Pardon of two Knights.

King *James* was willing to ſacrifice the Life of Sir *Walter* to the Advancement of Peace with *Spain*, but not upon ſuch Grounds as the Ambaſſadour had deſign'd: for he deſir'd a Judgment upon the pretended Breach of Peace, that by this Occaſion he might ſlily gain from the *Engliſh* an acknowledgment of his Maſter's Right in thoſe Places, and hereafter both ſtop their Mouths, and quench their Heat and Valour. Hence upon his old Condemnation (for having had experience upon a former Tryal, they cared not to run the hazard of a ſecond) he was ſentenced: The old Judgment being only Averred againſt him; and from *Weſtminſter-Hall* he was carried to the *Gate-Houſe*; and from thence the next Morning to the Parliament-Yard, where he had the Favour of the Ax granted him. But all Perſons have wondred how that old Sentence, that had laid dormant ſixteen Years and upwards againſt Sir *Walter*, could have been made uſe of to take off his Head afterwards: Conſidering the then Lord Chancellor *Vernlam* told him poſitively, (as Sir *Walter* was acquainting him with that Proffer of Sir *William St. Geon* for a Pecuniary Pardon, which might have been obtained for a leſs Sum, than his *Guiana* Preparations amounted to) in theſe words: 'Sir, the Knee Timber 'of your Voyage is Money; ſpare your 'Purſe in this particular, for upon my 'Life you have a ſufficient Pardon for 'all that is paſſed already, the King ha-'ving under his Broad Seal made you 'Admiral of your Fleet, and given you 'Power of the Martial Law over the 'Officers and Souldiers. It was the O-pinion of moſt Lawyers, that he, who by his Majeſties Patent, had Power of Life and Death over the King's Liege People, ſhould be eſteemed or judged *Rectus in Curia*, and free from all old Convictions. But Sir *Walter* hath made the beſt Defence for his *Guiana* Actions, in his Letter to his Majeſty, which I have here inſerted.

May it pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſty.

'IF in my Journey outward bound, 'I had my Men Murdered at the 'Iſland, and yet ſpared to take Revenge. 'If I did diſcharge ſome *Spaniſh* Barques 'taken, without ſpoil. If I did for-'bear all parts of the *Spaniſh Indies*, 'wherein I might have taken twenty 'of their Towns on the Sea Coaſt, and 'did only follow the Enterpriſe I un-'dertook for *Guiana*, where without 'any Directions from me a *Spaniſh* 'Village was burnt, which was new 'ſet up within three miles of the Mine; 'by your Majeſtie's favour, I find no 'Reaſon why the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador 'ſhould complain of me. If it were 'lawful for the *Spaniards* to Murder '26 *Engliſhmen*, binding them back to 'back, and then cutting their Throats, 'when they had traded with them a 'whole Month, and came to them on 'the Land without ſo much as one 'Sword; and that it may not be lawful 'for your Majeſties Subjects, being char-'ged firſt by them, to repel Force by 'Force; we may juſtly ſay, O mi-'ſerable *Engliſh!* If *Parker* and *Me-'tham* took *Campeach* and other places in 'the *Honduraes*, ſeated in the heart of 'the *Spaniſh Indies*, burnt Towns, kil-'led the *Spaniards*, and had nothing ſaid 'to them at their Return, and my ſelf 'forbore to look into the *Indies* becauſe

'I would

'I would not offend; I may justly say, 'O miserable Sir *Walter Raleigh!* If I 'spent my poor Estate, lost my Son, 'suffered by Sickness, and otherwise 'a World of Miseries; if I have resi- 'sted with the manifest hazard of my 'Life, the Robberies and Spoils which 'my Company would have made; if 'when I was Poor, I might have 'made my self Rich; if when I had 'gotten my Liberty, which all Men, 'and Nature it self do so much prise, 'I voluntarily lost it; if when I was 'sure of my Life, I rendred it again; 'if I might elsewhere have sold my 'Ship and Goods, and put 5 or 6000 'Pound in my Pocket, and yet have 'brought her into *England*. I beseech 'your Majesty to believe, that all this 'I have done, because it should not be 'said to your Majesty, that your Ma- 'jesty had given Liberty and Trust to 'a Man whose End was but the Re- 'covery of his Liberty, and who had 'betrayed your Majestie's Trust. My 'Mutineers told me, that if I return- 'ned for *England*, I should be undone; 'but I believed in your Majestie's Good- 'ness more than in all their Arguments. 'Sure I am, that I am the first that 'being free, and able to enrich my self, 'have imbraced Poverty and Peril: 'And as sure I am, that my Example 'shall make me the last. But your Ma- 'jestie's Wisdom and Goodness I have 'made my Judges who have ever been, 'and shall ever be,

Your Majestie's most

humble Vassal,

WALTER RALEIGH.

But this Apology, though never so perswasive, could not satisfie *Gondamor*'s Rage, who was resolv'd to sacrifice the only Favorite left of Queen *Elizabeth*, to the *Spanish* interest: And who, as *Osborn* remarks, was the only Person of *Essex*'s Enemies that died lamented; and the only Man of Note left alive, that had help'd to beat the *Spaniard* in the Year 1588.

Upon Thursday the 29th of *October* 1618. Sir *Walter Raleigh* was conveyed by the Sheriffs of *London* to a Scaffold in the Old Palace at *Westminster*, where he was executed about nine of the Clock in the Morning of the same Day, whose Confession and several Speeches there delivered, with his Gesture and Behaviour, were as follows.

His first appearance upon the Scaffold, was with a smiling Countenance, saluting the Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen, with others of his Acquaintance there present; when after a Proclamation of Silence by an Officer appointed, he addressed himself to speak in this manner.

I desire to be born withal, because this is the third Day of my Feavour: And if I shew any weakness, I beseech you attribute it to my Malady, for this is the hour I look for it.

Then pawsing a while, directing himself towards a Window, where the Lord of *Arundel*, and the Lord of *Doncaster*, with some other Lords and Knights sate, with a loud Voice he said as followeth:

'I thank God of his infinite Good- 'ness that he hath sent me to dye in 'the sight of so Honourable an Assem- 'bly, and not in Darkness. But by rea- son the place where they sat was some distance from the Scaffold, that they could not easily hear him, he said, *I will strain my self, for I would willingly have your Honours hear me.* The Lord of *Arundel* answered, *We will come upon the Scaffold*; where after he had saluted every one of them severally, he began as follows:

'As I said, I thank my God hearti- 'ly that he hath brought me into the 'light to dye, and not suffered me to dye 'in the dark Prison of the *Tower*, where 'I have suffered a great deal of Adver- 'sity, and a long Sickness; and I thank 'God that my Feavour hath not taken 'me at this time, as I prayed God it 'might not.

'There are two main Points of Suspi- 'tion that his Majesty hath conceived a- 'gainst me, wherein his Majesty cannot 'be satisfied, which I desire to clear and 'resolve you in:

'One is, That his Majesty hath been 'informed that I have had some Plot 'with *France*, and his Majesty had some 'Reason to induce him thereunto. One 'Reason that his Majesty had to con- 'jecture so, was, That when I came 'back from *Guiana*, being come to *Ply- 'mouth*, I endeavoured to go to *Rochel*; 'which was because I would fain have 'made

'made my Peace before I came to *England*. Another Reason was, That upon my Flight I did intend to fly to *France* for saving of my Life, having had some terror from above. A third Reason was, The *French* Agent's coming to me; and it was reported I had Commission from the King of *France*.

'But this I say, for a Man to call God to witness to a Falshood at any time is a grievous sin, and what shall he hope for at the Tribunal Day of Judgment? But to call God to witness to a Falshood at the time of Death, is far more grievous and impious, and there is no hope for such an one. And what should I expect that am now going to render an Account of my Faith? I do therefore call the Lord to witness, as I hope to be saved, and as I hope to see him in his Kingdom, which will be within this quarter of this hour, I never had any Commission from the King of *France*, nor any Treaty with the *French* Agent, nor with any from the *French* King; neither knew I that there was an Agent, or what he was, till I met him in my Gallery at my Lodging unlook'd for. If I speak not true, O Lord, let me never come into thy Kingdom.

'The second Suspition was, That his Majesty hath been informed, That I should speak dishonourably and disloyally of him. But my Accuser was a base *Frenchman*, a kind of a Chymical Fellow, one whom I knew to be Perfidious; for being drawn into this Action at *Winchester*, in which my Hand was toucht, and he being sworn to secrecy over Night, reveal'd it in the Morning.

'But in this I speak now, What have I to do with Kings? I have nothing to do with them, neither do I fear them: I have now to do with God, therefore to tell a Lye now to get the Favour of the King were in vain. Therefore, as I hope to be saved at the last Day, I never spake dishonourably, disloyally, nor dishonestly of the King; neither to this *Frenchman*, nor to any other; neither had I ever in all my Life a thought of ill of his Majesty. Therefore I cannot but think it strange, that this *Frenchman* being so base, so mean a Fellow, should be so far credited; and so much for this Point. I have dealt truly, and I hope I shall be believed. I confess, I did attempt to escape, and I did dissemble and fain my self Sick at *Salisbury*, but I hope it was no sin. The Prophet *David* did make himself a Fool, and did suffer Spittle to fall upon his Beard, to escape the hands of his Enemies, and it was not imputed to him as sin; and I did it to prolong Time till his Majesty came, hoping for some Commiseration from him.

'I forgive this *Frenchman*, and Sir *Lewis Steuckly*, and have received the Sacrament this Morning of Mr. Dean, and I do also forgive all the World. But thus much I am bound in Charity to speak of this Man, that all Men may take good heed of him: Sir *Lewis Steuckley*, my Kinsman and Keeper, hath affirmed that I should tell him, that I did tell my Lord *Carew*, and my Lord *Doncaster* of my present Escape; but I protest before God, I never told *Steuckly* any such thing, neither did I tell my Lord *Carew*, or my Lord *Doncaster*, of my pretended Escape. It was not likely that I should acquaint two Privy-Counsellors of my purpose, neither would I tell him, for he left me six, seven, eight, nine or ten days to go where I listed, while he rode about the Country.

'Again, he accused me, that I should tell him, That my Lord *Carew*, and my Lord *Doncaster* would meet me in *France*: which was never my speech or thought.

'Thirdly, He accused me, That I shew'd him a Letter, and that I should give him 10000 *l.* for my Escape: but cast my Soul into everlasting Fire if ever I made him offer of 10000 *l.* or 1000 *l.* but meerly I shew'd him a Letter, that if he would go with me, his Debts should be paid when he was gone; neither had I 1000 *l.* for if I had had so much, I could have done better with it, and made my Peace otherwise.

'Fourthly, When I came to Sir *Edward Pelham*, who had been sometimes a follower of mine, who gave me good Entertainment; he gave out that I had receve'd some dram of Poyson in Sir *Edward Pelham*'s House: when I answered, that I feared no such thing; for I was well assured of them in the House. Now God forgive him, for I do, and desire God to forgive him: I will not only say God is the God of Revenge, but I desire God to forgive him, as I hope to be forgiven.

Then

Then he looked over his Note of Remembrance; 'Well (ſaith he) thus far I 'have gone; now a little more, and I will 'have done by and by.

'It was told the King I was brought 'per force into *England*, and that I did 'not intend to come again: Whereas 'Captain *Charles Parker*, Mr. *Treſham*, 'Mr. *Leak*, and divers others that knew 'how I was dealt withal, ſhall witneſs 'for me: For the Common Souldiers '(which were 150) mutined, and ſent 'for me to come into the Gun-Room 'to them, (for at that time they would 'not come to me) and there was I forc'd 'to take an Oath, that I would not come 'into *England* till they would have me, 'elſe they would caſt me into the Sea 'and drown me; afterwards they entred 'my Cabin and ſet themſelves againſt me. 'After I had taken this Oath, with Wine 'and other things I drew the chiefeſt of 'them to deſiſt, and at length perſwaded 'them to go into *Ireland*: Then would 'they have gone into the North parts of '*Ireland*, but I told them they were *Red-ſhanks*: yet at laſt with much ado I perſwaded them to go into the South parts; 'promiſing to get their Pardons: but was 'forc'd to give them 125 l. at *Kingſale* to 'bring them home, otherwiſe I had never 'got from them.

'There was a Report that I meant 'not to go to *Guiana* at all; and that 'I knew not of any Mine, nor intended 'any ſuch matter, but only to get my 'Liberty, which I had not the wit to 'keep. But it was my full intent to 'go for Gold, for the benefit of his 'Majeſty, and thoſe that went with me, 'with the reſt of my Countrymen: But 'he that knew the Head of the Mine, 'would not diſcover it when he ſaw my 'Son was ſlain, but made himſelf away. 'Then he turned to my Lord of *Arundel* and ſaid, Being in the Gallery in 'my Ship at my Departure, Your Honour took me by the hand, and ſaid 'you would requeſt me one thing, that 'was, *That whether I made a good Voyage 'or bad, yet I ſhould return again into* England; when I made you a Promiſe, and 'gave you my Faith that I would: *And 'ſo you did* (anſwered my Lord) *it is 'true, they were the laſt words I ſpake unto you.*

'Another Opinion was that I carried 'to Sea with me 1600 Pieces, and that 'was all the Voyage I intended, only to 'get Money into my Hands, and that 'I had weighed my Voyage before: 'whereas I proteſt I had but 100 Pound 'in all the World, whereof I gave 25 'Pounds to my Wife: The Reaſon of 'this Speech was this; there was entered '20000 Pound, and yet but 4000 Pound 'in the Surveyors Book; now I gave 'my Bill for the other 16000 Pound for 'divers Adventurers, but I proteſt I had 'not a Penny of Money more than 100 'Pound, as I hope to be ſaved.

'Another Slander was raiſed, that I 'would have gone away from them and 'left them at *Guiana*, but there were a 'great many of worthy Men that accompanied me always, as my Serjeant Major '*George Raleigh*, and divers others (which 'he then named) that knew my Intent 'was nothing ſo. And theſe be the Material Points I thought good to ſpeak of; 'I am now at this inſtant to render my 'Account to God, and I proteſt as I ſhall 'appear before Him, this that I have ſpoken 'is true.

'I will ſpeak but a word or two more, be'cauſe I will not trouble Mr. Sheriff too long.

'There was a Report ſpread, that I 'ſhould rejoyce at the Death of my Lord 'of *Eſſex*, and that I ſhould take Tobac'co in his preſence; when as I proteſt I 'ſhed Tears at his Death, though I was 'one of the contrary Faction; and at the 'time of his Death I was all the while in 'the Armory at the further end, where 'I could but ſee him; I was ſorry that I 'was not with him, for I heard he had 'a deſire to ſee me, and be reconciled to 'me. So that I proteſt I lamented his Death, 'and good cauſe had I, for it was the worſe 'for me as it proved, for after he was gone 'I was little beloved.

'And now I intreat you all to joyn 'with me in Prayer, that the great God 'of Heaven, whom I have grievouſly of'fended, being a Man full of all Vanity, 'and have lived a ſinful Life, in all ſin'ful Callings, having been a Souldier, a 'Captain, a Sea-Captain, and a Courtier, 'which are all places of Wickedneſs and 'Vice; that God (I ſay) would for'give me, and caſt away my Sins from 'me, and that he would receive me into 'everlaſting Life. So I take my leave 'of you all, making my Peace with God.

Then Proclamation being made that all Men ſhould depart the Scaffold, he prepared himſelf for Death, giving away his Hat and wrought Night-Cap, and ſome Money to ſuch as he knew that ſtood near him: Taking his leave of the Lords, Knights, and other Gentlemen, and

and among the reſt taking his leave of the Lord of *Arundel*, he thanked him for his Company, and intreated him to deſire the King, that no ſcandalous Writing to defame him might be publiſhed after his Death; ſaying further unto him, *I have a long Journey to go, and therefore I will take my leave.*

Then putting off his Gown and Doublet, he called to the Headſman to ſhew him the Ax, which being not preſently ſhewed him, he ſaid, *I pray thee let me ſee it, Doſt thou think that I am afraid of it?* And having it in his hands, he felt along upon the Edge of it, and ſmiling ſpake to the Sheriff, ſaying, *This is a ſharp Medicine, but it is a Phyſician for all Diſeaſes.* Then going to and fro upon the Scaffold, on every ſide he prayed the Company to pray to God to aſſiſt him and ſtrengthen him.

And ſo being asked which way he would lay himſelf, on which ſide the Block, as he ſtretched himſelf along and laid his Head on the Block, he ſaid, *So the Heart be right, it is no matter which way the Head lieth.* And then praying, after he had forgiven the Headſman, having given him a Sign when he ſhould do his Office, at two blows he loſt both Head and Life, his Body never ſhrinking nor moving. His Head was ſhewed on each ſide of the Scaffold, and then put into a Red-Leather Bag, and his wrought Velvet Gown thrown over it, which was afterwards conveyed away in a Mourning Coach of his Ladies.

The large effuſion of Blood which proceeded from his Veins, amaz'd the Spectators, who conjectur'd he had ſtock enough left of Nature to have ſurvived many years, though now near fourſcore years old.

He behav'd himſelf at his Death with ſo High and ſo Religious a Reſolution, as if a *Chriſtian* had acted a *Roman*, or rather a *Roman* a *Chriſtian*: And by the Magnanimity which was then conſpicuous in him, he abundantly baffled their Calumnies who had accus'd him of Atheiſm.

Various were the Reſentments of his Death, and ſeveral *Paſquils* (as it always happens on ſuch Occaſions) were ſcatter'd abroad.

Of the Gallantry of his Behaviour on the Scaffold, theſe following Verſes may give a Confirmation, and a Taſte of the *Poetry* of thoſe Times.

Upon Sir *Walter Raleigh's* Execution and Death.

Great Heart! who taught thee ſo to die?
Death yielding thee the Victory.
Where took'ſt thou leave of Life? If here,
How could'ſt thou be ſo far from Fear?
But ſure thou dyed'ſt, and quit'dſt the ſtate
Of Fleſh and Blood, before that Fate.
Elſe what a Miracle were wrought,
To triumph both in Fleſh and Thought.
I ſaw in every Stander by
Pale Death, Life only in thy Eye.
Farewel; Truth ſhall this Story ſay,
We dy'd, Thou only liv'dſt that Day.

Or if the Reader pleaſes, he may take this following *Elegy*, compoſed on the ſame Subject, by a Sacred Wit of thoſe times.

An Elegy on Sir *W. R.*

I will not weep: for 'twere as great a ſin
To ſhed a Tear for Thee, as to have been
An Actor *in thy Death. Thy Life and Age*
Was but a various Scene on Fortunes Stage;
With whom thou tugg'ſt and ſtrov'ſt, (even out of breath,
In thy long Toyl, ne're maſter'd till thy Death;
And then, deſpight of Trains, and cruel Wit,
Thou didſt at once ſubdue Malice, and it.
I dare not then ſo blaſt thy Memory,
As t' ſay I do lament or pity Thee.
Were I to chooſe a Subject to beſtow
My Pity on, he ſhould be one as low
In Spirit as Deſert: That durſt not dye,
But rather were content by Slavery
To purchaſe Life: Or would I pity thoſe
Thy moſt induſtrious and friendly Foes,
Who when they thought to make Thee Scandals ſtory,
Lent Thee a ſwifter Flight to Heav'n and Glory.
They thought by cutting off ſome wither'd Days
(Which thou could'ſt ſpare them) to eclipſe thy Praiſe;
Yet gave it brighter Foil, made thy ag'd Fame
Appear more White and Fair, than Foul their Shame.
And did promote an Execution,
Which, but for them, Nature and Age had done.
Such worthleſs things as theſe are only born
To live on Pities Alms (too mean for Scorn.)
Thou dy'dſt an envious Wonder, whoſe high Fate
The World muſt ſtill admire, ſcarce imitate.

Thus

Thus died that Knight, who was *Spain*'s Scourge and Terror, and *Gondamor*'s Triumph, whom the whole Nation pitied, and ſeveral Princes interceded for; Queen *Elizabeth*'s Favourite, and her Succeſſors Sacrifice. A Perſon of ſo much Worth and ſo great Intereſt, that King *James* would not execute him without an Apology. One of ſuch incomparable Policy, that he was too hard for *Eſſex*, was the Envy of *Leiceſter*, and *Cecil*'s Rival; who grew jealous of his Excellent Parts, and was afraid of being ſupplanted by him. His Head was wiſht on the Secretaries Shoulders, and his Life valued by ſome at a higher Rate than the *Infanta* of *Spain*, though a Lady incomparably excelling in both the Gifts of Body and Mind.

Authors are perplext under what Topick to place him, whether of Stateſman, Seaman, Souldier, Chymiſt, or Chronologer; for in all theſe he did excel. He could make every thing he read or heard his own, and his own he could eaſily improve to the greateſt Advantage. He ſeem'd to be born to that only which he went about, ſo Dexterous was he in all his Undertakings, in Court, in Camp, by Sea, by Land, with Sword, with Pen. Witneſs in the laſt, his

Hiſtory of the World.
Hiſtory of Guiana.
His Remains.
Judicious and Select Eſſays and Obſervations on the firſt Invention of Shipping, the Miſery of Invaſive War, the Navy Royal and Sea-Service, with his Apology for his Sea-Voyage to Guiana.
Wars with Foreign Princes dangerous to our Common-wealth; or Reaſons for Foreign Wars anſwered.
An excellent Manuſcript of the preſent State of Spain, *with a moſt Accurate Account of his Catholick Majeſties Power, and Riches; with the Names and Worth of the moſt conſiderable Perſons in that Kingdom.*

FINIS.

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The exact Delineation of the prefent State of Spain, with a moft Accurate Discourse of his Catholick Majefties Power and Riches; with the Nerves and Wealth of the moft refpectable Perfons in that Kingdom.

THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD:

Intreating of the Beginning and First Ages of the same, from the CREATION unto ABRAHAM.

The FIRST BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of the Creation, and Preservation of the World.

§. I.

That the Invisible God is seen in his Creatures.

GOD, whom the wisest men acknowledg to be a Power uneffable, and Vertue infinite, a Light by abundant clarity invisible; an Understanding which it self can onely comprehend; an Essence eternal and spiritual, of absolute pureness and simplicity; was, and is pleased to make himself known by the Work of the World: in the wonderful magnitude whereof (all which he embraceth, filleth, and sustaineth) we behold the Image of that glory which cannot be measured, and withal, that one, and yet universal Nature, which cannot be defined. In the glorious Lights of Heaven, we perceive a shadow of his Divine Countenance; in his merciful provision for all that live, his manifold goodness: and lastly, in creating and making existent the World universal, by the absolute Art of his own Word, his Power and Almightiness; which Power, Light, Vertue, Wisdom, and Goodness, being all but Attributes of one simple Essence, and one God, we in all admire, and in part discern *per speculum creaturarum*, that is, in the disposition, order, and variety of Celestial and Terrestrial bodies: Terrestrial, in their strange and manifold diversities; Celestial, in their beauty and magnitude; which in their continual and contrary motions, are neither repugnant, intermixt, nor confounded. By these potent effects, we approach to the knowledg of the omnipotent cause, and by these motions, their Almighty Maker.

In these more than wonderful works, God (saith * *Hugo*) speaketh unto man: and it is true, that these be those discourses of God, whose effects, those that live, witness in themselves; the sensible in their sensible natures; the reasonable, in their reasonable souls: for, according to * S. *Gregory*, *Omnis homo eo ipso quòd rationalis conditus est, ex ipsa ratione, illum qui se condidit, Deum esse colligere debet*; Every man, in that he is reasonable, out of the same reason may know, that he which made him, is God. This God all men behold (saith *Job*) which is, according to the Fathers, *Dominationem illius conspicere in creaturis*, To discern him in *autem manifestans, per omnia apparet, & in omnibus. Apparentia rerum est, nihil apparitio quàm generatio.*

* *Hugo sic per Eccles. Homil. 8.*

* *Greg. in Mor. Herm. ad. fil. Tat. l. 5.*

Vnus verò ingenitus, & non apparens & immanifestus, omnia solùm gen-

his Providence by his creatures. That God hath been otherwise seen, to wit, with corporal eyes, exceedeth the small proportion of my understanding, grounded on these places of S. *John* and S. *Paul*, *Ye have not heard his voice at any time, neither have ye seen his shape.* And again, *Whom never man saw, nor can see.*

Joh. 5. 3. 1 Tim. 6. 16.

And this I am sure agrees with the nature of God's simplicity, of which S. *Augustine*, *Ipsa enim natura, vel substantia, vel quolibet alio nomine appellandum est, id ipsum quod Deus est, corporaliter videri non potest*; That nature, or that substance, or by whatsoever name that is to be called which is God, whatsoever that be, the same cannot be corporally perceived. And of this opinion were *Origen*, *Cyril*, *Chrysostom*, *Gregory*, *Nazianzene*, *Hierom*, *Augustine*, *Gregory* the great, *Evaristus*, *Alcuinus*, *Dionysius Areopagita*, *Aquinas*, and all others of Authority. But by his own Word, and by this visible World, is God perceived of men; which is also the understood language of the Almighty, vouchsafed to all his Creatures, whose Hieroglyphical Characters are the unnumbred Stars, the Sun and Moon; written on these large Volumes of the Firmament: written also on the Earth and the Seas, by the letters of all those living Creatures, and Plants, which inhabit and reside therein. Therefore said that learned *Cusanus*, *Mundus universus nihil aliud est, quàm Deus explicatus*; The World universal is nothing else but God expresst. And the invisible things of God (saith S. *Paul*) are seen by the creation of the World, being considered in his Creatures. Of all which, there was no other cause preceding than his own Will, no other matter than his own Power, no other Workman than his own Word, no other consideration than his own infinite goodness. The example and pattern of these his Creatures, as he beheld the same in all eternity in the abundance of his own love, so was it at length in the most wise order, by his unchanged Will moved, by his high Wisdom disposed, and by his Almighty Power perfected, and made visible. And therefore (saith *Mirandula*) we ought to love God, *ex fide, & ex effectibus* (that is) both perswaded by his Word, and by the effects of the Worlds Creation: *Neque enim qui causa caret, ex causa & origine sciri, cognosciq; potest, sed vel ex rerum, quæ factæ sunt, quæque fiunt & gubernantur, observatione & collatione; vel ex ipsius Dei verbo*: For he of whom there is no higher cause, cannot be known by any knowledge of cause or beginning (saith *Montanus*) but either by the observing and conferring of things, which he hath, or doth create and govern; or else by the word of God himself.

Origen l. 2. περὶ ἀρχῶν c. 22. Cyril. & Chrys. in Joh. hom. 14 Greg. Naz. l. 2. Theolog. Hier. in Esaiam. Aug. l. 2. de Trin. c. 12 & 13. Greg. Mag. l. 18. Mor. Evar. ep. 1. Decret. Acuin. l. 2. de Trin. c. 16. D. Areop. c. 4. Cœl. Hierar. Thom. p. 2. q. 12. art. 11. & alibi. Deus qui natura invisibilis est, ut à visibilibus posset sciri, opus fecit quod Opificem sui visibiliter manifestaret, ut per certum incertum sciretur, & ille Deus omnium esse crederetur, Amb. in epist. ad Rom. c. 1. Cusan. de gen. il. dialog. Rom. 1. 20. A. Mont. Nat. Hist. fol. 7.

§. II.

That the wisest of the Heathen, whose Authority is not to be despised, have acknowledged the World to have been created by God.

THis work and creation of the World, did most of the ancient and learned Philosophers acknowledge, though by divers terms, and in a different manner expresst; I mean all those who are intitled by S. *Augustine*, *Summi Philosophi*, Philosophers of highest judgment and understanding. *Mercurius Trismegistus* calleth God, *Principium universorum*, The original of the Universal; to whom he giveth also the attributes of *Mens*, *Natura*, *Actus*, *Necessitas*, *Finis*, & *Renovatio*. And wherein he truely with S. *Paul*, casteth upon God all power; confessing also, that the World was made by Gods Almighty Word, and not by hands: *Verbo, non manibus, fabricatus est mundus*. *Zoroaster* (whom *Heraclitus* followed in opinion) took the word *Fire* to express God by (as in *Deuteronomy*, and in S. *Paul* it is used) *Omnia ex uno igne genita sunt, All things* (saith he) *are caused or produced out of one fire.*

Herm. in Pœmandro, & in sermone sacro.

Deut. 4. 24. Heb. 12. 19.

So did *Orpheus* plainly teach, that the World had beginning in time, from the will of the most high God; whose remarkable words are thus converted; *Cum abscondisset omnia Jupiter summus, deinde in lumen gratum emisit, ex sacro corde operans cogitata & mirabilia*: Of which I conceive this sence: *When great Jupiter had hidden all things in himself, working out of the love of his sacred heart, he sent thence*, or brought forth, *into grateful light, the admirable works which he had fore-thought.*

Pindarus the Poet, and one of the wisest, acknowledged also one God, the most High, to be the Father and Creator of all things; *Unus Deus, Pater, Creator summus. Plato* calleth God the cause and original, the nature and reason of the universal; *Totus rerum natura, causa, & origo Deus.* But hereof more at large hereafter. *Vid. cap. 6.*

Now, although the curiosity of some men have found it superfluous, to remember the opinions of Philosophers in matters of Divinity: (it being true, that the Scripture hath not want of any forrain testimony) yet as the *Fathers*, with others excellently learned, are my examples herein; so S. *Paul* himself did not despise, but thought it lawful and profitable, to remember whatsoever he found agreeable to the word of God among the Heathen, that he might thereby take from them all escape, by way of ignorance, God rendring vengeance to them that know him not, as in the Epistle to *Titus* he citeth *Epimenides* against the *Cretians*, and to the *Corinthians*, *Menander*; and in the seventeenth of the *Acts*, *Aratus &c.* For, Truth (saith S. *Ambrose*) by whomsoever uttered, is of the holy Ghost; *Veritas à quocunque dicatur, à Spiritu sancto est*: and lastly, let those kind of men learn this rule; *Quæ sacris serviunt, prophana non sunt*; *Nothing is prophane, that serveth to the use of holy things.*

§. III.

Of the meaning of In Principio, *Genes. 1. 1.*

THis visible World of which *Moses* writeth, God created in the beginning, or first of all: in which (saith *Tertullian*) things began to be. This word *Beginning* (in which the *Hebrews* seek some hidden mystery, and which in the *Jews Targum* is converted by the word *Sapientia*) cannot be referred to succession of time, nor to order, as some men have conceived, both which are subsequent: but only to Creation then. For before that Beginning, there was neither primary Matter to be informed, nor Form to inform, nor any Being, but the Eternal. Nature was not, nor the next Parent or Time, begotten, Time properly and naturally taken: for if God had but disposed of Matter already in being; then as the word *Beginning* could not be referred to all things, so must it follow, that the institution of Matter proceeded from a greater power, than that of God. And by what name shall we then call such an One (saith *Lactantius*) as exceedeth God in potency: for it is an act of more excellency to make, than to dispose of things made? whereupon it may be concluded, that Matter could not be before this Beginning: except we feign double creation, or allow of two Powers, and both infinite; the impossibility whereof scorneth defence. *Nam impossibile est plura esse infinita: quoniam alterum esset in altero finitum*; *There cannot be more Infinities than one: for one of them would limit the other.*

Cusan. Manut.

§. IV.

§. IV.

Of the meaning of the words Heaven *and* Earth, *Geneſ.* 2. 1.

THe Univerſal matter of the World (which *Moſes* comprehendeth under the names of *Heaven* and *Earth*) is by divers diverſly underſtood; for there are that conceive, that by thoſe words was meant the firſt matter, as the Peripateticks underſtand it; to which S. *Auguſtine* and *Iſidore* ſeem to adhere, *Feciſti mundum* (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*) *de materia informi; quam feciſti de nulla re, pene nullam rem*: that is, *Thou haſt made the World of a matter without form; which matter thou madeſt of nothing, and being made, it was little other than nothing.*

But this potential and imaginary *materia prima*, cannot exiſt without form. *Peter Lombard*, the *Schoolmen*, *Beda*, *Lyranus*, *Comeſtor*, *Toſtatus*, and others affirm, that it pleaſed God firſt of all to create the Empyrean Heaven: which at the ſucceeding inſtant (ſaith *Beda* and *Strabo*) he filled with *Angels*. This Empyrean Heaven *Steuchius Eugubinus* calleth *Divine clarity and uncreated*: an Errour, for which he is ſharply charged by *Pererius*, though (as I conceive) he rather failed in the ſubſequent, when he made it to be a place, and the ſeat of Angels, and juſt Souls, than in the former affirmation; for of the firſt, That God liveth in eternal Light, it is written, *My Soul, praiſe thou the Lord, that covereth himſelf with light*: and in the Revelation, *And the City hath no need of the Sun, neither of the Moon to ſhine in it: for the glory of God did light it.* And herein alſo *John Mercer* upon *Geneſis* differeth not in opinion from *Eugubynus*: for as by Heaven created in the beginning, was not meant the inviſible or ſuperceleſtial; ſo in his judgment, becauſe it was in all eternity the glorious Seat of God himſelf, it was not neceſſary to be created; *Quem mundum Supercæleſtem meo judicio creari* (ſaith *Mercer*) *non erat neceſſe.*

Beda Hex. Strabo ſuper Gen. Eug. Coſ. & de nat. in corp.

Pſ. 104. 12. Claritas divina non eſt lux facta, ſed ſapientia Dei, non creata, ſed nata, Apoc. 21. 23. Mercer. in Gen. 7. 7.

But as *Moſes* forbare to ſpeak of Angels, and of things inviſible and incorporate, for the weakneſs of their capacities, whom he then cared to inform of thoſe things which were moſt manifeſt, (to wit) that God did not only by a ſtrong hand deliver them from the bondage of *Egypt*, according to his promiſe made to their fore-fathers; but alſo that he created, and was the ſole cauſe of this aſpectable, and perceiveable Univerſal: ſo on the other ſide I dare not think, that any ſuperceleſtial Heaven, or whatſoever elſe (not himſelf) was increate and eternal; and as for the place of God before the World created, the finite wiſdom of mortal men hath no perception of it, neither can it limit the Seat of Infinite Power, no more than Infinite Power can be limited: for his place is in Himſelf, whom no magnitude elſe can contain: *How great is the houſe of God* (ſaith *Baruch*) *how large is the place of his poſſeſſion! it is great, and hath no end, it is high and unmeaſurable.*

Bar. 3. 24, 25.

But leaving multiplicity of opinions, it is more probable and allowed, that by the words *Heaven* and *Earth*, was meant the ſolid matter and ſubſtance, as well of all the Heavens, and Orbs ſupernal, as of the Globe of the Earth and Waters, which covered it over, (to wit) that very matter of all things, *Materia*, *Chaos*, *poſſibilitas*, *ſive poſſe fieri*. Which matter (ſaith *Calvin*) was ſo called, *Quod totius mundi ſemen fuerit*; *Becauſe it was the ſeed of the Univerſal*: an Opinion of Ancient Philoſophers long before.

Cuſan. in Compend. fol. 224. Operis.

Calvin. in Gen.

§. V.

That the ſubſtance of the Waters, as mixt in the body of the Earth, is by Moſes *underſtood in the word Earth: and that the Earth, by the Attributes of unformed and void, is deſcribed as the Chaos of the ancient Heathen.*

Moſes firſt nameth Heaven and Earth (putting Waters but in the third place) as comprehending Waters in the word Earth; but afterwards he nameth them apart, when God by his Spirit began to diſtinguiſh the confuſed Maſs, and (as *Baſil* ſaith) *Præparare naturam aquæ ad fœcunditatem vitalem*; *To prepare the nature of water to a vital fruitfulneſs.*

For under the word *Heaven*, was the matter of all heavenly bodies, and natures expreſt: and by the name of *Earth* and *Waters*, all was meant, whatſoever is under the Moon, and ſubject to alteration. Corrupt ſeeds bring forth corrupt plants; to which the pure heavens are not ſubject, though ſubject to periſhing. *They ſhall periſh* (ſaith *David*) *and the heavens ſhall vaniſh away like ſmoak*, ſaith *Eſay*. Neither were the Waters the matter of Earth; for it is written, *Let the waters under the heavens be gathered into one place, and let the dry land appear*: which proveth, that the dry Land was mixt and covered with the Waters, and not yet diſtinguiſhed; but no way, that the Waters were the Matter or Seed of the Earth, much leſs of the Univerſal. *Initio tu, Domine, terram fundâſti; Thou, O Lord, in the beginning haſt founded the Earth*: And again, *The Earth was covered with the Deep* (meaning with Waters) *as with a garment*, ſaith *David*. And if by natural arguments it may be proved, That Water by condenſation may become Earth, the ſame Reaſon teacheth us alſo, that Earth rarified may become Water: Water, Air: Air, Fire: and ſo on the contrary. *Deus ignis ſubſtantiam per aërem in aquam convertit*; *God turneth the ſubſtance of Fire by Air into Water.* For the Heavens and the Earth remained in the ſame ſtate, in which they were created, as touching their ſubſtance, though there was afterwards added multiplicity of perfection, in reſpect of beauty and ornament. *Cœlum verò & terra in ſtatu creationis remanſerunt quantum ad ſubſtantiam, licet multiplex perfectio decoris & ornatus eis poſtmodum ſuperaddita eſt.* And the word which the Hebrews call *Maim*, is not to be underſtood according to the Latine Tranſlation ſimply, and as ſpecifical water; but the ſame more properly ſignifieth liquor. For (according to *Montanus*) *Eſt autem Maim liquor geminus, & hoc nomen propter verborum penuriam, Latina lingua plurali numero Aquas fecit*; *For Maim* (ſaith he) *is a double liquor*, (that is, of divers natures) *and this name or word the Latines, wanting a voice to expreſs it, call it in the Plural*, Aquas, *Waters.*

Pſal. 102. 26. Eſay 51.

Gen. 1. 9.

Pſ. 104. 6.

Zeno.

Gul. Pariſ. 6cc.

A. Mont. de nat.

This Maſs, or indigeſted Matter, or Chaos, created in the beginning, was without Form, that is, without the proper Form, which it afterwards acquired, when the Spirit of God had ſeparated the Earth, and digeſted it from the Waters. *And the Earth was void*, that is, not producing any creatures, or adorned with any Plants, Fruits, or Flowers. But after *the Spirit of God had moved upon the waters*, and wrought this indigeſted Matter into that form, which it now retaineth; then did *the Earth bud forth the Herb, which ſeedeth ſeed, and the fruitful Tree according to his kind, and God ſaw that it was good*; which Attribute was not given to the Earth, while it was confuſed; nor to the Heavens, before they had motion, and adornment. *God ſaw that it was good*, that is, made perfect: for perfection is that to which nothing is wanting. *Ex perfecti Dei perfecta ſunt opera*; *The Works of the perfect God, are perfect.*

Gen. 1. 2.

From this lump of imperfect Matter had the antient Poets their invention of *Demogorgon*; *Heſiodus* and *Anaxagoras* the knowledg of that Chaos: of which *Ovid*;

Ovid Met. l. 1.

Ante Mare, & Terras, & (quod tegit omnia) Cœlum,
Vnus erat toto naturæ vultus in Orbe,
Quem dixêre Chaos, rudis indigestaque moles.

Before the Sea and Land was made, and Heaven, that all doth hide,
In all the World one onely face of Nature did abide:
Which Chaos hight, a huge rude heap.

§. VI.

How it is to be understood, that the Spirit of God moved upon the waters; and that this is not to be searched curiously.

After the Creation of Heaven and Earth, then void and without form, the Spirit of God moved upon the Waters. The *Seventy Interpreters* use the word *superferebatur*, moved upon or over: *incubabat* or *fovebat* (saith *Hierome*) out of *Basil*; and *Basil* out of a Syrian Doctor; *Equidem non meam tibi, sed viri cujusdam Syri sententiam recensebo* (saith *Basil*:) which words *incubare* or *fovere*, importing warmth, hatching, or quickning, have a special likeness. *Verbum translatum est ab avibus pullitiei suæ incubantibus, quamvis spirituali, & planè inenarrabili, non autem corporali modo*; *The word is taken of birds hatching their young, not corporally, but in a spiritual and unexpressible manner.*

Basil Hexam.

Junius.

Some of the Hebrews convert it to this effect, *Spiritus Dei volitabat*; *The Spirit of God did flutter*: The Chaldean Paraphrast in this sence, *Ventus à conspectu Dei sufflabat*: or, as other understand the Chaldean, *Flabat, pellebat, removebat*: *The wind from the face of God did blow under, drive, or remove, or did blow upon*; according to the 147. *Psalm*, *He caused his wind to blow, and the waters increase*: *but there was yet no wind nor exhalation.* *Arias Montanus* in these words, *Et Spiritus Elohim Meracheset, id est, efficaciter motitans, confovens, ac agitans super facies geminî liquoris*; *The Spirit of God effectually and often moving, keeping warm, and cherishing, quickning and stirring upon the face of this double liquor.* For he maketh four originals, whereof three are agents, and the last passive and material, to wit, *Causa*, which is the Divine Goodness: *Jehi*, which is, *fiat, sive erit*, *Let it be*, or, *It shall be. Quæ vox verbo Dei prima prolata fuit*: *Which voice* (saith he) *was the first that was uttered by the Word of God.* The third, *Spiritus Elohim*, The Spirit of God, *id est, Vis quædam divina, agilis ac præsens, per omnia pertingens, omnia complens*; that is, *A certain divine power, or strength, every where active and extending, and stretching through all, filling and finishing all things.* The fourth he calleth *Maim, id est, Materies ad omnem rem conficiendam habilis*; *Matter apt to become every thing.* For my self, I am resolved, (*Cum Deus sit super rationale omni ratione*; *Seeing God is in all reason above reason*) that although the effects which follow his wonderful waies of working, may in a measure be perceived by man's understanding, yet the manner and first operation of his divine power, cannot be conceived by any mind, or spirit, compassed with a mortal body. *Animalis homo quæ Dei sunt non percipit*: *For my thoughts* (saith the Lord in *Esay*) *are not your thoughts, neither are your waies my waies.* And as the World hath not known God himself, so are his waies (according to S. *Paul*) *past finding out. O righteous Father, the world hath not known thee*, saith Christ. And therefore, whether that motion, vitality, and operation, were by incubation or how else, the manner is onely known to God. *Quomodo in omnibus sit rebus vel per essentiam, vel per potentiam, intellectus noster non capit*; *For how God* (saith S. *Augustine*, speaking of his Ubiquity) *is in all things, either by Essence, Presence, or Power, our understanding cannot comprehend.* *Nihil interest Deum hominemque distaret, si consilia, & dispositiones illius Majestatis æternæ, cogitatio assequeretur humana*; *There would be no difference between God and man, if man's understanding could conceive the counsels and disposing of that Eternal Majesty*; and therefore to be over-curious in searching how the all-powerful Word of God wrought in the Creation of the World, or his all-piercing and operative Spirit distinguishing, gave form to the Matter of the Universal, is a labour and search like unto his, who not contented with a known and safe Foord, will presume to pass over the greatest Rivers in all parts, where he is ignorant of their depths: for so doth the one lose his life, and the other his understanding. We behold the Sun, and enjoy his light, as long as we look towards it, but tenderly, and circumspectly: We warm our selves safely, while we stand near the fire; but if we seek to out-face the one, to enter into the other, we forthwith become blind or burnt.

Psal. 147. 18.

Ar. Mont. in Sup. Eugub. in Cos. fol. 13.

Ar. Mont. natura, pag. 145.

Esa. 55. 8.

Aug. Tract. 10. *in John* 17. 25.

Lact. in Præfat.

But to eschew curiosity: this is true, that the English word (*moved*) is most proper and significant: for of motion proceedeth all production, and all whatsoever is effected. And this Omnipotent Spirit of God, which may indeed be truly called, *Principium motus*, and with *Mirandula*, *Vis causæ efficientis*, *The force of the efficient cause*; S. *Augustine* sometimes taketh for the Holy Ghost; sometimes for a wind or breath, *Sub nomine Spiritus*, *under the name of a Spirit*, which is sometimes so taken: or for *virtualis creatura*, *For a created virtuality*: *Tertullian* and *Theodoret* call it also a breath or wind: *Mercurius* nameth it, *Spiritum tenuem intelligibilem*, *A pure or thin intelligible Spirit*: Anaxagoras, *Mentem*: Tostatus, *Voluntatem & mentem Dei*, *The will and mind of God*; which *Mens*, *Plato in Timæo* maketh *Animam mundi*, *The soul of the World*: and in his sixth Book *de Republica*, he calleth it, *The Law of Heaven*; in his Epistles, *The Leader of things to come, and the presence of things past.* But as *Cyprian* wrote of the Incarnation of Christ our Saviour, *Mens deficit, vox silet, & non mea tantùm, sed etiam Angelorum*; *My mind faileth, my voice is silent, and not mine onely, but even the voice of Angels*: so may all men else say in the understanding and utterance of the waies and works of the Creation; for to him (saith *Nazianzenus*) there is not one substance by which he is, and another, by which he can, *Sed consubstantiale illi est, quicquid ejus est, & quicquid est*; *Whatsoever Attribute of him there is, and whatsoever he is, it is the very same substance that himself is.*

Nazian. lib. 2. *Theol.*

But the Spirit of God which moved upon the waters, cannot be taken for a breath or wind, nor for any other creature, separate from the infinite active power of God, which then formed and distinguished, and which now sustaineth and giveth continuance to the Universal. For the Spirit of the Lord filleth all the world; and the same is it *which maintaineth all things*, saith *Solomon*. *If thou send forth thy Spirit* (saith *David*) *they are created*: And *Gregory*, *Deus suo præsentiali esse, dat omnibus rebus esse, ita quod si se rebus subtraheret, sicut de nihilo facta sunt omnia, sic in nihilum defluerunt universa*; *God giveth being to all things, by being present with all things, so as if he should withdraw himself from them, then as of nothing the World was made, it would again fall away and vanish into nothing.* And this working of Gods Spirit in all things, *Virgil* hath expresst excellently:

Sapi. 1. *v.* 7.

Principio Cœlum ac Terras, camposque liquentes,
Lucentemq; globum Lunæ, Titaniaq; astra,
Spiritus intus alit: totamq; infusa per artus
Mens agitat molem, & magno se corpore miscet.

Virgil Æneid. lib. 6. 724.

The Heaven, and Earth, and all the liquid Mayn,
The Moon's bright Globe, and Stars Titanian
A Spirit within maintains: and their whole mass,
A mind, which through each part infus'd doth pass,

Fashions,

Fashions, and works, and wholly doth transpierce.
All this great Body of the Universe.

And this was the same Spirit, which moved in the Universal, and thereby both distinguished and adorned it. *His Spirit hath garnished the Heavens*, saith *Job*. So then the Spirit of God moved upon the waters, and created in them their spirituality, and natural motion; motion brought forth heat; and heat rarifaction, and subtilty of parts. By this Spirit (which gave heat and motion, and thereby, operation to every nature, while it moved upon the waters, which were in one indigested lump, and Chaos, disposed to all forms alike) was begotten Aire: an Element superiour, as lighter than the Waters; through whose vast, open, subtile, Diaphanick, or transparent body, the light, afterwards created, might easily transpierce: Light for the excellency thereof being the first Creature which God called good, whose creation immediately followed. This Spirit *Chrysostom* calleth a vital Operation, *Aquis à Deo insitam, ex qua aquæ non solum motionem, sed & vim procreandi animalia habuerint.* He calleth it, *A vital Operation given by God unto the Waters, whereby the Waters had not only motion, but also power to procreate or bring forth living Creatures.*

Job c. 26. v. 13.

Gen. 1. 5.

§. VII.

Of the Light created, as the material substance of the Sun, and of the nature of it, and difficulty of knowledge of it: and of the excellency and use of it: and of motion, and heat annexed unto it.

THese Waters were afterwards congregated, and called the Sea: and this Light afterwards (in the fourth day) gathered and united, and called the Sun, the Organ and Instrument of created light. For this first and dispersed light did not (as I conceive) distinguish the night from the day, but with a reference to the Sun's creation, and the uniting of the dispersed light therein. This is proved by these words, *Let there be lights in the Firmament, to separate the day from the night*: which Lights in the Firmament of Heaven, were also made for signs, and for seasons, and for daies, and for years, implying a motion instantly to follow, by which, daies and years are distinguished; after which succeeded Time, or together with which, that Time (which was the measure of motion) began. For that space of the first three days which preceded the Sun's creation, or formal perfection, when as yet there was not any motion to be measured, and the Day named in the fifth Verse; was but such a space, as afterwards by the Sun's motion made a civil or natural day. And as Waters were the matter of Aire, of the Firmament, and of the lower and upper Waters, and of the Seas, and Creatures therein; Earth, the matter of Beasts, Plants, Minerals, and Man's body: so may Light (for expression sake) be called the Chaos, or material substance of the Sun, and other Lights of Heaven: Howbeit, neither the Sun, nor any thing sensible, is that light it self, *Quæ causa est lucidorum*, *Which is the cause that things are lightsome* (though it make it self and all things else visible:) but a body most illightned, which illuminateth the Moon, by whom the neighbouring Region (which the *Greeks* call *Æther*, the place of the supposed Element of fire) is effected and qualified, and by it all bodies living in this our ayr. For this light *Avicenna* calleth *Vehiculum & fomentum omnium cœlestium virtutum, & impressionum: The conducter, and preserver, or nourisher of all Celestial virtues and impressions*, nothing descending of heavenly influences, but by the *medium*, or means of light. *Aristotle* calleth light a quality, inherent or cleaving to a Diaphanous body, *Lumen est qualitas inhærens Diaphano*: but this may be better avouched of the heat, which it transporteth and bringeth with it, or conducteth: which heat (say the Platonicks) *Abeunte lumine residet in subjecto, The light being departed, doth reside in the subject*, as warmth in the ayr, though the same be deprived of light. This light *Plotinus* and all the *Academicks* make incorporal, and so doth *Montanus*, *Cui nec duritia resistit, nec spatium*; *Which neither hardness resisteth, nor space leaveth.*

Lux dicitur, quæ se & omnia visibilia facit. Cusan. in Compend. cap. 7. & exercit. lib. 5.

Ficin. lib. lumine. cap. 11.

Aristotle findeth corporality in the beams of light; but it is but by way of repetition of other mens opinions, saith *Picolomineus*. *Democritus*, *Leucippus*, and *Epicurus*, give materiality to light it self, but improperly: for it passeth at an instant from the Heaven to the Earth, nor is it resisted by any hardness, because it passeth through the solid body of glass, or other Crystalline matter; and whereas it is withstood by unclean and unpure earthy substances, less hard, and more easie to invade than the former, the same is, *Quòd obstaculum naturâ terreum atq; sordidum, non capit candidam luminis puritatem*; *Because an obstacle by nature earthy and foul, doth not receive the pure clearness of light*: alluding to that most Divine Light, which onely shineth on those minds, which are purged from all worldly dross, and humane uncleanness.

Pic. de sini.

Plotin.

But of this created light, there is no agreement in opinion; neither do I marvel at it, for it cannot be found either in the Fathers, Philosophers, or Schoolmen, or other antient or latter Writers, that any of them understood either it or themselves therein: all men (to cast off ignorance) have disputed thereof, but there is no man that hath been taught thereby. *Thomas Aquinas* (not inferiour to any in wit) as he hath shewed little strength of argument in refuting the opinions of *Beda*, *Hugo*, *Lombard*, *Lyranus*, and others: so is his own judgment herein, as weak as any mans; and most of the School-men were rather curious in the nature of terms, and more subtile in distinguishing upon the parts of doctrine already laid down, than discoverers of any thing hidden, either in Philosophy or Divinity: of whom it may be truly said, *Nihil sapientiæ odiosius acumine nimio*; *Nothing is more odious to true wisdom, than too accute sharpness.* Neither hath the length of time, and the search of many learned men, (which the same time hath brought forth and devoured) resolved us, whether this light be substantial, corporal, or incorporal: Corporal they say it cannot be, because then it could neither pierce the ayr, nor those hard, solid, and Diaphanous bodies, which it doth; and yet every day we see the ayr illightned: Incorporal it cannot be, because it sometime affecteth the sight of the eye with offence, and therefore by most of the Fathers so esteemed. Others say (as *Patricius*) that it cannot be matter, because no form so excellent as it self to inform it: neither can it be any accident, which is not separable without the destruction of the subject: for light being taken from the Sun, the Sun is no more the Sun in existence. Secondly, if light were proceeding from matter and form, then either, or both must be one of these, lucid or bright, dark or opake, Diaphanous or transparent; but darkness cannot be parent of light; and things Diaphanous (being neither light nor darkness, but capable of either) cannot be the cause of either, and therefore must the matter, or form, or both, be lucid and shining. Lucid and shining obtain their so being of the light; and therefore if we derive this being of light from a former, then would the progress go on infinitely and against nature; and therefore he concludeth, that light in the Sun hath his being primarily, and immediately of it self, and is therefore the Sun's form, and the form of all lucid and shining bodies: but what is taught hereby, let others judge.

Lucida corpora sunt plena sua, luce, alienis tenebris impervia. Opaca sunt plena suis tenebris alieno lumine. Transparentia (ut Diaphana carent suis & lumine & tenebris: alienis & lumine & tenebris permeantur. Scal. sub. ex. 71.

But in my understanding, *Lumen* (which may be Englished by the word *Shine*) is an intentional Species

cies of that, which may be Englished by Light; and so, this shining which proceedeth from the Sun, or other lights of Heaven, or from any other light, is an Image, or intentional Species thereof; and an intentional Species may be understood by example of a red or green colour, occasioned by the shining of the Sun through red or green glass: for then we perceive the same colour cast upon any thing opposite; which redness or other colour, we call the *intentional Species* of the colour in that glass. And again, as this light, touching his simple nature, is no way yet understood: so it is disputed, whether this light first created, be the same which the Sun inholdeth and casteth forth, or whether it had continuance any longer than till the Sun's creation.

But by the most wise and unchanged order, which God observed in the works of the World, I gather, that the Light, in the first day created, was the substance of the Sun: for *Moses* repeateth twice the main parts of the Universal: first, as they were created in matter; secondly, as they were adorned with form: first, naming the Heavens, the Earth, the Waters, all confused; and afterward, the Waters congregated, the Earth made dry Land; and the Heavens distinguished from both, and beautified. And therefore the Earth, as it was earth, before it was uncovered, and before it was called *Arida*, or dry Land; and the Waters were waters, before they were congregated and called the Sea, though neither of them perfect, or enriched with their virtual forms: So the Sun, although it had not its formal perfection, his circle, beauty, and bounded magnitude, till the fourth day, yet was the substance thereof in the first day (under the name of Light) created; and this Light formerly dispersed, was in the same fourth day united, and set in the Firmament of Heaven: for, to Light created in the first day God gave no proper place or fixation; and therefore the effects named by *Anticipation* (which was to separate day from night) were precisely performed, after this Light was congregated, and had obtained life and motion. Neither did the wisdome of God find cause why it should move (by which motion, dayes and nights are distinguished) till then: because there was not yet any Creature produced, to which, by moving, the Sun might give Light, heat, and operation.

But after the Earth (distinguished from Waters) began to bud forth the bud of the Herb, *&c.* God caused the Sun to move, and (by interchange of time) to visit every part of the inferiour World; by his heat to stir up the fire of generation, and to give activity to the seeds of all natures: For, as a King, which commandeth some goodly building to be erected, doth accommodate the same to that use and end, to which it was ordained; so it pleased God (saith *Procopius*) to command the Light to be; which by his all-powerful Word he approved, and approving it, disposed thereof, to the use and comfort of his future Creatures.

Quemadmodum Rex aliquis, &c. Procop. in Gen. 1.

Job 38. 24. 9. But in that it pleased God to ask of *Job*, *By what way is the Light parted, and where is the way where Light dwelleth?* we thereby know, that the nature thereof falleth not under man's understanding; and therefore let it suffice, that by God's grace we enjoy the effects thereof. *For this light is of the Treasure of God* (saith Esdras:) *And those which inhabit the Heavens, do onely know the Essence thereof. Nihil ignotum in cælo, nihil notum in terra: Nothing unknown in Heaven, nothing perfectly known on Earth. Res veræ sunt in mundo invisibili; in mundo visibili umbræ rerum: Things themselves are in the invisible World; in the world visible, but their shadows.* Surely, if this Light be not spiritual, yet it approacheth neareſt unto spirituality; and if it have any corporality, then of all other the most subtile and pure; for howsoever, it is of all things seen, the most beautiful, and of the swiftest motion, of all other the most necessary and beneficial. For it ministreth unto men, and other creatures, all celestial influences; it dissipateth those sad thoughts and sorrows, which the darkness both begetteth and maintaineth; it discovereth unto us the glorious works of God, and carrieth up with an Angelical swiftness, our eyes unto Heaven, that by the light thereof, our minds being informed of his visible marvels, may continually travel to surmount these perceived Heavens, and to find out their omnipotent Cause and Creator. *Cognitio non quiescit in rebus creatis; Our knowledge doth not quiet it self in things created. Et ipsa lux facit, ut cætera mundi membra digna sunt laudibus, cùm suam bonitatem & decorem omnibus communicet; It is the Light* (saith Saint *Ambrose*) *that maketh the other parts of the world so worthy of praise, seeing that it self communicateth its goodness and beauty unto all.* Of which, *Ovid* out of *Orpheus:*

Esd. l. 2. c. 6. 40. Herm.

Ficin.

Mon. hist. 152.

Ille ego sum, qui longum metior annum,
Omnia qui video, per quem videt omnia mundus,
Mundi oculus.

Ovid Met. lib. 1.

The world discerns it self, while I the World behold,
By me the longest years, and other times are told,
I the Worlds eye.

Lastly, If we may behold in any creature, any one spark of that eternal fire, or any far-off dawning of Gods glorious brightness, the same in the beauty, motion, and virtue of this Light, may be perceived. Therefore was God called *Lux ipsa*; and the Light, by *Hermes*, named *Lux sancta*; and *Christ* our Saviour said to be *that Light which lightneth every man that cometh into the world.* Yet in respect of Gods incomprehensible sublimity, and purity, this is also true, that God is neither a mind, nor a Spirit of the nature of other Spirits; nor a light, such as can be discerned. *Deus profectò non mens est, at verò ut sit mens causa est; nec spiritus, sed causa quâ spiritus extat; nec lumen, sed causa quâ lumen existit: God* (saith *Hermes* in Pœmandro) *certainly is not a mind, but the cause that the mind hath his being; nor spirit, but the cause by which every spirit is; nor light, but the cause by which the light existeth.*

Job 1. 9. & 14. 46.

Gen. 1.

So then the *Mass* and *Chaos* being first created, void, dark, and unformed, was by the operative Spirit of God, pierced and quickned; and the Waters, having now received Spirit and motion, resolved their thinner parts into Ayr, which God illightned: the Earth also by being contiguat, and mixt with waters (participating the same Divine virtue) brought forth the bud of the herb that seedeth seed, *&c.* And for a mean and organ, by which this operative virtue might be continued, God appointed the Light to be united, and gave it also motion and heat, which heat caused a continuance of those several *species*, which the Earth (being made fruitful by the Spirit) produced, and with motion begat the time and times succeeding.

Gen. 1.

§. VIII.

Of the Firmament, and of the waters above the Firmament: and whether there be any Chrystalline Heaven, or any Primum mobile.

After that the Spirit of God had moved upon the waters, and light was created, God said, *Let there be a Firmament in the middest of the waters, and let it separate the waters from the waters:* that is, those waters which by rarifaction and evaporation were ascended, and those of the Earth and Sea.

But

But theſe waters ſeparate above this Extenſion, which the Latine Tranſlation calleth *firmamentum*, or *expanſum* (for ſo *Vatablus*, *Pagninus*, and *Junius* turn it) are not the Cryſtalline Heavens created in the imaginations of men; which opinion *Baſilius Magnus* calleth a childiſh ſuppoſition, making in the ſame place many learned arguments againſt this fancie. For the waters above the firmament, are the waters in the Ayr above us, where the ſame is more ſolid and condenſe, which God ſeparated from the neather waters by a firmament, that is, by an extended diſtance and vaſt ſpace: the words *Raquia* (which *Montanus* writeth *Rakiagh*) and *Shamajim*, being indifferently taken for the Heaven and for Ayr, and more properly for the Ayr and *Æther*, than for the Heavens, as the beſt Hebricians underſtand them, *Quo ſuprema ac tenuia ab infimis craſſis diducta, interſectaque diſtarent*, for that *whereby the ſupreme and thin bodies were placed in diſtance, being ſevered and cut off from low and groß matters*: and the waters above the firmament, expreſt in the word *Majim*, are in that tongue taken properly for the waters above the Ayr, or in the uppermoſt Region of the ſame.

Mon. Nat. hiſt. fol. 152.

Gen. 49. 25. **Pſal. 104. 12. 2.* *Gen. 19. 24.* *Cap. 27. 28.* *Deut. 11. 11* *Job 38. 29.* *Matth. 6. 26.*

And that the word Heaven is uſed for the Air, the Scriptures every where witneſs; as in the bleſſings of *Joſeph*, and in the 104. *Pſalm*: * *By theſe Springs ſhall the fowl of the Heaven dwell; and upon Sodom and Gomorrah it rained brimſtone and fire out of the Heaven*; and in *Iſaac*'s bleſſing to *Jacob*; *God give thee therefore of the dew of Heaven*: and in *Deuteronomy* the 11. *But the land whither you go to poſſeſs it, is a land that drinketh water of the rain of Heaven*: And in *Job*, *Who hath ingrendred the froſts of Heaven?* And in Saint *Matthew*, *Behold the Fowls of Heaven, for they ſow not.* So as in all the Scriptures of the Old Teſtament throughout, is the word *Heaven* very oft uſed for Air, and taken alſo hyperbolically for any great Height, as, *Let us build us a Tower, whoſe top may reach to Heaven*, &c. And in this very place *Baſil* avoucheth, that this appellation of Heaven for the Firmament, is but by way of ſimilitude: His own words be theſe; *Et vocavit Deus firmamentum Cœlum? Hæc appellatio alii quidem propriè accommodatur, huic autem nunc ad ſimilitudinem*; *And God called the firmament Heaven: This appellation* (ſaith *Baſil*) *is properly applied to another* (that is, to the Starry Heaven) *but to this* (that is, to the Firmament dividing the waters) *it is impoſed by ſimilitude.* And if there were no other proof, that by the Firmament was meant the Air, and not the Heaven; the words of *Moſes* in the eighth Verſe, conferred with the ſame word *Firmament* in the twentieth Verſe, make it manifeſt: For in the eighth Verſe it is written, that God called the Firmament, which divided waters from waters, Heaven; and in the twentieth Verſe he calleth the Firmament of Heaven, Air; In theſe words, *And let the Fowl flye upon earth in the open firmament of Heaven.* And what uſe there ſhould be of this Icie, or Cryſtalline, or watery Heaven, I conceive not, except it be to moderate and temper the heat, which the *Primum mobile* would otherwiſe gather and increaſe: though in very truth, inſtead of this help, it would add an unmeaſurable greatneſs of Circle, whereby the ſwiftneſs of that firſt Moveable would exceed all poſſibility of belief. *Sed nemo tenetur ad impoſſibilia*; *but no man ought to be held to impoſſibilities*; and Faith it ſelf (which ſurmounteth the height of all humane reaſon) hath for a forcible conductor the Word of Truth, which alſo may be called *Lumen omnis rationis & intellectus*; *the light of all reaſon and underſtanding.* Now that this ſuppoſed firſt Moveable, turneth it ſelf ſo many hundred thouſand Miles in an inſtant (ſeeing the Scriptures teach it not) let thoſe that can believe mens imagination, apprehend it, for I cannot. But of theſe many Heavens, let the Reader that deſireth ſatisfaction, ſearch *Orontius*; and of this watery Heaven, *Baſilius Magnus*, in his *Hexam. fol.* 40, 41, *&c.* and *Matth. Beroaldus*, in his ſecond Book and ſixth Chapter. For my ſelf, I am perſwaded, that the waters called, The waters above the Heavens; are but the Clouds and waters engendred in the uppermoſt Air.

Gen. 11. 4.

§. IX.

A Concluſion, repeating the ſumm of the works in the Creation, which are reduced to three heads: The Creation of matter, The Forming of it, The Finiſhing of it.

TO conclude, it may be gathered out of the firſt Chapter of *Geneſis*, that this was the order of the moſt wiſe God in the beginning, and when there was no other Nature, or Being, but God's incomprehenſible Eternity. Firſt, he created the matter of all things: and in the firſt three dayes he diſtinguiſhed, and gave to every nature his proper form; the form of levity to that which aſcended; to that which deſcended, the form of gravity: for he ſeparated light from darkneſs, divided waters from waters, and gathered the waters under the Firmament into one place. In the laſt three dayes, God adorned, beautified, and repleniſhed the World: he ſet in the Firmament of Heaven, the Sun, Moon, and Stars; filled the Earth with Beaſts, the Ayr with Fowl, and the Sea with Fiſh, giving to all that have life a power generative, thereby to continue their Species, and kinds; to Creatures vegetative and growing, their Seeds in themſelves; for *he created all things, that they might have their being: and the generations of the world are preſerved.*

Wiſd. Sal. c. 1. 14.

§. X.

That Nature, is no Principium per ſe; *nor Form, the giver of Being: and of our ignorance how ſecond cauſes ſhould have any proportion with their effects.*

AND for this working-power, which we call Nature, the beginning of motion and reſt, according to *Ariſtotle*; the ſame is nothing elſe, but the ſtrength and faculty, which God hath infuſed into every Creature, having no other ſelf-ability, than a Clock, after it is wound up by a man's hand, hath. Thoſe therefore that attribute unto this faculty, any firſt or ſole power, have therein no other underſtanding, than ſuch a one hath, who looking into the Stern of a Ship, and finding it guided by the Helm and Rudder, doth aſcribe ſome abſolute virtue to the piece of wood, without all conſideration of the hand that guides it, or of the judgment, which alſo directeth and commandeth that hand: forgetting in this and in all elſe, that by the virtue of the firſt act, all Agents work whatſoever they work: *Virtute primi actus, agunt agentia omnia quicquid agunt*: For as the mind of man ſeeth by the Organ of the eye, heareth by the ears, and maketh choice by the will: and therefore we attribute ſight to the eye, and hearing to the ears, *&c.* and yet it is the mind only, that giveth ability, life, and motion to all theſe his Inſtruments and Organs; ſo God worketh by Angels, by the Sun, by the Stars, by Nature or infuſed properties, and by men as by ſeveral Organs, ſeveral effects; all ſecond cauſes whatſoever, being but inſtruments, conduits, and pipes, which carry and diſperſe what they have received from the head and fountain of the Univerſal. For as it is Gods infinite power, and every-where-preſence (compaſſing, embracing, and piercing all things) that giveth to the Sun power to draw up vapours, to be made clouds; clouds to contain rain, and rain to fall: ſo all ſecond and inſtrumental cauſes together with Nature

ture it ſelf, without that operative faculty which God gave them, would become altogether ſilent, virtueleſs, and dead: of which excellently *Orpheus*; *Per te virescunt omnia, All things by thee ſpring forth in youthful green.* I enforce not theſe things, thereby to annihilate thoſe variable virtues which God hath given to his Creatures, animate and inanimate, to heavenly and earthly bodies, &c. for all His works in their virtues praiſe him: but of the manner how God worketh in them, or they in or with each other, which the Heathen Philoſophers, and thoſe that follow them, have taken on them to teach: I ſay, there is not any one among them, nor any one among us, that could ever yet conceive it, or expreſs it, ever enrich his own underſtanding with any certain truth, or ever edifie others (not fooliſh by ſelf-flattery) therein. For (ſaith *Lactantius*, ſpeaking of the wiſdom of the Philoſophers) *Si facultas inveniendæ veritatis huic ſtudio ſubjaceret, aliquando eſſet inventa; cum verò tot temporibus, tot ingeniis in ejus inquiſitione contritis, non ſit comprehenſa, apparet nullam ibi eſſe ſapientiam; If in this ſtudy* (ſaith he) *were means to find out the truth, it had ere this bin found out: but ſeeing it is not yet comprehended, after that ſo much time, and ſo many wits have been worn out in the inquiry of it, it appeareth, that there is no wiſdom there to be had. Nam ſi de unâ re præciſa ſcientia haberetur, omnium rerum ſcientia neceſſariò haberetur: If the preciſe knowledg of any one thing were to be had, it ſhould neceſſarily follow, that the knowledg of all things were to be had.* And as the Philoſophers were ignorant in Nature, and the waies of her working; ſo were they more curious, than knowing, in their firſt matter and Phyſical form. For if their firſt matter had any being, it were not then the firſt matter: for, as it is the firſt matter, it hath only a power of being, which it altogether leaveth, when it doth ſubſiſt. And ſeeing it is neither a ſubſtance perfect, nor a ſubſtance inchoate, or in the way of perfection, how any other ſubſtance ſhould thence take concreſcence, it hath not been taught, neither are theſe forms (ſaith a learned Author) any thing, *ſi ex ea eximatur potentia, quæ nihil eſt.* Again, how this firſt matter ſhould be *ſubjectum formarum*, and paſſive, which is underſtood to precede the form, it is hard to conceive: for to make form, which is the cauſe, to be ſubſequent to the thing cauſed (to wit, to the firſt matter) is contrary to all reaſon, divine and humane: only it may be ſaid, that originally there is no other difference between matter and form, than between heat and fire, of which the one cannot ſubſiſt without the other, but in a kind of rational conſideration. Leaving therefore theſe Riddles to their Lovers, who by certain Scholaſtical diſtinctions wreſt and pervert the truth of all things, and by which *Ariſtotle* hath laboured to prove a falſe eternity of the World, I think it far ſafer to affirm with Saint *Auguſtine*, *That all ſpecies and kinds are from God, from whom, whatſoever is natural proceedeth, of what kind or eſtimation ſoever; from whence are the ſeeds of all forms, and the forms of all ſeeds and their motions; A quo eſt omnis ſpecies, à quo eſt quicquid naturaliter eſt, cujuſcunq; generis eſt, cujuſcunq; æſtimationis eſt; à quo ſunt ſemina formarum, formæ ſeminum, motus ſeminum atq; formarum.* And thus much *Averrois* is forced to confeſs. *For all forms* (ſaith he) *are, in primo motore*; which is alſo the opinion of *Ariſtotle* in the twelfth of his *Metaph.* and of *Albertus* upon *Dionyſius.*

Natura enim remota providentia & poteſtate divina, prorſus nihil eſt. Lact. de falſ. Sapientia l. 3. c. 28.

Cypr. de mente l. 3.

12. Metaph.

§. XI.

Of Fate; and that the Starrs have great influence: and that their operations may diverſly be prevented or furthered.

AND, as of Nature, ſuch is the diſpute and contention concerning Fate or Deſtinie, of which the opinions of thoſe learned men that have written thereof, may be ſafely received, had they not thereunto annexed and faſtened an inevitable neceſſity, and made it more general, and univerſally powerful than it is, by giving it Dominion over the mind of man, and over his will, of which *Ovid*, and *Juvenal*:

Ratio fatum vincere nulla valet.
Servis regna dabunt, captivis Fata triumphos. *Juven. ſat. 7. 201.*

'Gainſt Fate no counſel can prevaile.
Kingdoms to Slaves by Deſtinie,
To Captives triumphs given be.

An errour of the Chaldeans, and after them of the Stoicks, the Phariſees, Priſcillianiſts, the Bardiſaniſts, and others, as *Baſil*, *Auguſtine*, and *Thomas* have obſerved: but that Fate is an obedience of ſecond cauſes to the firſt, was well conceived of *Hermes*, and *Apuleius* the Platoniſt. *Plotinus* out of the Aſtronomers calleth it a diſpoſition from the acts of celeſtial Orbs, unchangeably working in inferiour bodies, the ſame being alſo true enough, in reſpect of all thoſe things which a rational mind doth not order nor direct. *Ptolemie*, *Seneca*, *Democritus*, *Epicurus*, *Chryſippus*, *Empedocles*, & the Stoicks, ſome of them more largely, others more ſtrictly, aſcribe to Fate a binding and inevitable neceſſity; and that it is the ſame which is ſpoken and determined by God (*quod de unoquoq; noſtrum fatus eſt Deus*) and the definite lot of all living. And certainly it cannot be doubted, but the Starrs are inſtruments of far greater uſe, than to give an obſcure light, and for men to gaze on after Sunſet: it being manifeſt, that the diverſity of ſeaſons, the Winters, and Summers, more hot and cold, are not ſo uncertained by the Sun and Moon alone, who alway keep one and the ſame courſe; but that the Stars have alſo their working therein.

Baſil. Eſſa. 4. Aug. de hæreſ. 70. c. 35. Tho. cont. Gent. 3. cap. 8. 3. Ficin. in 12. de leg. Cic. de fat.

And if we cannot deny, but that God hath given virtues to Springs and Fountains, to cold Earth, to Plants and Stones, Minerals, and to the excremental parts of the baſeſt living creatures, why ſhould we rob the beautiful Stars of their working powers? for ſeeing they are many in number, and of eminent beauty and magnitude, we may not think, that in the treaſury of his wiſdome, who is infinite, there can be wanting (even for every Star) a peculiar virtue and operation; as every herb, plant, fruit, and flower adorning the face of the Earth, hath the like. For as theſe were not created to beautifie the earth alone, and to cover and ſhadow her duſty face, but otherwiſe for the uſe of man and beaſt, to feed them and cure them; ſo were not thoſe uncountable glorious bodies ſet in the Firmament, to no other end, than to adorn it; but for Inſtruments and Organs of his divine Providence, ſo far as it hath pleaſed his juſt will to determine. *Origen* upon this place of *Geneſis*, *Let there be light in the Firmament, &c.* affirmeth, that the Stars are not cauſes (meaning perchance binding cauſes;) but are as open Books, wherein are contained and ſet down all things whatſoever to come; but not to be read by the eyes of humane wiſdom: which latter part I believe well, and this ſaying of *Syracides* withall: *Tho' there are hid yet greater things than theſe be, and we have ſeen but a few of his works.* And though, for the capacity of men, we know ſomewhat, yet in the true and uttermoſt virtues of herbs and plants, which our ſelves ſow and ſet, and which grow under

Gen. 1. 14

Eccluſ. 42. 21. & 43. 32.

under our feet, we are in effect ignorant; much more in the powers and working of celestial bodies. For
Wisd. 9.16. *hardly* (saith *Solomon*) *can we discern the things that are upon the Earth, and with great labour find we out those things that are before us: Who can then investigate*
Aristotle. *the things that are in Heaven? Multum est, de rebus cœlestibus aliquid cognoscere: It is much to know a little of heavenly things.* But in this question of Fate, the middle course is to be followed, that as with the Heathen we do not bind God to his Creatures, in this supposed necessity of Destiny; so on the contrary, we do not rob those beautiful Creatures of their powers and offices. For had any of these second causes despoiled God of his Prerogative, or had God himself constrained the mind and will of man to impious acts by any celestial inforcements, then sure the impious excuse of some, were justifiable; of whom S.
Aug. 20. super Gen. ad lit. *Augustine, Impia perversitate in malis factis rectissimè reprehendendis ingerunt accusandum potiùs Auctorem Syderum, quàm commissorem scelerum; Where we reprehend them of evil deeds, they again with wicked perverseness urge, that rather the Author and Creator of the Stars, then the doer of the evil, is to be accused.*

But that the Stars and other celestial bodies incline the will by mediation of the sensitive appetite, which is also stirred by the constitution and complexion, it cannot be doubted. *Corpora cœlestia* (saith *Damascene*) *constituant in nobis habitus, complexiones, & dispositiones; The heavenly bodies* (saith he) *make in us habits, complexions, and dispositions*; for the body
Gal. l. tuor. an. seq. temp. (though *Galen* inforce it further) hath undoubtedly a kind of drawing after it the affections of the mind, especially bodies strong in humour, and weak in virtues; for those of cholerick complexions are subject to anger, and the furious effects thereof; by which they suffer themselves to be transported, where the Mind hath not reason to remember, that passions ought to be her Vassals, not her Masters. And that they wholly direct the reasonless mind, I am resolved: For all those which were created mortal, as Birds, Beasts, and the like, are left to their natural appetites; over all which, celestial bodies (as instruments and executioners of God's Providence) have absolute dominion. What we should judge of men, who little differ from beasts, I cannot tell; for as he that contendeth against those inforcements, may easily master or resist them; so whosoever shall neglect the remedies by virtue and piety prepared, putteth himself altogether under the power of his sensual appetite;
Quint. *Vincitur fatum si resistas, vincit si contempseris; Fate will be overcome, if thou resist it; if thou neglect, it conquereth.*

But that either the Stars or the Sun have any power over the minds of men immediately, it is absurd to think, other then as aforesaid, as the same by the body's temper may be effected. *Lumen solis ad generationem sensibilium corporum confert, & ad vitam ipsam movet, & nutrit, & auget, & perficit: The light of the*
Aug. de Civ. Dei, lib. 5. *Sun* (saith S. *Augustine*) *helpeth the generation of sensible bodies, moveth them to life, and nourisheth, augmenteth, and perfecteth them:* yet still as a Minister, not as a Master: *Bonus quidem est Sol, in ministerio, non imperio; The Sun is good to serve, not to sway* (saith
Hex. lib. 4. de term. 3. S. *Ambrose.*) And S. *Augustine, Deus regit inferiora corpora per superiora, God ruleth the bodies below by those above*; but he avoucheth not, that superiour bodies have rule over mens minds, which are incorporal.

But howsoever we are by the Stars inclined at our birth, yet there are many things both in Nature and Art, that encounter the same, and weaken their operation; and *Aristotle* himself confesseth, that the Heavens do not alwayes work their effects in inferiour bodies, no more than the signs of rain and wind do always come to pass. And it is divers times seen, that paternal virtue and vice hath his counter-working to these inclinations. *Est in Juvenck Patrum virtus, In the young Off-spring the Fathers virtue is*; and *Hor. lib. 4. Od. 30.* so on the contrary, *Patrum vitia*: and herein also there is often found an enterchange; the Sons of virtuous men, by an ill constellation become inclinable to vice; and of vicious men to virtue.

Egregia est soboles scelerato nata parente:

A worthy Son is born of a wicked Father.

But there is nothing (after God's reserved power) that so much setteth this art of influence out of square and rule, as Education doth: for there are none in the World so wickedly inclined, but that a Religious instruction and bringing up, may fashion anew and reform them; nor any so well disposed, whom (the reins being let loose) the continual fellowship and familiarity, and the examples of dissolute men, may not corrupt and deform. Vessels will ever retain a savour of their first liquor: it being equally difficult either to cleanse the mind once corrupted, or to extinguish the sweet savour of virtue first received, when the mind was yet tender, open, and easily seasoned; but where a favourable constellation (allowing that the Stars incline the Will) and a virtuous Education do happily arrive, or the contrary in both, thereby it is that men are found so exceeding Virtuous or Vicious, Heaven and Earth (as it were) running together and agreeing in one: for as the seeds of Virtue may by the art and husbandry of Christian counsel produce better and more beautiful fruit, than the strength of Self-nature and Kind could have yielded them; so the Plants apt to grow wild, and to change themselves into weeds, by being set in a soyl suitable, and like themselves, are made more unsavoury and filled with poyson. It was therefore truly affirmed, *Sapiens adjuvabit opus Astrorum, quemadmodum Agricola terræ naturam; A wise man assisteth the work of the Stars, as the Husbandman helpeth the nature of the soyl.* And *Ptolemy* himself confesseth thus much, *Sapiens, & omina sapientis Medici, dominabuntur Astris; A wise man, and the ominous art of a wise Physitian, shall prevail against the Stars.* Lastly, we ought all to know, that God created the Stars, as he did the rest of the Universal; whose influences may be called his reserved and unwritten Laws. But let us consider how they bind: even as the Laws of men do; for although the Kings and Princes of the World have by their Laws decreed, That a Thief and a Murderer shall suffer death; and though their Ordinances are daily by Judges and Magistrates (the Stars of Kings) executed accordingly; yet these Laws do not deprive Kings of their natural or religious compassion, or bind them without Prerogative, to such a severe execution, as that there should be nothing left of liberty to judgment, power, or conscience: the Law in his own nature, being no other than a deaf Tyrant. But seeing that it is otherwise, and that Princes (who ought to imitate God in all they can) do sometimes for causes to themselves known, and by mediation, pardon offences both against others and themselves; it were then impious to take that power and liberty from God himself, which his Substitutes enjoy; God being Mercy, Goodness, and Charity it self. Otherwise that example of Prayer by our Saviour taught; *And let us* *Mat. 6. 13.* *not be led into temptation, but deliver us from evil*, had been no other but an expence of words and time; but that God (which only knoweth the operation of his own Creatures truly) hath assured us, that there is no inclination or temptation so forcible, which our humble Prayers and Desires may not make frustrate and break asunder: for were it (as the Stoicks conceive) that Fate or Destiny, though depending upon

eternal power, yet being ordered and diſpoſed, had ſuch a connexion and immutable dependency, that God himſelf ſhould in a kind have ſhut up himſelf therein; *How miſerable then were the condition of men* (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*) *left altogether without hope.*

And if this ſtrength of the Stars were ſo transferred, as that God had quitted unto them all dominion over his Creatures; be he Pagan or Chriſtian that ſo *John* 17. 4. believeth, *the only true God* of the one, and the imaginary Gods of the other, would thereby be deſpoiled of all worſhip, reverence, or reſpect.

And certainly, God which hath promiſed us the reward of well-doing, which Chriſt himſelf claimed at the hands of the Father, (*I have finiſhed the work which thou gaveſt me to do?*) and the ſame God, who hath threatned unto us the ſorrow and torment of offences, could not, contrary to his merciful nature, be ſo unjuſt, as to bind us inevitably to the Deſtinies or Influences of the Stars, or ſubject our ſouls to any impoſed neceſſity. But it was well ſaid of *Plotinus*, that the Stars were ſignificant, but not efficient, giving them yet ſomething leſs than their due: and therefore as I do not conſent with them, who would make thoſe glorious Creatures of God virtueleſs: ſo I think that we derogate from His eternal and abſolute power and providence, to aſcribe to them the ſame dominion over our immortal ſouls, which they have over all bodily ſubſtances, and periſhable natures: for the Souls of men loving and fearing God, receive influence from that Divine light it ſelf, whereof the Sun's clarity, and that of the Stars, is by *Plato* called *Plat. pol. 6. Ficin. in l. 7. pol.* but a ſhadow, *Lumen eſt umbra Dei, Deus eſt lumen luminis*; *Light is the ſhadow of God's brightneſs, who is the light of light*: But to end this queſtion, becauſe this Deſtiny, together with Providence, Preſcience, and Predeſtination, are often confounded, I think it not impertinent to touch the difference in a word or two; for every man hath not obſerved it, though all learned men have.

§. XII.
Of Preſcience.

PReſcience, or fore-knowledge (which the Greeks call *Prognoſis*, the Latins *Præcognitio*, or *Præſcientia*) conſidered in order and nature (if we may ſpeak of God after the manner of men) goeth before Providence: for God fore-knew all things, before he had created them, or before they had being to be cared for; and Preſcience is no other then an infallible fore-knowledge. For whatſoever our ſelves fore-know, except the ſame be to ſucceed accordingly, it cannot be true that we fore-know it. But this Preſcience of God (as it is Preſcience onely) is not the cauſe of any thing futurely ſucceeding: neither doth God's fore-knowledge impoſe any neceſſity, or bind. For in that we fore-know that the Sun will riſe, and ſet; that all men born in the World ſhall die again; that after Winter the Spring ſhall come; after the Spring, Summer, and Harveſt; and that according to the ſeveral ſeeds that we ſow, we ſhall reap ſeveral ſorts of grain; yet is not our fore-knowledge the cauſe of this, or any of theſe: neither doth the knowledge in us bind or conſtrain the Sun to riſe and ſet, or men to die; for the cauſes (as men perſwade themſelves) are otherwiſe manifeſt and known to all. *The eye of man* (ſaith *Boetius*) *beholdeth thoſe things ſubject to ſenſe, as they are; the eye ſeeth that ſuch a beaſt is an horſe, it ſeeth men, trees, and houſes, &c. but our ſeeing of them (as they are) is not the cauſe of their ſo being, for ſuch they be in their own natures.* And again out of the ſame Author; *Divina providentia rebus generandis non imponit neceſſitatem, quia ſi omnia evenirent ex neceſſitate, præmia bonorum, & pœna malorum periret; Divine Providence* (ſaith he) *impoſeth no neceſſity upon things that are to exiſt; for if all come to paſs of neceſſity, there ſhould neither be reward of good, nor puniſhment of evil.* *Boetius de Conſol.*

§. XIII.
Of Providence.

NOw Providence (which the *Greeks* call *Pronoia*) is an intellectual knowledge, both fore-ſeeing, caring for, and ordering all things, and doth not onely behold all paſt, all preſent, and all to come, but is the cauſe of their ſo being, which Preſcience (ſimply taken) is not: and therefore Providence by the Philoſophers (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*) is divided into Memory, Knowledge, and Care: Memory of the paſt; Knowledge of the preſent, and Care of the future: and we our ſelves account ſuch a man for provident, as, remembring things paſt, and obſerving things preſent, can by judgment, and comparing the one with the other, provide for the future, and times ſucceeding. That ſuch a thing there is as Providence, the Scriptures every where teach us; *Moſes* in many places, the Prophets in their Predictions, Chriſt himſelf and his Apoſtles aſſure us hereof; and beſides the Scriptures, *Hermes, Orpheus, Euripides, Pythagoras, Plato, Plotinus*, and (in effect) all learned men acknowledge the Providence of God; yea the *Turks* themſelves are ſo confident therein, as they refuſe not to accompany and viſit each other in the moſt peſtilent diſeaſes, nor ſhun any peril whatſoever, though death therein do manifeſtly preſent it ſelf.

The places of Scripture proving Providence, are ſo many, both in general and particular, as I ſhall need to repeat but a few of them in this place: *Sing unto God* (ſaith *David*) *which covereth the Heavens with Clouds, and prepareth rain for the earth, and maketh the graſs to grow upon the Mountains, which giveth the beaſts their food, and feedeth the young Raven that cries:* *Pſal.* 147. 8 *All theſe wait upon thee, that thou mayeſt give them food in due ſeaſon: And thou ſhalt drink of the River Chereth* (ſaith God to *Eliah*) *and I have commanded the Ravens to feed thee there. Behold, the Fowls of the Air, they ſow not, nor reap, and yet your heavenly Father feedeth them*: Again, *Are not two Sparrows ſold for a farthing? And one of them ſhall not fall on the ground without your Father: yea, all the hairs of your head are numbred*: And Saint *Peter*, *Caſt all your care on him, for he careth for you: And his judgments are written*, ſaith *David.* *Pſal.* 104. 27. 9. & 145. 15. 1 *Reg.* 17. 4 *Matth.* 6. 26 *Luke* 12, 6. 7. 1 *Pet.* 5. 7. *Pſal.* 36. 6.

God therefore, who is every where preſent, *Who filleth the Heavens and the Earth, whoſe eyes are upon the righteous, and his countenance againſt them that do evil*, was therefore by *Orpheus* called *oculus infinitus, an infinite eye*, beholding all things; and cannot therefore be eſteemed as an idle looker on, as if he had transferred his power to any other; for it is contrary to his own word, *Gloriam meam alteri non dabo, I will not give my glory to another.* No man commandeth in the King's preſence, but by the King's direction; but God is every where preſent, and King of Kings. The example of God's univerſal Providence is ſeen in his Creatures. The Father provideth for his Children: Beaſts and Birds and all living, for their young ones. If Providence be found in ſecond Fathers, much more in the firſt and Univerſal: and if there be a natural loving care in men, and beaſts, much more in God, who hath formed this nature, and whoſe Divine love was the beginning, and is the bond of the Univerſal: *Amor divinus rerum omnium eſt principium, & vinculum univerſi* (ſaith *Plato*:) *Amor Dei eſt nodus perpetuus, mundi copula, partiumque ejus immobile ſuſtentaculum, ac univerſæ machinæ fundamentum; The love of God is the perpetual knot, and link or chain* *Jer.* 23. 24. *Eſay* 42. 8. of

of the world, and the immovable pillar of every part thereof, and the Basis and foundation of the Universal. God therefore who could onely be the cause of all, can onely provide for all, and sustain all; so as, to absolute power; to every where presence; to perfect goodness; to pure and divine love; this attribute transcendent hability of Providence is onely proper and belonging.

1 *Joh.* 4. 1. God is love.

§. XIV.

Of Predestination.

NOw for Predestination, we can difference it no otherwise, from Providence and Prescience, than in this; that Prescience onely fore-seeth; Providence fore-seeth and careth for, and hath respect to all Creatures, even from the brightest Angels of Heaven to the unworthiest Worms of the Earth: and Predestination (as it is used specially by Divines) is onely of men, and yet not of all to men belonging, but of their salvation properly, in the common use of Divines; or perdition, as some have used it. Yet *Peter Lombard*, *Thomas*, *Bernensis Theologus*, and others, take the word Predestination more strictly, and for a preparation to felicity. Divers of the Fathers take it more largely sometimes: among whom Saint *Augustine* speaking of two Cities, and two Societies, useth these words: *Quarum est una, quæ prædestinata est in æternum regnare cum Deo, altera æternum supplicium subire cum Diabolo*; *Whereof one is it, which is predestinated to reign for ever with God, but the other is to undergo everlasting torment with the Devil*; for according to *Nonius Marcellus*, *Destinare, est præparare*; and of the same opinion are many Protestant Writers, as *Calvin*, *Beza*, *Bucanus*, *Danæus*, and such like: And as for the manifold questions hereof arising, I leave them to the Divines; and why it hath pleased God to create some Vessels of honour, and some of dishonour, I will answer with *Gregory*, who saith, *Qui in factis Dei rationem non videt, infirmitatem suam considerans, cur non videat, rationem videt*; *He that seeth no reason in the actions of God, by consideration of his own infirmity, perceiveth the reason of his blindness.* And again with S. *Augustine*, *Occulta esse causa potest, injusta esse non potest*; *Hidden the cause of his Predestination may be, unjust it cannot be.*

Rom. 8. & 9.

Lomb. l. 1. *dist.* 39. *Thom. part.* 1. *dist.* 23. *Bern. de Probl. de p. d.* *Aug. l.* 15. *c.* 1. *de Civit. Dei.*

Cal. in c. 9. *ad Rom. v.* 11. *Bez. in magn. anot. in cap.* 9. *ad Rom.* *Danæus l.* 3 *de Salut.* *Greg. Mag. Job.* 9. *Aug. ad Polin. ep.* 59.

§. XV.

Of Fortune: and of the reason of some things that seem to be by Fortune, and against Reason and Providence.

LAstly, seeing Destiny or Necessity is subsequent to God's Providence, and seeing that the Starrs have no other dominion, than is before spoken, and that Nature is nothing, but, as *Plato* calleth it, *Dei artem, vel artificiosum Dei Organum, The art, or artificial Organ of God*: And *Cusanus*, *Divini præcepti instrumentum*; *The instrument of the Divine precept*: We may then with better reason reject that kind of Idolatry, or God of fools, called, *Fortune* or *Chance*; a Goddess, the most reverenced, and the most reviled of all other, but not ancient: for *Homer* maketh her the Daughter of *Oceanus*, as *Pausanias* witnesseth in his *Messeniacks*. The *Greeks* call her Τυχὼ, signifying a relative being, or betiding, so as before *Homer*'s time this great Lady was scarce heard of; and *Hesiodus*, who hath taught the birth and beginning of all these counterfeit gods, hath not a word of *Fortune*; yet afterward she grew so great and omnipotent, as from Kings and Kingdoms, to Beggars and Cottages, she ordered all things; *Demetrius Poliorcetes* in the great and often changes of his Fortune, is said to have used to cry out upon *Fortune*, applying to her a Verse of *Æschilus*:

Tu me extulisti eodem meis (sentio) perditum.

Sin. ep. 91. *Aur. vict. de Pertinac.* *Sen. ep.* 74.

reasisting the wisdom of the wisest, by making the Possessor thereof miserable; valuing the folly of the most foolish, by making the success prosperous: insomuch as the actions of men were said to be but the sports of Fortune, and the variable accidents happening in mens lives, but her pastimes: of which *Palladius*, *Vita hominum ludus Fortunæ est*; *The life of man is the play of Fortune*: And because it often falleth out, that enterprises guided by ill counsels, have equal success to those by the best judgment conducted, therefore had Fortune the same external figure with Sapience; whereof *Athenæus*:

Longissimè à Sapientia Fors dissidet,
Sed multa perficit tamen similima:

From Wisedom Fortune differs far,
And yet in works most like they are.

But I will forbear to be curious in that, which (as it is commonly understood) is nothing else but a power imaginary, to which the successes of humane actions and endeavours were for their variety ascribed; for when a manifest cause could not be given, then was it attributed to Fortune, as if there were no cause of those things, of which most men are ignorant; contrary to this true ground of *Plato*, *Nihil est ortum sub Sole, cujus causa legitima non præcesserit*; *Nothing ever came to pass under the Sun, of which there was not a just preceding cause.* But *Aquinas* hath herein answered in one distinction, whatsoever may be objected; for many things there are (saith he) which happen, *besides the intention of the Inferiour, but not besides the intention of the Superiour*; *Præter intentionem Inferioris, sed non præter intentionem Superioris* (to wit, the ordinance of God;) and therefore (saith *Melanchthon*) *Quod Poëtæ Fortunam, nos Deum appellamus*; *Whom the Poets call Fortune, we know to be God.* And that this is true, the Scripture in many places teacheth us; as in the Law of Murther, *He that smiteth a man, and he die, shall die the death*; *and if a man hath not laid wait, but God hath offered him into his hands, then I will appoint thee a place whither he shall flee.* Now, where the Scripture hath these words, *God hath offered him into his hands*, we say, if he hurt him by Chance: and in *Deuteronomy* the nineteenth, where the slipping of an Ax from the helve, whereby another is slain, was the work of God himself; we in our phrase attribute this accident, to Chance or Fortune: And in *Proverbs* the sixteenth, *The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposition thereof is of the Lord*: so as that which seemeth the most casual and subject to Fortune, is yet disposed by the ordinance of God, as all things else; and hereof the wiser sort, and the best learned of the Philosophers were not ignorant, as *Cicero* witnesseth for them, gathering the opinion of *Aristotle* and his Sectators, with those of *Plato*, and the *Academicks*, to this effect, That the same power which they called *Animam mundi*, *The soul of the World*, was no other than that incomprehensible Wisdom, which we express by the name of God, governing every Being as well in Heaven as in Earth; to which Wisdom and Power they sometime gave the title of Necessity or Fate, because it bindeth by inevitable ordinance: sometime, the style of Fortune, because of many effects there appear unto us no certain causes. To this effect speaketh S. *Augustine* in his Questions upon *Genesis* the first Book: the same hath *Seneca* in his fourth of *Benefits*; which was also the doctrine of the *Stoicks*, of which Sect he was: *For whatsoever* (saith he) *thou callest God, be if Nature, Fate, or Fortune, all are but one and the same, differenced by divers terms, according as he useth, and exerciseth his power diversly.*

Tu facimus Fortuna Deam, cæloque locamus. *Sat.* 10. 366

Exod. 21. 12, 13.

Vers. 5.

Vers. 33.

Cic. ac quæst. l. 1.

Senec. l. 4. *c.* 7.

But it may be objected, That if Fortune and Chance were not sometimes the causes of good and evil in

men, but an idle voice, whereby we expreſs ſucceſs; how comes it then, that ſo many worthy and wiſe men depend upon ſo many unworthy and empty-headed fools? That riches and honour are given to external men, and without kernel; and ſo many learned, virtuous, and valiant men wear out their lives in poor and dejected eſtates? In a word, there is no other inferiour, or apparent cauſe, beſide the partiality of man's affection, but the faſhioning of our ſelves according to the nature of the times wherein we live: For whoſoever is moſt able, and beſt ſufficient to diſcern, and hath withal an honeſt and open heart and loving truth; if Princes, or thoſe that govern, endure no other diſcourſe than their own flatteries: then, I ſay, ſuch a one, whoſe virtue and courage forbiddeth him to be baſe and a diſſembler, ſhall evermore hang under the wheel; which kind of deſerving well and receiving ill, we alwayes falſly charge Fortune withal. For whoſoever ſhall tell any great Man or Magiſtrate, that he is not juſt; the General of an Army, that he is not valiant; and great Ladies that they are not fair; ſhall never be made a Counſeller, a Captain, or a Courtier. Neither is it ſufficient to be wiſe with a wiſe Prince, valiant with a valiant, and juſt with him that is juſt, for ſuch a one hath no eſtate in his proſperity; but he muſt alſo change with the ſucceſſor, if he be of contrary qualities; ſail with the tyde of the time, and alter form and condition, as the Eſtate or the Eſtate's Maſter changeth: Otherwiſe how were it poſſible, that the moſt baſe men, and ſeparate from all imitable qualities, could ſo often attain to honour and riches, but by ſuch an obſervant ſlaviſh courſe? Theſe men having nothing elſe to value themſelves by, but a counterfeit kind of wondering at other men, and by making them believe that all their vices are virtues, and all their duſty actions criſtalline, have yet in all Ages proſpered equally with the moſt virtuous, if not exceeded them. For, according to *Menander*, *Omnis inſipiens, arrogantiâ & plauſibus capitur*; *Every fool is won with his own pride, and others flattering applauſe:* So as whoſoever will live altogether out of himſelf, and ſtudy other mens humours, and obſerve them, ſhall never be unfortunate; and on the contrary, that man which prizeth truth and virtue (except the ſeaſon wherein he liveth be all of theſe, and of all ſorts of goodneſs, fruitful) ſhall never proſper by the poſſeſſion or profeſſion thereof. It is alſo a token of a wordly wiſe man, not to war or contend in vain againſt the nature of times wherein he liveth: for ſuch a one is often the author of his own miſery; but beſt it were to follow the advice, which the Pope gave the Biſhop of that Age, out of *Ovid*, while the Arian Hereſie raged:

Dum furor in curſu eſt, currenti cede furori. *Ovid. Met. lib 1.*

While fury gallops on the way,
Let no man furie's gallop ſtay.

And if *Cicero* (than whom that world begat not a man of more reputed Judgment) had followed the counſel of his Brother *Quintus*, *Potuiſſet* (ſaith *Petrarch*) *in lectulo ſuo mori, potuiſſet integro cadavere ſepeliri*; *He might then have died the death of nature, and been with an untorn and undiſſevered body buried*; For, as, *Petrarch* in the ſame place noteth, *Quid ſtultius quàm deſperantem, (præſertim de effectu) litibus perpetuis implicari? What more fooliſh than for him that deſpairs (eſpecially of the effect) to be entangled with endleſs contentions?* Whoſoever therefore will ſet before him *Machiavel's two marks to ſhoot at* (to wit) Riches, and Glory, muſt ſet on and take off a back of Iron to a weak wooden Bow, that it may fit both the ſtrong and the feeble; for as he who firſt deviſed to add ſails to rowing Veſſels, did either ſo proportion them as being faſtened aloft, and towards the head of his Maſt, he might abide all winds and ſtorms, or elſe he ſometime or other periſhed by his own invention: ſo that man which prizeth virtue for it ſelf, and cannot endure to hoiſe and ſtrike his ſails, as the divers natures of calms and ſtorms require, muſt cut his ſails and his cloth of mean length and breadth, and content himſelf with a ſlow and ſure navigation, (to wit) a mean and free eſtate. But of this diſpute of Fortune, and the reſt, or whatſoever Lords or Gods, imaginary powers, or cauſes, the wit (or rather fooliſhneſs) of man hath found out: Let us reſolve with Saint *Paul*, who hath taught us, that there is *but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him, and one Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by whom are all things, and we by him*; there are diverſities of operations, but God is the ſame which worketh all in all. *1 Cor. c. 8. v. 6. c. 12. v. 6.*

CHAP. II.

Of Man's eſtate in his firſt Creation, and of God's reſt.

§. I.

Of the Image of God, according to which Man was firſt created.

Gen. 1. 26.

THe creation of all other Creatures being finiſhed, the Heavens adorned, and the Earth repleniſhed, God ſaid, *Let us make man in our own Image, according to our likeneſs.*

Triſ. Aſcl. 2. & de volunt. Dei. Plat. leg. l. 1.

Man is the laſt and moſt admirable of God's works to us known: *Ingens miraculum homo*; *Man is the greateſt wonder* (ſaith *Plato* out of *Mercurius*;) *Naturæ ardentiſſimæ artificium*, *The artificial work of the moſt ardent or fire-like nature* (as ſaith *Zoroaſter*) though the ſame be meant, not for any excellency external, but in reſpect of his internal form, both in the Nature, Qualities, and other Attributes thereof: in nature, becauſe it hath an eſſence, immortal, and ſpiritual; in qualities, becauſe the ſame was by God created holy and righteous in truth; in other attributes, becauſe man was made Lord of the World, and of the Creatures therein.

Sanctius his animal, mentiſq; capacius altæ,
Deerat adhuc, & quod dominari in cætera poſſet:
Natus homo eſt. *Sanctum, quia pars prior immortalis, anima, quâ in mortali. In locum Ovid. Met. l. 1. 76.*

More holy than the reſt, and underſtanding more,
A living creature wants, to rule all made before.
So man began to be.

Of this Image and Similitude of God, there is much diſpute among the Fathers, Schoolmen, & late Writers: Some of the Fathers conceive, that man was made after the Image of God, in reſpect chiefly of Empire and Dominion, as S. *Chryſoſtom*, *Ambroſe*, and ſome others: which S. *Ambroſe* denieth to the woman in theſe words, *Ut ſicut Deus unus, ab eo fieret homo unus; & quomodo ex Deo uno omnia, ita ex uno homine omne genus eſſet ſuper faciem totius terræ: unus igitur, unum fecit, qui unitatis ejus haberet imaginem*; *That as God is one*

one, one man might be made by him, and that in what manner all things are of one God, likewiſe of one man the whole kind ſhould be upon the face of the whole earth: Therefore he being one, made one, that ſhould have the Image of his unity. But whereas it is gathered out of the following words of the ſame Verſe, that man was after the Image of God in reſpect of rule and power; it is written *Dominamini* in the plural number; *and let them rule over the fiſh in the Sea, &c.* and therefore cannot the woman be excluded. Others conceive, that Man is ſaid to be after the Image of God in reſpect of his immortal ſoul onely: becauſe as God is inviſible, ſo the ſoul of man is inviſible; as God is immortal and incorporal, ſo is the ſoul of Man immortal and incorporal; and as there is but one God which governeth the World, ſo but one ſoul which governeth the body of man; and as God is wholly in every part of the world, ſo is the ſoul of man wholly in every part of the body: *Anima eſt tota in toto, & tota in qualibet parte; The ſoul is wholly in the whole body, and wholly in every part thereof,* according to *Ariſtotle*; though *Chalcidius*, and other learned men deny that Doctrine; which that it is otherwiſe than potentially true, all the Ariſtotelians in the World ſhall never prove. Theſe and the like arguments do the *Jews* make (ſaith *Toſtatus*) and theſe reſemblances, between the infinite God, and the finite Man.

The School-men reſemble the Mind or Soul of Man to God, in this reſpect eſpecially; becauſe that as in the Mind there are three diſtinct powers, or faculties (to wit) Memory, Underſtanding, and Will; and yet all theſe being of real differences, are but one Mind: ſo in God there are three diſtinct perſons, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, and yet but one God. They alſo make the Image and Similitude divers; and again, they diſtinguiſh between *Imaginem Dei*, and *ad Imaginem Dei*; and ſpin into ſmall threds with ſubtile diſtinctions, many times the plainneſs and ſincerity of the Scriptures: their wits being like that ſtrong water, that eateth thorough and diſſolveth the pureſt Gold. *Victorinus* alſo maketh the Image of God to be ſubſtantial, but not the ſimilitude: *Sed in ſubſtantia nomen qualitatis declarativum; A word declaring quality in the ſubſtance.* Out of which words, and that which followeth, it is inferred, that as the Image and Similitude do greatly differ, ſo the ſinful ſoul doth not therefore leave to be the Image of God; but it hath not his Similitude, except it be holy and righteous. S. *Auguſtine* alſo againſt *Adimantus* the *Manichee* affirmeth, that by ſin, the perfection of this Image is loſt in man; and in his Retractations maintaineth the ſame opinion, and alſo affirmeth that the Similitude is more largely taken, than the Image.

But howſoever the School-men and others diſtinguiſh, or whatſoever the Fathers conceive; ſure I am, that S. *Paul* maketh the ſame ſence of the Image, which *Victorinus* doth of the ſimilitude, who ſaith: *As we have born the Image of the earthly, ſo ſhall we bear the Image of the heavenly*; and it cannot be gathered out of the Scripture, that the words *Image* and *Similitude* were uſed but in one ſence, and in this place the better to expreſs each other; whatſoever *Lombard* hath ſaid to the contrary. For God knows, what a multitude of meanings the wit of man imagineth to himſelf in the Scriptures, which neither *Moſes*, the *Prophets*, or *Apoſtles*, ever conceived. Now as S. *Paul* uſeth the word (Image) for both: ſo S. *James* uſeth the word (Similitude) for both, in theſe words: *Therewith bleſs we God even the Father, and therewith curſe we Men, which are made after the ſimilitude of God.* Howſoever therefore S. *Auguſtine* ſeemeth, out of a kind of elegancy in writing, to make ſome difference: as where he writeth, *Confitemur imaginem in æternitate, ſimilitudinem in moribus inveniri*; *we confeſs that this Image is found in eternity, but his ſimilitude in manners*, that is in the ſpiritual diſpoſitions and qualities of the mind; yet thus he elſewhere ſpeaketh plainly: *Quaſi verò poſſit eſſe imago aliqua, in qua ſimilitudo non ſit: ſi enim omnino ſimilis non eſt, procul dubio nec imago eſt*; *As if* (ſaith he) *there could be any image, where the ſimilitude is not: no, out of doubt, where there is no likeneſs, there is no image.* The very words of the Text make this moſt manifeſt, as, *Let us make man in our image, according to our likeneſs*; which is, Let us make man in our image, that he may be like us: and in the next Verſe following, God himſelf maketh it plain; for there he uſeth the word (Image) only as thus: *God created the man in his image, in the image of God created he him.* And to take away all diſpute or ambiguity, in the firſt Verſe of the fifth Chapter, the word (Similitude) is uſed again by it ſelf, as, *In the day that God created* Adam, *in the likeneſs of God made he him.* And this ſimilitude S. *Paul*, *Coloſ.* the third, calleth the Image; *Put on* (ſaith he) *the new man which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him.* And in *Syracides* it is written, *He made them according to his image.* Now if we may believe S. *Paul* before *Peter Lombard* and other School-men, then it is as manifeſt as words can make it, that the image and ſimilitude is but the ſame; for S. *Paul* uſeth both the words directly in one ſence. *For they turned the glory of the incorruptible God, to the ſimilitude of the image of a corruptible man.*

1 Cor. 15. 49.

Jam. 3. 9.

ut ſupra.

Aug. ut ſupra.

Verſ. 10.

Rom. 1. 23.

Zanchius laboureth to prove, that Man was formed after the image of God, both in body and mind: *Nulla pars in homine, quæ non fuerit hujuſce imaginis particeps*; *No part in a man* (ſaith he) *which was not participating Gods image*; *for God ſaid*, *Let us make man according to our own image.* But the ſoul alone is not man, but the *Hypoſtaſis* or whole man compounded of body and ſoul. *The body of man* (ſaith he) *is the image of the world, and called therefore Microcoſmus*; but the *Idea* and exemplar of the world was firſt in God, ſo that man, according to his body, muſt needs be the image of God. Againſt which opinion of this learned man, his own objection ſeemeth to me ſufficient, where he allegeth that it may be ſaid, that *Moſes* ſpake by the figure *Synechdoche*, As when a man is called a mortal man, yet is not the whole man mortal, but the body onely: ſo when God ſaid, *Let us make man after our image*, he meant the ſoul of man, and not the body of earth and duſt: *Maledictus qui Deitatem ad hominis lineamenta refert* (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*:) *Curſed is he that referreth the Deity of God to the lineaments of man's body*: *Deus enim non eſt humanæ formæ particeps, neque corpus humanum divinæ* (ſaith *Philo*;) *God is not partaker of humane form, nor humane body of the form divine.* The *Hebrew* word for image, is *Tſelem*, which ſignifieth a ſhadow or obſcure reſemblance: *In imagine pertranſit homo*; *Man paſſeth away in a ſhadow:* Let us then know and conſider, that God, who is eternal and infinite, hath not any bodily ſhape or compoſition; for it is both againſt his Nature and his Word; an errour of the *Anthropomorphitæ*; againſt the very eſſence and Majeſty of God.

Zanch. de oper. Dei. l. 3. c. 1.

In Gen.

Surely *Cicero*, who was but a *Heathen*, had yet a more divine underſtanding than theſe groſs Hereticks: *Ad ſimilitudinem Dei propiùs accedebat humana virtus, quàm figura*; *The virtue which is in man* (ſaith he) *came nearer the ſimilitude of God than the figure.* For God is a ſpiritual ſubſtance, inviſible, and moſt ſimple; God is a juſt God, God is Merciful, God is Charity it ſelf, and (in a word) Goodenſs it ſelf, and none elſe ſimply good. And thus much it hath pleaſed God himſelf to teach us, and to make us know of himſelf. What then can be the ſhadow of ſuch a ſubſtance, the image of ſuch a nature, or wherein can man be ſaid to reſemble his unexcogitable power and perfectneſs

perfectneſs? Certainly, not in Dominion alone; for the Devil is ſaid to be the Prince of this World, and the Kingdom of Chriſt was not thereof, who was the true and perfect Image of his Father: Neither becauſe man hath an immortal ſoul, & therein the faculties of Memory, Underſtanding, and Will; for the Devils are alſo immortal, and participate thoſe faculties, being called *Dæmones*, becauſe *ſcientes* of knowledge and ſubtilty: Neither becauſe we are reaſonable creatures, by which we are diſtinguiſhed from beaſts: For who have rebelled againſt God? Who have made gods of the vileſt beaſts, of Serpents, of Catts, of Owls, yea, even of ſhameful parts, of luſts and pleaſures, but reaſonable men? Yet do I not condemn the opinion of S. *Chryſoſtom* and *Ambroſe*, as touching Dominion, but that, in reſpect thereof, man was in ſome ſort after the image of God, if we take Dominion, ſuch as it ought to be, that is, accompanied with Juſtice and Piety; for God did not onely make man a Ruler and Governour over the Fiſhes of the Sea, the Fowls of Heaven (or of the Air) and over the Beaſts of the Field; But God gave unto man a dominion over men, he appointed Kings to govern them, and Judges to judge them in equity. Neither do I exclude Reaſon, as it is the ability of Underſtanding. For I do not conceive, that *Irenæus* did therefore call Man, the image of God, becauſe he was *animal rationale* onely; but that he underſtood it better, with *Sybilla*; *Imago mea eſt homo, rectam rationem habens*, *Man that is endued with right reaſon is ſaid to reſemble God*, (that is) by right reaſon to know and confeſs God his Creator, and the ſame God to ſerve, love, and obey: and therefore S. *Auguſtine* (who herein came nearer the Truth) *Fecit Deus hominem ad imaginem & ſimilitudinem ſuam in mente*; *God made man in reſpect of the intellect after his own image and ſimilitude*; And *Reynerius*, *Homo, quod habet mentem, factus eſt ad imaginem Dei*; *Man was made after the image of God, in mind*, or, *in that he hath a mind.*

Eph. 6. 12. Joh. 18. 36.

Plat. in Cratil.

Oſorius de Juſt. lib. 5.

Reyn. de ment.

§. II.

Of the Intellectual mind of man, in which there is much of the Image of God; and that this Image is much deformed by Sin.

But *Mens* is not taken here for *anima phyſica*, according to *Ariſtotle*, which is, *forma vel natura hominis*, *The form or nature of man*; but this faculty or gift of God, called *Mens*, is taken for *prima vis animi*, *the principal ſtrength of the mind*, or ſoul, *cujus actus eſt perepetua veritatis contemplatio*; *whoſe act*, exerciſe, or office, *is the perpetual contemplation of truth*; and therefore it is alſo called *Intellectus divinus*, *intellectus contemplativus*, & *anima contemplativa*, *A divine underſtanding*, *and an intellect or mind contemplative*. *Eſt autem mens noſtra* (ſaith *Cuſanus*) *vis comprehendendi*; & *totum virtuale ex omnibus comprehendendi virtutibus compoſitum*: *Our intellectual mind* (ſaith he) *is a power of comprehending*; *even the whole*, *that is in this kind powerful*, *compounded of all the powers of comprehenſion*: unto which *Mercurius* attributeth ſo much (if his meaning accompany his words) that he eſteemeth it to be the very eſſence of God (which was alſo the errour of the *Manichees*, and others) and no otherwiſe ſeparate from God (ſaith he) than the light from the Sun: for this *Mens* or underſtanding (ſaith *Mercurius*) *eſt Deus in hominibus*, *Is God in men*; or rather (and which I take to be his meaning) is the image of God in man. For, as the Sun is not of the ſame eſſence or nature with the divine light, but a body illightned, and an illumination created; ſo is this *Mens* or underſtanding in men, not of the eſſence of Gods infinite underſtanding, but a power and faculty of our ſouls the pureſt; or, the *lumen animæ rationalis*, by the true and eternal light illightned. And this *Mens*, others call *Animam animæ*, *The ſoul of the ſoul*; or, with S. *Auguſtine*, the eye of the ſoul, or receptacle of Sapience and divine Knowledge, *Quæ amorem ſapientiæ tanquam ducem ſequitur*, *Which followeth after the love of ſapience as her guide* (ſaith *Philo*;) between which and reaſon; between which and the mind, called *anima*; between which and that power which the Latines call *animus*, there is this difference: Reaſon, is that faculty by which we judge and diſcourſe; *Anima*, by which we live. Hereof it is ſaid, *Anima corpus animat*, *id eſt*, *vivificat*; or, *The ſoul is that which doth animate the body*, *that is*, *giveth it life*; for death is the ſeparation of body and ſoul: and the ſame ſtrength (ſaith *Philo*) which God the great Director hath in the World, the ſame hath this *Anima*, or mind, or, ſoul in Man. *Animus*, is that, by which we will and make election; and to this *Baſil* agreeth, which called this *Mens*, or divine underſtanding, *Perſpicacem animæ partem*, *The perceiving part of the mind*, or, The light by which the ſoul diſcerneth: *Dormientum mens*, *non anima*, *ſopitur*; & *in furioſis mens extinguitur*, *anima manet*: *In men that ſleep it is this* (mens, or) *underſtanding*, *and not the mind or ſoul*, *which reſteth*, during which time it is but habitual in wiſe men, *and in mad men this* (mens) *is extinguiſhed*, *and not the ſoul*; for mad men do live, though diſtract.

Therefore this word being often uſed for the Soul giving life, is attributed abuſively to mad men, when we ſay that they are of a diſtract mind, in ſtead of a broken underſtanding: which word (Mind) we uſe alſo for Opinion, as, I am of this mind, or, that mind: and ſometimes for mens conditions or virtues, as, He is of an Honeſt mind, or, a man of a juſt mind: ſometimes for affection, as, I do this for my mind's ſake: and *Ariſtotle* ſometimes uſeth this word (*Mens*) for the phantaſie, which is the ſtrength of the imagination: ſometimes for the knowledge of principles, which we have without diſcourſe: oftentimes for Spirits, Angels, and Intelligences: but as it is uſed in the proper ſignification, including both the underſtanding agent and poſſible, it is deſcribed to be, A pure, ſimple, ſubſtantial act, not depending upon matter, but having relation to that which is intelligible, as to his firſt object: or more at large, thus; A part or particle of the ſoul, whereby it doth underſtand, not depending upon matter, nor needing any organ, free from paſſion coming from without, and apt to be diſſevered, as, eternal from that which is mortal. Hereof excellently *Mercurius*; *Anima eſt imago mentis*, *mens imago Dei*. *Deus menti præeſt*, *mens animæ*, *anima corpori*; *The Soul* (meaning that which giveth life) *is the image of this underſtanding*, or *Mens*; *and this* (*Mens*) or *underſtanding is the image of God*. *God is Preſident or Ruler over this underſtanding*, *this underſtanding over the Soul*, *and this Soul over the body*. This diviſion and diſtinction out of the *Platonicks*, and *Peripateticks*, I leave to the Reader to judge of. That *Mens humana* hath no need of any organ, *Marſilius Ficinus* in his ninth Book of the Souls Immortality, labooreth to prove. *Zanchius* doth not differ from *Ficinus* in words; for (ſaith he) *Ad facultatem intelligentem exercendam*, *non eget Mens organo*; *tanquam medio*, *per quod intelligat*: *quanquam eget objecto in quod intuatur*, & *ex quo intellectionem concipiat*. *Hoc autem objectum ſunt phantaſmata*, *ſeu rerum à ſenſibus perceptarum ſimulachra ad phantaſiam prolata*: *To exerciſe the faculty of underſtanding*, *the mind of man* (ſaith he) *needeth no inſtrument*, *as a mean*, *by which it may underſtand*: *but it needeth an object*, *whereon to look*, *and whence to conceive the act of underſtanding*. *This object are the phantaſms*, *or the reſemblances of things received from the ſence*, *and carried to the phantaſie*. But in effect, his concluſion ſeemeth to carry a contrary ſence, when he maketh the Phantaſie, in repreſenting the object

Pæmand.

De mente Idiot. l. 3.

Sen. ep. 65. f. & 31. f. Lib. 9. c. 5.

Zanch. oper. Dif. part. 3. l. cap. 2.

Gen. 5.

object to the understanding, to be a corporal *Organum*; neither can it be understood to be an *Organum* of any thing, but of the understanding. And he addeth, that the resemblance of things in mans imagination, are to be his understanding and mind, as colours are to the sight; whence it so followeth, that the imagination or phantasy it self is to the faculty of understanding, as the eye is to the faculty of seeing: and as this is an *Organum*, so that. Of this question, How the mind in all her actions maketh use of the body, and hath communion with the body, I refer the Reader to a most grave and learned Discourse in the last Reply of M. D. *Bilson*, late Bishop of *Winchester*, unto *Hen. Jacob.* Howsoever the Truth be determined, we must conclude, that it is neither in respect of reason alone, by which we discourse, nor in respect of the mind it self, by which we live, nor in respect of our souls simply, by which we are immortal, that we are made after the Image of God. But most safely may we resemble our selves to God *in mente*, and in respect of that pure faculty, which is never separate from the contemplation and love of God. Yet this is not all; For Saint *Bernard* maketh a true difference between the nature and faculties of the Mind or Soul, and between the infusion of qualities, endowments and gifts of grace, wherewith it is adorned and enriched, which, being added to the nature, essence, and faculties, maketh it altogether to be after the Image of God: whose words are these, *Non propterea imago Dei est, quia sui meminit Mens, seque intelligit & diligit* (which also was the opinion of S. *Augustine*;) *sed quia potest meminisse, intelligere, ac diligere cum à quo facta est*, (that is) *The Mind* (or *Mens*) *was not therefore the Image of God, because it remembreth, understandeth, and loveth it self; but because it can remember, understand, and love God, who created it.* And that this Image may be deformed and made unprofitable, hear *Basil*; *Homo ad Imaginem & Similitudinem Dei factus est Peccatum vero Imaginis hujus pulchritudinem deformavit, & inutilem reddidit, dum animam corruptis concupiscentiæ affectibus immersit: Man was made after the Image and Similitude of God, but Sin hath deformed the beauty of this Image, and made it unprofitable, by drawing our minds into corrupt concupiscence.*

Pag. 185. & sequent. Ad imaginem Dei creavit illum, id est, sapientiæ, virtutis, ac bonitatis compotem, qui sese intuitus Creatorem agnoscret suum; atque imitari, pro ingenii, prog; auctoritatis, sibi concessæ ratione, studeret. Exam.

It is not therefore (as aforesaid) by reason of Immortality, nor in Reason, nor in Dominion, nor in any one of these by it self, nor in all these joyned, by any of which, or by all which we resemble, or may be called the shadow of God, though by reason and understanding, with the other faculties of the Soul, we are made capable of this print; but chiefly, in respect of the habit of Original righteousness, most perfectly infused by God into the Mind and Soul of man in his first Creation. For it is not by nature, nor by her liberality, that we were printed with the seal of God's Image (though Reason may be said to be of her gift, which, joyned to the Soul, is a part of the Essential Constitution of our proper *Species*) but from the bountiful grace of the Lord of all goodness, who breathed the life into Earth, and contrived within the Trunk of Dust and Clay, the inimitable hability of his own Piety and Righteousness.

So long therefore (for that resemblance which Dominion hath) do those that are powerful retain the Image of God, as according to his Commandments they exercise the Office or Magistracy to which they are called, and sincerely walk in the ways of God, which in the Scriptures is called, *walking with God*; and all other men so long retain this Image, as they fear, love, and serve God truly, that is, for the love of God alone, and do not bruise and deface his Seal by the weight of manifold and voluntary offences, and obstinate sins. For the unjust mind cannot be after the Image of God, seeing God is Justice it self; The blood-thirsty hath it not, for God is Charity and Mercy it self; Falshood, cunning, practice, and ambition, are properties of Satan; and therefore cannot dwell in one soul, together with God: and to be short, there is no likelihood between pure light and black darkness, between beauty and deformity, or between righteousness and reprobation. And though Nature, according to common understanding, have made us capable by the power of reason, and apt enough to receive this Image of God's goodness, which the sensual souls of Beasts cannot perceive; yet were that aptitude natural more inclinable to follow and embrace the false and dureless pleasures of this Stage-play World, than to become the shadow of God by walking after him, had not the exceeding workmanship of God's Wisdom, and the liberality of his Mercy, formed eyes to our souls, as to our bodies, which, piercing through the impurity of our flesh, behold the highest Heavens, and thence bring Knowledge and Object to the Mind and Soul, to contemplate the everduring Glory, and term-less Joy, prepared for those which retain the Image and Similitude of their Creatour, preserving undefiled and unrent the garment of the new man, which, after the Image of God, is created in Righteousness, and Holiness, as saith S. *Paul*. Now whereas it is thought by some of the Fathers, as by S. *Augustine*, with whom S. *Ambrose* joyneth, that by sin, the perfection of the Image is lost, and not the Image it self: both opinions by this distinction may be well reconciled (to wit) that the Image of God, in man, may be taken two wayes; for, either it is considered according to natural gifts, and consisteth therein; namely, to have a reasonable and understanding nature, &c. and in this sense, the Image of God is more lost by sin than the very reasonable or understanding nature, &c. is lost, (or sin doth not abolish and take away these natural gifts:) or, the Image of God is considered, according to supernatural gifts, namely, of divine Grace and heavenly Glory, which is indeed the perfection and accomplishment of the natural Image; and this manner of similitude and Image of God is wholly blotted out, and destroyed by Sin.

2 Cor. 6. 14.

S. Ambros.

§. III.

Of our base and frail Bodies: and that the care thereof should yield to the immortal Soul.

THE external man God formed out of the dust of the Earth, or (according to the signification of the word, *Adam*) of *Adamath*, of red Earth, or *ex limo terræ*, out of the slime of the Earth, or a mixed matter of Earth and Water. *Non ex qualibet humo, sed ex ghaphar adamath (id est) ex pinguissima & mollissima; Not that God made an Image or Statue of Clay, but out of Clay, Earth, or Dust, God formed and made flesh, blood, and bone, with all parts of man.*

Arias Mont. d. nat. f. 156.

That, man was formed of Earth and Dust did *Abraham* acknowledge, when in humble fear he called unto God, to save *Sodom*: *Let not my Lord now be angry, if I speak, I that am but dust and ashes:* And, *In these Houses of Clay, whose foundation is in the dust*, do our souls inhabit, according to *Job*. And though our own eyes do every where behold the sudden and resistless assaults of Death, and Nature assureth us by never-failing experience, and Reason by infallible demonstration, that our times upon the Earth have neither certainty nor durability; that our Bodies are but the Anvils of pain and diseases, and our Minds the Hives of unnumbred cares, sorrows, and passions: and that (when we are most glorified) we are but those painted posts, against which Envy and Fortune direct their darts; yet such is the true unhappiness of our condition,

Gen. 18. 27.

Job 4. 27.

Gen. 5. 22.

tion, and the dark ignorance which covers the eyes of our understanding, that we onely prize, pamper, and exalt this Vassal and Slave of death, and forget altogether (or onely remember at our cast-away leisure) the imprisoned immortal Soul, which can neither dye with the Reprobate, nor perish with the mortal parts of virtuous men: seeing Gods justice in the one, and his goodness in the other, is exercised for evermore, as the ever-living subjects of his reward and punishment. But when isit that we examine this great account? Never whilewe have one vanity left us to spend: we plead for Titles, till our breath fail us; dig for Riches, while our strength enableth us; exercise Malice, while we can revenge; and then when time hath beaten from us both youth, pleasure, and health, and that Nature it self hateth the house of old age, we remember with
Job 10. 21. & 17. 13. *Job*, that *we must go the way from whence we shall not return, and that our bed is made ready for us in the dark*; And then, I say, looking over-late into the bottom of our conscience (which Pleasure and Ambition had locked up from us all our lives,) we behold therein the fearful Images of our actions past, and withall this
Eccl. 12. 14. terrible Inscription: *That God will bring every work into judgment, that man hath done under the Sun.*

But what examples have ever moved us? what perswasions reformed us? or what threatnings made us afraid? we behold other mens Tragedies plaid before us, we hear what is promised and threatned: but the World's bright glory hath put out the eyes of our minds, and these betraying lights, (with which we onely see) do neither look up towards term-less joyes, nor down towards endless sorrows, till we neither know, nor can look for any thing else at the Worlds hands. Of which excellently *Marius Victor*:

Nil hostes, nil dira fames, nil denique morbi
Egerunt, fuimus, qui nunc sumus; iisque periclis.
Tentati: nihilo meliores reddimur unquam,
Sub vitiis nullo culparum sine manentes.

Diseases, famine, enemies, in us no change have wrought,
What er'st we were, we are; still in the same snare caught:
No time can our corrupted manners mend;
In Vice we dwell, in Sin that hath no end.

But let us not flatter our immortal Souls herein; for to neglect God all our lives, and know that we neglect him; to offend God voluntarily, and know that we offend him, casting our hopes on the Peace, which we trust to make at parting, is no other then a rebellious presumption, and (that which is the worst of all) even a contemptuous laughing to scorn, and deriding of God, his Laws and Precepts. *Frustra sperant qui sic de misericordia Dei sibi blandiuntur*; *They hope in vain*, saith *Bernard*, *which in this sort flatter themselves with Gods mercy.*
Bern. in Psal. qui habitat.

§. IV.

Of the Spirit of Life, which God breathed into man in his creation.

IN this frame and carcass God breathed the breath of life; and the man was a living Soul: (that is) God gave a body of Earth and of corruptible matter, a Soul spiritual and incorruptible; not that God had any such bodily instruments as men use, but God breathed the Spirit of Life and Immortality into man, as he breatheth his grace daily into such as love and
Job 33. 4. fear him. *The Spirit of God* (saith *Elihu in Job*) *hath made me, and the breath of the Almighty hath given me life: In qua sententia* (saith *Rabanus*) *vitanda est paupertas sensus carnalis, ne forte putemus Deum, vel manibus corporeis de limo formásse corpus hominis, vel fancibus aut labiis suis inspirásse in facem formati, ut vivere posset & spiraculum vitæ habere: Nam & Propheta cum ait, Manus tuæ fecerunt me, &c. tropica hac locutione magis quam propria, (id est, juxta consuetudinem, qua solent homines operari) loquutus est: In which sentence* (saith he) *the beggarliness of carnal sense is to be avoided, lest perhaps we should think, either that God with bodily hands made mans body of slime, or breathed with jaws or lips upon his face* (being formed) *that he might live, and have the Spirit of life: for the Prophet also when he saith, Thy hands have made me, spake this Tropically, rather then properly* (that is) *according to the custome which men use in working. Quantum est periculi his, qui Scripturas sensu corporeo legunt? In what danger are they that read the Scriptures in a carnal sense?* By this breath was infused into man, both life and soul, and therefore this (Soul) the Philosophers call *Animam, quæ vivificat corpus, & animat*; *Which doth animate and give life to the body. The inspiration of the Almighty giveth understanding*, saith *Job*; and this spirit, which God breathed into man, which is the reasonable soul of man, returneth again to God that gave it, as the body returneth unto the Earth, out of which it was taken; according to *Ecclesiastes*: *And dust shall return to the Earth, out of which it was taken, and the spirit shall return to God that gave it.* Neither is this word (Spirit) usually otherwise taken in the Scriptures, then for the Soul; as when *Stephen* cried unto God: *Domine, suscipe spiritum meum*, *Lord Jesus receive my spirit*: and in S. *John*, *And Jesus bowed his head and gave up the Ghost*, or Spirit; (which was) that his life and soul left his body dead. And that the immortal soul of man differeth from the souls of beasts, the manner of creation maketh it manifest: for it is written, *Let the waters bring forth in abundance every creeping thing, and let the earth bring forth the living thing according to his kind, the beast of the Earth*, &c. But of man it is written, *Let us make man in our own Image*, &c. and further, that *the Lord breathed in his face the breath of life*. Wherefore, as from the Water and Earth were those creatures brought forth, and thence received life; so shall they again be dissolved into the same first matter, whence they were taken: but the life of breath everlasting, which God breathed into Man, shall, according to *Ecclesiastes*, *return again to God that gave it.*
Eccles. 12. 7. *Gen.* 1. 20. 24. 26. *Gen.* 2. 7. *Eccl.* 12. 7.

§. V.

That man is (as it were) a little World: with a digression touching our mortality.

MAn, thus compounded and formed by God, was an abstract or model, or brief Story in the Universal: in whom God concluded the Creation, and work of the World, and whom he made the last, and most excellent of his Creatures, being internally endued with a divine understanding, by which he might contemplate, and serve his Creatour, after whose Image he was formed, and endued with the powers and faculties of Reason and other abilities, that thereby also he might govern and rule the World, and all other God's Creatures therein. And whereas God created three sorts of living natures, (to wit) Angelical, Rational, and Brutal; giving to Angels an intellectual, and to Beasts a sensual nature, he vouchsafed unto Man, both the intellectual of Angels, the sensitive of Beasts, and the proper rational belonging unto man: and therefore (saith *Gregory Nazianzene*) *Homo est utriusque naturæ vinculum, Man is the bond and chain which tieth together both Natures*: and because in the little frame of man's body there is a representation of the Universal, and (by allusion) a kind of participation of all
Ar. Phys. l. 8. c. 2. l. 17. f. Greg. Naz. Epist. Omnis in homine creatura, & cælum et terra.

all the parts there, therefore was man called *Microcosmus*, or the little World. *Deus igitur hominem fecit, velut alterum quendam mundum, in brevi magnum, atque exiguo totum, in terris statuit*; God therefore placed in the Earth the man whom he had made, as it were another World; the great and large World in the small and little World: for out of the Earth and Dust, was formed the flesh of man, and therefore heavy and lumpish: the bones of his body we may compare to the hard Rocks and Stones, and therefore strong and durable; of which *Ovid*:

Aug. l. qu. 83. 84. 67. Varr. l. 1. c. 2.

Ovid. Met. l. 1.

Inde genus durum sumus, experiensque laborum,
Et documenta damus qua simus origine nati:

From thence our Kind hard-hearted is,
enduring pain and care,
Approving, that our bodies of
a stony nature are.

His blood, which disperseth it self by the branches of veins through all the body, may be resembled to those waters, which are carried by Brooks and Rivers over all the earth; his breath to the Air, his natural heat to the inclosed warmth which the Earth hath in it self, which, stirred up by the heat of the Sun, assisteth Nature in the speedier procreation of those varieties, which the Earth bringeth forth; Our radical Moisture, Oyl, or Balsamum (whereon the natural heat feedeth and is maintained) is resembled to the fat and fertility of the Earth; the hairs of mans body, which adorns, or overshadows it, to the grass, which covereth the upper face and Skin of the Earth; our generative power, to Nature, which produceth all things; our determinations, to the leight, wandring, and unstable clouds, carried every where with uncertain winds; our eyes to the light of the Sun and Moon; and the beauty of our youth, to the flowers of the Spring, which, either in a very short time, or with the Sun's heat, dry up and wither away, or the fierce puffs of wind blow them from the stalks; the thoughts of our mind, to the motion of Angels; and our pure understanding (formerly called *Mens*, and that which always looketh upwards) to those intellectual Natures, which are always present with God; and lastly, our immortal souls (while they are righteous) are by God himself beautified with the title of his own Image and Similitude. And although, in respect of God, there is no man just, or good, or righteous (for, *In Angelis deprehensa est stultitia*, Behold, *He found folly in his Angels*, saith *Job*); yet, with such a kind of difference, as there is between the substance and the shadow, there may be found a goodness in men: which God being pleased to accept, hath therefore called Man, the Image and Similitude of his own Righteousness. In this also is the little World of man compared, and made more like the Universal (man being the measure of all things, *Homo est mensura omnium rerum*, saith *Aristotle* and *Pythagoras*) that the four Complexions resemble the four Elements, and the seven Ages of man the seven Planets; Whereof, our infancie is compared to the *Moon*, in which we seem only to live and grow, as Plants; the second Age to *Mercurie*, wherein we are taught and instructed; our third Age to *Venus*, the days of Love, Desire, and Vanity; the fourth to the *Sun*, the strong, flourishing, and beautiful age of mans life; the fifth to *Mars*, in which we seek honour and Victory, and in which our thoughts travel to ambitious ends; the sixth Age is ascribed to *Jupiter*, in which we begin to take accompt of our times, judge of our selves, and grow to the perfection of our understanding; the last and seventh, to *Saturn*, wherein our days are sad, and over-cast, and in which we find by dear and lamentable experience, and by the loss which can never be repaired, that of all our vain passions and affections past, the sorrow onely abideth: Our attendants are sicknesses, and variable infirmities, and by how much the more we are accompanied with plenty, by so much the more greedily is our end desired, whom when *Time* hath made unsociable to others, we become a burthen to our selves: being of no other use, then to hold the riches we have from our Successors. In this time it is, when (as aforesaid) we, for the most part, and never before, prepare for our eternal habitation, which we pass on unto with many sighs, groans, and sad thoughts, and in the end, by the workmanship of death, finish the sorrowful business of a wretched life; towards which we always travel both sleeping and waking: neither have those beloved companions of honour and riches any power at all to hold us any one day, by the glorious promise of entertainments; but by what crooked path soever we walk, the same leadeth on directly to the house of death, whose doors lie open at all hours, and to all persons. For this tide of mans life, after it once turneth and declineth, ever runneth with a perpetual Ebb and falling Stream, but never floweth again; our Leaf once fallen, springeth no more; neither doth the Sun or the Summer adorn us again, with the garments of new Leaves and Flowers.

Job 14. 18.

Aristot. 10. Met. c. 1. f.

Redditur arboribus florens revirentibus ætas,
Ergo non homini, quod fuit antè, redit.

To which I give this sense.

The Plants and Trees made poor and old
By Winter envious,
The Spring-time bounteous
Covers again from shame and cold:
But never man repair'd again
His youth and beauty lost,
Though Art, and care, and cost,
Do promise Nature's help in vain.

And of which,

CATULLUS, EPIGRAM. 53.

Soles occidere & redire possunt:
Nobis cùm semel occidit brevis lux,
Nox est perpetua una dormienda.

The Sun may set and rise:
But we contrariwise
Sleep after our short light
One everlasting night.

For if there were any baiting place, or rest, in the course or race of man's life, then, according to the doctrine of the *Academicks*, the same might also perpetually be maintained; but as there is a continuance of motion in natural living things, and as the sap and juyce, wherein the life of Plants is preserved, doth evermore ascend or descend; so is it with the life of man, which is alwayes either increasing toward ripeness and perfection, or declining and decreasing towards rottenness and dissolution.

§. VI.

Of the free power, which man had in his first Creation, to dispose of himself.

THese be the miseries which our first Parents brought on all Mankind, unto whom God in his Creation gave a free and unconstrained will, and on whom he bestowed the liberal choice of all things, with one onely Prohibition, to try his gratitude and obedience. God set before him, a mortal and immortal Life, a natueral celestial and terrene, and (indeed) God gave man to himself, to be his own Guide, his own Workman, and his own Painter, that he might frame or describe unto himself what he pleased, and make election of his own form. *God made man in the beginning*, (saith *Siracides*) *and left him in the hands of his own counsel.* Such was the liberality of God, and man's felicity: whereas Beasts, and all other Creatures reasonless, brought with them into the World (saith *Lucilius*), and that even when they first fell from the bodies of their Dams, the Nature, which they could not change; and the supernal Spirits or Angels were from the beginning, or soon after, of that condition, in which they remain in perpetual eternity. But (as aforesaid) God gave unto man all kind of Seeds and Grafts of life (to wit) the vegetative life of Plants, the sensual of Beasts, the rational of Man, and the intellectual of Angels; whereof which soever he took pleasure to plant and cultive, the same should futurely grow in him, and bring forth fruit, agreeable to his own choice and plantation. This freedom of the first man *Adam*, and our first Father, was ænigmatically described by *Asclepius Atheniensis* (saith *Mirandula*) in the person and Fable of *Proteus*, who was said, as often as he pleased, to change his shape. To the same end were all those celebrated *Metamorphoses* among the Pythagoreans, and antient Poets, wherein it was fained, That men were transformed into divers shapes of beasts, thereby to shew the change of mens conditions, from Reason to Brutality, from Virtue to Vice, from Meekness to Cruelty, and from Justice to Oppression. For by the lively Image of other creatures did those *Antients* represent the variable passions, and affections of mortal men; as by Serpents were signified Deceivers; by Lyons, Oppressors and Cruel men; by Swine, Men given over to lust and sensuality; by Wolves, ravening, and greedy men; which also S. *Matthew* resembleth to false Prophets, *which come to you in sheeps cloathing, but inwardly they are ravening Wolves*: by the Images of stones and stocks, foolish and ignorant Men: by Vipers, ungrateful Men: of which S. *John Baptist*, *O ye generation of Vipers*, &c.

Eccles. 15. 14.

Matth. 7. 15.

Matth. 3. 7.

§. VII.

Of God's ceasing to create any more: and of the cause thereof, because the Universal created was exceeding good.

IN this work of Man, God finished the Creation; not that God laboured as a man; and therefore rested: for God commanded, and it was finished, *Cui voluisse est fecisse*; *With whom, to will is to make*, saith *Beda*. Neither did God so rest, that he left the World made, and the Creatures therein to themselves: for *My Father worketh to this day* (saith *Christ*), *and I work*; but God rested (that is) he created no new *Species* or kinds of Creatures, but (as aforesaid) gave unto man a power generative, and so to the rest of living Creatures, to Plants and Flowers, their seeds in themselves; and commanded Man to multiply and fill the Earth, and the Earth and Sea to bring forth Creatures according to their several kinds: all which being finished, God saw that his Works were good; not that he foreknew not, and comprehended not, the beginning and end before they were; for God made every Plant of the field before it was in the Earth; but he gave to all things which he had created the name of Good, thereby to teach men, that from so good a God there was nothing made, but that which was perfect good, and from whose simple purity and from so excellent a cause there could proceed no impure or imperfect effect. For man having a free will and liberal choice, purchased by disobedience his own death and mortality; and for the cruelty of man's heart, was the Earth afterward cursed, and all Creatures of the first Age destroyed, but the righteous man *Noah* and his Family, with those Creatures which the Ark contained, reserved by God to repleniſh the Earth.

John 5. 17.

Gen. 1. 28, 22. 24.

CHAP. III.

Of the place of Paradise.

§. I.

That the Seat of Paradise is greatly mistaken: and that it is no marvel that men should erre.

COncerning the first Habitation of man, we read, that *the Lord God planted a Garden Eastward in Eden, and there he put the man whom he made*, Gen. 2. 6. Of this seat and place of *Paradise*, all Ages have held dispute; and the Opinions and Judgments have been in effect, as divers, among those that have written upon this part of *Genesis*, as upon any one place therein, seeming most obscure: Some there are, that have conceived the being of the terrestrial *Paradise*, without all regard of the Worlds Geography, and without any respect of the East and West, or any consideration of the place where *Moses* wrote, and from whence he directed (by the quarters of the Heavens) the way how to find out and judge, in what Region of the World this Garden was by God planted, wherein he was exceeding respective and precise. Others, by being themselves ignorant in the *Hebrew*, followed the first Interpretation; or, trusting to their own judgments, understood one place for another; and one Errour is so fruitful, as it begetteth a thousand Children, if the licentiousness thereof be not timely restrained. And thirdly, those Writers which gave themselves to follow and imitate others, were in all things so observant Sectators of those Masters, whom they admired and believed in, as they thought it safer to condemn their own understanding, then to examine theirs. For (saith *Vadianus* in his Epistle of *Paradise*) *Magnos errores, magnorum virorum authoritate persuasi, transmittimus*; *We pass over many gross errours, by the authority of great men led and perswaded.* And it is true, that many of the Fathers were far wide from the understanding of this place. I speak it not, that I my self dare presume to censure them, for I reverence both their Learning and their Piety, and yet not bound to follow them any further, than they are guided

ded by truth: for they were men; *Et humanum est errare.* And to the end that no man should be proud of himself, *GOD* hath distributed unto men such a proportion of Knowledg, as the wisest may behold in themselves their own weakness: *Nulli unquam dedit omnia Deus*; *God never gave the knowledge of all things to any one.* Saint *Paul* confess'd that he knew not, whether he were taken up into the third Heaven in the flesh, or out of the flesh; and Christ himself acknowledgeth thus much, That neither Men, nor Angels knew of the latter day; and therefore, seeing knowledg is infinite, it is God (according to S. *Jude*) who is only wise. *Sapientia ubi invenitur*, (saith *Job*)? *But where is wisdom found? and where is the place of understanding? Man knoweth not the price thereof, for it is not found in the Land of the living.* And therefore seeing God found folly in his Angels, mens judgments (which inhabit in houses of Clay) cannot be without their mistakings: and so the Fathers, and other learned men, excusable in particular, especially in those whereupon our salvation depended not.

2 Cor. 12. 2.
Mat. 24. 36.
Jude. Ep. v. 2.
Job 28. 12, 13. 4. 18.

§. II.

A recital of strange Opinions touching Paradise.

NOw touching *Paradise*, first it is to be enquired, Whether there were a *Paradise*, or no? or whether *Moses* description were altogether mystical, and allegorical? as *Origen*, *Philo*, *Fran. Georgius*, with others, have affirmed; and that under the names of those four Rivers *Pison*, *Gehon*, *Hiddekel*, and *Perath*, *the Tree of Life*, *and the Tree of Knowledge*, there were delivered unto us other mysteries and significations; as, that by the four Rivers, were meant the four Cardinal Virtues, *Justice*, *Temperance*, *Fortitude*, and *Prudence*; or (by other) *Oyl*, *Wine*, *Milk*, and *Honey*. This Allegorical understanding of *Paradise* by *Origen* divulged, was again by *Franciscus Georgius* received (saith *Sixtus Senensis*;) whose frivolous imaginations *Sixtus* himself doth fully and learnedly answer, in the 34. Annotation of his Fifth Book, *fol.* 338. the last Edition.

Bartas. sem. 2. l. 1. 143.

S. *Ambrose* also leaned wholly to the Allegorical construction, and set *Paradise* in the third Heaven, and in the virtues of the mind, *& in nostro principali*, which is, as I conceive it, *in mente*, or in our Souls; to the particulars whereof he alludeth in this sort. By the place or Garden of *Paradise*, was meant the Soul or Mind; by *Adam*, *Mens*, or, Understanding; by *Eve*, the Sense; by the *Serpent*, Delectation; by the *Tree* of good and evil, Sapience; and by the rest of the Trees, the virtues of the mind, or in the mind planted, or from thence springing. Notwithstanding all which, upon the first of the *Corinth.* c. 6. he in direct words alloweth both of a celestial and terrestrial *Paradise*; the one into which S. *Paul* was wrapt, the other, into which *Adam* was put by God. *Aug. Chrysamensis* was of opinion, that a *Paradise* had been; but that there was not now any mark thereof on the Earth: the same being not onely defaced, but withall the places now not so much as existing. To which *Luther* seemeth to adhere.

Amb. de Parad.

The *Manichees* also understood, that by *Paradise* was meant the whole Earth; To which opinion, *Vadianus* inclineth, as I conceive his words, in two several places. First, upon this; *Fill the Earth*, Gen. 10. Of which he gives this judgment. *Hoc ipso etiam quod dixit, Replete terram, dominatum universis animantibus, subjicite terram, clarissimè docet, totam terram extantem, & omnigenis (ut tum erat) fructibus consitam, sedem & hortum illum Adæ, & posteritatis futuræ fuisse*; *These words* (saith he) *in which God said, Bring forth fruit and multiply, and fill the earth, and subdue it, and rule over every creature, do clearly shew, that the Universal earth, set or filled with all sorts of fruits (as then it was,) was the garden and seat of* Adam, *and of his future posterity.* And afterward he acknowledgeth the place, out of the *Acts*, Cap. 17. *Apostolus ex uno sanguine omne genus humanum ideò factum docet, ut habitarent super universam faciem terræ: tota igitur terra Paradisus ille erat*; *The Apostle* (saith he) *teacheth, that God hath made of one blood all mankind, to dwell over all the face of the earth: and therefore all the earth* (saith he) *was that Paradise.* Which conjectures I will answer in order. *Goropius Becanus* differeth not much from this Opinion, but yet he acknowledgeth that *Adam* was first planted by God in one certain place, and peculiar Garden; which place *Goropius* findeth near the River of *Acesines*, in the Confines of *India*.

Vers. 26.

Tertullian, *Bonaventure*, and *Durandus*, make *Paradise* under the Equinoctial; and *Postellus*, quite contrary, under the North-pole: the Chaldeans also for the most part, and all their Sectators, followed the opinion of *Origen*, or rather *Origen* theirs; who would either make *Paradise* a figure, or Sacrament onely, or else would have it seated out of this sensible world, or raised into some high and remote Region of the Air. *Strabus*, and *Rabanus*, were both sick of this vanity, with *Origen*, and *Philo*: So was our Venerable *Beda*, and *Peter Comestor*, and *Moses Barcephas* the Syrian, translated by *Masius*. But as *Hopkins* sayes of *Philo Judæus*, that he wondred, *Quo malo genio afflatus*, *By what evil Angel he was blown up into this errour*; so can I but greatly marvel at the learned men, who so grosly and blindly wandred; seeing *Moses*, and after him the Prophets, do so plainly describe this place, by the Region in which it was planted, by the Kingdoms and Provinces bordering it, by the Rivers which watered it, and by the Points of the Compass upon which it lay, in respect of *Judea*, or *Canaan*.

Bart. 16. 126.
Bed. in Gen.
Pet. Comest. l. 1. cap. 3.
Moses Barc. de Par.

Noviomagus also upon *Beda*, *De natura rerum*, believeth that all the Earth was taken for *Paradise*, and not any one place. For the whole Earth (saith he) hath the same beauty ascribed to *Paradise*. He addeth, That the Ocean was that Fountain from whence the four Rivers, *Pison*, *Gehon*, *Tigris*, and *Euphrates*, had their beginning; for he could not think it possible, that these Rivers of *Ganges*, *Nilus*, *Tigris*, and *Euphrates*, (whereof the one ran through *India*, the other through *Egypt*, and the other through *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia*) could rise out of one Fountain, were it not out of the Fountain of the Ocean.

§. III.

That there was a true local Paradise Eastward in the Countrey of Eden.

TO the first therefore, that such a place there was upon the Earth, the words of *Moses* make it manifest, where it is written, *And the Lord God planted a Garden Eastward in* Eden, *and there he put the Man whom he had made:* and howsoever the vulgar Translation, called *Jerom's* Translation, hath converted this place thus, *Plantaverit Dominus Deus Paradisum voluptatis à principio*; *The Lord God planted a Paradise of pleasure from the beginning*; putting the word (*pleasure*) for *Eden*, and (*from the beginning*) for *Eastward*: it is manifest, that in this place *Eden* is the proper name of a Region. For, what sense hath this Translation (saith our *Hopkins*, in his Treatise of *Paradise*) that he planted a Garden in Pleasure, or, that a River went out of pleasure to water the Garden? But the Seventy Interpreters call it *Paradisum Edenis*, *The Paradise of Eden*; and so doth the *Chaldean* Paraphrast truly take it for the proper name of a Place, and for a Noun appellative; which Region, in respect of the fertility of

Gen. 2.

the Soil, of the many beautiful Rivers and goodly Woods, and that the Trees (as in the *Indies*) do always keep their leaves, was called *Eden*, which signifieth in the *Hebrew*, Pleasantness, or delicacy; as the *Spaniards* call the Country, opposite to the Isle of *Cuba*, *Florida*: and this is the mistaking, which may end the dispute, as touching the double sence of the word, That as *Florida* was a Country, so called for the flourishing beauty thereof; so was *Eden* a Region, called Pleasure, or Delicacy, for its pleasure or delicacy: and as *Florida* signifieth Flourishing; so *Eden* signifieth Pleasure: and yet both are the proper names of Countries; for *Eden* being the proper name of a Region (called Pleasure in the *Hebrew*) and *Paradise* being the choise seat of all that Region, *Paradise* was truly the Garden of *Eden*, and truly the Garden of Pleasure.

Now, for *Eastward*, to translate it, *from the beginning*, it is also contrary to the Translation of the Seventy; to the antient Greek Fathers, as *Basil*, *Chrysostom*, *Theodoret*, *Gregory*; and to the *Rabines*, as *Ramban*, *Rabbi Solomon*, R. *Abraham*, and *Chimchi*; and of the Latines, *Severinus*, *Damascenus*, &c. who plainly take *Eden* for the proper name of a Region, and set the word (*Eastward*) for *ab initio*; for *Damascene*'s own words are these, *Paradisus est locus Dei manibus in Eden ad Orientem mirabiliter consitus*; *Paradise is a place marvellously planted by the hands of God in Eden, towards the East.*

And after all these Fathers, *Guilhelmus Parisiensis*, a great learned man, and *Sixtus Senensis*, of latter times, do both understand these words of *Eden* and of the *East*, contrary to the vulgar Translation; *Parisiensis*, as indifferent to both, and *Sixtus Senensis*, directly against the vulgar: of which these are their own words; *After this I will begin to speak of Paradise Terrestrial, which God planted from the beginning, or Eastward*, &c. *Post hæc incipiam loqui de Paradiso terrestri, quem plantâsse Deum ab initio vel ad Orientem* &c. And then *Senensis*; Moses *enim clarissimè prodit, Paradisum à Deo consitum in regione terræ Orientalis, quæ dicitur Heden: Heden autem esse proprium nomen, apparet ex quarto capite Gen. ubi legimus*, Cham *habitâsse ad Orientalem plagam Heden*; For *Moses* (saith he) *doth shew most clearly, that Pardise was planted of God in a Region of the East Countrey, which is called Heden: but that Heden is a proper name, it appeareth by the fourth Chapter of Genesis. where we read, that* Cham *dwelt on the East border of Heden.* *Pererius* endeavoureth to qualifie this Translation; for this Particle (saith he) *ab initio*, is referred to all the time of the Creation, and not to the very first day; alledging this place of Christ, *Joh.* 8. 44 that although the Devil was said to be a *Man-slayer from the beginning*, yet that was meant but after the sixth day. But surely, as I think (referring my self to better judgment) the Devil was from the instant of his fall a Man-slayer in disposition, though he had not whereon to practise till man's Creation. And for conclusion, S. *Hierom* (if that be his Translation) adviseth himself better in the end of the Third Chapter of *Genesis*, converting the word (*Eden*) by (*ante*) and not (*à principio*) as, *God did set a Cherubin before the Garden of* Eden; *Collocavit Deus ante Paradisum voluptatis, Cherubin*; and *Pererius* himself acknowledgeth, that this is the true sence of this place, precisely taken, according to the Hebrew, *Posuit à parte Orientali horti Heden, Cherubin*; *He set on the East side* *Gen.* 3. 24. *of the Garden of Heden, a Cherubin.* *Becanus* affirmeth, that the *Hebrew* word (*Be*) signifieth (with) as well as (in) and so the Text beareth this sence; That God planted a Garden with Pleasure (that is to say) full of pleasure. But *Becanus* followeth this construction, onely to the end to find *Paradise* upon the River of *Asecines*; for there he hath heard of the *Indian* Fig-tree in great abundance, which he supposeth to be the Tree of knowledg of good and evil, and would therefore draw *Paradise* to the Fig-tree: which Conceit of his I will answer hereafter.

Verse 16.

Now, because *Paradise* was seated by *Moses* toward the East, thence came the custom of praying toward the East, and not by imitation of the *Chaldeans*: and therefore all our Churches are built East and West, as to the point where the Sun riseth in *March*, which is directly over *Paradise* (saith *Damascenus*:) affirming, that we always pray towards the East, as looking towards *Paradise*, whence we were cast out; and yet the Temple of *Solomon* had their Priests and Sacrifices, which turned themselves in their service and divine ceremonies, always towards the West, thereby to avoid the superstition of the *Egyptians* and *Chaldeans*.

But because East and West are but in respect of places; (for although *Paradise* were East from *Judea*, yet it was West from *Persia*) and the serving of God is every where in the world; the matter is not great, which way we turn our faces, so our hearts stand right; other than this, that we who dwell West from *Paradise*, and pray turning our selves to the East, may remember thereby to beseech God, that as by *Adam*'s fall we have lost the *Paradise* on Earth; so by Christ's Death and Passion we may be made partakers of the *Paradise* Celestial, and the Kingdom of Heaven. To conclude, I conceive, that there was no other mystery in adding the word (East) to *Eden* by *Moses*, than to shew, that the Region of *Eden*, in which *Paradise* was, lay Eastward from *Judea* and *Canaan*: for the Scriptures always called the people of those Nations, the Sons of the East which inhabited *Arabia*, *Mesopotamia*, *Chaldea*, and *Persia*: of which *Ovid*,

Eurus ad Auroram, Nabatheaq; regna recessit,
Persidaque, & radiis juga subdita matutinis.

The East wind with *Aurora* hath a biding
Among th' *Arabian* and the *Persian* Hills,
Whom *Phœbus* first salutes at his first rising.

And if it be objected, That *Jeremy* the Prophet, threatning the destruction of *Jerusalem*, doth often make mention of *Northern* Nations, it is to be noted, that the *North* is there named, in respect of those Nations that followed *Nabuchodonosor*, and of whom the greatest part of his Army was compounded; not that *Babylon* it self stood *North* from *Jerusalem*, though inclining from the *East* towards the *North*.

Now to the difference of this Translation, *Peter Comestor* giveth best satisfaction: for he useth the word, *From the beginning*, that is, *from the first part of the World*, (*à principio*) *id est*, (saith he) *à prima orbis parte*; and afterward he affirmeth, that *à principio*, and *ad Orientem*, have the same signification: *From the beginning*, and *East-ward*, is all one; *à Principio idem est quod ad Orientem.*

But to return to the proof of this place, and that this story of Mankind was not Allegorical, it followeth in the Text of the 2. Chap. and 9. Verse, in these words; *For out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every Tree pleasant to the sight, and good for meat*, &c. so as first it appeared that God created *Adam* else-where as in the World at large, and then *put him into the Garden*: and the end why, is expres'd; *that he might dress it and keep it*: *Paradise* be- Verse 18. ing a Garden or Orchard filled with Plants, and Trees, of the most excellent kinds, pleasant to behold, and (withal) good for meat: which proveth that *Paradise* was a terrestrial Garden, garnished with Fruits, delighting both the eye and taste. And to Verse 10. make it more plain, and to take away all opinion of Allegorical construction, he affirmeth that it was watered and beautified with a River; expressing also the Region, out of which this River sprang, which he

he calleth *Heden*; and that *Heden* is also a Country near unto *Charon* in *Mesopotamia*, *Ezekiel* witnesseth. *Ezek.* 27. 23.

But to all these Cabalists, which draw the Truth and Story of the Scriptures into Allegories, *Epiphanius* answereth in these words; *Si Paradisus non est sensibilis, non est etiam fons; si non est fons, non est flumen, si non est flumen, non sunt quatuor principia, non Pison, non Gehon, non Tigris, nec Euphrates; non est ficus, non folia, non comedit* Eva *de arbore, non est* Adam, *non sunt homines, sed veritas jam fabula est, & omnia ad Allegorias revocantur; If Paradise be not sensible, then there was no Fountain, and then no River; if no River, then no such four heads or branches, and then not any such River as* Pison, *or* Gehon, Tigris, *or* Euphrates; *no such fig-tree, or fruit, or leaves;* Eve *then did not eat of the fruit, neither was there any* Adam, *or any man, the truth was but a fable, and all things esteemed are called back into Allegories.* Words to the same effect hath S. *Hierome* upon *Daniel*; *Contiteſcant eorum deliramenta, qui umbras & imagines in veritate sequentes, ipsam conantur evertere veritatem, ut Paradisum & flumina, & arbores putent Allegoriæ Legibus se debere subruere: Let the dotage of them be silent, who following shadows and images in the Truth, endeavour to subvert the Truth it self, and think that they ought to bring Paradise, and the Rivers, and the Trees, under the Rules of Allegory.*

Furthermore, by the continuation and order of the Story, is the place made more manifest. For, God gave *Adam* free liberty to eat of every Tree of the Garden, (the Tree of Knowledg excepted) which Trees *Moses* in the ninth Verse saith that they were good to eat; meaning the fruit which they bare. Besides, God left all Beasts to *Adam* to be named, which he had formerly made; and these Beasts were neither in the Third Heaven, nor near the circle of the Moon, nor beasts in imagination: for if all these things were Enigmatical or mystical, the same might also be said of the creation of all things. And *Ezechiel*, speaking of the glory of the Assyrian Kings, useth this speech; *All the Trees of Eden, which were in the Garden of God, envied him*; which proveth both *Eden*, and *Paradise* therein seated, to be terrestrial: for the Prophets made no imaginary comparisons. But *Moses* wrote plainly, and in a simple style, fit for the capacities of ignorant men, and he was more large and precise in the description of *Paradise*, than in any other place of Scripture; of purpose, to take away all scruple from the incredulity of future Ages, whom he knew (out of the gift of Prophecy) to be apt to fabulous inventions; and that if he had not described both the Region and the Rivers, and how it stood from *Canaan*, many of the unbelieving Hebrites and others after them, would have misconstrued this Story of Man-kind. And, is it likely, there would have been so often mention made of *Paradise* in the Scriptures, if the same had been an *Utopia?* For we find that the Valley, wherein *Sodome* and *Gomorrah* stood, (sometimes called *Pentapolis*, of the five principal Cities therein) was before the destruction (which their unnatural sin purchased) compared to the *Paradise* of the Lord, and like to the Land of *Egypt* toward *Zoar*: In like manner was Israel resembled to the *Paradise* of God, before the Babylonians wasted it: which proveth plainly, that *Paradise* it self, exceeded in beauty and fertility, and that these places had but a resemblance thereof: being compared to a seat and soil of far exceeding excellency. *Ezek.* 31. 9. *Gen.* 13. 10.

Besides, whence had *Homer* his invention of *Alcinous*'s Gardens, as *Justin Martyr* noteth, but out of *Moses* his description of *Paradise*? *Gen.* 2. And whence are their praises of the Elizian fields, but out of the Story of *Paradise*? To which also appertain those Verses of the Golden Age in *Ovid*:

Ver erat æternum; placidique tepentibus auris, Mulcebant Zephyri natos sine semine flores. *Ovid. Met.*

The joyful Spring did ever last,
And Zephyrus did breed
Sweet flowers by his gentle blast,
Without the help of Seed.

And it is manifest, that *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Pindarus*, *Hesiodus*, and *Homer*, and, after him, *Ovid*, one out of another, and all these together with *Pythagoras* and *Plato*, and their Sectators, did greatly enrich their Inventions, by venting the stoln Treasures of Divine Letters, altered by prophane additions, and disguised by poetical conversions, as if they had been conceived out of their own speculations and contemplations.

But besides all these testimonies, if we find what Region *Heden*, or *Eden* was; if we prove the River that ran out of it, and that the same afterwards was divided into four Branches, together with the Kingdoms of *Havila*, and *Cush*; and that all these are Eastward from *Canaan*, or the Desarts of the *Amorites*, where *Moses* wrote; I then conceive that there is no man that will doubt, but that such a place there was. And yet I do not exclude the Allegorical sence of the Scripture; for as well in this were many figures of Christ, as in all the Old Testament throughout: the Story being directly true notwithstanding. And to this purpose (saith Saint *Augustine*) *Tres sunt de Paradiso generales sententiæ: una est eorum, qui tantummodo corporaliter Paradisum intelligi volunt: alia eorum, qui spiritualiter tantùm (id est) Ecclesia: tertia eorum, qui utroque modo Paradisum accipiunt*; (that is) *There are three opinions of Paradise: the one of those men, which will have it altogether corporal: a second of those, which conceive it altogether spiritual, and to be a figure of the Church: the third of those, which take it in both senses*; which third Opinion, S. *Augustine* approveth, and of which *Suidas* giveth this allowable judgment: *Quemadmodum homo sensibilis, & intelligibilis simul conditus erat: sic & hujus sanctissimum nemus sensibile simul & intelligibile, & duplici specie est præditum*; (that is) *As man was created at one time, both sensible, and intelligible, so was this holy Grove, or Garden, to be taken both ways, and endued with a double form.* *Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. 13. c. 21.* *Suidas in verbo Paradisus.*

§. IV.

Why it should be needful to intreat diligently of the place of Paradise.

But it may be objected, that it is needless, and a kind of curiosity to enquire so diligently after this place of *Paradise*, and that the knowledge thereof is of little or no use. To which I answer, That there is nothing written in the Scripture, but for our instruction; and if the truth of the Story be necessary, then by the place proved, the same is also made more apparent. For if we should conceive that *Paradise* were not on the Earth, but lifted up as high as the Moon; or that it were beyond all the *Ocean*, and in no part of the known World; from whence, *Adam* was said to wade through the Sea, and thence to have come into *Judea*, (out of doubt) there would be few men in the World, that would give any credit unto it. For what could seem more ridiculous than the report of such a place? and besides, what maketh this seat of *Paradise* so much disputed and doubted of, but the conceit that *Pison* should be *Ganges*, which watereth the East *India*; and *Gehon*, *Nilus*, which enricheth *Egypt*: and these two Rivers so far distant, as (except all the World were *Paradise*) these streams can no way be comprised therein?

Secondly,

Secondly, if the birth and works, and death of our Saviour, were said to have been in some such Countrey, of which no man ever heard tell, and that his Miracles had been performed in the Air, or no place certainly known: I assure my self, that the Christian Religion would have taken but a slender root in the minds of men: for times and places are approved witnesses of worldly actions.

Thirdly, if we should relie, or give place to the judgment of some Writers upon this place of *Genesis*, (though otherwise for their doctrine in general, they are worthy of honour and reverence) I say that there is no Fable among the *Grecians* or *Egyptians* more ridiculous: for who would believe that there were a piece of the World so set by it self, and separated, as to hang in the Air under the circle of the Moon? or who so doltish to conceive, that from thence the four Rivers of *Ganges*, *Nilus*, *Euphrates*, and *Tygris*, should fall down, and run under all the Ocean, and rise up again in this our habitable world, and in those places where they are now found? which lest any man think that I enforce, or strain to the worst, these are *Peter Comestor*'s own words. *Est autem locus amœnissimus, longo terræ & maris tractu à nostra habitabili Zona secretus, adeò elevatus, ut usque ad lunarem globum attingat*, &c. (that is) *It is a most pleasant place, severed from our habitable Zone, by a long tract of Land and Sea, elevated so, that it reacheth to the globe of the Moon.*

Barc. converted by *Masius.*

And *Moses Barcephas* upon this place writeth in this manner: *Deinde hoc quoque responsum volumus, Paradisum multo sublimiore positum esse regione, atque hæc nostra extet terra, eòque fieri ut illinc per præcipitium delabantur fluvii tanto cum impetu, quantum verbis exprimere non possis; eòque impetu impulsi pressique sub Oceani vado rapiuntur, unde rursus profiliant ebullientque in hoc à nobis culto orbe*: which have this sence: *Furthermore* (saith he) *we give this for an answer, that Paradise is set in a Region far raised above this part which we inhabit; whereby it comes to pass, that from thence these Rivers fall down with such a head-long violence, as words cannot express; and with that force so impulsed and prest, they are carried under the deep Ocean Sea, and do again rise and boyl up in this our habitable World*: and to this he addeth the opinion of *Ephram*, which is this: *Ephram dicit, Paradisum ambire terram, atque ultra Oceanum ita positum esse, ut totum terrarum orbem ab omni circumdet Regione, non aliter atque Lunæ orbis Lunam cingit*; (which is) *That Paradise doth compass or embrace the whole earth, and is so set beyond the Ocean, as it environeth the whole Orbe of the Earth on every side, as the Orbe of the Moon doth embrace the Moon.* To the end therefore that these ridiculous Expositions and Opinions do not bring question unto Truth it self, or make the same subject to doubts or disputes, it is necessary to discover the true place of *Paradise*, *which God in his wisdom* appointed in the very Navel of this our World, and (as *Melanchon* says) *in parte Terræ meliore, in the best part thereof*, that from thence, as from a Center, the Universal might be filled with people and planted; and by knowing this place, we shall the better judge of the beginning of Nations, and of the Worlds inhabitation: for near unto this did the Sons of *Noah* also disperse themselves after the Flood, into all other remote Regions and Countreys. And if it be a generous desire in men, to know from whence their own fore-fathers have come, and out of what Regions and Nations; it cannot be displeasing to understand the place of our first Ancestor, from whence all the streams and branches of Mankind have followed and been deduced. If then it do appear by the former, that such a place there was as *Paradise*, and that the knowledge of this place cannot be unprofitable, it followeth in order to examine several Opinions before remembred, by the Truth it self; and to see how they agree with the sence of the Scripture, and with common Reason; and afterward to prove directly, and to delineate the Region in which God first planted this delightful Garden.

§. V.

That the Flood hath not utterly defaced the marks of Paradise, nor caused Hills in the Earth.

And first, whereas it is supposed by *Aug. Chysamensis*, that the Flood hath altered, deformed, or rather annihilated this place, in such sort, as no man can find any mark or memory thereof (of which opinion there were others also, ascribing to the Flood the cause of those high Mountains, which are found on all the Earth over, with many other strange effects:) for mine own opinion, I think neither the one, nor the other to be true. For although I cannot deny, but that the face of *Paradise* was after the Flood withered, and grown old, in respect of the first beauty (for both the ages of men, and the nature of all things Time hath changed:) yet if there had been no sign of any such place, or if the soil and seat had not remained, then would not *Moses*, who wrote of *Paradise* about 850 years after the Flood, have described it so particularly, and the Prophets long after *Moses*, would not have made so often mention thereof. And though the very Garden it self were not then to be found, but that the Flood, and other accidents of time made it one common field and pasture with the Land of *Eden*, yet the place is still the same, and the Rivers still remain the same Rivers. By two of which (never doubted of) to wit, *Tygris*, and *Euphrates*, we are sure to find in what longitude *Paradise* lay; and learning out one of these Rivers, which afterward doth divide it self into four branches, we are sure that the partition is at the very border of the Garden it self.

For it is written, that out of *Eden* went a River to water the Garden, and from thence it was divided, and became into four heads; Now, whether the word in the Latine Translation (*Inde*) *from thence*, be referred to *Eden* it self, or to *Paradise*; yet the division, and branching of those Rivers, must be in the North, or South side of the very Garden (if the Rivers run as they do, North and South) and therefore these Rivers yet remaining, and *Eden* manifestly known, there could be no such defacing by the Flood, as is supposed. Furthermore, as there is no likelihood, that the place could be so altered, as future ages knew it not, so is there no probability that either these Rivers were turned out of their courses, or new Rivers created by the Flood which were not, or that the Flood (as aforesaid) by a violent motion, when it began to decrease, was the cause of high Hills, or deep Valleys. For what descent of waters could there be in a Spherical and round body, wherein there is nor high nor low? seeing that all violent force of waters is either by the strength of wind, by descent from a higher to a lower, or by the Ebb or Flood of the Sea. But that there was any wind (whereby the Seas are most enraged) it appeareth not, rather the contrary is probable: for it is written, *Therefore God made a wind to pass upon the Earth, and the waters ceased.* So as it appeareth not, that, untill the waters sank, there was any wind at all, but that God afterward, out of his goodness, caused the wind to blow, to dry up the abundant slime and mud of the Earth, and make the Land more firm, and to cleanse the Air of thick vapours, and unwholsome mists: and this we know by experience, that all downright rains do evermore differ the violence of outragious winds, and beat down, and level the swelling and mountainous billows of the Sea: for any Ebbs and Floods there could be none, when the waters were

Gen. 2. 10.

Gen. 4.

Gen. 8. 1.

equal

equal, and of one height over all the face of the Earth, and when there were no Indraughts, Bays, or Gulfs to receive a Flood, or any descent, or violent falling of waters in the round form of the Earth and Waters, as aforesaid: and therefore it seemeth most agreeable to reason, that the Waters rather stood in a quiet calm; than that they moved with any raging or overbearing violence. And for a more direct proof that the Flood made no such destroying alteration, *Josephus* avoweth that one of those pillars erected by *Seth*, the third from *Adam*, was to be seen in his days; which pillars were set up above 1426 years before the Flood, counting *Seth* to be an hundred years old at the Erection of them; and *Joseph* himself to have lived some forty or fifty years after Christ: of whom, although there be no cause to believe all that he wrote, yet that which he avouched of his own time, cannot (without great derogation) be called in question. And therefore it may be possible, that some foundation or ruine thereof might then be seen. Now, that such pillars were raised by *Seth*, all Antiquity hath avowed. It is also written that *Berosus* (to whom, although I give little credit, yet I cannot condemn him in all) that the City of *Enoch*, built by *Cain* about the mountains of *Libanus* was not defaced by length of time: yea, the ruines thereof, *Annius* (who commented upon that invented fragment) saith, were to be seen in his days, who lived in the Reign of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* of *Castile*. And if these his words be not true, then was he exceeding impudent: for, speaking of this City of *Enoch*, he concludeth in this sort: *Cujus maximæ & ingentis molis fundamenta visuntur, & vocatur ab incolis regionis, Civitas Cain, ut nostri mercatores, & peregrini referunt; The foundation of which huge mass is now to be seen, and the place is called by the people of that Region, the City of Cain, as both our strangers and Merchants report.* It is also avowed by *Pomponius Mela* (to whom I give more credit in these things) that the City of *Joppa* was built before the Flood, over which *Cepha* was King: whose name, with his Brother *Phineus*, together with the grounds and principles of their Religions, was found graven upon certain Altars of stone. And it is not impossible, that the ruines of this other City, called *Enoch* by *Annius*, might be seen, though founded in the first age: but it could not be of the first City of the world, built by *Cain*; the place rather than the time denying it.

And to prove directly that the Flood was not the cause of mountains, but that there were mountains from the Creation, it is written, that *the waters of* Gen. 4. 17. *the Flood overflowed by fifteen Cubits the highest Mountains.* And *Masius Damascenus*, speaking of the Flood, writeth in this manner: *Est supra Minyadam excelsus Mons in Armenia (qui Baris appellatur) in quo confugientes multos, sermo est, Diluvii tempore liberatos. And upon Minyada there is an high Mountain in Armenia (called Baris) unto which it is said, that many fled in the time of the Deluge, and that they saved themselves thereon.* Now, though it is contrary to Gods Word, that any more were saved than eight persons (which *Masius* doth not avouch, but by report) yet it is a testimony, that such Mountains were before the Flood, which were afterward, and ever since, known by the same names; and on which Mountains it is generally received, that the Ark rested: but untruly, as I shall prove hereafter. And again it appeareth, that the Mount *Sion* (though by another name) was known before the Flood; on which the Thalmudists report, that many Giants saved themselves also; but, as *Annius* saith, without all Authority, either divine or humane.

Lastly, it appeareth that the Flood did not so turn upside down the face of the earth, as thereby it was made past knowledge, after the waters were decreased, by this, that *when Noah sent out the Dove the second time, she returned with an Olive leaf in her mouth,* Gen. 8. 11. which she had pluckt, and which (until the Trees were discovered) she found not: for otherwise she might have found them floting on the water; a manifest proof, that the Trees were not torn up by the roots, nor swam upon the waters, for it is written: *folium, Olivæ raptum*, or *decerptum, a leaf pluckt*, (which is) to take from a Tree, or to tear off. By this it is apparent, (there being nothing written to the contrary) that the Flood made no such alteration, as was supposed, but that the place of *Paradise* might be seen to succeeding Ages, especially unto *Moses*, by whom it pleased God to teach the truth of the Worlds Creation, and unto the Prophets which succeeded him: both which I take for my warrant, and to guide me in this Discovery.

§. VI.

That Paradise was not the whole Earth, as some have thought: making the Ocean to be the fountain of those four Rivers.

THis conceit of *Aug. Chysamensis* being answered, who onely giveth *his opinion* for reason, I will in a few words examine that of the Manichees, of *Noviomagus*, *Vadianus*, *Goropius*, *Becanus*, and all those that understood, that by *Paradise* was meant the whole Earth. But in this I shall not trouble the Reader with many words, because by those places of Scripture formerly remembred, this Universality will appear altogether improper. The places which *Vadianus* alledgeth, *Bring forth fruit and multiply, Fill the Earth, and subdue it, Rule over every Creature*, &c. with this of the *Acts*, *And hath made of one blood all mankind, to dwell on all the face of the Earth*, do no way prove such a generality: for the World was made for man, of which he was Lord and Governour, and all things therein were ordained of God for his use. Now, although all men were of one and the same fountain of blood originally; and *Adam*'s Posterity inhabited in process of time over all the face of the Earth: yet it disproveth in nothing the particular Garden, assigned to *Adam*, to dress and cultive, in which he lived in so blessed an estate before his transgression. For if there had been no other choice, but that *Adam* had been left to the Universal; *Moses* would not then have said, *Eastward in Eden*, seeing the World hath not East nor West but respectively. And to what end had the Angel of God been set to keep the East-side, and entrance into *Paradise* after *Adam*'s expulsion, if the Universal had been *Paradise*? for then must *Adam* have been chased also out of the World. For if all the Earth were *Paradise*, that place can receive no better construction than this, That *Adam* was driven out of the World into the World, and out of *Paradise* into *Paradise*, except we should believe with *Metrodorus*, that there were infinite Worlds. Which to deny, he thinks all one, as to affirm, *That in so large a field, as the Universal, there should grow but one Thistle. Noviomagus* upon *Beda*, seemeth to be led by this, that it was impossible for those three Rivers, *Ganges*, *Nilus*, and *Euphrates*, (which water three portions of the World so far distant) to rise out of one Fountain, except the Ocean be taken for the Well, and the World for the Garden. Gen. 1. 28. Acts 17. 26. Gen. 2. 8. Gen. 3. 24.

And it is true, that those four Rivers, being so understood, there could be no conjecture more probable; but it shall plainly appear, that *Pison* was falsly taken for *Ganges*, and *Gehon* falsly for *Nilus*, although *Ganges* be a River by *Havila* in *India*, and *Nilus* run through *Ethiopia*. The *Seventy* write *Chus* for *Ethiopia*, and thereby the errors of the Manichees, and

and the mistakings of *Noviomagus*, *Goropius*, and *Vadianus*, with others, are made manifest. Yet was their conjecture far more probable, than that of *Ephrem*, *Cyrillus*, and *Athanasius*, That *Paradise* was seated far beyond the Ocean Sea, and that *Adam* waded through it, and at last came toward the Country in which he was created, and was buried at Mount *Calvary* in *Hierusalem*. And certainly, though all those of the first Age were of great stature, and so continued many years after the Flood, yet *Adam*'s shin-bones must have contained a thousand fathome, and much more, if he had foorded the Ocean; but this opinion is so ridiculous, as it needs no argument to disprove it.

§. VII.

Of their opinion which make Paradise as high as the Moon: and of others which make it higher than the middle Region of the Air.

THirdly, whereas *Beda* saith, and as the School-men affirm, *Paradise* to be a place altogether removed from the knowledge of men, (*locus à cognitione hominum remotissimus*) and *Barcephus* conceived, that *Paradise* was far in the East, but mounted above the Ocean, and all the Earth, and near the Orbe of the Moon (which opinion, though the School-men charge *Beda* withall, yet *Pererius* lays it off from *Beda*, upon *Strabus*, and his Master *Rabanus*) and whereas *Rupertus*, in his Geography of *Paradise*, doth not much differ from the rest, but finds it seated next or nearest Heaven; It may seem, that all these borrowed this doctrine out of *Plato*, and *Plato* out of *Socrates*: but neither of them (as I conceive) well understood; who (undoubtedly) took this place for Heaven it self, into which the Souls of the blessed were carried after death.

Diog. Laert. Soc. True it is, that these Philosophers durst not for fear of the Areopagites (in this, and many other divine apprehensions) set down what they believed in plain terms, especially *Plato*: though *Socrates* in the end suffered death for acknowledging one onely powerful God; and therefore did the Devil himself do him that right, as by an Oracle, to pronounce him the wisest man. *Justine Martyr* affirmeth, that *Plato* had read the Scriptures; and S. *Augustine* gave this judgment of him, as his opinion, that (few things changed) he might be counted a Christian. And it seemeth to me, that both *Tertullian* and *Eusebius* conceive, that *Socrates*, by that place aforesaid, meant the celestial *Paradise*, and not this of *Eden*. *Solinus*, I grant, reporteth, that there is a place exceeding delightful, and healthful, upon the top of Mount *Athos* (called *Acrothonos*) which being above all Clouds of Rain, or other inconvenience, the people (by reason of their so many years) are called *Macrobici* (that is) *Long-liv'd*. A further Argument is used, for proof of the height of this place, because therein was *Enoch* preserved from the violence of the Flood: approved by *Isidore* and *Peter Lombard*: in which place also *Tertullian* conceived, that the blessed Souls were preserved till the last Judgment: which *Irenæus* and *Justin Martyr* also believe. But this opinion was of all *Catholick Divines* reproved, and in the *Florentine Council* damned; of which Saint *Augustine* more modestly gave this Judgment: *Sicut certum est, Enoch & Eliam, nunc vivere: ita ubi nunc sunt, an in Paradiso an alibi, incertum est*; (that is) *As it is certain that Enoch and Elias do now live; so where they live, in Paradise, or else where, it is uncertain.* But *Barcephas* gives a third cause, though of all other the weakest. For (saith he) it was necessary that *Paradise* should be set at such a distance and height, because the four Rivers (had they not fallen so precipitate) could not have had sufficient force to have thrust themselves under the great Ocean, and afterward have forced their passage through the Earth, and have risen again in the far distant Regions of *India*, *Egypt*, and *Armenia*.

Just. Mart. adm. ad Gent. Aug.

These strange fancies and dreams have been answered by divers learned men long since, and lately by *Hopkins*, and *Pererius*, writing upon this subject; of whose arguments I will repeat these few: (for to use long discourse against those things, which are both against Scripture and Reason, might rightly be judged a vanity in the Answerer, not much inferiour to that of the Inventer.)

It is first therefore alledged, that such a place cannot be commodious to live in: for being set so near the Moon, it had been too near the Sun, and other heavenly bodies. Secondly, because it must have been too joynct a Neighbour to the Element of fire. Thirdly, because the Air in that Region is so violently removed, and carried about with such swiftness, as nothing in that place can consist or have abiding. Fourthly, because the space between the Earth and the Moon (according to *Ptolomy* and *Alfraganus*) is seventeen times the *Diameter* of the Earth, which makes in a gross account about one hundred and twenty thousand miles. Hereupon it must follow, that *Paradise*, being raised to this height, must have the compass of the whole Earth for a *Basis* and foundation. But had it been so raised, it could hardly be hidden from the knowledge, or eyes of men, seeing it would deprive us of the Sun's light all the fore-part of the day, being seated in the East, as they suppose. Now, to fortifie the former opinions, *Tostatus* addeth this, that those people which dwell near those falls of waters, are deaf from their infancy, like those that dwell near the *Catadupæ*, or over-fals of *Nilus*. But this I hold as feigned. For I have seen in the *Indies*, far greater water-fals, than those of *Nilus*, and yet the people dwelling near them are not deaf at all. *Tostatus* (better to strengthen himself) citeth *Basil* and *Ambrose* together: to which *Pererius*, *Sed ego hæc apud* Basilium & Ambrosium *in eorum scriptis, quæ nunc extant, nusquam me legere memini*; *But I do not remember* (saith he) *that I ever read those things either in* Basil *or* Ambrose. *Cicero Somn. Sci.*

But for the bodies of *Enoch* and *Elias*, God hath disposed of them according to his Wisdom. Their taking up might be into the celestial *Paradise*, for ought we know. For although flesh and blood, subject to corruption, cannot inherit the Kingdom of Heaven, and the seed must rot in the ground before it grow, yet we shall not all die (saith Saint *Paul*) *but all shall be changed*: which change in *Enoch* and *Elias*, was easie to him that is Almighty. But for the rest, the Scriptures are manifest, that by the Flood all perished on the Earth, saving eight persons; and therefore in the terrestrial *Paradise* they could not be. *1 Cor. 15. 36. 51.* *1 Pet. 3. 20.*

For *Tostatus* his own opinion, who soared not altogether so high as the rest, but believed that *Paradise* was raised above the middle Region of the Air, and twenty cubits above all Mountains, that the Flood did not therefore reach it (which *Scotus* and other latter School-men also believed; for, say they, there were no sinners in *Paradise*, and therefore no cause to over-whelm it:) this is also contrary to the expres letter of the Scripture, which directly, and without admitting of any distinction, teacheth us, that *the waters over-flowed all the mountains under heaven*. And were it otherwise, then might we as well give credit to *Masius Damascenus*, and the Thalmudists, who affirm, that there were of the Gyants that saved themselves on the Mountain *Baris*, and on *Sion*. But to help this, *Scotus* being (as the rest of the School-men are) full of distinction, saith; That *Gen. 7. 19.*

the

Exod. 14. 21.

the Waters ſtood at *Paradiſe*, as they did in the Red Sea, and at *Jordan*; and as the Flood was not natural, ſo was *Paradiſe* ſaved by miracle. And *Thomas Aquinas* qualifieth this high conceit with this ſuppoſition. That it was not believed, that *Paradiſe* was ſo ſeated as *Beda* and others ſeem to affirm in words, but by *Hyperbole* and comparatively, for the delicacy and beauty ſo reſembled. But this I dare avow of all thoſe School-men, that though they were exceeding witty, yet they better teach all their followers to ſhift, than to reſolve, by their diſtinctions. Wherefore not to ſtay long in anſwering this opinion of *Toſtatus*, I confeſs that it is written, that the Mountains of *Olympus*, *Athos*, and *Atlas*, overreach and ſurmount all Winds and Clouds, and that (notwithſtanding) there is found on the heads of the Hills both Springs and Fruits; and the *Pagan* Prieſts, ſacrificing on theſe Mountain-tops, do not find the Aſhes (remaining of their ſacrifices) blown thence, nor thence waſht off by Rains, when they return: yet experience hath reſolved us, that theſe reports are fabulous; and *Pliny* himſelf (who was not ſparing in the report of wonders) avoweth the contrary. But were it granted, yet the height of theſe Mountains is far under the ſuppoſed place of *Paradiſe*; and on theſe ſelf Hills the Air is ſo thin (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*, whom herein I miſtruſt) that it is not ſufficient to bear up the Body of a Bird, having therein no feeling of her Wings, for any ſenſible reſiſtance of Air to mount her ſelf by.

§. VIII.

Of their opinion that ſeat Paradiſe *under the Æquinoctial: and of the pleaſant habitation under thoſe Climates.*

THoſe which come nearer unto reaſon find *Paradiſe* under the *Æquinoctial Line*, as *Tertullian*, *Bonaventure*, and *Durandus*; judging, that thereunder might be found moſt pleaſure, and the greateſt fertility of Soil: but againſt it *Thomas Aquinas* objecteth the diſtemperate heat, which he ſuppoſeth to be in all places ſo directly under the Sun; but this is (*non cauſa pro cauſa*) for although *Paradiſe* could not be under the Line, becauſe *Eden* is far from it, in which *Paradiſe* was; and becauſe there is no part of *Euphrates*, *Tigris*, or *Ganges* under it, (*Ganges* being one of the four Rivers, as they ſuppoſe) yet this conceit of diſtemper, (being but an old opinion) is found to be very untrue, though for the conjecture not to be condemned, conſidering the age when thoſe Fathers wrote, grounded chiefly on this: that whereas it appeared, that every Country, as it lay by degrees nearer the Tropick, and ſo toward the *Æquinoctial*, did ſo much the more exceed in heat; it was therefore a reaſonable conjecture, that thoſe Countries which were ſituated directly under it, were of a diſtemper uninhabitable: but it ſeemeth that *Tertullian* conceived better, and ſo did *Avicenne*, for they both thought them habitable enough; and though (perchance) in thoſe days it might be thought a fantaſtical opinion (as all are which go againſt the vulgar) yet we now find, that if there be any place upon the earth of that nature, beauty, and delight, that *Paradiſe* had, the ſame muſt be found within that ſuppoſed uninhabitable burnt Zone, or within the Tropicks, and neareſt to the Line it ſelf. For hereof Experience hath informed reaſon, and Time hath made thoſe things apparent, which were hidden, and could not by any contemplation be diſcovered. Indeed it hath ſo pleaſed God to provide for all living Creatures, wherewith he hath filled the World, that ſuch inconveniences which we contemplate a far off, are found by trial and the witneſs of Mens travels, to be ſo qualified, as there is no portion of the Earth made in vain, or as a fruitleſs lump to faſhion out the reſt. For *God himſelf* (ſaith *Iſaiah*) *that formed the earth and made it, he that prepared it, he created it not in vain, he formed it to be inhabited.* Now we find that theſe hotteſt Regions of the World ſeated under the *Æquinoctial* Line, or near it, are ſo refreſhed with a daily gale of Eaſterly Wind (which the *Spaniards* call the *Brize*, that doth evermore blow ſtrongeſt in the heat of the day, as the down-right Beams of the Sun cannot ſo much maſter it, that there is any inconvenience or diſtemperate heat found thereby. Secondly, the nights are ſo cold, freſh and equal, by reaſon of the entire interpoſition of the Earth, as (for thoſe places which my ſelf have ſeen, near the Line and under it) I know no other part of the World of better, or equal temper, only there are ſome tracts, which by accident of high Mountains are barr'd from this Air and freſh wind, and ſome few ſandy parts without Trees, which are not therefore ſo well inhabited as the reſt; and ſuch difference of Soils we find alſo in all other parts of the World. But (for the greateſt part) thoſe Regions have ſo many goodly Rivers, Fountains and little Brooks, abundance of high Cedars, and other ſtately Trees caſting ſhade, ſo many ſorts of delicate Fruits, ever bearing, and at all times beautified with Bloſſom and Fruit, both green and ripe, as it may of all other parts be beſt compared to the *Paradiſe* of *Eden*: the Boughs and Branches are never unclothed and left naked, their Sap creepeth not under Ground into the Root, fearing the injury of the froſt: neither doth *Pomona* at any times deſpiſe her wichered Huſband *Vertumnus*, in his Winter quarters and old age. Therefore are theſe Countries called *Terræ vitioſæ*, *Vitious Countries*: for nature being liberal to all without labour, neceſſity impoſing no induſtry or travel, idleneſs bringeth forth no other Fruits than vain thoughts, and licentious pleaſures. So that to conclude this part, *Tertullian* and thoſe of his opinion were not deceived in the nature of the place: but *Aquinas*, who miſliked this opinion, and followed a worſe. And (to ſay the truth) all the School-men were groſs in this particular.

Iſai. 45. 18.

§. IX.

Of the change of the names of places: and that beſides that Eden *in* Cœleſyria, *there is a Country in* Babylon, *once of this name, as is proved out of* Iſaiah 37. *and* Ezek. 27.

THeſe opinions anſwered, and the Region of *Eden* not found in any of thoſe imaginary Worlds, nor under *Torrida Zona*; it followeth that now we diſcover and find out the ſeat thereof, for in it was *Paradiſe* by God planted. The difficulty of which ſearch reſteth chiefly in this, That as all Nations have often changed names with their Maſters; ſo are moſt of theſe places, by *Moſes* remembred, forgotten by thoſe names of all Hiſtorians and Geographers as well Ancient as Modern.

Beſides, we find that the *Aſſyrians*, *Babylonians*, *Medes* and *Perſians*, (*Cyrus* only and few other excepted) ſought to extinguiſh the *Hebrews*. The *Grecians* hated both their Nation and their Religion; and the *Romans* deſpiſed once to remember them in any of their Stories. And as thoſe three Monarchies ſucceeded each other: ſo did they transform the names of all thoſe principal places and Cities in the Eaſt: and after them, the *Turk* hath ſought (what he could) to extinguiſh in all things, the ancient memory of thoſe people; which he hath ſubjected and inthralled.

Now beſides thoſe notable marks, *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, the better to find the way which leadeth to the Country of *Eden*, we are to take for guides theſe two conſiderations (to wit) That it lay Eaſtward from *Canaan* and *Judea*; and that it was of all other

the most beautiful and fertile. First then in respect of situation, the next Country to *Judæa* Eastward was *Arabia Petræa*; but in this Region was *Moses* himself when he wrote: and the next unto it Eastward also was *Arabia* the *Desart*, both which in respect of the infertility could not be *Eden*, neither have any of the *Arabians* any such Rivers, as are expresst to run out of it: So as it followeth of necessity, that *Eden* must be Eastward, and beyond both *Arabia Petræa*, and *Deserta*. But because *Eden* is by *Moses* named by it self, and by the fertility, and the Rivers only described, we must seek it in other Scriptures, and where it is by the additions of the neighbour Nations better described. In the Prophet *Isaiah* I find it coupled and accompanied with other adjacent Countries, in these words spoken in the person of *Senacherib* by *Rabshakeh*. *Have the Gods of the Nations delivered them, which my Fathers have destroyed, as Gosan and Haran and Reseph, and the children of Eden, which were at Telassar?* and in *Ezekiel*, where he prophesieth against the *Tyrians*: *They of Haran and Canneh, and Eden, the Merchants of Sheba, Ashur, and Chilmad, were thy Merchants*, &c.

Isaiah 37. v. 12.

Cap. 27. *vers.* 23.

But to avoid confusion, we must understand that there were two *Edens*, one of which the Prophet *Amos* remembreth, where he divideth *Syria* into three Provinces, whereof, the first he maketh *Syria Damascene*, or *Decapolitan*: the second part is that Valley called *Avenis*, otherwise *Convallis*, or the Tract of *Chamath*, where *Assyria* is joyned to *Arabia* the *Desart*, and where *Ptolomy* placeth the City of *Averia*: and the third is known by the name of *Domus Edenis*, or *Cœlesyria*, otherwise *Vallis cava*, or *the hollow Valley*, because the Mountains of *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*, take all the length of it on both sides, and border it: for *Coele* in *Greek* is *Cava* in *Latin*. But this is not that *Eden*, which we seek: neither doth this Province lie East from *Canaan*, but North, and so joyneth unto it, as it could not be unknown to the *Hebrews*. Yet, because there is a little City therein called *Paradise*, the *Jews* believed this *Cœlesyria* to be the same which *Moses* describeth. For the same cause doth *Hopkins* in his Treatise of *Paradise* reprehend *Beroaldus*, in that he confoundeth this *Eden*, with the other *Eden* of *Paradise*: though to give *Beroaldus* his right, I conceive that he led the way to *Hopkins*, and to all other later Writers, saving, that he failed in distinguishing these two Regions, both called *Eden*: and that he altogether misunderstood two of the four Rivers (to wit) *Pison* and *Gehon*, as shall appear hereafter. Now to find out *Eden*, which (as *Moses* teacheth us) lay Eastward from the *Deserts*, where he wrote after he had passed the red Sea; we must consider where those other Countries are found, which the Prophet *Isaiah* and *Ezekiel* joyneth with it. For (saith *Isaiah*) *Gosan, Haran, and Reseph, and the children of Eden, which were at Telassar.* Also *Ezekiel* joyneth *Haran* with *Eden*, who, together with those of *Sheba*, *Ashur*, and *Chilmad*, were the Merchants that traded with the City of *Tyre*, which was then (saith *Ezekiel*) *the Mart of the people for many Ilses*. And it hath ever been the custom, that the *Persians* conveyed their Merchandise to *Babylon*, and to those Cities upon *Euphrates*, and *Tigris*, and from thence transported them into *Syria*, now *Soria*, and to the Port of the *Mediterran* Sea: as in ancient times to the City of *Tyre*, afterward to *Tripoly*, and now to *Aleppo*, from whence they imbarque them at the Port of *Alexandretta*, in the *Bay* of *Issicus*, now *Laiazzo*. *Ezekiel* in the description of the magnificence of *Tyre*, and of the exceeding trade that it had with all the Nations of the East, as the only Mart-town of that part of the World, reciteth both the people, with whom they had commerce, and also what Commodities every Country yielded: and having counted the several People and Countries, he addeth the particular trade, which each of them exercited. *They were thy Merchants* (saith the Prophet) *in all sorts of things, in raiments of blue silk, and of broidered work, fine linen, coral and pearl*: and afterwards speaking of the Merchants of *Sheba* and *Raamah*, and in what kinds they traded, he hath these words. *The Merchants of Sheba and Raamah were thy Merchants, they occupied in thy fairs, with the chief of all spices, and with all precious stones and gold.* Now these be indeed the riches which *Persia* and *Arabia Felix* yield: and because *Sheba* and *Raamah* are those parts of *Arabia*, which border the Sea, called the *Persian Gulf*, therefore did those Nations both vent such Spice, sweet Gumms, and Pearls, as their own Countries yielded, and (withal) having trade with their Neighbours of *India*, had from them also all sorts of Spices, and plenty of Gold. The better to convey these Commodities to that great Mart of *Tyre*, the *Sabeans* or *Arabians* entred by the mouth of *Tigris*, and from the City of *Terredon* (built or enlarged by *Nabuchodonozor*, now called *Balsara*) thence sent up all these rich Merchandises by Boat to *Babylon*, from whence by the body of *Euphrates*, as far as it bended Westward, and afterward by a branch thereof, which reacheth within three days journey of *Aleppo*, and then over Land they past to *Tyre*, as they did afterward to *Tripoly* (formerly *Hieropolis*) and thence to *Alexandretta*, as aforesaid. Now the Merchants of *Canneh*, which *Ezekiel* joyneth with *Eden*, inhabited far up the River, and received this trade from *Arabia* and *India*, besides those proper Commodities which themselves had, and which they received out of *Persia*, which bordered them. S. *Hierome* understandeth by *Canneh*, *Seleucia*, which is seated upon *Euphrates*, *where it breaketh into four heads*, and which took that name from *Seleucus*, who made thereof a magnificent City. *Hierosolymitanus* thinks it to be *Ctesiphon*, but *Ctesiphon* is seated down low upon *Tigris*, and *Canneh* cannot be on that side, I mean on the East-side of *Tigris*, for then were it out of the Valley of *Shinar*. *Pliny* placeth the *Schenite* upon *Euphrates*, where the same beginneth to be foordable, which is toward the border of *Syria*, after it leaveth to be the bound of *Arabia* the *Desart*, and where the River of *Euphrates* reflecteth from the *Desart* of *Palmirena*: for these people of *Canneh* (afterward *Schenitæ*) inhabited both borders of *Euphrates*, stretching themselves from their own City of *Canneh* in *Shinar* Westward along the banks of *Euphrates*, as far as the City of *Thapsacus*, where *Ptolomy* appointed the Foords of *Euphrates*: which also agreeth with the description of the *Schenita* by *Strabo*, whose words are these; *Mercatoribus ex Syria Seleuciam & Babyloniam euntibus iter est per Schenitas. The Merchants which travel from* Syria *to* Seleucia *and* Babylon, *take their way by the* Schenites. Therefore those which take *Canneh* for *Charran* do much mistake it. For *Charran*, to which *Abraham* came from *Ur* in *Chaldea* (called by God) standeth also in *Mesopotamia*, not upon *Euphrates* it self, but upon the River of *Chaboras*, which falleth into *Euphrates*: and the Merchants of *Charran* are distinctly named with those of *Canneh* in *Ezekiel* (as) *they of Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, the Merchants of Sheba, Ashur, and Chilmad were thy Merchants*. Wherefore *Charran* which is sometime called *Charre*, and *Haran*, and *Aran*, is but the same *Charran* of *Mesopotamia*; and when it is written *Aran*, then it is taken for the Region of *Mesopotamia*: or *Aran fluviorum*, the *Greek* word (*Mesopotamia*) importing a Country between

Strabo.

Ezek. 27. v. 23.

Vers. 24.

Plin. l. 6. *c.* 26.

Strabo l. 16.

Gen. 11. 31.

Judg.

Acts 7

Lucan. 105.

Gen. 10.

tween Rivers: for *Meſos* in Greek, is *medius* in Latin, and *Potames*, *fluvius*. And when it is written *Haran* or *Aran*, it is then taken for the City it ſelf, to which *Abraham* came from *Ur* (as aforeſaid.) For *Strabo* in the deſcription of *Arabia* giveth that tract of Land from the borders of *Cœloſyria*, to the edge of *Meſopotamia*, to the *Scbenitæ*, who alſo inhabited on both ſides of *Euphrates*; and were in after-Ages accounted of theſe *Arabians* which inhabit *Batanea*, and the North part of the Deſarts, ſtretching themſelves toward the inhabited ſolitude of *Palmirena*, which lieth between *Syria*, and *Arabia* the Deſart. So as theſe of *Canneh* lay in the very high-way from *Babylon* to *Tyre*, and were neighbours (indifferent) to *Charran*, and to *Eden*: and therefore they are by the Prophet *Ezechiel* coupled together, *They of Haran, and Canneh, and Eden*, &c. But S. *Hierome* made a good interpretation of *Canneh*, or *Chalne*, by *Seleucia*: for *Seleucia* was anciently called *Chalanne* (witneſs *Appian*) and ſo *Rabanus Maurus* calleth it in his Commentaries upon *Geneſis*; the name by time and mixture of Languages being changed from *Chalne*, or *Canneh*, to *Chalanne*: of which name there are two other Cities, ſtanding in Triangle with *Seleucia*, and almoſt the next unto it (as) *Thelbe-Canne*, and *Man-Canne*, the one a little to the Weſt of *Seleucia*, and the other oppoſite unto it; where theſe Rivers of *Tygris* and *Euphrates* are ready to joyn. Therefore, which of theſe the ancient *Canne* was (being all three within the bound of the Valley *Shinar*) it is uncertain: but it is a note as well of the importance of the place, as of the certain ſeat thereof, that ſo many other Cities did retain a part of the name in ſo many Ages after. Neither is it unlikely, that theſe additions of *Thelbe* and *Man* to the word *Canne*, were but to make difference between the Eaſt and the Weſt, or the greater and the leſs *Canne*, or between *Canne* the old and the new: which additions to diſtinguiſh Cities by, are ordinary in all the Regions of the World.

Now of the other City joyned with *Eden*, as *Haran*, or *Charran*, Saint *Hierome* on the *Judges* ſpeaketh thereof in theſe words: *Cumque reverterentur, pervenerunt ad Charran, quæ eſt in medio itinere contra Niniven, undecimo die*; *When they returned, they came to Charran (which is the mid-way againſt Nineveh) the eleventh day.* *Judg. 1.*

This City is by the Martyr *Stephen*, named *Charran* (ſpeaking to the High-Prieſt:) *Ye Men, Brethren, and Fathers, hearken: the God of glory appeared to our Father Abraham, while he was in Meſopotamia, before he dwelt in Charran.* But the ſeat of this City is not doubted of; for it is not only remembred in many Scriptures, but exceeding famous for the death and overthrow of *Craſſus* the Roman, who for his unſatiable greedineſs, was called *Gurges avaritiæ*; *the Gulf of Avarice.* Whereof *Lucan*: *Acts 7. 2.*

Aſſyrias Latio maculavit ſanguine Carras. *Lucan. l. 1. 105.*

With Roman blood th'Aſſyrian Carre he defil'd.

But this City *Canne*, or *Chalne*, is made manifeſt by *Moſes* himſelf, where it is written of *Nimrod*: *And the beginning of his Kingdoms was Babel, and Erech, and Acad, and Chaln, in the Land of Sinaar*, or *Shinar*: where *Moſes* ſheweth the firſt compoſition of the Babylonian Empire, and what Cities and People were ſubject unto *Nimrod*; all which lay in the ſaid Valley of *Shinar*, or near it; and this Valley of *Shinar* is that Tract afterwards called *Babylonia* and *Chaldea*, into which alſo *Eden* ſtretcheth it ſelf, *Chaldæa, Babylonia, Sinar, idem ſunt* (ſaith *Comeſtor.*) *Three names of one Countrey*: Which Region of *Babylonia*, took name of the Tower *Babel*; and the Tower of the confuſion of Tongues. And that *Shinar* was *Babylonia*, it is proved in the eleventh Chapter of *Geneſis*, in theſe words: *And as they went from the Eaſt, they found a Plain in the Land of Shinar, and there they abode*: in which Plain *Babylon* was built (as aforeſaid.) *Gen. 20. 10.* *Verſe 2.*

Now *Shinar* being *Babylonia*, and *Canneh*, in the firſt beginning of *Nimrod*'s greatneſs, and before he had ſubdued any ſtrange, or far-off Nations, being one part of his Dominion, and alſo named by *Moſes* to be in *Shinar*, it proveth that *Canneh* joyneth to *Babylonia*; which alſo *Ezechiel* coupleth with *Eden*, and (further) affirmeth that thoſe of *Eden* were alſo the Merchants which traded with the Tyrians: and *Iſaiah* in the threats of *Senacherib* againſt *Jeruſalem* (with other Nations that *Senacherib* vaunted that his Father had deſtroyed) nameth the Children of *Eden* which were at *Telaſſar*. But before I conclude where *Eden* it ſelf lyeth, it is neceſſary to deſcribe thoſe other Countreys which *Ezechiel* joyneth therewith, in the places before remembred, as, thoſe of *Sheba* and *Raamah*. It is written in *Geneſis* the tenth: *Moreover the Sons of Ham were Cuſh*, &c. *And the Sons of Cuſh were Seba, and Havila, and Sabtah, and Raamah*, &c. *And the Sons of Raamah were Sheba*, &c. And anon after, *Cuſh begat Nimrod*: ſo as *Sheba* was the grand-child of *Cuſh*, and *Nimrod* the Son of *Cuſh*, whoſe elder brother was *Sebah*: though ſome there are that conceive to the contrary, that *Nimrod* was the elder in valour and underſtanding, though not in time and precedence of birth; who inhabited that part in *Shinar*, where *Babel* was built, afterwards *Babylonia*. His brother *Raamah* or *Regma* took that part adjoyning to *Shinar*, toward the Sea ſide and Perſian Gulf (called afterwards *Raama* and *Sheba*, by the Father, and his Sons, which poſſeſſed it.) *For* (ſaith *Ezechiel*) *the Merchants of Raamah and Sheba were thy Merchants, they occupied in thy fairs with the chief of all Spices and all precious Stones, and Gold.* So as *Sheba* was that Tract of Countrey, which parteth *Arabia Deſerta* from *Arabia Fœlix*, and which joyneth to the Sea, where *Tygris* and *Euphrates* fall out, and render themſelves to the Ocean. This part and confining Country, *Strabo* calleth *Catabria*, where the beſt Myrrhe and Frankincenſe is gathered: which People have an interchange or trade with *Elana*, lying on the Eaſt-ſide of the Perſian Gulf. By this it appears who were the *Shebeans*, ſpoken of by *Ezechiel*, and ſaid to have been the Merchants of *Tyre*, for Gold, Spices, and precious Stones: of which they had not only plenty of their own, but were alſo furniſhed from that part of *India* (called *Elana*, according to *Strabo*) for exchange of their Aromatiques, and other proper commodities. For, as *Strabo* reporteth out of *Eraſtothenes*, *In Perſicæ oræ initio Inſula eſt, in qua multi & pretioſi uniones gignantur: in aliis verò, clari & perlucidi lapilli. Eraſtothenes* (ſaith *Strabo*) affirmeth, that, *In the beginning of the Perſian Gulf, there is an Iſland, in which there are many precious Pearls bred: and in other very clear and ſhining Stones.* Now, the difference between *Sheba* the Son of *Raamah*, and *Seba* the Son of *Cuſh*, is in this, That *Seba* is written with the Hebrew (*Sameeh*;) and *Sheba* with (*Schin*:) but whatſoever the difference may be in the Hebrew Orthography, their Countreys and Habitations are diverſe. For *Sheba* is that which bordereth the *Perſian* Sea, and *Saba* (whence the Queen of *Saba*) neighboured the Red-Sea; and ſo that place of the 72 *Pſalm* expounded *Reges Arabum & Sabæ*, hath in the Hebrew this ſence, *Reges Shebæ & Sabæ*. *Strabo l. 16.* *Verſe 7.*

The *Shebans*, *Ezechiel* nameth together with the *Edenites*, becauſe they inhabited upon the Out-let of the ſame River, upon which the *Edenites* were ſeated: and ſo thoſe of *Sheba*, towards the Sea-coaſt and upon it, paſt up the Countrey, by *Tygris* and *Euphrates*, being

being joyned in one main ſtream, and ſo through the Region of *Eden*, which *Tygris* boundeth, thereby the better to convey their merchandiſe toward *Tyre*. And as the Cities of *Charran*, and *Channeh*, border *Eden* on the Weſt and North-weſt: ſo doth *Sheba* on the South, and *Chilmad* on the North-eaſt: *Chilmad* being a Region of the higher *Media*, as appeareth in the *Chaldean* Paraphraſt: which Countrey, by the Geographers is called *Coromiteua*, (*L*) placed by exchange for (*R*) which change the *Hebrews* alſo often uſe.

Thus much of thoſe Countries which border *Eden*, and who altogether traded with the *Tyrians*: of which, the chief were the *Edenites*, inhabiting *Telaſſar*: for theſe *Senacherib* vaunted, that his Fathers had deſtroyed; and this place of *Telaſſar* lay moſt convenient, both to receive the Trade from *Sheba* and *Arabia*, and alſo to convey it over into *Syria*, and to *Tyrus*. Now, to make theſe things the more plain, we muſt remember, that before the death of *Senacherib*, many parts of the *Babylonian* Empire fell from his obedience, and after his death theſe Monarchies were utterly diſ-joyned.

For it appeareth both in *Eſay* the 37. and in the ſecond of *Kings*, by the threats of *Rabſache*, the while the Army of *Aſſyria* lay before *Jeruſalem*, that the Cities of *Goſan*, *Haran*, *Reſeph*, and the *Edenites* at *Telaſſar*, had reſiſted the *Aſſyrians*: though by them (in a ſort) maſtered and recovered. *Have the Gods of the Nations delivered them whom my Fathers have deſtroyed as Goſan, and Haran, Reſeph, and the children of Eden, which were at Telaſſar?* But it appeared manifeſtly after *Senacherib*'s death, that theſe Nations formerly contending, were then freed from the others ſubjection: for *Eſar-Haddon* held *Aſſyria*; and *Merodach Baladan*, *Babylonia*. And after that the Army of *Senacherib*, commanded by *Rabſache* which lay before *Jeruſalem* (*Hezekias* then reigning) while *Senacherib* was in *Egypt*, was by the Angel of God deſtroyed; the King of *Babel* ſent to *Hezekias*, both to congratulate the recovery of his health, and his victory obtained over the *Aſſyrians*. After which overthrow, *Senacherib* himſelf was ſlain by his own ſons in the Temple of his Idols, *Eſar-Haddon* ſucceeding him in *Aſſyria*. To the *Babylonian* Ambaſſadours ſent by *Merodach*, *Hezekias* ſhewed all his Treaſures as well proper as conſecrate, which invited the Kings of *Babylon* afterward to undertake their conqueſt and ſubverſion. So as, the ſuſpition of war encreaſing between *Babylon* and *Aſſyria*, the *Edenites* which inhabited the borders of *Shinar* towards the North, and towards *Aſſyria*, were employed to bear off the incurſions of the *Aſſyrians*; and their Garriſon-place was at *Telaſſar*: and the very word (*Telaſſar*) ſaith *Junius*, ſignifying as much as a Bulwork againſt the *Aſſyrians*. This place *Hieroſolomitanus* takes for *Reſem*, others for *Seleucia*: but this *Telaſſar* is the ſame, which *Am. Marcellinus* in the Hiſtory of *Julian* (whom he followed in the enterprize of *Perſia*) calleth *Thilutha* in ſtead of *Telaſſar*, who deſcribeth the exceeding ſtrength thereof in his 24. Book: It is ſeated in an Iſland of *Euphrates* upon a ſteep and unaſſaultable Rock, in ſo much as the Emperour *Julian* durſt not attempt it; and therefore it was a convenient place for a Garriſon againſt the *Aſſyrians*, being alſo a paſſage out of *Meſopotamia* into *Babylonia*, and in which the *Edenites* of the Country adjoyning were lodged to defend the ſame. This place *Ptolemy* calleth *Teridata*, having *Reſeph* (which he calleth *Reſepha*) on the left hand; and *Canneh*, (which he calleth *Thelbe-Canne*) on the right hand; not far from whence, is alſo found the City of *Maun-Canne*, upon *Tygris*; and all theſe ſeated together, as *Eſay* and *Ezechiel* have ſorted them. But the underſtanding of theſe places is the more difficult, becauſe *Aſſyria* (which the *Chaldeans* call *Atturia*,) and *Meſopotamia*, were ſo often confounded; the one taken for the other by interchanging of Dominion. *Aſſyria & Meſopotamia in Babylonia nomen tranſierunt* (ſaith Niger) *Aſſyria and Meſopotamia took the name of Babylonia.* Laſtly, It appeareth by thoſe adjacent Regions by the Prophets named, in what part of the World *Eden* is ſeated, as, by *Charran* or *Haran* in *Meſopotamia*: alſo by *Canneh* and *Reſeph*, according to the opinion of *Vatablus*, who in theſe words tranſlateth this place: *Plantaverat autem JEHOVAH Deus hortum in Eden, ab Oriente*; *The Lord God planted a Garden in Eden Eaſtward*: that is (ſaith he in his Annotations) *Juſſerat naſci arbores in Eden, Regione Orientali, in finibus Arabiæ & Meſopotamiæ*; *He commanded Trees to grow in Eden, an Eaſtern Region in the borders of Arabia and Meſopotamia.*

Eſay 37. v. 12.

2 Kings 19. 35. 20. 12.

Eſay 39. 1.

Eſay 37. 38.

Eſay 39. 1.

Aſiæ Tab. 4.

Coſmogr. Aſiæ.

§. X.

Of divers other teſtimonies of the Land of Eden; and that this is the Eden of Paradiſe.

AND for a more particular pointing out of this *Eden*, it ſeems by the two Epiſtles of the *Neſtorian* Chriſtians, that inhabit *Meſopotamia*: which Epiſtles in the yeat 1552. they ſent to the Pope about the confirming of their Patriarch, and *Andræas Maſius* hath publiſhed them, tranſlated out of *Syriac* into *Latin*. By theſe Epiſtles (I ſay) it ſeems we may have ſome farther light for the proof of that, which we have ſaid about the Region of *Eden* in thoſe parts. For in them both, there is mention of the Iſland of *Eden* in the River *Tygris*, or at leaſt, *Tygris* in both theſe Epiſtles is called the River of *Eden*. This Iſland, as *Maſius* in his Preface to theſe Epiſtles ſaith, is commonly called *Gozoria* (as it were, The Iſland, by an eminency.) It hath (ſaith he) ten miles in circuit, and was ſometimes walled round about, which name of the Iſland *Eden* may (doubtleſs) remain to this day; though in the reſt of the Region ſo called, this name be ſwallowed up with the fame of thoſe flouriſhing Kingdoms of *Meſopotamia*, *Aſſyria*, *Babylonia*, and *Chaldea*. This Iſland of *Eden* hath up the River, and not far beyond it, the City of *Haſan-Cepha*, otherwiſe *Fortis Petra*: below it, it hath *Moſal* or *Moſel*, from which (as in that which followeth it ſhall appear out of *Maſius*) it is not above twelve miles diſtant. Neither is it to trouble us, That *Moſal* or *Moſel* by *Marinus Niger* is remembred among the Cities higher up *Tygris*, in theſe words, *Juxta autem Tygrim, Civitates ſunt Dorbeta prope Taurum montem, quæ nunc Moſel dicitur; magna ſanè*, &c. (that is) *By Tygris are theſe Cities, Dorbeta near unto mount Taurus (which is now called Moſel) which is a great one*, &c. This opinion of *Niger*, diſplacing *Moſel*, and making it to be *Dorbeta*, (I ſay) needs not here to trouble us: ſeeing for this matter, the teſtimony of *Maſius*, informed by the Chriſtians that dwelt there (the Seat of whoſe Patriarch it is) ought to be of credit, avowing that this *Moſal* (or *Mozal*) is in the Confines of *Meſopotamia* and *Aſſyria*, ſeated upon *Tygris*, and in the neighbour-hood of *Nineve*; and that it is the famous *Seleucia Parthorum*. The *Neſtorian* Chriſtians in their former Epiſtle, call it *Attur* in theſe words: *Ex omnibus civitatibus & pagis quæ ſunt cum Civitatem Moſel (hoc eſt) Attur, in vicinia Nineves*; *Of all the Cities and Towns which are about the City of Moſal (that is) Attur in the neighbour-hood of Nineve.* As alſo *Niger* acknowledgeth *Cteſiphon* a City thereabout to be called *Aſſur*, (which is the ſame as *Attur*, after the Dialect of thoſe Nations, which change *Sh.* into *T.*) Neither is it much that he ſhould miſtake *Cteſiphon*, (which is not far off *Selencia*) for *Seleucia*, to be *Aſſur*. By this then we may come ſomewhat near the end of our purpoſe. For the Iſle of *Eden*, which lieth in the breaſt of

ut ſupra.

Tygris,

Tygris, is but twelve miles from *Mosul* and that antient City, which *Ptolemy* and *Tacitus* call *Ninus*, and the Scriptures *Nineve*; *Philostratus*, and *Simeon Sethi*, *Mosola*, and *John Leon*, *Musal*, others *Mosse*, (though it be not the same with *Mosul*) is set but a little higher upon the same River of *Tygris*, near *Mosul*: so that we are like to find this Isle of *Eden* hereabout. For the same *Andreas Masius*, which placeth it above *Mosal*, makes it to be below *Hasan-Cepha*, which is upon the same River of *Tygris*.

The only difficulty is this, that some perhaps may think, that the words of the *Nestorians* in both their Epistles, speak not of any Isle in *Tygris*, called the Isle of *Eden*, but of an Isle in *Tygris*, a River of *Eden*. But this sense of their words in my opinion seemeth the more unprobable. And yet, if this were the meaning here, we have a testimony from the Learned of those parts, that not only *Euphrates*, but also *Tygris* was a River of *Eden*, and that the name of *Eden* in those parts is not yet quite worn out, though the Region hath been subject to the same change, that all other Kingdoms of the world have been, and hath by conquest and corruption of other Languages, received new and differing names. For the South part of *Eden*, which stretcheth over *Euphrates*, was after the Floud called *Shinar*, and then, of the Tower of *Babel*, *Babylonia*, and the North part of *Eden* is that Tract of *Mesopotamia*, *Assyria*, and *Armenia*, which imbraceth both the banks of *Tygris* between Mount *Taurus*, and *Sekunia*. And of this Region of *Eden* that antient *Æthicus* maketh mention, (not that latter *Æthicus*, Disciple of *Gallinicus*, otherwise by *Plutarch* and *Athenæus* called *Istri*, who lived in *Egypt* in the Reign of *Philadelphus*, but another of a far higher and remote time) the same being made *Latine* out of the *Greek* by Saint *Hierom*. And though by corruption of the ancient Copie it be written, in *Æthicus*, *Adonis* for *Edenim* yet *Adonis* being a River of *Phœnicia*, cannot be understood to be the Region named by *Æthicus*. For *Æthicus* makes it a Country, and not a River, and joyneth it with *Mesopotamia* and *Æthiopia*, calling the land of *Chus Æthiopia*, after the Vulgar, and Septuagint. And Lastly, the River which watereth the Regions (saith *Æthicus*) falleth into the Gulf of *Persia*: which River he called *Armodius* for *Tygris*; *Tygris* being but a name imposed for the swiftness thereof. And out of *Armenia*, both *Tygris* and *Euphrates* have their original: for out of *Eden* came a River, or Rivers, to water the Garden, both which Rivers (to wit) *Tygris* and *Euphrates*, come out of *Armenia*, and both of them traverse *Mesopotamia*, Regions first of all known by the name of *Eden*, for their beauty and fertility. And it is very probable, that *Eden* contained also some part of *Armenia*; and the excellent fertility thereof in divers places is not unworthy the name of *Eden*. For in some part thereof (saith *Strabo*) the leaves are always green, and therefore therein a perpetual Spring. Also *Stephanus*, *de Urbibus*, mentioneth the City of *Adana* upon *Euphrates*: and the name of *Eden* was in use in *Amos*'s time, though he spake not of *Eden* in the East, but of *Eden* in *Cœlo-Syria*. But to the end I may not burthen the Readers patience with too long a Discourse, it may suffice to know, that *Euphrates* and *Tygris* (once joyned together, and afterward separate) are two of those four heads, into which these Rivers which are said to water the Garden of *Paradise*, were divided: whose courses being known, *Eden* (out of which they are said to come) cannot be unkown. Now that *Hiddekel* and *Perath*, were *Tygris* and *Euphrates*, it is agreed by all: for the Seventy and all others convert *Perath* by *Euphrates*: & *Hiddekel*, *Tygrim omnes exponunt*; *And all men understand Hiddekel by Tygris* (saith *Vatablus*. And because that which I have said of the Isle of *Eden* shall not be subject to the censure of self-invention, I have here under set down the words out of the two general Epistles of the *Nestorians*, as *Masius* (*ad verbum*) hath converted them into *Latine*. The occasion of those Letters and Supplications to the Pope, were, That the *Nestorian* Christians, which inhabit *Mesopotamia*, *Assyria*, *Persia*, *Babylonia*, and have to this day (at least in Queen *Marys* time they had) fifteen Churches in one City called *Seleucia Parthorum*, or *Mosel* upon the River of *Tygris*; having no sufficient authority to choose themselves a Patriarch (which cannot be done without four or three Metropolitan Bishops at the least) sent to the Bishop of *Rome*, in the year of Christ 1552. (as afore-said) a Petition to obtain allowance unto such an Election, as themselves had made: having three hundred years before that, upon the like defect, sent one *Marius* thither to be confirmed; and in this negotiation they made known to the Bishop of *Rome* the state of the Christian Church in those parts: for, upon the death of their Patriarch (who of a covetous desire to enrich himself, had forborn to institute Metropolitan Bishops, when the places fell void) they all assembled themselves together to consult of the Church-government. And because all the Patriarchs for an hundred years had been of one House and Family to the prejudice of the Church, and that there yet remained one Bishop of the same Stock and Kindred, who aspired to the same dignity which his Predecessors had held, the rest of the professors refused to allow him. Upon which occasion, and for the choice of a Governour more sufficient, the Teachers in all the Churches assembled themselves. The words of the general Epistle to the Pope are these, about the middle of the said Epistle; *Verùm nos non acceptavimus, neq; proclamavimus ipsum; sed subitò convenimus ex omnibus locis Orientalibus, & ex omnibus Civitatibus & Pagis quæ sunt circum civitatem Mosel (hoc est, Assur) in vicini à Nineves, ex Babylonia, ex Charra, ex Arbela, ex Insulâ quæ est in medio Tygris, fluminis Eden*, &c. i. e. *But we did neither accept of this man, neither pronounced him: but suddenly we assembled our selves out of all parts of the East, and out of all the Cities and Villages which are about Mosel (or Assur) neighbouring upon Nineve; and out of Babylon, Carrha, Arbela; and out of the Island which lyeth in the middle of Tygris, a River, of Eden*, or rather *out of the Isle of Eden, which lyeth in the River Tygris*. And in a second Epistle at the same time sent, they used these words: *Neq; superstes apud nos Metropolitæ, quorum est ordinare Catholicum; sed soli pauci Episcopi, Episcopus Arbela, Episcopus Salmasti, Episcopus Adurbeigan; ex è vestigio convenimus in Insulam, quæ est intra Tygrim flumen, Eden; fecimusq; compactum inter nos*, &c. (which is) *Neither are there remaining among us any Metropolitan Bishops, to whom it belongs to ordain a Patriarch, but only a few Bishops, as the Bishop of Arbela, the Bishop of Salmastis, and the Bishop of Adurbeigan: but lo, we assembled speedily in the Island of Eden, which is in Tygris, and agreed between our selves*, &c.

Now this Island of *Eden*, *Masius* describeth with other places; which being well conceived, the *Nestorian* Epistles, and the state of the Church may be in those parts (saith he) the better understood. And after he hath distinguished the four sorts of Christians in those parts of the World, and in the South part of *Africa*, which he calleth *Nestorians*, *Jacobites*, *Maronites*, and *Copbti*, he goeth on in these words: *Mox, audita illius morte, convenisse aiebant tumultuariò in illam quam modò dixi Tygris Insulam, quæ duodecim circiter passuum millibus supra Mosal posita, decem fere millia passuum suo ambitu continet, muris undiq; cincta, & à paucis aliis quam*

Christi-

Christianis hominibus habitata: which is, *Now hearing of the death of the Patriarck,* (as those that came to *Rome* reported) *they ran tumultuously together into that Island of Tygris* or *Eden before spoken of, which Island is situated about twelve miles above Mosal, containing very neer ten miles in compass, and every where inuironed with a wall, inhabited by few other men then Christians.* And afterward, he maketh a recapitulation of the Christian Churches; among the rest he addeth the Isle of *Eden* by the name of *Geserta, Insula Tygris, sive Geserta.* Furthermore, describing the City of *Hosan-Cepha,* or *Fortis Petra,* he placeth it *supra praedictam Tygris Insulam, rupi asperae impositam; Above the aforesaid Island of Tygris, being seated on a steep Rock.* Of this Island of *Geserta, Andrew Thevet* maketh mention in his tenth Book of his general Cosmography, in these words: *Geserta ou Gesire est au milieu de la Rivere du Tygre, & pense que c'est une terre des plus fertiles de toute l' Asie; Geserta or Gesire is in the middle of Tygris, the soyle the most fertile of all Asia.*

By this we see that the antient name of *Eden* liveth; and that of *Eden* which lyeth Eastward from *Arabia Petraea,* and the Desart where *Moses* wrote, and that *Eden* which bordereth *Carras* according to *Ezechiel,* and that *Eden* which is seated according to the assertion of the said Prophet, and joyned with those Nations of *Reseph, Canneh,* and *Charran,* and the rest which traded with the *Tyrians,* and is found at this day in the parting of the two Regions of *Assyria,* and *Babylonia,* where the *Edenites* in *Thelassar* were garrisoned to resist the *Assyrians,* whose displantation *Senacherib* vaunted of (as above written;) and lastly, the same *Eden,* which embraceth *Tygris,* and looketh on *Euphrates,* two of the known Rivers of those four, which are by all men ascribed to *Paradise.*

§. XI.

Of the difficulty in the Text, which seemeth to make the four Rivers to rise from one stream.

BUT it may be objected, that it is written in the Text, *That a River went out of Eden,* and not Rivers in the plural: which scruple *Matthew Beroaldus* hath thus answered in his Chronologie: The *Latine* Translation, saith he, hath these words: *Et fluvius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis ad irrigandum Paradisum, qui inde dividebatur in quatuor capita: Quae verba melius consentient cum rei narratione, & ejusdem explicatione, si ita reddantur; Et fluvius erat egrediens ex Edene (hoc est) fluvii procedebant ex Edene regione ad rigandum pomarium; & inde dividebatur, & erat in quatuor capita:* which is, *And a River went out of the place of pleasure to water Paradise, and thence was divided into four heads;* Which words (saith *Beroaldus*) do better agree with the natration and explication of the place, if they be thus translated; *And a River was going forth of Eden* (that is) *Rivers went forth, and ran out of the Region of Eden to water the Orchard; and from thence it was divided, and they became four heads.* The *Tygurine* differs from the Vulgar or Latine; for it converts it thus, *Et fluvius egrediebatur de deliciis: And a River went out of pleasure,* in stead of *Eden;* and the Latine addeth the word *locus,* or place, *Et fluvius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis; And a River went out of the place of pleasure:* and so the word (place) may rightly be referred to *Eden,* which was (of all other) a Region most delightful and fertile; and so also the word (*inde*) and *thence,* was divided, hath reference to the Country of *Eden,* and not to the Garden it self.

And for the word (*River*) for Rivers, it is usual among the *Hebrews*: for it is written: *Let the Earth bud forth the bud of the Herb that seedeth Seed, the fruitful Tree,* &c. Here the *Hebrew* useth the Singular for the Plural, *Herb and Tree, for Herbs and Trees;* and again, We eat of the fruit of the Tree, in stead of (Trees:) And thirdly, *The man and his wife hid themselves from the presence of God; In media ligni Paradisi; In the middle of the tree of the Garden,* for (*Trees.*) And of this opinion is *David Kimchi* and *Eutablus,* who upon this place of *Genesis* say, that the *Hebrews* do often put the Singular for the Plural, as *illud,* for *unumquodq; illorum;* and he giveth an instance in this question it self, as, *A River* (for *Rivers*) *went out of Eden.*

And this answer out of divers of the Learned, may, not without good reason, be given to the objection, That *Moses* speaketh but of one River, from which the heads should divide themselves. Howbeit I deny not, but with as good (and perhaps better) reason, we may expound the four heads, to be four notable passages into famous Countries. And so we may take the word (River) Verse the Tenth for one River, (to wit) *Euphrates,* as this name comprehendeth all the branches thereof. For this River (after he is past the place, where we suppose *Paradise* to have been) divides it self, and ere long yieldeth four notable passages into several Countries, though not all the way down stream (for this is no where in the Text) where it is noted, that following the River downward, there is conveyance into the Countries named in the Text, though part of the way to one of the Countries (to wit, to Assyria) were up *Tygris.*

To this end the Text speaking of *Hiddekel,* as it riseth from the River of *Eden,* doth not say, it compasseth or washeth the whole Region of *Assyria* (as it had used this phrase of *Pison* and *Gehon*) but that it runneth towards *Assyria.* The first branch *Pison,* is *Nahar-malcha* (by interpretation) *Basilius,* or *flumen regium,* which runneth into *Tygris* under *Apamia;* whence riseth the name of *Pasi-Tygris,* as it were *Piso-Tygris.* This leadeth to the Land of *Havila* or *Susiana.* The second branch *Gehon,* is that which in Historians is *Nabarsares* or *Narragas;* for *Nahar-ragas:* both which names signifie *flumen derivatum* (a River derived,) also *Acracanus, quasi Ranosus,* by reason of the Froggie Fens which it maketh: this *Gehon* leadeth to the first seat of *Chus,* about the borders of *Chaldea* and *Arabia,* and it is lost at length in the Lakes of *Chaldea.* The third branch *Hiddekel,* may be expounded the upper stream of *Pison,* or *Basilius,* which runneth into *Hiddekel,* properly so called (that is, into *Tygris*) above *Seleucia,* where it sheweth a passage up *Tygris* into *Assyria*: where, because at length it is called *Hiddekel* or *Tygris,* having before no known proper name, the Text in this place calleth it *Hiddekel* from the beginning. The fourth *Perath,* or *Euphrates,* so called *per excellentiam,* being of the body of the River *Euphrates,* which runneth through *Babylon* and *Ortis.* But be it a River or Rivers, that come out of *Eden,* seeing that *Tygris* and *Euphrates* are noted in the Text, there can be no doubt, but that *Paradise* was not far from these Rivers: for that *Perath* in *Moses* is *Euphrates,* there can be no question; and (indeed) as plain it is that *Hiddekel* is *Tygris.* For *Hiddekel* goeth (saith *Moses* Eastward towards *Assur,* as we find, that *Tygris* is the River of *Assyria propriè dicta,* whose chief City was *Nineveh,* as in *Genesis* the tenth it is written: That out of that Land (to wit) *Babylonia, Nimrod* went into *Assur,* and builded *Nineveh,* which was the chief City of *Assyria.*

And as for the kind of speech here used in the Text, speaking of four heads; though the heads of Rivers be (properly) their Fountains, yet here are they to be understood, to be spoken of the beginning of their division from the first stream. *Caput aquae* (saith

(saith *Ulpianus*) *illud est, unde aqua nascitur; sic ex fonte nascetur fons; ex flumine, vel ex lacu prima initia*, &c. *If the beginning of the Water be out of a Fountain, then is the Fountain taken for the Head: if out of a Lake, then the Lake*; and if from a main River any branch be separate and divided, then where that branch doth first bound it self with new Banks, there is that part of the River, where the branch forsaketh the main Stream, called the Head of the River.

§. XII.

Of the strange fertility and happiness of the Babylonian *Soil, as it is certain that* Eden *was such.*

IT may also be demanded, whether this Region of *Eden*, by us described, be of such fertility and beauty, as *Eden* the seat of *Paradise* was: which if it be denied, then must we also consider, that there was no part of the Earth, that retained that fertility and pleasure, that it had before the Curse; neither can we ascribe the same fruitfulness to any part of the Earth, nor the same vertue to any Plant thereon growing, that they had before the Flood; and therefore this Region of *Eden* may be now no such flourishing Country, as it was when it was first created in his perfection. Yet this I find written of it: First in *Herodotus*, who was an eye-witness, and speaketh of the very place it self, for the Isle of *Eden* is but twelve Miles or thereabout from *Niniveh*, and so from *Mosul*. *Ex Euphrate exiens in Tigrim, alterum flumen, juxta quod Urbs Ninus sita erat, Hæc regio, omnium quas nos vidimus, optima est*, &c. Where *Euphrates* runneth out into *Tigris*, *not far from the place where* Ninus *is seated*; *This Region, of all that we have seen, is most excellent.* And he addeth afterward, *Cereris autem fructu procreando adeò ferax est, ut nunquàm non ferè ducenta reddat*, &c. (that is) *It is so fruitful in bringing forth Corn, that it yieldeth two hundred fold: the Leaves of Wheat and Barley being almost four fingers broad: As for the height of Millet and Sesam, they are even in length like unto Trees, which although I know to be true, yet I forbear to speak hereof, well knowing, that those things which are reported of this fruitfulness, will seem very incredible to those, which never were in the Country of* Babylon. *They have commonly in all the Country Palm-trees growing of their own accord, the most of them bearing Fruit; out of which they make both Meats, and Wine, and Hony, ordering them as the Fig-trees.* Thus far *Herodotus*.

Herod. Clia. l. 1.

To this Palm-tree, so much admired in the *East-India*, *Strabo* and *Niger* add a fourth excellency, which is, that *it yieldeth Bread*; *Ex quibus panem, & mel, & vinum, & acetum conficiunt*; *of which these People make Bread, Wine, Hony, and Vineger.* But *Antonius* the *Eremite* findeth a fifth Commodity, not inferior to any of those four, which is, that from this self-same Tree there is drawn a kind of fine Flax, of which People make their Garments, and with which in *East-India* they prepare the Cordage for their Ships; and that this is true, *Athanasius* in the life of *Antonius* the *Eremite* confesseth, saying, *That he received a Garment made thereof from the* Eremite *himself, which he brought with him out of this Region.* So therefore those Trees, which the *East-Indies* so highly esteem and so much admire (as indeed the Earth yieldeth no Plant comparable to this) those Trees (I say) are in this upper *Babylon*, or Region of *Eden*, as common as any Trees of the Field. *Sunt etiam* (saith *Strabo*) *passim per omnem regionem Palmæ sua sponte nascentes. There are of Palms over all the whole Region, growing of their own accord.* Of this place *Quintus Curtius* maketh this report, *Euntibus à parte læva, Arabia odorum fertilitate nobilis, regio campestris interest inter Tigrim & Euphratem, jacens tam ubere & pingui solo, ut à pastu repelli pecora dicantur, ne satietas perimat*, (that is) *As you travel on the left hand of* Arabia (*famous for plenty of sweet Odors*) *there lieth a Champain Country placed between* Tigris *and* Euphrates, *and so fruitful and fat a Soil, that they are said to drive their Cattel from the Pasture, lest they should perish by satiety. Bis in anno segetes Babylonis secant. The* Babylonians *cut their Corn twice a year* (saith *Niger*). And as Countries generally are more fruitful to the Southward, than in the Northern parts: so we may judge the excellency of this by that report which *Strabo* maketh of the South part of *Armenia*, which is the North border of *Eden*, or a part thereof; his words be these in the *Latin*, *Tota enim hæc regio frugibus & arboribus abundat mansuetis, itemque semper virentibus: This Region aboundeth with pleasant Fruits, and Trees always green*: which witnesseth a perpetual Spring, not found elsewhere but in the *Indies* only, by reason of the Suns neighbourhood, the life and stirrer up of nature in a perpetual activity. In brief so great is the fertility of the Ground, that the People are constrained twice to mow down their Corn-fields, and a third time to eat them up with Sheep: which husbandry the *Spaniards* wanting in the Valley of *Mexico*, for the first forty years, could not make out kind of Wheat bear Seed, but it grew up as high as the Trees, and was fruitless. Besides, those Fields are altogether without Weeds (saith *Pliny*) who addeth this singularity to that Soil, That the second year the very Stubble (or rather falling down of the Seeds again) yieldeth them a harvest of Corn without any further labour: his words are these, *Ubertatis tantæ sunt, ut sequenti anno sponte restibilis fiat seges.*

Plin. nat. hist. l. 18. c. 17.

§. XIII.

Of the River Pison, *and the Land of* Havilah.

AFter the discovery of *Eden*, and the testimonies of the fertility thereof, it resteth to prove that *Pison* and *Gehon* are branches of *Tigris*, and *Euphrates*. For that the knowledge and certainty of these two Rivers should trouble so many wise Men, it is strange to me, seeing necessity it self (*Tigris* and *Euphrates* being known) findeth them out: for *Euphrates* or *Tigris*, or both be that River or Rivers of *Eden*, which water *Paradise*, which River or Rivers *Moses* witnesseth afterward; divided into four heads, whereof the one is called *Pison*, the other *Gehon*, &c. Could there be a stranger fancy in the World, than when we find both these (namely) *Tigris* and *Euphrates* in *Assyria* and *Mesopotamia*, to seek the other two in *India* and *Egypt*, making the one *Ganges*, and the other *Nilus*? Two Rivers as far distant, as any of same known or discovered in the World: the Scriptures making it so plain, that these Rivers were divided into four branches; and with the Scriptures, Nature, Reason and Experience bearing witness. There is no error, which hath not some slippery and bad foundation, or some appearance of probability resembling truth, which when Men (who study to be singular) find out, (straining reason according to their fancies) they then publish to the World matter of contention, and jangling: not doubting but in the variable deformity of Mens minds to find some partakers or sectators, the better by their help to nurse and cherish such weak Babes, as their own inventions have begotten.

But

But this mistaking (and first for the River of *Pison*) seemeth to have grown out of the not distinguishing of that Region in *India*, called *Havilah*, from *Havilah*, which adjoineth to *Babylonia*, afterward known by the name of *Susiana*. For *Havilah* upon *Tigris* took name from *Havilah* the Son of *Cush*; and *Havilah* in *India* from *Havilah* the Son of *Joctan*, the one remembred by *Moses* in the
Gen. 10. 7. discription of *Paradise*, the other where *Moses* setteth down the generation of *Noah* and his Sons after the Flood. For the Sons of *Cush* were *Seba*, *Havilah*, *Sabtah*, and *Raamah*; and the Sons of *Joctan* were *Ophir*, and *Havilah*, &c. of which later (to wit) of *Ophir* and *Havilah* the Sons of
10. 29. *Joctan*, that *Island of Ophir*, (whence *Salomon* had Gold) and *Havilah* adjoyning had their names. Now because *Ganges* is a great and a famous River of the East *India*, and *Havilah* a Country of the same, and is situated upon *Ganges*, hence it came that *Ganges* was the taken for *Pison*, which River
2. 11. is said by *Moses* to water the Land of *Havilah*. Or perhaps it was supposed that those four Rivers, named by *Moses*, must of necessity be four of the greatest in the World; whence (supposing that *Ganges* was next great and famous River after *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, they chose out this River to make one of the four. And yet certainly there is another River, whom in these respects they should rather have chosen than *Ganges*; for the River *Indus* on this side *India*, for beauty, for nearness, and for ability, giveth no way place to *Ganges*; but exceedeth it in all. And how can any reasonable Man conceive, that *Ganges* can be one of the four heads: seeing *Indus* cometh between it and *Tigris*; and between *Tigris* and *Indus* is all that large Empire of *Persia*, consisting of many Kingdoms. And agin, farther toward the East, and beyond *Indus*, are all those ample Dominions of *India intra Gangem*, which lie between those two proud Rivers of *Indus* and *Ganges*, now called the Kingdom of *Mogor*. So as if *Indus* be not accounted for any of the four, because it is removed from *Tigris* by all the breadth of *Persia*, then how much less *Ganges*, which falleth into the Ocean, little less than forty degrees to the Eastward of *Indus*? Surely whosoever readeth the Story of *Alexander* shall find, that there is no River in *Asia*, that can exceed *Indus*. For *Hydaspis* was of that breadth and depth, as *Alexander* thereon in great *Gallies* transported himself and the greatest part of his Army, and in sailing down that branch of *Indus*, found it so large and deep, and by reason thereof so great a billow, as it endangered his whole Fleet, which was ready to be swallowed up therein: *Hydaspis* (as aforesaid) being but one of many branches of *Indus*, comparable to it, and as great as it, having beside this, the Rivers of *Coas*, of *Suastus*, *Acesines*, *Adris*, (otherwise *Hirotis*) *Hispalis*, and *Zaradrus*, all which make but one *Indus*, and by it are swallowed up with all their Children and Companions, which being all incorporate and made one Stream, it crosseth athwart *Asia*, and then at *Cambaia* visiteth the Ocean Sea.

Gen. 2. 15. But because *Pison*, which compasseth *Havilah*, as also *Gehon*, which watereth *Cush*, must somewhere be joyned with the rest in one body, or at least be found to proceed out of the same Country of *Eden*, out of which the other two heads do proceed, out of doubt they cannot either the one or the other, be *Ganges*, or *Nilus*: for *Nilus* riseth in the uttermost of the South, and runneth Northward into the *Mediterranean* Sea; and the River *Ganges* riseth out of the Mountain *Imaus*, or (as others will have it) *Caucasus*, which divides the Northern *Scythia* from *India*, and runneth from North to South into the *Indian* Ocean. And as for *Perath* and *Hiddekel* (that is, *Euphrates* and *Tigris*) the one of them is begotten in *Armenia*, near *Georgiana* or *Iberia*, the other not far off in the same *Armenia*, by the *Gordizan* Mountains, so as *Ganges* who only travelleth in her own *India*, and *Nilus* through *Aethiopia* and *Aegypt*, never saw the Land of *Eden*, or joyned themselves in one Chanuel, either with themselves, or with either of the other, and therefore could not at any time from thence be separated, or divided into four heads or branches, according to *Moses*.

Therefore the River *Pison*, which enricheth *Havilah*, is the same which by joyning it self with *Tigris*, was therefore called *Piso-tigris*, or *Piso-tigris* of *Pison* and *Tigris*, which River watereth that *Havilah*, which *Havilah* the Son of *Cush* gave *Gen.* 2. name unto, and not *Havilah* of *India*, so called of *v.* 12. *Havilah* the Son of *Joctan*, who inhabited with his Brother *Ophir* in the East. And this *Havilah* of the *Cushites* hath also Gold, Bdellium, and the Onyx Stone. This Bdellium is a Tree of the bigness of an Olive, whereof *Arabia* hath great plenty, which yieldeth a certain gumm, sweet to smel to, but bitter in taste, called also Bdellium. The *Hebrews* take the Load-stone for Bdellium. *Beroaldus* affirmeth, that *Bdela* in *Hebrew* signifieth Pearl: so doth *Eugubinus*; and *Hierome* calls it *Oleaster*; be it what it will, a Tree bearing Gumm, or Pearl: *Havilah*, or *Susiana*, hath plenty of both. Now this Country of *Susiana* or *Havilah* stretcheth it self toward the North, as far as the Altars of *Hercules*, and from thence embraceth all that Tract of Land Southward, as far as the *Persian* Gulf, on the East-side thereof; from which East-side had the *Sabeans* (which traded with the City of *Tyre*, according to *Ezekiel*) their great plenty of Gold; which *Strabo* also witnesseth, as was shewed before.

The *Greeks* had a conceit, that *Pison* was *Danubius*: the *Rabbines* take it for *Nilus*. *Aben-Ezra* (saith *Hopkins*) out of *Rabbi Saadia* translateth *Pison* into *Nilus*. But *Nilus* findeth the same impossibility that *Ganges* doth: and *Danubius* hath the Sea of *Hellespont* and all *Asia* the less, between it and *Tigris*. Now *Pison* which runneth through *Havilah* or *Susiana*, doth to this day retain some sign of this name; for where it and *Tygris* embrace each other under the City of *Apamia*, there do they agree of a joint and compounded name, and are called *Piso-tigris*. And it is strange unto me, that from so great Antiquity there should be found remaining any resembling sound of the first name: for *Babylon* it self, which dwelleth so near these Rivers, is by some Writers known by the name of *Bandas*, as, by *Postellus*, by *Castaldus*, of *Baldach*: by *Barius*, of *Bagdad*; and of *Bonghedor*, by *Andrew Theuet*; and yet all those that have lately seen it, call it *Bagdet*. To this River of *Pison*, *Ptolomy* indeed, with many others, give the name of *Basilius*, or *Regius*; and *Gehon* they term *Mabarsares* and *Marsias*, and *Baarsares*. So is *Euphrates*, near the Spring and Fountain, by *Strabo* and *Pliny* called *Pixirates*: by *Junius*, *Puckperath*, out of the *Hebrew*, (that is) The profusion, or coming forth of *Euphrates*: where it breaketh through the Mountain *Taurus*, it takes the name of *Omyra*. *Plutarch* calls it *Medus* and *Zaranda*: the *Hebrews Parath*, (saith *Ar. Montanus*:) *Pagninus*, *Perath*: *Josephus*, *Phorah*: *Eusebius*, *Zozimus*: *Ammianus*, *Chalymicus*: *Giftilanus* and *Colinutius* term it *Cobar*: which *Ezekiel* calleth *Chebar*; but this is but a branch of *Euphrates*. The *Assyrians* know it by the name of *Armalchar*, or *Nahor Malcha*: but now commonly it is called *Frat*.

Strab.

Hopk. de Par.

Post. Cosmog. Theuet. Cosmog.

Asiae tab. 4.

Plin. lib. 5. *c.* 24.

The

The same confusion of names hath *Tigris*, as, *Diglito*, and *Diglath*, *Seilax*, and *Sollax*: of the *Hebrews* it was called *Hiddikel*: now of the Inhabitants *Tegil*.

But *Mercer* upon *Genesis* conceiveth rightly of these Rivers: for *Euphrates* and *Tigris* (saith he) stream into four branches, two of which keep their ancient names, and the other two are called *Pison* and *Gehon*. The reason why these two Rivers joyned in one (below *Apamia*) lose their names, and are called *Pisi-tigris*, and the memory of *Euphrates* extinguished, is, because the best part of *Euphrates* running through the Channel of *Gehon*, sinketh into the Lakes of *Chaldæa*, not far from *Ur*, the City of *Abraham*, and fall not intirely into the *Persian* Sea, as *Tigris* accompanied with *Pison* doth.

This error, that *Pison* was *Ganges*, was first broached by *Josephus*, (whose Fields though they be fertile, yet are they exceeding full of Weeds) and other Men (who take his authority to be sufficient in matter of description, whereupon depended no other important consequence) were not curious in the examination thereof. For *Epiphanius*, *Augustine*, and *Hierome*, take this for currant; whereof it followed, that as *Pison* was transported into the *East India*, to find out *Havilah*: so was *Gehon* drawn into *Africa*, to compass *Æthiopia*. But if *Havilah*, whereof *Moses* speaketh in the description of *Paradise*, be found to be a Region, adjoyning to *Babylon* on the one side, and *Cush* (which is falsly interpreted *Æthiopia*) fastened to it on the other side, we shall not need then to work wonders (that is) to impose upon Men the transportation of Rivers, from one end of the World to the other, which (among other uses) were made to transport Men. Now it was in the valley of *Shinar*, where *Cush* the Son of *Ham* first sate down with his Sons, *Sheba*, *Havilah*, *Sabtah*, *Raamah*, *Nimrod*, &c. and of *Havilah*, the Son of *Cush*, did that Region take name, which *Pison* compasseth; and the Land (called *Cush*) which *Gehon* watereth, took name of *Cush* himself. For as the Sons of *Joctan*, *Ophir*, and *Havilah*, seated themselves as near together as they could in *India*, so did the Sons of *Cush* in *Shinar* or *Babylonia*, where *Nimrod* built *Babel*: for *Havilah* or *Chavilah* was first *Chusea* of *Cush*; then *Chusa*, *Susa*, and *Susiana*.

From this *Havilah* unto the Desarts of *Sur*, did the *Israelites* and *Amalekites* posses all the interjacent Countries: for *Saul* smote the *Amalekites* from *Havilah* to *Sur*: which *Sur* the *Chaldaan Paraphrast* converteth *Hagra*, and *Hagra* bordereth the red Sea; but this was not meant from *Sur* upon the red Sea, to *Havilah* in the *East India*; for *Saul* was no such Traveller or Conqueror, and therefore *Havilah* must be found nearer home, where the Sons of *Ismael* inhabited, and which Country *Saul* wasted: for *Amalek* and the *Amalekites* possest that neck of Country, between the *Persian* Sea, and the red Sea; *Havilah* being the extreme of the one towards the East, and *Sur* of the other, towards *Ægypt* and the West, leaving that great body of *Arabia Fœlix* towards the South; and they spred themselves with the *Madianites* and *Edumæans*, from the East part, or back-side of the *Holy Land*, to the banks of *Euphrates*, comprising the best parts of *Arabia Petræa*, and *Deserta*.

1 Sam. 15. 7.

§. XIV.

Of the River Gehon *and the Land of* Cush: *and of the ill translating of the* Æthiopia *for* Cush. 2 Chron. 21. 16.

NOW, as *Havilah* in the *East India* drew *Pison* so far out of his way thither, so I say did *Cush* (being by the Seventy translated *Æthiopia*) force *Gehon* into *Africa*. For *Cush* being taken for *Æthiopia* by the *Greeks*, whom the *Latins* followed, *Gehon* consequently was esteemed for *Nilus*. But *Æthiopians* are, as much, as *black or burnt Faces*, whose proper Country is called *Thebaides*, lying to the Southward of all *Ægypt*. And although there be many other Regions of *Æthiopians*, and far South in *Africa*, yet those of *Thebaides* are those so often remembred in the *Ægyptian* Stories, and out of which Nation they had many times their Kings of *Ægypt*: all which *Æthiopians* are very near, or else directly under the *Æquinoctial line*, which is very far from that Land inhabited by the *Chusites*; who are neither black of colour, nor in any sort neighbouring *Torrida Zona*. But this Translation of the *Septuagint*, *Pererius* doth qualifie in this manner. There are (saith he) two *Æthiopia's*, the East, and the West: and this division he findeth in *Strabo*, out of *Homer*. Now because there is no colour to make *Chush Æthiopia* in *Africa*, *Pererius* will make *Chush* and the Land of the *Chusites* (which is *Arabia Petræa*, and a part of *Arabia* the happy, with the Region of *Madian*) to be the East *Æthiopia*. See more of this point, c. 7. §. 10.

Now if it be granted, that *Cush* and the Land of the *Chusites*, be that Tract from *Sur* to *Havilah*, according to the Scriptures: *Habitavit Ismael ab Havilah usque Sur, qua respicit Ægyptum introeuntibus Assyrios*: *Ismael dwelt from Havilah unto Sur, that is towards Ægypt, as thou goest toward Assyria*; The same sufficeth to prove that *Gehon* cannot be *Nilus*, but a River which watereth *Cush*, and not *Æthiopia*. But this place of Scripture *Habitavit Ismael*, &c. hath this sense. *Ismael* dwelt from *Havilah*, which is the way of *Assyria*, or the Country bordering *Assyria*; and *Sur*, which lieth toward *Ægypt*, which is as much to say, as, The issues of *Ismael* (whereof there were twelve Princes) whom God had promised to make a great people, inhabited all those Regions between the border of *Ægypt* and *Assyria*. And that they were (according to the Word of God) so increased and multiplied, it well appeared, when *Zerah* the *Chusite*, which others call *Tharamba*, brought an Army of ten hundred thousand against *Asa* King of *Juda*. Which Army came not out of *Æthiopia* beyond *Ægypt*; for that had been a strange progress for such a multitude, as ten hundred thousand, having so mighty a King as the King of *Ægypt*, between *Palastina* and *Æthiopia*. But these were the *Chusites*, *Amalekites*, *Madianites*, *Ismaelites*, and *Arabians*. For it is written, that after *Asa* (strengthened by God) had defeated this world of an Army, he in following his victory took some of the Cities of King *Zerah* round about, as *Gerar*. Now that *Gerar* is a City of the *Æthiopians*, it cannot be suspected: for these be the words of the Scripture disproving it: *And Abraham departed thence toward the South Country, and dwelt between Cadesh and Sur, and sojourned in Gerar*; Now *Sur* is that part, upon which *Moses* and the *Israelites* first set their Feet after they passed the red Sea, where the *Amalekites* in *Rephidim* set on them, supposing that they had been weary, and unable to resist. Again, in the Story of *Isaac* it is written, *Wherefore Isaac went to Abimelech*

Gen. 25. 18. Vers. 18. 2 Chron. 14. 9. Gen. 16. v. 11. Exod. 17. 8.

Gen. 26. 1. melech, and the Philistims unto Gerar: and I am sure Abimelech and the Philistims were no Æthiopians.
10. 19. And lastly, Moses himself, where he describeth the Bounds of Canaan, hath these words: *Then the border of the Canaanites was from Sydon, as thou comest to Gerar:* for Sydon was the Frontier of Canaan towards the North, and Gerar by Gazah towards the South. But indeed, howsoever Pererius doth with an honest excuse salve his Translation of Chus for Æthiopia, yet it appeareth plainly, that the Septuagint, and Josephus did altogether misunderstand this place. And first, for Homer's East and West Æthiopia, they are both found elsewhere. For Pliny in his fifth Book and eighth Chapter, citeth Homer for an Author, of these two Æthiopia's. But the East Æthiopia is that which compasseth Nilus to the South of Egypt, and is the South border thereof; now a part of the Empire of the Abyssines, under Prester John; And the West Æthiopia is that, which joyneth it self with the River Niger, which we call Senega and Gambra: for thereabouts are these Æthiopians, called Perorsi, Daratites, with divers other names, which Pliny numbreth. But all these are in Africa, and beyond
Plin. l. 5. c. 8. the Desarts thereof, saith Pliny out of Homer, Agrippa, and Juba, which Regions indeed (I mean that of Niger, and that of Prester John, and the Troglodites) lie due East and West. But as for Cush, and the Region of the Ismaelites, &c. they are extended directly North from that Æthiopia, which is beyond Ægypt. Now, that Josephus was exceeding gross herein, it appeareth by that fiction, which he hath of Moses when he served Pharao, in the Wars against the Æthiopians: for in that (to make Chus, Æthiopia,) he transporteth Madian by miracle over the Red Sea, and beyond all Ægypt, and setteth it in Æthiopia, as shall be shewed more at large in the Chapter of the Worlds Plantation. Again, that Gehon was improperly translated Nilus, Pererius confesseth, and layeth it rather to the corruption of the Greek copy, than otherwise. And whereas the Septuagint have converted this place of
C. 2. v. 18. the Prophet Hieremie. *And what hast thou now to do in the way of Ægypt, to drink the water of Nilus? Quid tibi vis in via Ægypti, ut bibas aquam Gehon?* to this saith Pererius, *profectò Hebraicè ibi non est vox Gehon, sed Sichor, quæ significat nigrum & turbidum; Truly* (saith Pererius) *the word* Gehon *in this place, is not found in the Hebrew, but* Sichor, *which signifieth black and troubled water.*

Furthermore, this is a manifest and unanswerable argument, that Chus was ill taken for Æthiopia. Moses
Exod. 2. 21. 3. 1. married the Daughter of Jethro, Prince and Priest of Madian, whom both the Greek and Latin call a Madianite, and not Æthiopissam, as (with Josephus) the Geneva converts it, though it help it a little
Numb. 12. 1. with a marginal note. Now it is without dispute, that Zipporah was of the Country of Madian, which is that part of Arabia Petræa, bordering the Red Sea; for it is written in the second of Exodus, that Moses fled from Pharao, into the land of Madian,
V. 15. and sate down by a Well, &c. and again, in the third
V. 1. of Exodus; *When Moses kept the sheep of Jethro his Father-in-law, Priest of Madian, &c.* Indeed, these four Nations are every where mixt in the Scriptures, because they dwell confusedly together (to wit) the Madianites, the Ismaelites, the Amalekites, and the Chusites, which were all in one general word, Arabians, and in the Scriptures sometimes called by one of those names, and sometimes by another, as in Gen. 37. v. 25. 27. & 28. that Joseph was sold to the Ismaelites; and in the same chapter, v. 36. it is written, that the Madianites sold Joseph to Potiphar, Pharao's Steward. The Genevians, in a marginal note (to avoid this confounding of the Nations) say, that Moses wrote according to their opinion, who took the Madianites and Ismaelites to be all one. But Moses wrote not after any Mans opinion, he wrote the truth, and these were all Arabians, and so in this very place it appeareth by their Merchandise, which they brought with them, when they bought Joseph: for their Camels were loaden with Spicery, and Balm, and Myrrh, which are the trades of Arabia Gen. 37. 20.
Fœlix, from whence chiefly, and from the East India, all the World is served with Myrrh and Frankincense; and their Spices they received from the East side of the Arabian Gulf, as aforesaid. And in the 39. Chapter it is said: That Potiphar V. 1.
bought Joseph of the Ismaelites, which the Chaldaan Paraphrast in the same place calleth Arabians. Now, to make this the more manifest, it is written in the 6. of Judges. That when Israel had sown, then came up the Madianites, and the Amalekites, V. 3.
and they of the East, and came upon them: they of the East, were Arabians of the Desart; so as where before in the buying of Joseph, the Madianites and the Ismaelites were confused, here the Madianites and Amalekites, are made one Nation. For in the prosecution of the story of Gedeon, the
Madianites only are named, as comprehending C. 7.
both Nations; and in the eighth Chapter, v. 24. these Nations are all called Ismaelites, and neither Madianites nor Amalekites. As when Gedeon desired, that every Man would give him the golden Ear-rings, which they had taken, after the Victory against Zebah and Zalmunna, Kings of Arabia, amounting to 1700 Sheckles of Gold, it is written: *For they had golden ear-rings, because they were* C. 8. v. 24.
Ismaelites. And these Ismaelites were a great and Gen. 16. 12.
valiant Nation, and ever in action of War. *Manus ejus contra omnes, & manus omnium contra eum; His hand* (saith God of Ismael) *shall be against all Men, and every mans hand against him.* Of these Ismaelites came the Mahometan Arabians, though some Writers think Mahomet to be of the Schenita. And these Ismaelites, which inhabit chiefly in Cedar, and the Desarts of Sur and Pharan (saith Josephus) use Poison upon their Arrows, as the Indians do. Towards the South-east are the Madianites, and Chusites; and beyond them, towards the Desarts of Arabia, the Amalekites; and all are one Nation, and all Arabians.

Lastly, the ill Translation of Æthiopia for Chus, is, among other places, made most apparent, in the 2. Chron. 21. 16.
second of Chronicles, in these words: *So the Lord stirred up against Jehoram, the Spirit of the Philistines, and the Arabians, which confine the Æthiopians;* so Hierome reads it; the Geneva Translation hath it, *which were besides the Æthiopians.* Now, how far it is off between the Philistines, and the Negro's or the Æthiopians, every Man that looketh in a Map, may judge. For the Philistines and Arabians, do mix and joyn with the Land of the Chusites, and are distant from Æthiopia about two and thirty, or three and thirty Degrees, and therefore not their next Neighbours; but all Ægypt, and the Desarts of Sur, and Pharan, are between them. So as this place of the second of Chronicles, should have been translated in these words: *So the Lord stirred up against Jehoram, the Spirits of the Philistines, and the Arabians, which confine and border upon the Chusites,* who indeed are their next Neighbours.
* *Nulla superest dubitatio, quin Æthiopia in sacris literis sit Arabia propinqua; There remaineth no doubt* * Steuch. Eugub. in Gen. c. 2.
(saith Steuchius) *but Æthiopia in the Scriptures, is taken for that Country, which joyneth to* Arabia.

Now may we think it is probable, or possible, that Moses could be ignorant of Nilus? No, he knew it, no living Man so well, and therefore would

would never have named *Gehon*, for *Nilus*, or *Nilus* for *Gehon*. Surely if *Moſes* had meant *Nilus*, when he named *Gehon*, he would have called the River (into which he was caſt upon Reeds, and preſerved by God, working compaſſion in the Daughter of *Pharao*) a River of *Ægypt*, wherein he was born and bred, and wrought ſo many Miracles. Beſides the River of *Nilus* is often named in the Sciptures, but never by the name of *Gehon*. And if *Moſes* had told the *Iſraelites*, that *Nilus* had been a River of *Paradiſe*, they might juſtly have thought that he had derided them: for they had lived there all the days of their lives, and found no ſuch *Paradiſe* at all, nor any memory, or ſpeech thereof; except we ſhall believe the *Paradiſe* of *Heſperides*, where (ſaith *Plinie*) there was nothing found in his time, but wild Olives inſtead of Golden Apples. But *Nilus* is twice called *Sichor*, once in *Eſay*, and once in the Prophet *Hieremie*; and yet in thoſe places it is not ſaid to be a River of *Æthiopia*, but of *Ægypt*. For in a word, the *Iſraelites* had never any communion or affairs with the *Æthiopians*, nor any intelligence, or trade, beyond *Ægypt*, to the South; but the enemies, which they had on the South, and Eaſt parts, were theſe Nations of the *Chuſites*, *Philiſtines*, *Iſmaelites*, *Amalekites*, and *Madianites*: who being often governed by many little Kings, or *Reguli*, were diſtinguiſhed in names, according to the Fathers and Heads of thoſe Nations; but in one general name were all *Arabians*. On the North ſide of *Canaan*, they were afflicted with the *Caleſyrians*, with the *Magogians*, *Tubalines*, and others their adherents; and thirdly within themſelves, the Nations, which remained of the ancient *Canaanites*, held the ſtrongeſt Cities upon the Sea-coaſt (as) *Tyre*, *Sidon*, *Acon*, *Gaza*, and many others: yea, *Hieruſalem* it ſelf was with-held from *Iſrael* (from the days of *Moſes* even unto the time of *David*) by the *Jebuſites*.

Exod. 2.

Plin. l. 5. c. 1.

Iſa. 23. v. 3.

Jer. 2. v. 18.

That which now remaineth of moſt difficulty is, that it doth not appear, that any part of *Gehon* watereth that part of *Arabia* the ſtony, which the *Chuſites* inhabited in the times of the Kings of *Iſrael*: and in this *Deſart* it was that *Mart. Beroaldus* loſt himſelf in ſeeking out *Paradiſe*: for he was driven (to my underſtanding) to create two Rivers, and call them *Gehon*, and *Piſon*; to the end that the one might water *Chus*, and the other *Havilah*, for I find none ſuch in *Rerum natura*, as he hath deſcribed: by which Rivers he alſo includeth within *Paradiſe*, even *Arabia the Deſart*.

And as he well proved that *Piſon* was not *Ganges*, nor *Gehon*, *Nilus*: ſo where to find them elſe-where it ſeemeth he knew not. Certainly this River of *Gehon*, which he maketh to fall into the *Mediterran* at *Gaza*, and whoſe ſprings he findeth far Eaſt in *Arabia*, is but imaginary: for the Current by *Gaza* is but a ſmall ſtream, riſing between it and the red Sea, whoſe head from *Gaza* it ſelf is little more than twenty *Engliſh* Miles, as ſhall appear hereafter. But queſtionleſs, hence it comes that many were miſtaken. They all conſidered of the habitations of the *Chuſites*, as they were planted when the ſtate of *Iſrael* ſtood, and when it flouriſhed, being then their near Neighbours, and never looked back to the firſt ſeats and plantation of *Chus*. For after the Flood, *Chus* and his Children never reſted, till they found the Valley of *Shinar*, in which, and near which himſelf with his Sons firſt inhabited. *Havilah* took the River-ſide of *Tigris* chiefly on the Eaſt, which after his own name he called *Havilah*, (now *Suſiana*:) *Raamah* and *Sheba* farther down the River, in the entrance of *Arabia Fœlix*. *Nimrod* ſeated himſelf in the beſt of the Valley, where he built *Babel*, whereof that Region had afterwards the name of *Babylonia*. *Chus* himſelf and his Brother *Mizraim* firſt kept upon *Gehon*, which falleth into the Lakes of *Chaldea*, and in proceſs of time, and as their People increaſed, they drew themſelves more Weſterly towards the red or *Arabian* Sea: from whence *Mizraim* paſt over into *Ægypt*, in which Tract the *Chuſites* remained for many years after. Now becauſe there could be no ſuch River found in *Arabia* the ſtony, which they might entitle *Gehon*, they tranſlated *Chus Æthiopia*, and *Gehon*, *Nilus*. And if we do examine this miſtaking by example, we ſhall the better perceive it as it was. For let us ſuppoſe that *Brute*, or whoſoever elſe that firſt peopled this *Iſland*, had arrived upon the River of *Thames*, and calling the *Iſland* after his name *Britannia*, it might be ſaid that *Thames* or *Tems* was a River that watered *Britannia*: and when afterwards in proceſs of time, the ſame *Brute* had alſo diſcovered and conquered *Scotland*, which he alſo entituled by the ſame name of *Britannia*, after-ages might conclude that *Scotland* was no part thereof, becauſe the River of *Tems* is not found therein. Or let us ſuppoſe that *Europa*, the Daughter of the King of *Tyre* in *Phœnicia*, gave the name to *Europe*, according to *Herodotus*, and that the firſt diſcoverers thereof arrived in the mouth of ſome River in *Thrace*, which then watered as much of *Europe*, as he firſt diſcovered, ſhall we in like ſort reſolve, that *France*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, &c. are no parts of *Europe*, becauſe that River is not found in them, or any of them? In like manner was it ſaid by *Moſes* in his deſcription of *Gehon*, that it watered the whole Land of *Chus*; but not the whole Land which the *Chuſites* ſhould or might in future time conquer, people, and inhabit, ſeeing in after-ages they became Lords of many Nations, and they might (perchance) have been Maſters in time, (as the *Saracens* which came of them were) of a great part of the World. For (though the *Babylonian* Empire, which took beginning in *Nimrod* the Son of *Chus*, conſiſted at the firſt but of four Cities, (to wit) *Babel*, *Erech*, *Acad*, and *Chalne*, yet we find, that his Succeſſors within a few years after commanded all the whole World in effect: and the fame of *Babel* conſumed the memory of *Chuſea*. For of this *Tower of Confuſion* did all that Land take the name of *Babylonia*: and the greatneſs of that Empire founded by *Nimrod* a younger Son, obſcured the name and Nation of his Father *Cuſh* in thoſe parts, until they crept farther off, and in places not yet entituled, and farther from the *Babylonian* Empire, where the *Chuſites* retained their names, which alſo they faſtned to the Soil and Territory by themſelves afterwards inhabited and held. And we may not think that *Chus* or any of his could in haſt creep through thoſe deſert Regions, which the length of 130 years after the Flood had (as it were) fortified with Thickets, and permitted every Buſh and Briar, Reed and Tree to joyn themſelves (as it were) into one main Body and Foreſt. For if we look with judgment and reaſon into the Worlds plantation, we ſhall find, that every Family ſeated themſelves as near together as poſſible they could; and though neceſſity enforced them, after they grew full of People, to ſpread themſelves, and creep out of *Shinar* or *Babylonia*, yet did they it with this advice, as that they might at all times reſort, and ſuccour one another by River, the Fields being then (without all doubt) impaſſable. So *Nimrod*, who out of wit and ſtrength uſurped dominion over the reſt, ſate down in the very confluence of all thoſe Rivers, which watered *Paradiſe*: for thither it was to which the greateſt Troops of *Noah*'s Children repaired, and from the ſame place whence Mankind had his beginning, from

Herod. l. 1. & 4.

thence had they again their increaſe. The Firſt Father of men *Adam*, had therein his former habitation. The ſecond Father of Mankind *Noah*, began from thence his diſperſion.

Now as *Nimrod* the youngeſt, yet ſtrongeſt, made his choice of *Babel* (as aforeſaid) which both *Tigris* and *Euphrates* cleanſed and enriched; ſo did *Havilah* place himſelf upon *Piſo-tigris*: *Raamah* and his Son *Sheba* farther down upon the ſame River, on the Sea-coaſt of *Arabia*: *Chus* himſelf upon *Gehon*, the faireſt branch of *Euphrates*. And when they began to ſpread themſelves farther off, yet they always faſtened themſelves to the Rivers ſides: for *Ninive*, *Charran*, *Reſeph*, *Canneh*, *Ur* in *Chaldaa*, and the other firſt-peopled Cities were all founded upon theſe navigable Rivers, or their branches, by which the one might give ſuccour and aſſiſtance to the other, as is already often remembred.

§. XV.

A Concluſion by way of repetition of ſome things ſpoken of before.

BUT now to conclude this diſpute, it appeareth to me by the teſtimonies of the Scriptures, that *Paradiſe* was a place created by God, and a part of this our Earth and habitable World, ſeated in the lower part of the Region of *Eden*, afterwards called *Aram fluviorum*, or *Meſopotamia*, which taketh into it alſo a portion of *Shinar* and *Armenia*: this Region ſtanding in the moſt excellent temper of all other, (to wit) 35 Degrees from the *Æquinoctial*, and 55 from the North Pole: in which Climate the moſt excellent Wines, Fruits, Oyl, Grain of all ſorts are to this day found in abundance. And there is nothing that better proveth the excellency of this ſaid Soil and temper, than the abundant growing of the Palm-trees, without the care and labour of Man. For wherein ſoever the Earth, Nature, and the Sun can moſt vaunt, that they have excelled, yet ſhall this Plant be the greateſt wonder of all their works: this Tree alone giveth unto Man whatſoever his Life beggeth at Natures hand. And though it may be ſaid, that theſe Trees are found both in the Eaſt and Weſt *Indies*, which Countries are alſo bleſſed with a perpetual Spring and Summer, yet lay down by thoſe pleaſures and benefits the fearful and dangerous Thunders and Lightnings, the horrible and frequent Earthquakes, the dangerous Diſeaſes, the multitude of venemous Beaſts and Worms, with other inconveniences, and then there will be found no compariſon between the one and the other.

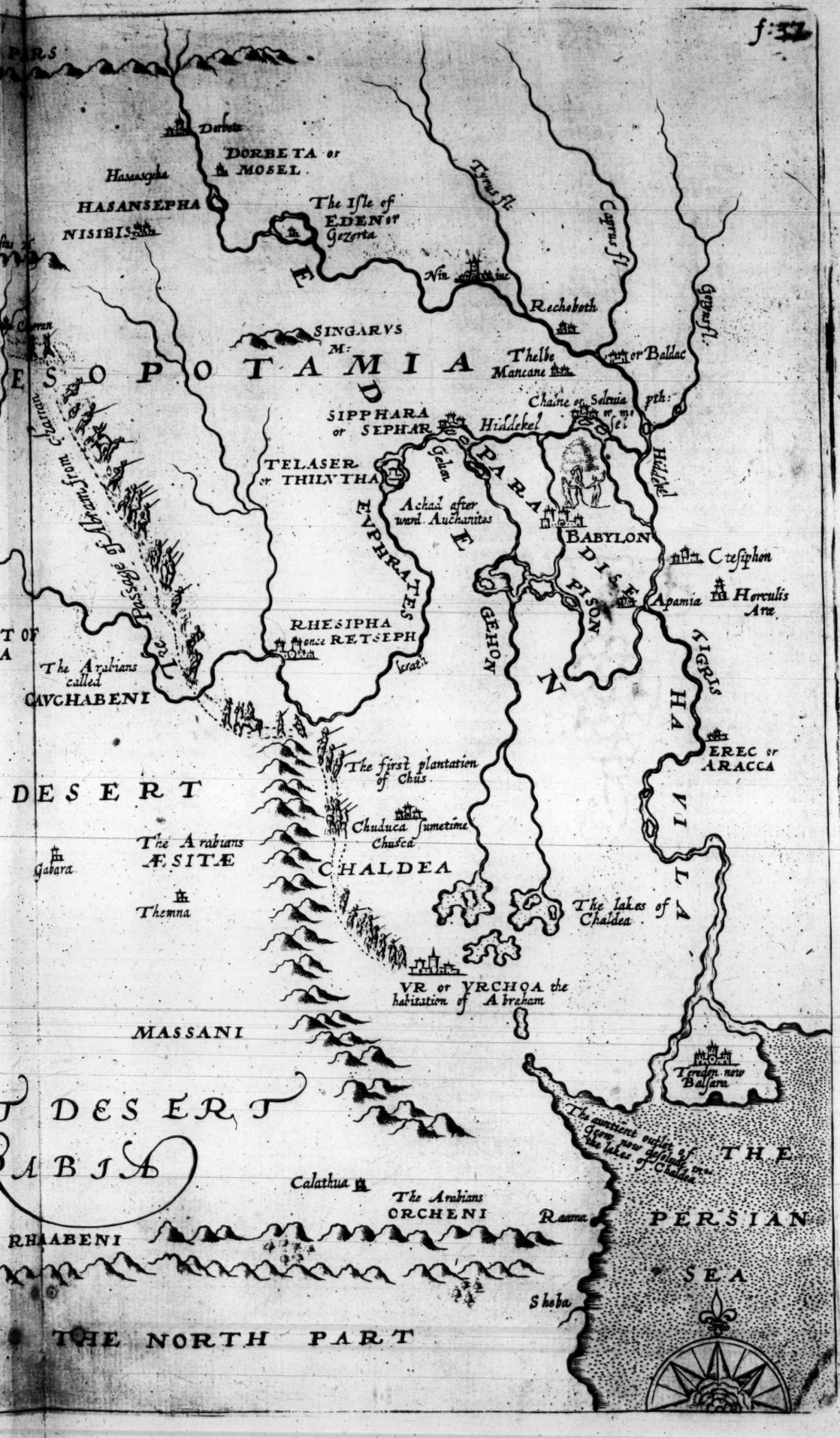
What other excellencies this Garden of *Paradiſe* had, before God, (for mans ingratitude and cruelty) curſed the Earth, we cannot judge; but I may ſafely think that by how much *Adam* exceeded all living Men in perfection, by being the immediate workmanſhip of God, by ſo much did that choſen and particular Garden exceed all parts of the univerſal World, in which God had planted (that is) made to grow the Trees, of Life, of Knowledge, Plants only proper, and becoming the *Paradiſe*, and Garden of ſo great a Lord.

The ſumm of all this is, That whereas the eyes of Men in this Scripture have been dim-ſighted (ſome of them finding *Paradiſe* beyond our known World: ſome, above the middle Region of the Air: ſome, elevated near the Moon: others, as far South as the Line, or as far North, as the Pole, &c.) I hope that the Reader will be ſufficiently ſatisfied, that theſe were but like Caſtles in the Air, and in mens fancies, vainly imagined. For it was Eaſtward in *Eden* (ſaith *Moſes*) Eaſtward, in reſpect of *Judea*, that God planted this Garden, which *Eden* we find in the Prophets where it was; and whereof the name (in ſome part) remaineth to this day. A River went out of *Eden* to water this Garden, and from thence divided it ſelf into four branches; and we find that both *Tigris* and *Euphrates* ſwimming through *Eden* do joyn in one, and afterward taking ways apart do water *Chus* and *Havilah*, according to *Moſes*: the true ſeats of *Chus* and his Sons then being in the Valley of *Shinar*, in which *Nimrod* built *Babel*. That *Piſon* was *Ganges*, the Scripture, Reaſon, and Experience teach the contrary: for that which was never joyned cannot be divided. *Ganges*, which inhabiteth *India*, cannot be a branch of the Rivers of *Eden*; That *Gehon* was *Nilus*, the ſame diſtance maketh the ſame impoſſibility, and this River is a greater ſtranger to *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, than *Ganges* is: for although there are between *Tigris* and *Ganges* above four thouſand Miles, yet they both riſe in the ſame quarter of the World; but *Nilus* is begotten in the mountains of the Moon, almoſt as far off as the *Cape of Good Hope*, and falleth into the *Mediterran* Sea: and *Euphrates* diſtilleth out of the Mountains of *Armenia*, and falleth into the *Gulf* of *Perſia*: the one riſeth in the South, and travaileth North: the other riſeth in the North, and runneth South, threeſcore and three Degrees the one from the other. In this leaf following I have added a *Chorographical* Deſcription of this terreſtrial *Paradiſe*, that the Reader may thereby the better conceive the preceding Diſcourſe; and this is the reward I look for, that my labours may but receive ſo much allowance ſuſpended, until ſuch time as this deſcription of mine be reproved by a better.

CHAP.

CAPPADOCIA PARS
CILICIÆ PARS
THE
MEDITE
RAN
SEA

CAPADOCIÆ PARS
ARMENIÆ PARS
CILICIÆ PARS
Edessa
Tarsus
Adana
Mallus
Mara
CYRRESTICA
Issus
Sinus Issicus
or Alexandretta
Alexandretta
Aleppo or Hierapolis
CYPRVS
Antiochia
CHALCIDICI
Laodicia
Apamia
Adada
THE
MEDITE
RAN
SEA
Arudus
Antaradus
Tripolis
Botris
Byblus
Berytus
Archis
CATANY
Palmyra
PALMYRENA
Sidon
Libanus
COELESYRIA
THE DESERT OF
PALMERINA
Tyre
Antelibanum
Damascus
Alsadamus
Cæsaria
philippi
Berathi
Saue or Saba
Machati
Syria
Zoba
SACCEA
pto Acon
Gesuri
BATANEA
ARABIA
AGREI
Cæsaria
Bassan
Amorites
Sichem
Hai
Bethel
Ammonites
MARTENI
Aurana
Ioppe
IERVSALEM
Moabites
AGVBENI
ARABIA
Midianites
Idumites
PETREA
Pharan desart
Petra deserta
Amalekites
Ismalites
THE GREAT D
OF ARAB
RHAABE
THE RED SEA
ARABIA THE HAPPIE


PERS
Durbet
DORBETA or MOSEL
Hasansepha
HASANSEPHA
NISIBIS
The Isle of EDEN or Gezerta
Tygris fl.
Euphrates fl.
Gyndes fl.
Nineue
Rechoboth
SINGARVS M:
Thelbe
Mancane
or Baldac
Chaine or Selucia
SIPPHARA or SEPHAR
Hiddekel
TELASER or THILVTHA
Gehon
Achad after ward Aucharites
BABYLON
Ctesiphon
Apamia
Herculis Arx
RHESIPHA once RETSEPH
Tygris
The Arabians called CAVCHABENI
DESERT
The first plantation of Chus
EREC or ARACCA
Chuduca sumetime Chusca
The Arabians ÆSITÆ
CHALDEA
Gabara
Themna
The lakes of Chaldea
VR or VRCHOA the habitation of Abraham
MASSANI
Teredon now Bassara
The antient outlet of Gehon now discharged into the lakes of Chaldea
THE PERSIAN SEA
Calathua
The Arabians ORCHENI
Rasma
RHAABENI
Sheba
THE NORTH PART

CHAP. IV.

Of the two chief Trees in the Garden of Paradise.

§. I.

That the Tree of Life was a material Tree: and in what sense it is to be taken, that Man by his eating the forbidden Fruit, is made subject to Death.

FOR eating the forbidden Fruit of the Tree of Knowledge was *Adam* driven out of *Paradise, in exilium vitæ temporalis, into the banishment of temporal life*, saith *Beda*. That these Trees of Life and Knowledge were material Trees (though Figures of the Law and of the Gospel) it is not doubted by the most religious and learned Writers: although the wits of men, which are so volatile, as nothing can fix them, and so slippery, as nothing can fasten them, have in this also delivered to the World an imaginary Doctrine.

The Tree of Life (say the Hebrews) hath a plural construction, and is to be understood, *Lignum vitarum, The Tree of Lives*, because the Fruit thereof had a property, to preserve both the growing, sensitive, and rational life of Man; and not only (but for *Adam*'s transgression) had prolonged his own days, but also given a dureful continuance to all Posterity; and that, so long, as a body compounded of Elements could last. *Bart. Sept. in l. 1. 174.*

And although it is hard to think, that flesh and blood could be immortal, but that it must once perish and rot, by the unchanged Law of God imposed on his Creatures, Man (notwithstanding) should have enjoyed thereby a long, healthful, and ungrieved life: after which (according to the opinion of most Divines) he should have been translated, as *Enoch* was. And as before the Flood, the days of men had the long measure of eight hundred or nine hundred years; and soon after, the Flood of two hundred years and upwards even to five hundred: so if *Adam* had not disobeyed God's first and easie Commandment, the lives of Men on earth might have continued double, treble, or quadruple to any of the longest times of the first Age, as many learned Men have conceived. *Chrysostom, Rupertus, Tostatus*, and others were of belief, that (but for *Adam*'s Fall and transgression) *Adam* and his Posterity had been immortal. But such is the infinite wisdom of God, as he foresaw that the Earth could not have contained mankind; or else, that Millions of Souls must have been ungenerated, and have had no being, if the first number, wherewith the Earth was replenished, had abode thereon for ever: and therefore that of *Chrysostom* must be understood of immortality of Bodies, which should have been translated and glorified.

But of what kind or *Species* this Tree of Life was, no man hath taken on him to teach: in which respect many have conceived, that the same was not material, but a mere *Allegory*, taking their strength out of *Salomon*, where Wisdom is compared to the Tree of Life, and from other places, where also *Christ* is called the Tree of Life, and out of the *Apocalypsis, I will give to him that overcometh, to eat of the Tree of Life, which is in the Paradise of God.* But to this place St. *Augustin*'s answer may suffice, (which is) That the one doth not exclude the other, but that, as there was a terrestrial *Paradise*, so there was a celestial. For although *Agar* and *Sara* were Figures of the *Old*, and *New Testament*, yet to think that they were not Women, and the Maid and Wife of *Abraham*, were mere foolishness. And so in this place the sense of the Scripture is manifest. *For God brought out of the Earth every Tree fair to sight, and sweet to taste; the tree also of life in the midst of the garden*: which sheweth, that among the Trees, which the Earth by Gods commandment produced, the Tree of Life was one, and that the Fruit thereof was also to be eaten. The report of this Tree was also brought to the ancient Poets: for as from the indigested matter or *Chaos, Hesiodus, Homer, Ovid*, and others steal the invention of the created World; so from the Garden of *Paradise*, they took the Plat-form of the Orchard of *Alcinous*, and another of the *Hesperides*: and from the Tree of Life, their *Nectar*, and *Ambrosia*; for *Nectar*, according to *Suidas*, signifieth *making young*, and *Ambrosia, immortality*; and therefore said to be the meat and drink of the Gods. *Apocal. 2. 7.*

§. II.

Of Becanus *his opinion, that the Tree of Knowledge was* Ficus Indica.

NOw for the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, some Men have presumed farther, especially *Goropius Becanus*, who giveth himself the honour to have found out the kind of this Tree, which none of the Writers of former times could ever guess at, whereat *Goropius* much marvaileth. But as he had an inventive brain, so there never lived any Man, that believed better thereof, and of himself. Surely howsoever his opinion may be valued, yet he usurpeth the praise due to others, at least if the invention be at that price at which he setteth it. For *Moses Bar-Cephas* fastened on this conjecture above six hundred years before *Becanus* was born: and *Bar-Cephas* himself referreth the invention to an antiquity more remote, citing for his Author *Philoxenus Maburgensis*, and others, whose very words *Goropius* useth, both concerning the Tree, and the reasons wherewith he would induce other Men to that belief. For *Moses Bar-Cephas* in his Treatise of *Paradise* (the first Part and *fol.* 49.) saith, That the Tree of Knowledge was *Ficus Indica, the Indian Fig-tree*, of which the greatest plenty (saith *Becanus*) are found upon the banks of *Acesines*, one of the Rivers which falleth into *Indus*, where *Alexander* built his Fleet of Gallies in, or near the Kingdom of *Porus*.

This Tree beareth a Fruit of the bigness of a great Pease, or (as *Pliny*, reporteth) somewhat bigger, and that it is a Tree *se semper serens, always planting it self*; that it spreadeth it self so far abroad, as that a Troop of Horsemen may hide themselves under it. *Strabo* saith, that it hath Branches bending downwards, and Leaves no less than a Shield. *Aristobulus* affirmeth that fifty Horsemen may shadow themselves under one of these Trees. *Onesicritus* raiseth this number to four hundred. This Tree *Plin. l. 12. c. 5. Lib. 15. cap. 2.*

(saith

(ſaith *Theophraſtus*) exceedeth all other in bigneſs, which alſo *Pliny* and *Oneſicritus* confirm: to the trunk of which theſe Authors give ſuch a magnitude as I ſhame to repeat. But it may be, they all ſpeak by an ill-underſtood report. For this *Indian* Fig-tree is not ſo rare a Plant, as *Becanus* conceiveth, who becauſe he found it no where elſe, would needs draw the Garden of *Paradiſe* to the Tree, and ſet it by the River *Aceſines*. But many parts of the World have them, and I my ſelf have ſeen twenty thouſand of them in one Valley, not far from *Paria* in *America*. They grow in moiſt Grounds, and in this manner. After they are firſt ſhot up ſome twenty or thirty foot in length, (ſome more, ſome leſs, according to the Soil) they ſpread a very large top, having no Bough nor Twig in the trunk or ſtemm: for from the utmoſt end of the head-branches there iſſueth out a gummy juyce, which hangeth downward like a cord or ſinew, and within a few Months reacheth the ground; which it no ſooner toucheth but it taketh Root, and then being filled both from the top-boughs, and from his own proper Root, this cord maketh it ſelf a Tree exceeding haſtily. From the utmoſt Boughs of theſe young Trees there fall again the like cords, which in one Year and leſs (in that World of a perpetual Spring) become alſo Trees of the bigneſs of the nether part of a Launce, and as ſtraight as Art or Nature can make any thing, caſting ſuch a ſhade, and making ſuch a kind of Grove, as no other Tree in the World can do. Now one of theſe Trees conſidered with all his young ones may (indeed) ſhroud four hundred or four thouſand Horſemen, if they pleaſe; for they cover whole Vallies of ground where theſe Trees grow near the Sea-bank, as they do by thouſands in the inner part of *Trinidado*. The cords which fall down over the Banks into the Sea, ſhooting alway downward to find root under water, are in thoſe Seas of the *Indies*, where Oyſters breed, intangled in their beds, ſo as by pulling up one of theſe cords out of the Sea, I have ſeen five hundred Oyſters hanging in a heap thereon; whereof the report came, that Oyſters grew on Trees in *India*. But that they bear any ſuch huge Leaves, or any ſuch delicate Fruit, I could never find, and yet I have travailed a dozen miles, together under them. But to return to *Geropius Becanus*. This Tree (ſaith he) was good for meat and pleaſing to the ſight, as the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil is deſcribed to be.

Secondly, this Tree having ſo huge a trunk (as the former Authors report, and *Becanus* believeth) it was in this Tree that *Adam* and *Eve* hid themſelves from the preſence of God, for no other Tree (ſaith he) could contain them. But firſt it is certain, that this Tree hath no extraordinary magnitude, as touching the trunk or ſtemm, for among ten thouſand of them it is hard to find any one bigger than the reſt, and theſe are all but of a mean ſize. Secondly, the words of *Moſes* tranſlated *in medio ligni*, are by all the Interpreters underſtood in the plural number, (that is) *in the midſt of the Trees*. But his third argument (or rather the argument of *Moſes Bar-Cephas*, word for word) is, that when *Adam* and *Eve* found themſelves naked, they made them Breeches of Fig-leaves; which proveth (indeed) that either the Tree it ſelf was a Fig-Tree, or that a Fig-Tree grew near it: becauſe *Adam* being poſſeſt with ſhame, did not run up and down the Garden to ſeek out Leaves to cover him, but found them in the place it ſelf; and theſe Leaves of all other were moſt commodious, by reaſon of their largeneſs, which *Pliny* avoweth in theſe words; *Latitudo foliorum Pelta effigiem Amazonia habet, The breadth of the Leaves hath the ſhape of an Amazonian Shield*: which alſo *Theophraſt* confirmeth; the form of which Targets *Virgil* touches:

Gen. 3. 7.

Pl. l. 12. c. 5.

Ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis
Pentheſilea furens. Virg. Æn. l. 1. 494.

The *Amazons* with Creſcent-formed Shield
Pentheſilea leads into the Field.

Here *Becanus* deſireth to be believed, or rather threatneth us all that read him, to give credit to this his borrowed diſcovery, uſing this confident (or rather cholerick) ſpeech. *Quis erit tam impudenter obſtinatus, ſi hæc à nobis de ſicu hac ex antiquis ſcriptoribus cum Moſis narratione comperta, ut audeat dicere aliam arborem inveniri poſſe, quæ cum illa magis quadret: Who will be ſo impudently obſtinate, if he compare theſe things which we have reported of this Fig-tree, and out of ancient Writers delivered, with the narration of* Moſes, *as to dare to avow, that any other Tree can be found, which doth more properly anſwer, or agree therewith.* But for my ſelf, becauſe I neither find this Tree, ſorting in body, in largeneſs of Leaves, nor in Fruit to this report, I rather incline to the opinion of *Philo*: That the Earth never brought forth any of theſe Trees neither before nor after; but I leave every man to his own belief, for the matter is of no great weight as touching his kind: only thereby, and by the eaſie Commandment by God given to *Adam*, to forbear to feed thereon, it pleaſed God to make trial of his Obedience: *Prohibita, non propter aliud, quàm ad commendandum puræ ac ſimplicis Obedientiæ bonum; Being forbidden, not for any other reſpect, than thereby to commend the goodneſs of pure and ſimple Obedience.* Auguſt. de Civit. Dei, l. 13. c. 20.

§. III.

Of Becanus *his not unwitty allegorizing of the Story of his* Ficus Indica.

BUT in this I muſt do *Becanus* right, that he hath very wittily allegorized this Tree, allowing his ſuppoſition of the Tree it ſelf to be true. The effects whereof, becauſe his Diſcourſes are exceeding ample, I have gathered in theſe few words. As this Tree (ſaith he) ſo did Man, grow ſtraight and upright towards God, until ſuch time as he had tranſgreſſed and broken the Commandment of his Creator; and then like unto the boughs of this Tree, he began to bend downward, and ſtooped toward the Earth, which all the reſt of *Adam*'s Poſterity after him have done, rooting themſelves therein, and faſtening themſelves to this corrupt World. The exceeding umbragiouſneſs of this Tree he compareth to the dark and ſhadowed life of Man, through which the Sun of Juſtice being not able to pierce, we have all remained in the ſhadow of death, till it pleaſed *Chriſt* to climb the Tree of the Croſs for our enlightning and redemption. The little fruit which it beareth, and which is hard to find among ſo many large Leaves, may be compared (ſaith he) to the little Vertue, and unperceived Knowledge among ſo large Vanities, which obſcure and ſhadow it over. And as this Fruit is exceeding ſweet, and delicate to the taſte and palate; ſo are the delights and pleaſures of the World, moſt pleaſing while they dure. But as all thoſe things which are moſt melliſluous, are ſooneſt changed into choler and bitterneſs: ſo are our vanities and pleaſures converted into the biteereſt ſorrows and repentances. That the Leaves are ſo exceeding large, the Fruit (for ſuch Leaves) exceeding little; in this, by compariſon we behold (ſaith he) the many

cares

cares and great labours of worldly Men, their ſollicitude, their outward ſhews, and publick oſtentation, their apparent pride and large vanities; and if we ſeek for the Fruit, which ought to be their vertuous and pious actions, we find it of the bigneſs of the ſmalleſt Peaſe; glory, to all the World apparent; goodneſs, to all the World inviſible. And furthermore, as the Leaves, Body, and Boughs of this Tree, by ſo much exceed all other Plants, as the greateſt Men of Power and worldly ability ſurpaſs the meaneſt: ſo is the little Fruit of ſuch Men, and ſuch Trees, rather fitting and becoming the unworthieſt Shrub, and humbleſt Bryar, or the pooreſt and baſeſt Man, than ſuch a flouriſhing ſtatelineſs and magnitude. Laſtly, whereas *Adam*, after he had diſobeyed God, and beheld his own nakedneſs and ſhame, ſought for Leaves to cover himſelf withal, this may ſerve to put us in mind of his and our ſins, as often as we put on our Garments, to cover and adorn our rotten and mortal Bodies: to pamper and maintain which we uſe ſo many uncharitable and cruel practices in this World.

§. IV.

Of the name of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil: with ſome other notes touching the Story of Adam's *ſin.*

NOW, as touching the ſenſe of this Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, and what operation the Fruit thereof had, and as touching the property of the Tree it ſelf, *Moſes Bar-Cephas* an ancient *Syrian* Doctor (tranſlated by *Maſius*) giveth this judgment, That the Fruit of this Tree had no ſuch vertue or quality, as that by the taſting thereof, there was any ſuch knowledge created in *Adam*, as if he had been ignorant before; but as *Junius* alſo noteth, *Arbor ſcientiæ boni & mali (id eſt) experientiæ boni & mali ab eventu*, *The Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil (that is) the experience of Good and Evil by the event.* For thus much we may conceive, that *Adam* being made (according to the *Hebrew* Phraſe) by the Workmanſhip of Gods own Hand, in greater perfection than ever any Man was produced by generation, being (as it were) the created Plant, out of whoſe ſeed all Men living have grown up; and having received immortality from the Breath or Spirit of God, he could not (for theſe reſpects) be ignorant, that the diſobeying of Gods Commandment was the fearfulleſt evil, and the obſervation of his Precepts the happieſt good. But as Men in perfect health do (notwithſtanding) conceive, that ſickneſs is grievous, and yet in no ſuch degree of torment, as by the ſuffering and experience in themſelves they afterwards witneſs: ſo was it with *Adam*, who could not be ignorant of the puniſhments, due to neglect and diſobedience; and yet felt by the proof thereof in himſelf another terror than he had forethought, or could imagine. For looking into the Glaſs of his own guilty Soul, he beheld therein the horror of Gods Judgments, ſo as he then knew, he feelingly knew, and had trial of the late good, which could not be prized, and of the new purchaſed evil, which could not be expreſt. He then ſaw himſelf naked both in body and mind; that is, deprived of Gods Grace and former Felicity: and therefore was this Tree called the Tree of Knowledge, and not becauſe the Fruit thereof had any ſuch operation, by any ſelf-quality or effect: for the ſame Phraſe is uſed in many places of the Scriptures, and names are given to Signs and Sacraments, as to acts performed, and things done. In ſuch ſort as this Tree was called the Tree of Knowledge, becauſe of the event (as is aforeſaid) ſo was the Well of Contention therefore called *Eſek*, and the Well of Hatred *Sitnath*, becauſe the Herdſmen of *Iſaac* and *Gerar* contended for them; and the heap of Stones, called the *Heap of Witneſs*, between *Jacob* and *Laban*, not that the Stones bare witneſs, but for a memory of the Covenant. So *Jacob* called the Houſe of God *Bethel*: and *Hagar*, the Well in the *Deſart*, *Vivemis & videntis*. *Num.* 24. 13. *Gen.* 26. 20, 21. *c.* 31. 48. *c.* 28. 19. *c.* 16. 14.

But *Adam* being both betrayed and maſtered by his affections, ambitious of a farther knowledge than he had perceived in himſelf, and looking but ſlightly (as all his iſſues do) into the miſeries and ſorrows incident, and greatly affecting the ſuppoſed glory which he might obtain by taſting the Fruit forbidden, he was tranſported and blown forward by the gentle wind of pleaſing perſwaſions unawares; his progreſſion being ſtrengthened by the ſubtile arguments of *Sathan*, who laboured to poyſon Mankind in the very root, which he moiſtened with the liquor of the ſame ambition, by which himſelf periſhed for ever.

But what means did the Devil find out, or what inſtruments did his own ſubtlety preſent him, as fitteſt and apteſt to work this miſchief by? even the unquiet vanity of the Woman; ſo as by *Adam*'s hearkening to the voice of his Wife, contrary to the expreſs commandment of the living God, Mankind by that her incantation became the ſubject of labour, ſorrow, and death: the Woman being given to Man for a comforter and companion, but not for a Counſellor. *But becauſe thou haſt obeyed the voice of thy Wife*, &c. (ſaid God himſelf) *Curſed is the earth for thy ſake, in ſorrow ſhalt thou eat of it all thy life.* It is alſo to be noted, by whom the Woman was tempted; even by the moſt ugly and unworthy of all Beaſts, into whom the Devil entred and perſwaded. *Bart. ſem.* 2. *l.* 2. *Gen.* 3. 17.

Secondly, What was the motive of her diſobedience: even a deſire to know what was moſt unfitting her knowledge, an affection which hath ever ſince remained in all the poſterity of her Sex. Thirdly, what was it that moved the Man to yield to her perſwaſions? even the ſame cauſe which hath moved all Men ſince to the like conſent, namely an unwillingneſs to grieve her and make her ſad, leſt ſhe ſhould pine and be overcome with ſorrow. But if *Adam* in the ſtate of perfection, and *Salomon* the Son of *David*, Gods choſen Servant, and himſelf a Man endued with the greateſt Wiſdom, did both of them diſobey their Creator, by the perſwaſion and for the love they bare to a Woman, it is not ſo wonderful as lamentable, that other Men in ſucceeding ages have been allured to ſo many inconvenient and wicked practices by the perſwaſions of their Wives, or other beloved Darlings, who cover over and ſhadow many malicious purpoſes with a counterfeit paſſion of diſſimulate ſorrow and unquietneſs.

CHAP. V.

Of divers memorable things between the Fall of Adam, *and the Flood of* Noah.

§. I.

Of the cauſe and the revenge of Cain's *ſin: and of his going out from God.*

THE ſame pride and ambition which began in Angels, and afterward poſſeſt *Adam*, *Cain* alſo inherited: for *Cain* (envious of the acceptation of his Brothers Prayer and Sacrifice) ſlew him, making himſelf the firſt Man-ſlayer, and his Brother the firſt Martyr: the revenge of which unnatural Murther, although it pleaſed God to mitigate, when *Cain* cried out that his Puniſhment was greater than he could bear. For the ſame offence chiefly (wherewith the Sons of *Adam*, as it were, urged and provoked God) he deſtroyed all mankind, but *Noah* and his Family: for it is written, *The earth alſo was corrupt before God*: of which in the ſame place *Moſes* giveth a reaſon, for ſaith he, *The earth was filled with cruelty*: and anon after God himſelf made the cauſe known unto *Noah*, ſaying, *An end of all fleſh is come before me, for the earth is filled with cruelty through them, and behold, I will deſtroy them with the earth*, or *from the earth*: Neither was this cruelty meant to have been in taking away the lives of Men only, but in all ſorts of injuſtice and oppreſſion. After this murther of *Abel*, *Cain went out from the preſence of the Lord, and dwelt in the land of Nod, towards the eaſt-ſide of Eden*: in which words, The going out of *Cain* from the preſence of the Lord, is not to be underſtood after the literal ſenſe; God being wholly in all parts of the World. *Totus in cœlo, totus in terra, non alternis temporibus, ſed utrumque ſimul. God* (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*) *is wholly in Heaven, and wholly in Earth, not by interchanged times, but all at once*; and that this is true, *David* witneſſeth. *If I be in heaven* (ſaith *David*) *thou art there, if in hell, thou art there alſo*: but what is meant thereby? *Exiit à facie Dei* (ſaith *Chryſoſtom*) *Cain went out from the preſence of the Lord*, (that is) *he was left of God, diſfavoured and bereaved of his protection.*

Gen. 6. v. 11, 13.

Gen. 4. v. 16.

Aug. de Civitat. Dei, l. 12. c. 19.

Pſal. 139. 8.

Chryſoſt. in Gen. Homil. 2.

§. II.

Of Cain's *dwelling in the Land of* Nod: *and of his City* Enoch.

THIS word *Nod* or *Naid* S. *Hierome* and many others underſtand to ſignifie wandring, or incertain habitation: vexation or agitation, ſaith *Junius*; but the Seventy convert it otherwiſe, and take *Nod* for the proper name of a Country, and ſo doth *Joſephus*. But it ſeemeth to me, that *Cain* was rather a Vagabond or wanderer in his Cogitations, than any thing elſe, and that his Thoughts and Conſcience had no quiet or reſt, in regard of the murther committed, juſtly fearing (by his own words) the like violence: *And whoſoever findeth me* (ſaith *Cain*) *ſhall ſlay me*. Now that *Nod* or *Naid* was a Region wherein *Cain* inhabited, appeareth by the word (*dwelt*) for dwelling ſignifieth an abiding: and we call thoſe People Wanderers and Vagabonds that have no dwelling-place. And to make this dwelling and abiding more manifeſt, *Moſes* teacheth in what part of the Earth this his habitation was, which he affirmeth towards the Eaſt ſide of *Eden*. Secondly, it is ſaid by *Moſes*, that after *Cain* departed from the preſence or favour of God, he built a City, and called it by the name of his firſt-born, *Enoch*; which ſheweth that he feared to wander, and rather ſought to fortifie himſelf againſt revenge. *Cyrillus* ſaith, that *Cain* and *Abel* were Figures of *Chriſt* and of the *Jews*; and that as *Cain*, after that he had ſlain *Abel* unjuſtly, had thenceforth no certain abiding in the World: ſo the *Jews*, after they had Crucified the Son of God, became Runnegates: and it is true, that the *Jews* had never ſince any certain Eſtate, Commonweal, or Prince of their own upon the Earth. Now this Land of *Nod*, *Junius* taketh to be in *Arabia Deſerta*, a Region of *Nomades*; but *Arabia the Deſert* is not Eaſtward, or on the Eaſt part of *Eden*, neither are theſe *Nomades* any particular People or Nation. For all theſe, in what part of the World ſoever, which in old time lived by Paſtorage, and fed (as we call it in *Ireland*) upon White-meat without Tilling of the Ground, are called by the *Greeks Nomades*, and by the *Latins Paſtores vagi*, as the Northern *Tartarians*, the *Getulians*, and *Numidians* in *Africa*, the ancient *Britains*, and the Northern *Iriſh*: yea ſuch were the Inhabitants of *Italy* it ſelf, till ſuch time as *Italus* (who gave them that Name) taught them the Husbandry of Tillage uſed at this day. But the Region Eaſtward from *Eden* is that part of *Aſſyria*, called by *Ptolomie*, *Calena*, which alſo might be derived of *Carena*, the Country of *Cain*. And that *Cain* inhabited in thoſe parts it may be gathered by the firſt poſſeſſion of his Father *Adam*; for thus it is written, *Gen.* 3. *Therefore the Lord God ſent him forth from the Garden of Eden to till the earth whence he was taken*: and in the Verſe following: *Thus he caſt out man*, &c. *and at the eaſt-ſide of the garden of Eden he ſet the Cherubins*: which ſheweth that the entry into *Paradiſe* was from the Eaſt, by which entrance *Adam* was caſt out, and therefore inhabiting on that ſide of *Paradiſe* which was Eaſtward, according to the Text: *Cain* alſo in the ſame Region ſought his dwelling-place. Now, if the word *Nod* or *Naid* do ſignifie *profugus*, that is, a Fugitive, we can give no longer time to this uncertain habitation of *Cain*, than till he built the City of *Enoch*, the firſt of the World, which he incloſed either for his own defence, or (as *Joſephus* writeth) to oppreſs others thereby. So as for mine own opinion I am reſolved with the *Septuagint*, that *Nod* was the proper name of a Region; and for the word [Vagabond] which *Cain* uſeth of himſelf, it ſeemeth by the cloſe of the ſame Verſe, that [Vagabond] is therein underſtood for ſuch an one as travelleth in fear of revengement: *for whoſoever findeth me* (ſaith *Cain*) *ſhall ſlay me*; or elſe [Vagabond] is taken for a Man without protection, and caſt out from the favour of God.

Hieron. Vad. Hebr.

Joſep. l. 1. c. 3.

Gen. 4. 14.

Gen. 4. 16.

V. 17.

V. 23, 24.

And becauſe theſe *Henochians*, ſo called of the City *Henoch*, were the firſt Society and civil Aſſembly of all other, it is likely that the fame of theſe People (either for cruelty, ſtrength, or other actions) lived in the memory of *Noah* and his Sons; ſo that

that after the Flood (as there were of all sorts of Natures, some vertuously, some impiously disposed, and every active mind setting before it whom to follow or imitate) those People, which delighted in Cruelty and Oppression, took on them their names whose natures they most liked and allowed; of whom these *Henochians* were not the least. Perchance the place it self where *Henoch* stood before the Flood, and whereof the Monuments might remain (as the Pillars or the Foundation of *Joppe* did) gave occasion to the Planters of that place to call themselves by the same names: for of those *Henochians* there were many Nations in the Borders of *Pontus*, and *Colchis* in *Iberia*, *Segdiana*, and *Bactria*, and of the same name many Mountains, as those which are otherwise called *Coraxici*. And seeing that it is hard to find out the truth of these things, which the most aged time hath covered over or defaced, we may (according to the counsel of *Plato*) exceedingly rejoyce, and therewith satisfie our selves, if of so great and almost worn-out Antiquity, if of the eldest peoples names and Nations there remain any print or footsteps to Posterity.

Quotidiè aliquid in hoc magno Orbi mutatur, nova urbium fundamenta jaciuntur, nova Gentium nomina (extinctis nominibus prioribus) oriuntur. Seneca ad Albinam.

In * *Pliny*, *P. Mela*, *Strabo*, *Valerius Flaccus*, *Lucan*, *Stephanus*, we find those *Henochei* described, though diversly written, as in *Pliny* sometimes *Heniochi*, in *Mela Eniochi*, in *Flaccus*, *Heniochi*, in *Lucan Enochii*, all which inhabit upon the Sea *Euxinus*, but yet none of these are on the East side of *Eden*, or (according to *Moses*'s words) Eastward from *Eden*. For *Moses*, in all places where he describeth any Region, was so exceeding precise, as sometime he useth the word East or South without borrowing, or addition, at other times with a borrowing, as Eastward or Southward, or towards the East or South. In the place of *Genesis* the eleventh he writeth the word [East] simply and directly. *And as they went from the East, they found a Plain in the Land of Shinar*, but in this of *Cain* he addeth the word [towards] as, *in the Land of Nod towards the East side of Eden*; which may be taken, as inclining some one point or two either to the North or to the South, of the East.

* *Plin. l. 6. c. 9. 11. & 16. Mel. l. 1. c. ult. Strabo, l. 11. Val. Flacc. l. 6. Lucan l. 3. v. 37.*

V. 2.

But as we may conjecture that these Nations took name of *Henoch*, the City of *Cain*, or of the Region wherein it stood, when the same was repeopled after the Flood: so it is probable that these *Henochii* of *Colchis*, and other parts adjoyning, were not the first of that name, after the Sons of *Noah* began to fill the World again: because, had this *Henoch* the City of *Cain* stood in any of these parts, it had then been seated North, and not East or Eastward from *Eden*. But as *Pliny* findeth their habitation towards *Pontus*, so afterwards he goeth on Eastward, till he track them or trace them out to their original. For he calleth these of *Colchis* (now *Mengrelia*) *Sanni Heniochi*; *Ptolomy Zani*; beyond which an hundred and fifty Mile Eastward he findeth another Nation of them about *Iberia* and *Albania*; and beyond these again he discovereth a third Nation, from whence all the rest took beginning, which inhabited on the West side of the Mountains of *Paro-panisus*, between them and the great River of *Oxus*, which bordereth *Bactria* on the North side; and these *Henochii* are due East from the Region of *Eden*, and Eastward from the very Garden it self.

Plin. l. 6. c. 4. 5. Ptol. tab. Asiæ. 3.

And although we cannot be assured, that these *Henochii* took name from the memory of the City of *Enoch* directly, yet because they inhabited due East from *Paradise*, and afterwards spred themselves Westward (as all *Noahs* Sons did that came into *Shinar*) the conjecture is far more probable, than that of *Annius* the Fryar, who sets *Henoch* in *Phœnicia*, quite contrary to *Moses*'s word: *Phœnicia* from all parts of *Eden* being directly West.

And besides these several Nations of the *Henochii*, *Stephanus* findeth a Region called *Henochia*, and the same also in the East, with divers Mountains about *Bactria* and *Sogdiana* of the same name. Only the Grecians (according to their fabulous inventions of all things else) out of the word [*Heniochi*] which signifieth Carts or Coach-Men, make these Nations to have sprung from the Waggoners of *Castor* and *Pollux* (to wit) *Amphites* and *Telchius*, who attended them in the enterprise of *Jason* into *Colchis*. And though I do not deny, but that *Jason* with other Greeks ranged the coasts of *Asia* the less, in an open Boat or kind of small Galley, * of whom I shall speak in his own time: yet no Man doubteth but that the Tale of the Golden Fleece was for the most part Poetical; and withall that in such an open Boat, which could hardly carry their own Rowers, being four and fifty, there was no place and less use of Coach-Horses or Waggoners.

Steph. de urb.

Nat. Comes calleth them *Rhecas. Mat. Com. l. 8. c. 9. Strabo l. 11.*

* In the second Book of this first Part. Chap. 13. §. 5.

§. III.

Of Moses *his omitting sundry things concerning* Cain's *generation.*

BUT of the remembrance and testimonies of the name of the City of *Henoch* in prophane story, thus much may suffice; Now it followeth to answer some few Objections against certain particulars in the fourth and fifth Chapter of *Genesis*: against which for the first it is demanded, How it was possible for *Cain* (having no other assistance than his Son *Henoch*) to perform such a Work as the Building of a City, seeing there is thereto required so many Hands, and so great a Mass of all Sorts of Materials? To which it is answered, that we are first to consider, That of *Cain* (because he was the Parent of an impious race) *Moses* useth no ample declaration; and so it best agreeth with his Divine Reason, seeing that he containeth the whole Story of the first Race, which wasted by the least account 1656. Years in five short Chapters. Yet thus much may every Man borrow of his own weakest Reason, That seeing it pleased God to bestow on the first generations of Mens Lives, so long a Measure, as 800. and 900. Years, that in such a space *Cain* had not want of leasure and means to build many such Cities as *Henoch*, be the capacity answering to what other of the World soever: for in what Age of *Cain*'s Life he built it, the Scriptures are silent: as of whose times, and the times of his Issues *Moses* had the least care. And as it was said of *Cain*, that he built a City: so was it said of *Noah*, that his three Sons peopled all the World; but in both, the process of time required to be understood: which advice seeing *Moses* useth where the space less requireth it, as knowing that he writ the Scriptures to reasonable Men, we may easily understand, that such was his meaning also in all reports of like Nature. For in making but a difference between the Birth of *Abel*, and Oblation of *Cain*, he spake it in this sort, *Fuit autem post dies multos*, or *à fine dierum* (that is) in process of time *it came to pass that Cain brought an oblation*. And therefore it is in like sort to be understood of *Cain*, that many years fore-gone, and when his people were increased he built the City of *Enoch* or *Henoch*.

And where it is written, as of *Cain*, that he
2 *Kings* 6. built *Enoch*, so of *Salomon*, that he built the Temple of *Hierusalem*; yet it is well known of *Salomon*, that he employed in that work 150000. Labourers: for this Phrase or speech is common with our selves to say, The King invaded, when he caused an Invasion to be made: and he built, when he commanded such a Building. And therefore seeing we find, that *Moses* had no regard to the Ages, to the Birth, or to the Death of any of *Cain*'s Issues, it is not to be marvailed at, why he also passeth over in a word the building of *Enoch*, without addition of any circumstance: for of *Cain*, *Moses* writeth in this
Gen. 4. 17. manner: *Cain also knew his Wife, who conceived and bare Henoch, and he built a City, and called the*
18. *name of the City after the name of his Son Henoch: And to Henoch was born Irad, and Irad begat Mehuiael, and Mehuiael begat Methusael, and Methusael Lamech.*

C. 6. v. 5. Now of *Seth*, *Moses* writeth far otherwise, and in this manner. *And Seth lived* 105. *Years, and begat Enoch, and Seth lived after he begat Enoch* 807. *Years, and begat Sons and Daughters: so as all the days of Seth were* 912. *Years, and he died*: as for the Years and times of the wicked they were not numbred *in libro viventium*, saith *Cyril*. But in *Seth* was the Church of God established, from whom *Christ* descended, as touching his Manhood: and therefore this way and work *Moses* walked in, and finished it with care, passing over the reprobate Generation (as aforesaid.) Of the line of *Adam* by *Cain*, *Moses* remembreth but eight Generations, reckoning *Adam* for one, and of the line of *Adam* by *Seth* ten, counting *Adam* also therein, as followeth:

¶ 1. *Adam.*

2. *Cain.*	2. *Seth.*
3. *Henoch.*	3. *Enosh.*
4. *Irad.*	4. *Cainan.*
5. *Mahuiael.*	5. *Mahaleel.*
6. *Mathusael.*	6. *Jarad.*
7. *Lamech*, who by *Ada* had	7. *Henoch.*
8. *Jubal* and *Tubal*, and by *Silla*	8. *Mathusalem.*
Tubalcain, and Noema.	9. *Lamech*, and
	10. *Noah.*

These be the generations of *Adam* by *Cain*, which the Scriptures mention: but *Josephus* giveth unto *Lamech* threescore and seventeen Sons and Daughters, by his two Wives *Ada*, and *Silla*: and to these three Sons of *Lamech*, *Moses* ascribeth the invention of Pastorage, of Musick, and the working in Metal; for it seemeth that *Jubal* first gather-
Gen. 4. 20, 21, 22. ed together, and made familiar those Beasts which formerly were untamed, and brought them into Herds and Droves: *Tubal* invented Musick, and *Tubalcain* the working in Brass and Iron: the one being addicted to Husbandry, the other was Mechanical, the third given to idleness and pleasure. In whom began these three meaner degrees of Shepherds, Handy-crafts men, and Musicians. And in the Issues of *Seth* began the Services of God, Divinity, Prophecy, and Astronomy: the Children of the one beheld the Heavens, the other the Earth.

§. IV.

Of the diversities in the Ages of the Patriarchs when they begat their Children.

A Second Scruple hath been made, How it came to pass that the *Patriarchs* begat their Children at so divers ages as *Cainan* or *Canan* at seventy Years, *Mahaleel* and *Enoch* at threescore and five Years, whereas *Jared* begat not any of his until he was 162. Years old: *Mathusalem* begat at 187. *Lamech* at 182. and *Noah* at 500. Years. Now this difference hath been the more enforced, because it cannot be conjectured, that either *Jared*, *Mathusalem*, or *Lamech* abstained from Marriage out of the religion of abstinence, seeing that *Enoch*, who was translated by God for his singular sanctities, begat Children before he was threescore and ten Years old.

The apparent difference hereof ariseth in this, that *Moses* did not number the Generations before the Flood precisely, according to the first-begotten and eldest Sons of the *Patriarchs*; but he drew down the line of *Noah* from *Seth*, and afterward from *Noah* to *Abraham*, by their true Ancestors were they elder or younger as he found them: for it is likely that *Henoch* was not the eldest of *Jarad*, nor *Lamech* the first-born of *Mathusalem*, nor *Noah* of *Lamech*; neither is there any thing known to the contrary, but that *Noah* might have had many Sons before *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, though these three were only named, and surviving, and which by God were reserved to be the Fathers of Mankind after the Flood; and therefore when we find *Mahaleel* to be begotten by *Kenan* at threescore and ten Years who was the first Son of *Kenan*, and then reckon that *Mathusalem* begat *Lamech* in the 187. Year of his life, the difference seemeth strange, where *Lamech* is taken for the eldest. But *Moses* rejecteth all the other Sons of *Mathusalem* but *Lamech* only, because he was the Father of *Noah* as aforesaid. Of this St. *Augustine* hath somewhat else in his 20. and 21. Chapters, *De Civitate Dei*.

But as *Moses* counted the Generations of the first age, and so to *Abraham*, and the Children of the promise after him; so doth St. *Matthew* recite the Genealogy of *Christ*, not by the eldest Sons, but from those whom God had chosen and blessed, without respect of the first-born, who have hereby the prerogative in Estates, worldly and transitory only; and therefore the *Evangelist* nameth *Isaac*, Matt. 1.
and not *Ismael*, though *Ismael* were first in time: so doth he take *Jacob* the younger, and not *Esau* the elder; neither is *Christ* derived from any of the three eldest *Patriarchs*, *Reuben*, *Simeon*, or *Levi*, but from *Juda* a fourth Brother, and so from *David* a younger Son of *Jessai*; and lastly we find, that the 1. King.
Kingdom it self of *Juda* was not given to the Heir in nature, but to the Heir of Grace, namely *Salomon*.

§. V.

Of the long Lives of the Patriarchs: and some of late memory.

THe third Objection is, that the great difference of Years between those of the first age, whereof some of them had well near seen a thousand Years, makes it disputable, whether the account of times were of the same measure as in after-ages, seeing that soon after the Flood Men lived not a third part of that time, and in succeeding ages and to this day not the tenth.

They

Solin. Polyhist. c. 3. Macrob. Saturn. l. 1. c. 8. Plin. l. 7. c. 48.

They that have hereon resolved that those Years were but Lunary Years, (to wit) of a Month or thereabouts, or *Ægyptian* Years, are easily confuted. For whereas *Seth* begat *Enosh* in the Year of his Life 105. if those Years be taken but for Months, then had *Seth* lived but eight Years and one Month when he begat *Enosh*: and if the time of *Enosh* have the same allowance, when he begat *Kenan*, then could *Enosh* at that time have been but six Years and forty eight weeks old; and so it may be gathered of the rest; excepting only *Adam*, who was created perfect in his kind, as were the Trees in their kind, bearing Fruit and Seed. But this were two ridiculous to imagine. For to give an ability of generation at 6. 7. or 8. Years, agreeth with the short lives of the *Pigmies*, and not with the Constitutions of our first Fathers, who being descended from *Adam*, the Workmanship of Gods Hands, and begotten and born in the strong Youth of the World, had length of Days and ability of Body agreeable. Again, if we allow this idle conceit of the Lunary Years, then there would follow this extremity, that those which lived longest, and upwards of nine hundred Years, had by that account but the time of fourscore and ten and odd Years, which were not only less by far than the *Patriarchs* lived after the Flood, but short of many Mens lives in this decrepit Age of the World, wherein many exceed fourscore, and some, a hundred Years. Further (if need be) to disprove this reckoning, whereas it is written *Gen.* 25. That *Abraham* died in a good Age, an Old Man, and of great Years; all which (if the former account were of Lunary Years) makes but seventeen and an half of our Years.

And if we seek for a cause of this long Life in Nature, then is it reasonable, that the first Man, created in highest perfection, should also beget Children of equal strength or little differing: for of the first and purest Seed there must of necessity spring up the fairest and fruitfullest Plants. Secondly, the Earth it self was then much less corrupt, which yielded her increase, and brought forth Fruit and food for Man, without any such mixture of harmful quality, as since that time the curse of God for the cruelty of Mans Heart brought on it and mankind: Neither had the waters of the Flood infused such an impurity, as thereby the Natural and powerful operation of all Plants, Herbs, and Fruits upon the Earth received a qualification and harmful change. And as all things under the Sun have one time of strength, and another of weakness, a Youth and Beauty, and then Age and Deformity: so time it self (under the deathful shade of whose wings all things decay and wither) hath wasted and worn out that lively Vertue of Nature in Man, and Beasts, and Plants, yea the Heavens themselves being of a most pure and cleansed matter shall wax old as a Garment; and then much more the Power generative in inferiour Creatures, who by the ordinance of God receive operative Vertue from the superiour. Psalm 102. 26.

But besides the Old Age of the World, how far doth our Education and simplicity of living differ from that old time? the tender bringing up of Children, first fed and nourished with the Milk of a strange Dug; an unnatural curiosity having taught all Women (but the Beggar) to find out Nurses, which necessity only ought to commend unto them: The hasty Marriages in tender Years, wherein, Nature being but yet green and growing, we rent from her, and replant her Branches, while her self hath not yet any Root sufficient to maintain her own top; and such half-ripe Seeds (for the most part) in their growing up wither in the Bud, and wax old even in their Infancy. But above all things the exceeding Luxuriousness of this gluttonous Age, wherein we press Nature with overweighty Burdens, and finding her strength defective, we take the work out of her Hands, and commit it to the artificial help of strong Waters, hot Spices, and provoking Sawces; of which *Lucan* hath these elegant Verses:

O prodiga rerum — *Pharsal. l. 4.*
Luxuries, nunquam parvo contenta parato:
Et quæsitorum terra pelagoq; Ciborum
Ambitiosa fames, & lauta gloria mensæ,
Discite quam parvo liceat producere vitam:
Et quamum Natura petat.
Non auro myrrhaque bibunt: sed gurgite puro
Vita redit: satis est populis fluvinsq; Ceresq;

O wastful Riot, never well content
With low-priz'd fare; hunger ambitious
Of cates by Land and Sea far fetcht and sent:
Vain glory of a Table sumptuous,
Learn with how little Life may be preserved.
In Gold and Myrrh they need not to carrouse,
But with the Brook the peoples thirst is served:
Who fed with Bread and Water are not sterved.

The *Ægyptians* affirm, that the longest time of Mans life is a hundred Years, because the Heart in a perfect Body waxeth and groweth to strength fifty Years, and afterwards by the same degree decayeth and withereth. *Epigenes* findeth in his Philosophy, that the Life of Man may reach to the period of an hundred and twenty Years, and *Berosus* to a hundred and seventeen Years. These opinions *Pliny* repeateth and reproveth, producing many examples to the contrary. In the last taxation, number and review of the eighth Region of *Italy*, there were found in the Roll (saith *Pliny*) four and fifty persons of an hundred Years of Age: seven and fifty of an hundred and ten: two, of an hundred and five and twenty: four, of an hundred and thirty: as many that were a hundred and five and thirty, or a hundred and seven and thirty Years old: and last of all, three Men of an hundred and forty: and this search was made in the times of *Vespasian* the Father and the Son. *Plin. Hist. nat. l. 21.* *Plin. l. 7. c. 49.*

The simple diet and temperate life of the *Essaans* gave them long account of many Years: so did it to the Secretaries of *Ægyptian* Ceremonies, to the *Persians*, *Magicians* and *Indian Brachmans*. The *Greeks* affirm out of *Homer*, that *Nestor* lived three Ages, and *Tiresias* six, *Sibylla* three hundred Years, *Endymion* of the less *Asia*, little less: Also *Masinissa* of *Numidia* lived very long, and *Dando* of *Illyria*. Among the Kings of *Arcadia* many lived three hundred Years (saith *Ephorus*) *Hellanicus* affirmeth of the *Epeians*, that some of them live full two hundred Years: and so doth *Diodorus Siculus* of the *Egyptians*) and that these reports are not fabulous; *Josephus* bringeth many witnesses with himself, as *Marethon*, *Berosus*, *Mochus*, *Estius*, *Hieronymus Ægyptius*, *Hecatæus*, *Ephorus*, and others. And *Anthonie Fume* an Historian of good reputation reporteth, that in the Year 1570. there was an *Indian* presented to *Solyman*, *General* of the *Turks* Army, who had outlived three hundred Years. I my self knew the old Countess of *Desmond* of *Inchiquin* in *Munster*, who lived in the Year 1589. and many Years since, who was married in *Edward* the Fourth's time, and held her Joynture from all the Earls of *Desmond* since then; and that this is true, all the Noblemen and Gentlemen of *Munster* can witness. *Stroxxius Cigogna*, out of *Torquemada Maffæus*, and the like Authors, telleth of some that have not only far *Joseph. antiq. l. 13. cap. 8.* *Plin. l. 7. c. 48.*

exceeded the Term prescribed by *Epigenes*; but been repaired from the withered estate of decrepit Age to fresh Youth. But for length of Life, if we note but the difference between the ability of Men in those days wherein *Galen* the Physician lived, it may easily prove unto us what Reeds we are in respect of those Cedars of the first Age. For *Galen* did ordinarily let Bloud six pound weight, whereas we (for the most part) stop at six ounces. But to conclude this part, there are three things (not counting Constellations) which are the natural causes of a long and healthful Life; (to wit) strong Parents, a pure and thin Air, and temperate use of Diet, Pleasure, and Rest: for those which are built of rotten Timber, or mouldring Stone, cannot stand long upright; on Air we feed always and in every instant, and on Meats but at times: and yet the heavy load of abundance, wherewith we oppress and overcharge Nature, maketh her to sink unawares in the mid-way; and therefore with a good Constitution, a pure Air, and a temperate use of those things which Nature wanteth, are the only Friends and Companions of a long Life.

§. VI.

Of the Patriarchs delivering their Knowledge by Tradition: and that Enoch *writ before the Flood.*

A Fourth Scruple hath been made, How the certain knowledge of the Creation came to *Moses*, seeing there was no Story thereof written, and if any such had been, yet it is conceived, that all memory of Antiquity perished in the universal floud.

But if we consider the curiosity and policy of elder Ages, we shall find that knowledge was the greatest Treasure that men sought for, and which they also covered and hid from the vulgar sort, as Jewels of inestimable price, fearing the irreverent construction of the ignorant and irreligious: so as whatsoever was attained unto concerning God, and his working in Nature, the same was not left to publick dispute, but delivered over by Heart and Tradition from wise Men to Posterity equally zealous, *Ex animo in animum sine literis, media intercedente verbo*; *From mind to mind without Letters, by way of tradition* or *word of mouth.* And it was thought by *Esdras*, *Origen*, and *Hilarius*, (as *Mirandula* conceiveth) that *Moses* did not only upon the Mount receive the Law from God, but withall *secretiorem & veram legis enarrationem*, *a more secret and true explanation of the Law*, which (saith he out of the same Authors,) he delivered by mouth to *Joshua*, and *Joshua* to the Elders: For to teach these mysteries, which he called *secretiora*, to the rude multitude, were no other *quàm dare sanctum canibus, & inter porcos spargere margaritas, than to give holy things to Dogs, and to cast pearls before swine.* In succeeding times this Understanding and Wisdom began to be written in Ciphers, and Characters, and Letters bearing the form of Beasts, Birds, and other Creatures; and to be taught only to such, as served in their Temples, and to their Kings and Priests. Of the first the *Cabala* of the *Jews* was an Imitation: the invention of the other is ascribed to *Zoroaster*, *Mercurius*, *Cadmus*, and others; but falsly.

This *Cabala* importeth a Law received by Tradition and unwritten. *Cabala* in Hebrew is *receptio* in Latine, and a *receiving* in English. And this Custom was also held by the *Druids* and *Bards* of our ancient *Britains*, and of later times by the *Irish Chroniclers* called *Rymers*. If then such as would seem wisest in the use of Reason, will not acknowledge, that the Story of the Creation or beginning of all things was written by Inspiration, the holy Ghost guiding the hand of *Moses*; yet it is manifest, that the knowledge thereof might by Tradition (them used) be delivered unto him by a more certain presumption, than any or all the Testimonies which prophane Antiquity had preserved and left to their Successors; which their wise Men (as they term them) did lay up and defend from the injury of the time and other hazards. For, leaving to remember that *Adam* instructed *Seth*, and *Seth* his Children and Successors, which cannot be doubted of, it is manifest, that *Methusalem* lived together with *Adam* himself Two hundred forty and three years, and *Noah* with *Methusalem* no less than Five hundred years: and before *Noah* died *Abraham* was fifty and eight years old; from whence this Knowledge by an easie and ordinary way might come to *Israel*, and so to *Moses*.

But besides this Tradition, it is questionless, that the use of Letters was found out in the very infancy of the world, proved by those Prophecies written on Pillars of Stone and Brick by *Enoch*: of which *Josephus* affirmeth, that one of them remained even in his time, (meaning belike some ruine or foundation thereof) which Pillars by others are ascribed to *Seth*. But of these Prophecies of *Enoch* Saint *Jude* testifieth, and some part of his Books (which contained the course of the Stars, their names and motions) were afterward found in *Arabia felix* in the Dominion of the Queen of *Saba*: (saith *Origen*) of which *Tertullian* affirmeth that he had seen and read some whole Pages. It is not therefore strange, that *Moses* came to the knowledge of the Creation and story of the first Age, seeing he might receive it both by Tradition and Letters, had not the Spirit of God instructed and inspired him as it did: which also his many and strange Miracles (performed before he wrote the Scriptures) make more manifest.

Now for the Books of *Enoch*, howsoever some men make question of them, sure I am that *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Augustine*, *Beda*, *Procopius*, *Gazeus*, (with others) cite them in their Writings: although *Medina*, for an Argument to prove them unwritten Traditions, alledgeth that *Pope Gelasius* among other the *Apocryphal* Scriptures (which he rejecteth) named not these of *Enoch*; but that whatsoever was remembred out of them, the same was delivered by Tradition from the *Jews*. But I rather think with *Pererius* that such a Book there was, and that the same was corrupted after the death of the Apostles, and many things added thereunto by Hereticks, who took occasion upon the Antiquity thereof, and out of that place of *Michael* contending with the Devil about the Body of *Moses*, to frame and add thereunto many Inventions of their own. One of the greatest Arguments against these Books, is that neither *Philo*, nor *Josephus* (the most diligent searchers of Antiquity) make mention thereof. But against it I will set this Opinion of St. *Augustine*, *Scripsisse quidem nonnulla divina* Enoch *illum septimum ab* Adam *negare non possumus*: *That* Enoch *the seventh from* Adam *did write divers divine things we cannot deny.* Now his Writings which came afterwards to light, were suspected because of the Antiquity, and of fables of Giants supposed to be begotten of Angels, and others; and by so much the more, because no such Book was found among those Canonical Scriptures, kept by the diligence of the Hebrew Priests in *Armario Judaico* (saith *Tertullian**) who yet affirmeth that this

Orig. Homil. 28. in Num. & comment. in Evang. Johan. Gelas. dist. 15.

* Tertul. de habit. mulierum.

this Book might be preserved by *Noah*. Surely that *Enoch* wrote the Prophecies remembred by *Jude*, no man can deny; how they were delivered to posterity I know not, whether by the *Jews Cabala*, or by what other means, the same is but man's conjecture. And (certainly) by the knowledge ascribed to *Noah* of the motions of the Heavens, and of the natures and conjuctions of the Stars; and afterwards to some of his Sons, to *Zoroaster*, and then to *Abraham*, it is very probable that *Noah* had seen and might preserve this Book. For it is not likely, that so exquisite knowledge therein (as these men had) was suddenly invented and found out, but left by *Seth* to *Enoch*, and by *Enoch* to *Noah*, as hath been said before. And therefore if Letters and Arts were known from the time of *Seth* to *Enoch*, and that *Noah* lived with *Methusalem*, who lived with *Adam*, and *Abraham* lived with *Noah*: it is not strange (I say) to conceive how *Moses* came to the knowledge of the first Age, be it by Letters, or by *Cabala* and Tradition, had the undoubted Word of God need of any other proof than Self-authority.

Heb. 11. 5.

§. VII.

Of the Men of Renown before the Flood.

NOW let us consider the Relation of *Moses*, who nameth seven descents of *Cain*'s Children, and of *Adam* by *Seth* ten: *Seth* being given by God in stead of *Abel*; and of *Seth* was *Enosh* begotten, in whose time men began to profess Religion, and to offer Sacrifice in publick. For although *Adam* instructed his Children in the knowledge of God their Creator, as appeared by the Sacrifice offered by *Cain* and *Abel*; yet it seemeth that after the birth of *Enosh* men began publickly to call on the Name of the Lord, that is, they served and praised God by Communion and in publick manner, or calling upon the Name of the Lord, and thereby were the Sons of God or the godly distinguished from the wicked. From the birth of *Enosh* the Son of *Seth*, to the time of *Henoch* the Son of *Jared*, there is nothing remembred by *Moses*, but their own births, the births of their Sons, the length of their Lives, and Deaths. But of *Henoch* it is written, *that he walked with God, and he was no more seen*: for God took him away. By that, *that he walked with God*, was meant, that he was a just and upright man, and that he feared, loved, and obeyed God. For the same phrase *Moses* useth of *Noah*. *Noah was a just and upright man in his time, and Noah walked with God.* The Seventy convert it, Enoch *placuit Deo*: Henoch *pleased God.* And although *Aben-Ezra* and others understand this place, [*tulit eum Deus*] *scilicet, mortuus est, God took him away (that is) he died*, which (indeed) agreeth both with the phrase of the Scripture, and with our manner of speech unto this day, to say, God took him away, when he died; yet the difference which *Moses* maketh between the Piety of *Henoch* and the rest of the *Patriarchs*, and by omitting the word [death] which he useth to all else, makes it manifest, that *Henoch* was not dissolved as the rest. For to all the rest of the *Patriarchs*, *Moses* useth these words, *And he died*; but of *Henoch* he spake otherwise, saying only, *he was missing*, or *he was not seen*. *Et non inveniebatur* (saith the Epistle to the *Hebrews*) *quia Deus eum transtulit*; *And he was not found, for the Lord took him away.* In the same place it is expressly added, *that he saw not death.*

Gen. 5. 24.

6. 9.

But whether this taking away of *Enoch* were not with the same kind of changing, which Saint *Paul* promiseth when he saith, that *when the end shall come, we shall not all die; but all shall be changed*; I leave it to the learned Divines.

1 Cor. 15. 51.

After *Henoch*, *Moses* passeth over to *Methusalem* and *Lamech*, remembring (as of the rest) the times of their Birth and Death: saving that *Lamech* prophesied of his Son *Noah*, saying, *This same shall comfort us concerning our Work, and sorrow of our Hands, as touching the Earth which the Lord hath cursed.* Of *Noah*, *Moses* writeth more amply, than of any of the rest of *Adam*'s Children by *Seth*, being the last of the ten Generations of the first Age, whom God (with his Family) preserved, because he was an upright Man in his time, and feared God.

Gen. 5. 29.

Gen. 6. 9.

But of the War, Peace, Government, and Policy of these strong and mighty Men, so able both in Body and Wit, there is no memory remaining: whose Stories if they had been preserved, and what else was then performed in that newness of the World, there could nothing of more delight have been left to Posterity. For the exceeding long Lives of Men (who to their strength of Body and natural Wits had the experience added of 800. and 900. years) how much of necessity must the same add of Wisdom and Undertakings? Likely it is, that their Works excelled all whatsoever can be told of after-times, especially in respect of this old Age of the World, when we no sooner begin to know, but we begin to die; according to *Hippocrates*, *Vita brevis*, *Ars longa*, *Tempus præceps*, (which is) *Life is short, Art is long, and Time is headlong.* And that those people of the first Age performed many things worthy admiration, it may be gathered out of these words of *Moses*, *These were mighty men, which in old time were men of renown.* But these Men of Renown (whom the Scripture afterwards calleth Giants, both for strength of Body and cruelty of Mind) trusted so much to their own Abilities, as they forgat altogether the Piety of *Seth*, and the ways wherein *Henoch* walked: *for all the imagination of their hearts were evil, only evil, and continually evil.* And this Wickedness was not only found in the Issues of *Cain*, but it was then universal, when the Children and Sons of God (or of the godly) were corrupted and misled by their idolatrous Wives, the Daughters of *Cain*, or of those other Men loving themselves and the World only.

Aphor. 1.

Gen. 5. 4.

v. 5.

That these *Sons of God* were Angels, which being taken with the Beauty of Women accompanied them and begat Giants, some of the Fathers supposed, namely *Lactantius* and *Eusebius* mis-led by *Josephus*: of whom I cannot doubt, but that they afterward changed their former Opinions. And of this mistaking many Writers have taken great advantage, and have troubled themselves with large Answers and very needless: the Question being uncapable of dispute, especially since St. *Chrysostome* and St. *Augustine* have answered it largely long ago. For, that good and godly Men were honoured with the Title of God's Children, it doth every where appear in the Scripture; and on the contrary, to think that Angels, who (as *Christ* witnesseth) behold the face of God, (that is) always attend his Commandments, should after a separation from the rest which fell with *Lucifer*, forsake the glorious presence of their Creator, and become *Incubi*, or *Succubi*, contrary both to Nature and Grace, were more than madness to imagin.

Gen. 6. 1. v. 2.

§. VIII.

§. VIII.

That the Giants, by Moſes *ſo called, were indeed Men of huge Bodies: as alſo divers in latter times.*

OF theſe Giants which *Moſes* calleth mighty men, *Goropius Becanus* an *Antwerpian* (who thought his own Wit more Gigantical than the Bodies of *Nimrod* or *Hercules*) hath written a large Diſcourſe, intituled *Gigantomachia*, and ſtrained his Brains to prove, that there were never any ſuch Men: his Reaſons (whoſoever deſires to loſe time) he may find them in the Treatiſes beforenamed. It is true that *Cyrillus* reproves the Græcian Poets for their monſtrous Fictions: who affirm ſhamelеſſly, That the Giants have in elder times not only caſt up Mountains upon Mountains, but removed Iſlands out of the Sea, with like fooleries. And for that Invention of caſting up Hills, and making War with the Gods, no doubt but that the ſame was borrowed out of the Story of *Nimrod*, as before remembred; and even out of this Scripture, That the Sons of God ſaw the Daughters of Men, of whom the firſt Giants were begotten, was that conceit taken of *Orpheus* and *Heſiodus*, That Giants were the Sons of the Heaven and the Earth; meaning by the Heavens the Sons of God, and by the Earth the Daughters of Men: which Verſes of *Orpheus* are by *John Caſſam* (who hath written a witty Diſcourſe of this Subject) thus changed into *Latin*:

Nomine cœleſtes illos dixêre Gigantes,
Orti quòd terrâ fuerint & ſanguine cœli.

From the Earth, and from thy Blood, O Heaven,
they came,
Whom thereupon the Gods did Giants name.

But what will not Opiniators and ſelf-believing Men diſpute of, and make doubt of, if they cannot conceive that there were in the firſt Age ſuch kind of Men; and of which there have been in all times ſince? ſeeing the Scriptures avow the one manifeſtly, and common experience the other?

And for that ſuperlative ſtraining of words, and the meaning of them, that the name of Giants was given to Oppreſſors and Tyrants, and not to ſtrength of Body and eminent Stature: ſuch Men might with better reaſon call them Oppreſſors becauſe they were Giants, and therefore had ability to oppreſs, than ſay, That they were called Giants only becauſe Oppreſſors. For firſt *Moſes* himſelf calleth them *mighty Men*; which ſheweth a ſtrength ſurpaſſing others: and afterwards, Men of Renown, (that is) of great undertaking and adventurous Action. And if the ſame Stature of Body, and Ability had not been found among divers Nations after the general Flood, then might this place of *Moſes* have more willingly hearkned to a Diſpute, and yielded to Interpretation.

But beſides all theſe famous Giants found in prophane Hiſtories (which I will reſerve to accompany the Giants of *Albion* in the Story of *Britany*) the Scriptures do clearly and without all Allegorical conſtruction avow, That, beſides *Nimrod*, there were found of theſe Giants in the time of *Abraham*, of *Moſes*, of *Joſhua*, and of *David*; namely the *Rephaims* in *Aſteroth*; the *Zuzei* or *Zanzummims* in *Ham*, and the *Emims*, which dwelt anciently in the Land of *Moab*: whom *Moſes* (for Stature) compareth with the *Anakims*, which dwelt in *Hebron*; for they alſo were taken for Giants as the *Anakims*: Likewiſe where *Moſes* ſpeaketh of the Land of *Ammon*, he uſeth theſe words, *That alſo was taken for a land of Giants, for Giants dwelt therein aforetimes:* and *whom the Ammonites call Zanzummims: a people that was great, and many, and tall as the Anakims.* And theſe Giants called *Rephaims* in *Aſteroth* and *Kernaim*, and the *Zuzai* or *Zanzummims*, *Chedorlaomer* King of *Elam* overthrew, aſſiſted by other Kings his Aſſociates. Alſo the Prophet *Amos* found among the *Ammonites* Men of Giant-like Stature, whom he compareth to the Cedar, and whoſe ſtrength to the Oaks; and the Prophet *Baruch*, *Theſe were the Giants famous from the beginning, that were of ſo great ſtature, and ſo expert in war.* Particularly it is written of *Og*, King of *Baſan*, that his Bed of Iron was nine Cubits long, and four Cubits broad: for only *Og* King of *Baſan* remained of the Remnants of the Giants, who commanded the Kingdom of *Baſan*, four hundred Years after the expedition of *Chedorlaomer*. Moreover thoſe Diſcoverers and Searchers of the Land of Promiſe (ſent by *Moſes* from *Cadesbarne* in *Paran*) made Report at their return of the great Stature of thoſe People in general, and eſpecially of the Sons of *Anak*, in theſe words. *All the people which we ſaw in it are men of great ſtature: for there we ſaw Giants, the ſons of Anak which come of the Giants, ſo that we ſeemed in our ſights like Graſs-hoppers, and ſo we were in their ſight*; (that is) the Searchers found in their own Judgments a marvelous difference between the *Anakims* and themſelves: inſomuch that the *Iſraelites* were ſo ſtricken with fear, as they rather ſought and deſired to return again into *Ægypt*, and were more willing to endure their former ſlavery, than to fall by the ſtrokes of thoſe fearful Nations. Furthermore the Scriptures put us out of doubt, that *Goliah* the *Philiſtine* of *Gath* was a Giant of ſix Cubits and a Span long: the Armour which he wore weighed Five thouſand ſhekles of Braſs: the Shaft of his Spear was like a Weavers Beam, and his Spear-head weighed Six hundred Shekles of Iron. Alſo in *Samuel* there is mention of another *Goliah* ſirnamed *Gethæus*, becauſe he was of *Gath*: and of three other Giants, of which the firſt was ſlain by *Jehonathan*, *David*'s Nephew, who had twelve Fingers, and as many Toes: a Man of great Stature, and his Fingers were by ſixes, even four and twenty.

Alſo that *Sampſon* was of ſurpaſſing ſtrength no Man doubteth, who tore a Lion as it had been a Kid, and after ſlew thirty of the *Philiſtines*, and (after that) a thouſand more of them with a Jawbone of an Aſs; And laſtly he took the Gates of *Azzah*, and the two Poſts, and lifted them away with the Bars, and put them upon his Shoulders, and carried them to the top of the Mountain before *Ebron*. If then it be approved by every Judgment, that both Nature and the Heavens wax old, and that the great Age of Time hath (with it ſelf) infeebled and almoſt worn out the vertue of all things, then I ſay, That as in all other kinds the Earth (before that Sin had increaſed the Curſe and Corruption) brought forth her young ones more ſtrong and beautiful than it did in after-ages: ſo alſo thoſe Giants, thoſe mighty Men, and Men of Renown as far exceeded the proportion, nature and ſtrength of thoſe Giants remembred by *Moſes* of his own time, and after him their ſucceſſors, as the ordinary proportion of all Men in general, ſoon after the Flood and in times far off, exceeded the bulks and bodies of Men which are now born in the withered Quarter and Winter of the World: If therefore Giants were common in the third and fourth Age, much more in the firſt flouriſhing youth and newneſs of the World.

Gen. 14. 5. *Num.* 13. 34. *Deut.* 2. *v.* 21, 20. *V.* 21. *Amos* c. 1. *Bar.* 3. *v.* 26. *Deut.* 3. *v.* 11. *Num.* 13. *v.* 34. *c.* 14. 4. 1 *Sam.* 17. 4. 2 *Sam.* 21. *v.* 19. 1 *Chron.* 20. 21. *Jud.* 14. 6 14. 19. 16. 3.

But

But the wickedness (especially in cruelty and oppression) of these Men was such, as God therefore by the Flood gave end to all Flesh, but to the just *Noah* and his Family. *And God repented him that he had made man*; which S. *Augustine* thus expoundeth: *Neque enim sicut hominem, ita Deum fallit sui pœnitet, cujus est de omnibus omnino rebus tam fixa sententia, quàm certa præscientia. Sed si non utatur Scriptura talibus verbis, non se quodammodo familiarius insinuabit omni generi hominum, quibus vult esse consultum: ut & perversos superbientes, & excitet negligentes, & exercens quærentes, & sanctos intelligentes.* God (saith he) *doth not repent him of any thing which he hath done, (as men use to do:) but if the Scripture did not use those words, or the like, it should not (in a sort) insinuate it self familiarly to all sorts of men, for whom it would provide: that it might terrifie the proud, stir up the negligent, exercise the searchers of Truth, and nourish those that understand.*

Gen. 6. 6.

De Civit. Dei, l. 15. c. 25.

CHAP. VI.

Of Idolatrous Corruptions, quickly rising, and hardly at length vanishing in the World: and of the Reliques of Truth touching these Ancient Times, obscurely appearing in Fables and old Legends.

§. I.

That in Old Corruptions we may find some Signs of more Ancient Truth.

HERE before we proceed any further, the occasion offereth it self for us to consider, how the *Greeks* and other more Ancient Nations, by fabulous inventions, and by breaking into parts the Story of the Creation, and by delivering it over in a mystical sense, wrapping it up mixed with other their own trumpery, have sought to obscure the truth thereof; and have hoped, that after-ages, being thereby brought into many doubts, might receive those intermixt Discourses of God and Nature for the inventions of Poets and Philosophers, and not as any thing borrowed or stolen out of the Books of God. But as a skilful and learned *Chymist* can as well by separation of visible Elements draw helpful Medicines out of Poyson, as Poyson out of the most healthful Herbs and Plants (all things having in themselves both Life and Death) so, contrary to the purposes and hopes of the Heathen, may those which seek after God and Truth find out every where, and in all the ancient Poets and Philosophers, the Story of the first Age, with all the Works and Marvails thereof, amply and lively expresst.

§. II.

That the Corruptions themselves were very ancient: as in the Family of Noah, *and in the old* Ægyptians.

BUT this defection and falling away from God, which was first found in Angels, and afterwards in Men (the one having erred but once, the other ever) as concerning Mankind it took such effect, that thereby (the liberal Grace of God being withdrawn) all the Posterity of our first Parents were afterwards born and bred in a World, suffering a perpetual Eclipse of spiritual Light. Hence it was that it produced Plants of such imperfection and harmful quality, as the Waters of the general Flood could not so wash out or depure, but that the same defection hath had continuance in the very Generation and Nature of Mankind. Yea, even among the few Sons of *Noah* there were found strong effects of the former Poyson. For as the Children of *Sem* did inherit the Vertues of *Seth*, *Enoch*, and *Noah*; so the Sons of *Cham* did possess the Vices of the Sons of *Cain*, and of those wicked Giants of the first Age. Whence the *Chaldæans* began soon after the Flood to ascribe Divine Power and Honour to the Creature, which was only due to the Creator. First, they worshipped the Sun, and then the fire. So the *Ægyptians* and *Phœnicians* did not only learn to leave the True God, but created twelve several gods, and divine powers, whom they worshipped; and unto whom they built Altars and Temples. For *Herodotus* saith, *Duodecim Deorum nomina primos Ægyptios in usu habuisse, unde; Græcos abillis accepisse mutuatos, eosque prius aras, & imagines & templa Diis sibi erexisse.* *The Ægyptians (saith he) first devised the names of the twelve Gods, which the Greeks received from them, who first erected unto themselves Altars, Images, and Temples for the Gods.*

Herod. in Euterp.

§. III.

That in process of time these lesser Errors drew on greater: as appeareth in the gross superstitions of the Ægyptians.

BUT as Men once fallen away from undoubted Truth, do then after wander for evermore in Vices unknown, and daily travel towards their Eternal perdition: so did these gross and blind Idolaters every Age after other descend lower and lower, and shrink and slide downwards from the knowledg of one True and very God; and did not thereby err in worshipping mortal Men only, but they gave Divine Reverence, and had the same respect to Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Fowls, Winds, Earth, Water, Air, Fire, to the Morning, to the Evening, to Plants, Trees and Roots, to Passions and Affections of the Mind, to Paleness, Sickness, Sorrows, yea to the most unworthy and basest of all these. Which barbarous Blasphemy *Rhodius Anaxandrides* derideth in this manner:

Nat. Com. l. 1. c. 7.

Bovem colis, ego Deis macto bovem.
Tu maximum Anguillam Deum putas: ego
Obsoniorum credidi suavissimum.
Carnes sullas tu caves, at gaudeo
His maximè: canem colis, quem verbera
Edentem ubi deprehendo fortè obsonium.

I Sacrifice to God the Beef, which you adore:
I broil the *Ægyptian* Eels, which you (as God)
implore:

You

You fear to eat the Flesh of Swine, I find it sweet.
You worship Dogs, to beat them I think meet,
When they my store devour.

And in this manner *Juvenal*:

Sat. 15. 2. 9. *Porrum aut cepe nefas violare aut frangere morsu:*
O sanctas gentes, quibus hac nascuntur in hortis
Numina!

The *Ægyptians* think it sin to root up, or to bite
Their Leeks or Onions, which they serve with holy rite:
O happy Nations, which of their own sowing
Have store of Gods in every Garden growing.

§ IV.

That from the Reliques of Ancient Records among the Ægyptians *and others, the first Idols and Fables were invented: and that the first* Jupiter *was* Cain, Vulcan, Tubalcain, *&c.*

BUT in so great a confusion of Vanities, where among the Heathens themselves there is no agreement or certainty, it were hard to find out from what example the beginnings of these Inventions were borrowed, or after what ancient Pattern they erected their building, were it not certain, that the *Ægyptians* had knowledge of the first Age, and of whatsoever was done therein; partly from some Inscriptions upon Stone or Metal remaining after the Flood; and partly from *Mizraim* the Son of *Cham*, who had learnt the same of *Cham*. and *Cham* of his Father *Noah*. For all that the *Ægyptians* write of their ancient Kings and date of Times cannot be feigned. And though other Nations after them had by imitation their *Jupiters* also, their *Saturns*, *Vulcans*, and *Mercuries*, with the rest which S. *Augustine* out of *Varro*; *Eusebius* out of many Prophane Historians; *Cicero*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Arnobius*, and many more have observed, to wit the *Phœnicians*, *Phrygians*, *Cretians*, *Greeks*, and other Nations; yet was *Cain* the Son of *Adam* (as some very learned Men conceive) called and reputed for the first and ancient *Jupiter*; and *Adam* for the first *Saturn*: for *Jupiter* was said to have invented the founding of Cities; and the first City of the World was built by *Cain*, which he called *Enoch*, of whom were the *Henochii* before remembred. And so much may be gathered out of *Plato* in *Protagoras*, which also *Higinus* in his 275. Chapter confirmeth. For besides that, many Cities were founded by divers Men, *Tamen primam latissimam à primo & antiquissimo Jove ædificatam*; yet the first and largest was built by the first and most ancient Jupiter, seated in the East parts, or in *India*, according to that of *Moses*: *And Cain dwelt towards the East-side of Eden*, &c. where also the *Henochii* were found after the Flood. And therefore was *Jupiter* by the *Athenians* called *Polieus*, a Founder of Cities, and *Herceios*, an incloser or strengthener of Cities; (say *Phornutus* and *Pausanias*) and that to *Jupiter Herceios* there were in very many places Altars and Temples erected. And that there were Cities built before the Flood. *Plato* also witnesseth, as may be gathered in this his affirming, that soon after Mankind began to increase, they built many Cities; which as his meaning he delivereth in plain terms, in his third Book of Laws: for he saith, that Cities were built an exceeding space of time before the Destruction by the great Flood.

Aug. l. 19. c. 22. De Civit. Dei. Euseb. l. 1. Præp. Evang. c. 7. & l. 2. c. 23. Cic. l. 3. de nat. Deorum. Arnob. 4. cont. Gent.

Gen. 4. 16.

Phorn. l. de natur. Deorum. Pausan. l 4, 5. & 10. in Protag.

This first *Jupiter*, of the *Ethnicks* was then the same *Cain*, the Son of *Adam*, who marrying his own Sister (as also *Jupiter* is said to have done) inhabited the East, where *Stephanus de Urbibus* placeth the City *Henochia*. And besides this City of *Henoch*, *Philo Judæus* conceiveth that *Cain* built six others, as *Maich*, *Jared*, *Tebe*, *Jesca*, *Selet* and *Gebat*: but where *Philo* had this I know not. Now as *Cain* was the first *Jupiter*, and from whom also the *Ethnicks* had the invention of Sacrifice: so were *Jubal*, *Tubal* and *Tubalcain* (Inventors of Pastorage, Smiths-craft, and Musick) the same, which were called by the ancient Prophane writers *Mercurius*, *Vulcan* and *Apollo*; and as there is a likelihood of name between *Tubalcain* and *Vulcan*: so doth *Augustine* expound the name of *Noema* or *Naamath*, the Sister of *Tubalcain*, to signifie *Venustia*, or beautiful *Voluptas*, or pleasure; as the Wife of *Vulcan* is said to be *Venus*, the Lady of Pleasure and Beauty. And as *Adam* was the ancient and first *Saturn*, *Cain* the eldest *Jupiter*, *Eva Rhea*, and *Noema* or *Naamath* the first *Venus*: so did the Fable of the dividing of the World between the three Brethren the Sons of *Saturn* arise, from the true Story of the dividing of the Earth between the three Brethren the Sons of *Noah*: so also was the Fiction of those Golden Apples kept by a Dragon taken from the Serpent, which tempted *Evah*: so was *Paradise* it self transported out of *Asia* into *Africa*, and made the Garden of the *Hesperides*: the Prophecies, that *Christ* should break the Serpents Head, and conquer the power of Hell, occasioned the Fables of *Hercules* killing the Serpent of *Hesperides*, and descending into Hell, and captivating *Cerberus*: so out of the taking up of *Henoch* by God was borrowed the conversion of their *Heroes* (the Inventors of Religion and such Arts as the life of Man had profit by) into Stars and Heavenly Signs, and (withal) that leaving of the World, and Ascension of *Astræa*; of which *Ovid*,

Ultima cœlestum terras Astræa reliquit. *Ovid. M. l. 1.*

Astræa last of Heavenly Wights the Earth did leave.

For although thereby the *Ethnicks* would understand Justice it self to have failed, as it is a vertue abstract, and may be considered without a Person; yet as it is usual among the ancient Poets to describe Vertues and Vices by the Persons of Men and Women, as Desire by *Cupid*, Valour by *Mars*, Beauty or Lust by *Venus*, so do they also the Persons of Men by like Vertues and Vices; and therefore by Justice and *Astræa*, *Enoch*: the Justice and Piety of *Enoch* being in the same manner expresst, as that of *Noah* was by *Moses*, for *Noah* was said to be a just Man; *And Noah walked with God*. And of *Enoch* it is written, *that he walked with God, and he was no more seen: for God took him away*.

Nat. Com. l. 2. c. 1.

V. l.

Gen. 5. Gen. 6. 22, 24.

From this Story also of the first Age, and from that part where *Moses* remembreth the Giants begotten by the Sons of good Men upon the Daughters of the wicked (whom *Moses* calleth mighty Men, and Men of Renown) did they steal those wondrous great acts of their ancient Kings, and powerful Giants; and again their War undertaken against the Gods, from the building of the Tower of *Babel* by the Giant *Nimrod*, as S. *Augustine* terneth him. Which War of their Giants *Cornelius Severus* thus describeth:

L. de Civit. Dei.

Ter-

Tentavêre (nefas) olim detrudere mundo
Sydera, captivique Jovis transferre Gigantes:
Imperium, & victo leges imponere cœlo.

The Giants did advance their wicked hand
Against the Stars, to thrust them headlong down
And robbing *Jove* of his Imperial Crown,
On conquered Heavens to lay their proud Command.

Whereby was meant that *Nimrod* purposed to raise the Building of *Babel* to that heighth, as God neither by drawing Waters from the Deep, nor by any conjunction of the Stars, should bury them under the moisture of a second Flood, but that by this Building (if they had been herein victorious) they would have given the Law to Heaven it self. Also the making of Leagues, Peace and Covenants among Heathen Nations and Kings, confirmed by Sacrifice, whereof *Virgil* both in the eighth and twelfth of his *Æneids* hath a touch, was as it seemeth borrowed from *Moses*, *Exod.* 24. Who when he read the Book of the Covenant sprinkled the People with Blood.

Joseph. l. 1. cont. Appion. We find also many Remembrances of *Seth*, the paternal Ancestor of *Henoch* and *Noah*: for *Amenophis*, the same King of *Ægypt*, which reigned at such time as *Moses* carried thence the Children of *Israel*, (as of late some learned Men mistaking his time supposed) called his Son and Successor *Sethos*, of *Seth*, and of the same *Seth* (as many Men of good judgment have granted (were the Princes of *Thrace* called *Sethes*, whereof there were many very famous. But herein was the memory of *Seth* most manifestly preserved, that the *Ægyptians* worshipped *Seth*, as their most ancient Parent, and of the first Tradition: in honour of whom they called a principal Province *Sethetica*. *Plut. in Isid.* We also find in *Bithynia* the City of *Sethia*, and others of the same Name elsewhere. *Strabo. l. 17.* And sure from the *Ægyptians* did the *Gracians* borrow this kind of Theology, though they scorned to acknowledge any Antiquity preceding their own; and that they might not seem to learn elsewhere, they gave the same Names to their own Idols which the *Ægyptians* did to theirs.

§. V.

Of the three chiefest Jupiters; *and the strange Story of the third.*

But of all those Armies of *Jupiters* remembred by the Ancients, *Cicero* maketh but three, because those were of most Fame: which other Writers have also done, who sought out, and laboured in their Originals.

The first was *Jupiter*, the Son of *Æther* and *Dies*, so called, because the one had reference to his celestial conditions (for *Æther* is as much as shining or pure Fire) the other discovered his natural Vertues, which days and times make more perfect, and are the witnesses of Mens actions.

The second was said to be the Son of *Cœlum* or Heaven, for the same former respect; and this *Jupiter* was an *Arcadian*, and King of *Athens*.

The third, of whom all the Grecian Fables were devised, was of *Crete* (now *Candie*) the Son of *Saturn* and *Ops*. The Name derived from the Latin is taken of *Juvans Pater*, from the Greek word *Zeus*, it signifieth Life, but somewhat strained. *Boccas* in his Genealogy of the Gods conceiveth, that his Name was borrowed from *Jupiter* the Planet; but whether that Star had such a Name, before the same was given to Men, I know not. *Jupiter* is hot and moist, temperate, modest, honest, adventurous, liberal, merciful, loving, and faithful, (that is) giving these Inclinations. And therefore those ancient Kings beautified with these Conditions, might be called there after *Jupiter*; but howsoever they were, or were not with those Vertues enriched, yet, by imitation, all Kings in the eldest times assumed those Titles and Sirnames: great Princes affecting as high Titles of Honour and Reputation in the World, (howsoever deserved) as the worthiest, that ever were, acquired by their well-deservings. *Jovem omnes Reges vocârunt antiqui*; *The Ancients called all Kings* Jupiters, as *Tzetzes* in his *Varia Historia* confirmeth: *Reges olim Jovis vocârunt omnes: In old time all Nations called their Kings* Jupiters. But where this last and most remembred *Jupiter* was born it is uncertain. Some there are that make him of *Creet*: others, that he was but sent thither by his Mother *Ops* or *Opis*, to be fostered and hidden from the fury of *Titan* his Uncle: because it was conditioned between *Saturn* and *Titan*, that *Saturn* being a younger Brother, and reigning (for his own Life) by *Titan*'s permission, he should put to death all his male Children, lest the *Titans* might be interrupted by any of them in their Succession; which Agreement because *Saturn* performed in his first-born, it is feigned that *Saturn* devoured his own Children. Hereof *Lycophron*, thus turned into Latin, *Nat. Com. l. 1. c. 7.*

Haud sit pinguior,
Crudis sepulchrum quòd sit ipse filiis.

Saturn to be the fatter is not known,
By being the Grave and Burial of his own.

This composition between *Titan* and *Saturn*, *Sibylla* also witnesseth in these,

Conceptis verbis; Titan *jurare coegit*
Saturnum, *de se natum ne nutriat illum,*
Quo possint regnare Jovis post fata Nepotes.

Things thus agreed: *Titan* made *Saturn* swear,
No Son to nourish; which by reigning might
Usurp the Right of *Titan*'s lawful Heir.

But *Opis*, the Mother of *Jupiter*, being delivered at once both of *Jupiter* and *Juno*, conveyed *Jupiter* (first called *Lysanias*) into *Creet*, as she did afterwards his two Brothers, *Neptune* and *Pluto*: where he was brought up in *Gnossus*, the chief City of that Island, by *Cresta* the King, or by the *Curetes*, a People and Nation thereof. *Euseb. in Timp.*

Others challenge him to be of *Thebes*, and a *Thebane*: others call him an *Arcadian*: others make him of *Messina*. The like Contention is found among the *Greeks* touching his Education and first Fostering. Some affirm, that he was fed by Hony-bees: in Recompence whereof he changed their black Coats and Skins into yellow; a Reward well fitting such a God: others, that he was nourished by Bears: others, by Goats: and of all these the idle *Greeks* have many pretty Tales. But in the end when *Titan* had knowledge, that *Saturn* had broken his Faith, he set on him, and took him and his Wife Prisoners, whom *Jupiter* again rescued and delivered.

But lastly, the Father and the Son equally ambitious, the one doubted the other. *Saturn* being the lesse powerful fled into *Italy*, and left his Kingdoms in *Greece* to his Son. And although this Prince at the first purchased great Honour, and for his many Vertues the Name of *Jupiter* was given him; yet, after he was once setled and became potent, he gave himself over wholly to Palliardize and Adultery, without all respect of Honour, Law, or Religion. And it is reported by such, as do ascribe the Actions of many to one *Jupiter*, that not therewith satisfied, he was afterwards known to offend in the Sin of *Sodom* with *Ganymedes* and others; and did not only begin with Incest, marrying his own Sister *Juno*, but he ravished, betrayed, stole away, and took by strong hand all the beautiful Women born in his time, within the Limits of his own Kingdoms, or bordering them. Among whom these hereafter written were of greatest Fame, *Niobe*, *Laodemia*, and *Alcmena* the Wife of *Amphitryon*, by whom he had *Pelasgus*, *Sarpedon*, *Argus*, and *Hercules*: by *Taygete* he had *Taygetus*, of whom the Mountain *Taygetus* took Name, with another Son called *Saon*, of whom *Sauona*: by *Antiope* he had *Amphion* and *Zetus*: by *Leda*, *Castor & Pollux*, *Helen & Clytemnestra*: by *Danae Perseus*: by *Jordana Deucalion*: by *Charme* (the daughter of *Eubulus*) *Britomartis*; by *Protogenia* he had *Aethlius* the Father of *Endymon*; and by *Io* (the Daughter of *Inachus*) *Epaphus*, the Founder of *Memphis* in *Ægypt*: which *Epaphus* married *Libya*, of whom that Country took Name, for so the *Greeks* afterward called *Africa*. He ravished *Ægina*, the Daughter of *Æsopus*, and carried her into the Island *Oenopia* or *Oenotria*, afterward called *Ægina*, on whom he begat *Æacus*: by *Torlebia* he had *Archesilaus* and *Curbius*: by *Ora Celaxes*: he had also *Dardanus* by *Electra*, who built *Dardanium*, afterward *Ilion* and *Troy*. He begat the Brothers *Talici*, on *Thalia*, and on *Garamantis Hiarbas*. He had besides these (if they bely not their chief God) *Philemon* and *Pilumnus*, Inventers of Bakers Craft; and I know not how many more; but I know well that he could not be Father to all these, who were born in Ages so far differing. And of these his several Ravishments, Betrayings, stealing away of Mens Wives, Daughters and Sons, buying of Virgins, and the like, came in all those ancient Fables of his Transformations into showers of Gold, Eagles, Bulls, Birds, and Beasts, and of him, and by him (in effect) all that Rable of Grecian Forgeries. And yet did not the *Greeks* and *Romans* fear to entitle this Monster, *Optimus Maximus*, though *Cicero* in his second Book *de natura Deorum* affirm, that he deserved nothing lesse. And in his Oration *pro domo sua* reproacheth *Clodius* for his Incest, by the Name of *Jupiter*. His Burial was in *Crete* (saith *Lucian*) *Cretenses non solum natum apud se & sepultum Jovem testantur, sed etiam sepulchrum ejus ostendunt.* The Cretians or Candians do not only avow that Jupiter was born and buried among them, but they shew his Grave and Sepulchre: which *Epiphanius* also confirmeth, for in his time there remained the Monuments of his Tomb in the Mountain *Jasius*. This *Callimachus* in his Hymns also witnesseth, but as offended thereat, saith thus:

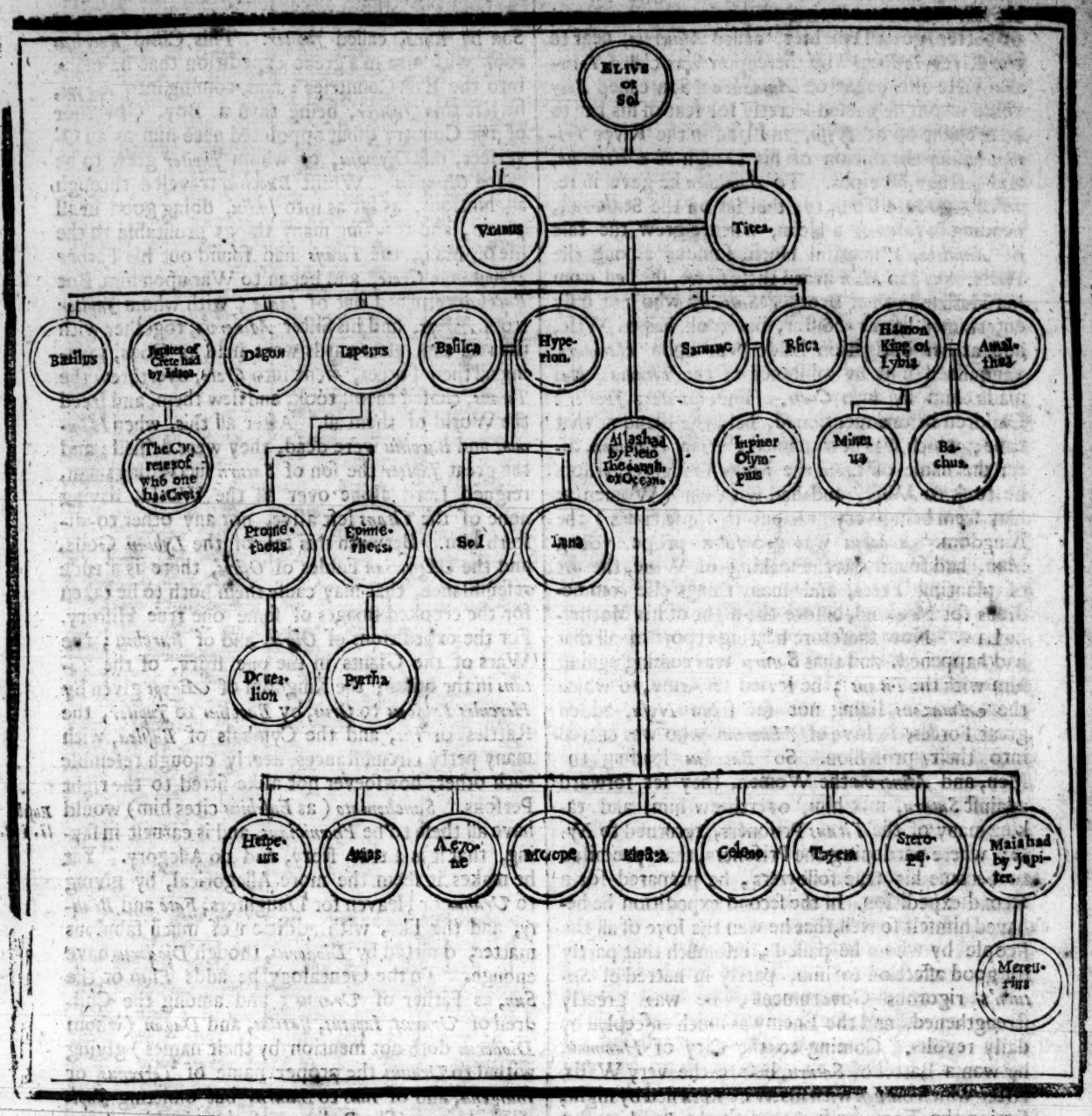
Luc. in sacrif.

The *Cretians* ever Lyars were, they care not what they say:
For they a Tomb have built for thee, O King, that liv'st alway.

Diodorus Siculus tells by way of Report from the *Libyan* Fables, confirmed (as he saith) by some *Greek* Writers, that the Original of these Gods was from the Western parts of *Africk*. For there among the *Atlantida* reigned one *Uranus* (which signifieth Heaven) called so for his great skill in *Astrology*, and for his knowledge, and benefits to the People, honoured by them as a God after his death. He had by many Wives, forty five Sons; but by his principal Wife *Titea* he had seventeen Sons and two Daughters, all which were called after their Mothers Name the *Titanes*. Of *Titea* likewise it is said, that she for her goodness was Canonized as a Goddess, being dead, and called the Earth, as her Husband was stiled Heaven. But of all the Children of *Titea*, her Daughter *Basilea* (which Name sounding as Queen in *English*, she is by the Latine Translator of *Diodorus* called *Regina*) excelling the rest as far in Vertue as in Years, was by general consent of her Brethren, and of the People, appointed to rule as Queen after her Fathers death, being as yet a Virgin. She took to Husband her Brother *Hyperion*, to whom she bare a Son and a Daughter, called *Sun* and *Moon*. The beauty and towardliness of these Children moved her Brethren to envy, and bred in them a fear of being excluded from the Succession: wherefore they took the Boy and drowned him in the River *Eridanus*, now called *Po*. The loss of this Child caused his Sister to break her own Neck; and the loss of both her Children made the Mother to play many mad Pranks, dancing with Cymbals, after a wild fashion, in sight of all the People, before whom she is said to have vanished away. Ere she died, her Son (as the Fable hath it) signified unto her in a Dream, that he and his Sister by the providence of God should become immortal, that also the *Sun* and *Moon* should be called by their Names, and that their Death should be revenged upon the Murderers. According to which it is said, that the People did so call those two Planets, and withall held her self as a Goddess, and termed her the great Mother, which Name they had formerly given to her, for her Motherly Care in cherishing her Brethren whilst they were young. *Hyperion* and his Race being extinguished, the other Sons of *Uranus* divided the Kingdom. Of these *Atlas* and *Saturn* were chief. *Atlas* reigned over the Countries lying about the Mountains, which afterward bare his Name; a just and wise Prince, deeply skilful in *Astrology*, and for Invention of the *Sphere* said to have supported Heaven. He had many Sons; but the principal of them called *Hesperus*, being of his Fathers qualities and studies, was said to have been carried away by the Wind, from the top of an high Hill in the midst of his Contemplations, and his Name in honour of him, imposed by the People upon the Morning Star. The seven Daughters of *Atlas* were also said to have been excellent Ladies, who accompanying such as came to be Deified, or Registred among the Worthies, brought forth Children, answerable in quality to those that begat them. Of these it is held, that the seven Stars called *Pleiades* took Name. *Saturn* the Brother of *Atlas* reigned in *Sicilia*, part of *Africk* and *Italy*. *Jupiter* another of the Sons of *Uranus*, reigned in *Crete*, who had ten Sons which he called *Curetes*; he called that Island after his Wives Name *Ida*, in which Isle he died, and was buried. But this *Jupiter* must not have been that great one, but Uncle to the great *Jupiter*, if these Fables of the *Libyans* were true. *Saturn* (as these *Libyans* tell the Tale) was a great Tyrant, and fortified strong places, the better to keep his people in subjection. His Sister *Rhea* was married

Diodor. l. 2. c. 5.

married to *Hammon*, who reigned in some part of *Africk*. *Hammon* loving others as well as his Wife, or better, got a Daughter, called *Minerva*, near to the River *Triton*, who thereupon was called *Tritonia*. He also begat on *Amalthea* a Son called *Bacchus*, whom he caused secretly for fear of his life to be brought up at *Nysa*, an Island in the River *Triton*, under the tuition of his Daughter *Minerva*, and certain Nymphs. To *Amalthea* he gave in reward a goodly Country, that lay on the Sea coast, bending in form of a Horn, whence grew the tale of *Amalthea*'s plentiful Horn, famous among the Poets. When *Rhea* heard these news, she fled from her Husband to her Brother *Saturn*, who not only entertained her as a Sister, but took her to Wife, and at her instigation made War upon *Hammon*, vanquished him by assistance of the *Titanes*, and made him fly into *Crete*. The *Curetes*, *Jupiter*'s Children before-mentioned, held the Island at that time; which was new named *Crete* by *Hammon*, after the name of *Creta* the Kings Daughter, whom he took to Wife, and had with her (Women as may seem being very gracious in those times) the Kingdom. *Bacchus* was grown a proper young Man, had found out the making of Wine, the art of planting Trees, and many things else commodious for Mankind, before the flight of his Mother-in-Law. Now therefore hearing report of all that had happened, and that *Saturn* was coming against him with the *Titans*; he levied an Army, to which the *Amazons* living not far from *Nysa*, added great Forces, in love of *Minerva*, who was entred into their profession. So *Bacchus* leading the Men, and *Minerva* the Women, they set forward against *Saturn*, met him, overthrew him, and taking many of the *Titans* Prisoners, returned to *Nysa*; where pardoning the Prisoners, that promised to become his true followers, he prepared for a second expedition. In the second expedition he behaved himself so well, that he wan the love of all the People by whom he passed; insomuch that partly for good affection to him, partly in hatred of *Saturn*'s rigorous Government, he was greatly strengthened, and the Enemy as much enfeebled by daily revolts. Coming to the City of *Hammon*, he wan a Battel of *Saturn*, before the very Walls. After which *Saturn* with his Wife *Rhea* fled by night, setting the Town on fire to despight *Bacchus*. But they were caught in their flight, pardoned by *Bacchus*, and kindly entreated. *Saturn* had a young Son by *Rhea*, called *Jupiter*. This Child *Bacchus* took with him in a great expedition that he made into the East Countries; and coming into *Ægypt*, he left this *Jupiter*, being then a Boy, Governor of the Country; but appointed unto him as an Overseer, one *Olympus*, of whom *Jupiter* grew to be called *Olympius*. Whilst *Bacchus* traveled through all Nations, as far as into *India*, doing good in all places, and teaching many things profitable to the life of Man; the *Titans* had found out his Father *Hammon* in *Crete*, and began to War upon him. But *Bacchus* returned out of *India*; with whom *Jupiter* from *Ægypt*, and his Sister *Minerva*, together with the rest that afterwards were held as Gods, joyning all their Forces, went into *Crete*, overthrew the *Titans*, chased them, took, and slew them, and freed the World of them all. After all this, when *Hammon* and *Bacchus* were dead, they were deified; and the great *Jupiter* the son of *Saturn* succeeding them, reigned Lord alone over all the World, having none of the *Titans* left alive, nor any other to disturb him. Between this tale of the *Lybian* Gods, and the *Ægyptian* Fables of *Osiris*, there is a rude resemblance, that may cause them both to be taken for the crooked Images of some one true History. For the expeditions of *Osiris*, and of *Bacchus*; the Wars of the Giants in the one story, of the *Titans* in the other; the Kingdom of *Ægypt* given by *Hercules Lybicus* to *Orus*, by *Bacchus* to *Jupiter*, the Rattles of *Isis*, and the Cymbals of *Basilea*, with many petty circumstances, nearly enough resemble each other, howsoever not alike fitted to the right Persons. *Sanchoniato* (as *Eusebius* cites him) would have all these to be *Phœnicians*, and is earnest in saying, that it is a true story, and no Allegory. Yet he makes it seem the more Allegorical, by giving to *Uranus* or Heaven for Daughters, *Fate* and *Beauty*, and the like, with addition of much fabulous matter, omitted by *Diodorus*, though *Diodorus* have enough. To the Genealogy he adds *Elius* or the *Sun*, as Father of *Uranus*; and among the Children of *Uranus*, *Iapetus*, *Batilus*, and *Dagon*, (whom *Diodorus* doth not mention by their names) giving withal to *Uranus* the proper name of *Terrenus* or *Indigena*, and of *Illus* to *Saturn*, but omitting *Jupiter* of *Crete*. The Pedigree of them is this. *Euseb. li. 1. c. 7.*



§. VI.

Of Cham, *and other wicked ones, whereof some gat, some affected the name of Gods.*

OF *Jupiter Belus*, the Son of *Saturnus Babylonicus*, otherwise *Nimrod*, it seemeth that *Cicero* had not heard, (at least by that name) who was more ancient than any of the former three by him remembred: for long after these times were the *Greeks* but Salvages, if they seek no farther off for their Gods.

But the *Ægyptians*, even after the Flood, began (somewhat before this *Chaldæan Jupiter*) to intitle *Cham*, the Parent of their own *Mizraim*, *Jupiter Chammon*, or *Hammon*. For the Etymologie of this word [*Hammon*] which the *Greeks* deduce *ab arenis, from the sands*, is ridiculous (saith *Peucer*) neither yet is his own much better, who brings it from *Hammath*, which signifieth heat: because the said Temple of *Jupiter Hammon* was seated in *Libya*, where the Air is exceeding hot and scorching. And as for the Antiquity of the latter *Jupiter* (among the *Greeks* and *Romans* the most renowned) it is certain that he was born not long before the War of *Troy*, as by many of his Sons is made manifest; namely, *Castor*, *Pollux*, *Hercules*, *Sarpedon*, and others, which lived in that Age of *Priamus*, under whom, and with whom *Troy* was destroyed.

Peucer de Oracul.

Now seeing that mortal Men, and the most wicked, were esteemed immortal among the Heathen; it was not to be wondred at, that *Alexander Macedon*, *Tiberius*, *Nero*, *Caligula*, and others sought to be numbred among them, who were as deformed Monsters as the rest: For by what reason could the same Deity be denied unto *Laurentia* and *Flora*, which was given to *Venus*? seeing they were as notorious and famous Harlots as she was.

§. VII.

That the wiser of the ancient Heathen had far better opinions of God.

BUT that ever *Pythagoras*, or *Plato*, or *Orpheus*, with many other ancient and excellently learned, believed in any of these fooleries, it cannot be suspected, though some of them (over busily) have mixed their own inventions with the Scriptures: for, in punishment for their fictions, did *Pythagoras* hang both *Homer* and *Hesiodus* in Hell, where he feigned that they were perpetually stung and

and pinched with Serpents. Yet it cannot be doubted, but that *Homer* had read over all the Books of *Moſes*, as by places ſtoln thence almoſt word for word, may appear; of which *Juſtine Martyr* remembreth many in that Treatiſe converted by *Mirandula*. As for *Plato*, though he diſſembled in ſome things, for fear of the Inquiſition of the *Areopagites*, yet S. *Auguſtine* hath already anſwered for him (as before remembred) *Et mirificè iis delectatus eſt, quæ de uno Deo tradita fuerant*; *And he was greatly delighted in the Doctrine of one God*, ſaith *Juſtine Martyr*. Now howſoever *Lactantius* pleaſed to reprehend *Plato*, becauſe (ſaith he) *Plato* ſought knowledge from the *Ægyptians*, and the *Chaldæans*, neglecting the *Jews*, and the Books of *Moſes*: *Euſebius*, *Cyrillus*, and *Origen*, find reaſon to believe the contrary, thinking that from thence he took the grounds of all by him written of God, or ſavouring of Divinity: and the ſame opinion had S. *Ambroſe* of *Pythagoras*.

Euſeb. præp. evang. li. 11. Cyril. cont. Julian. Origen. cont. Celſum. Ambr. ad Iren. ep. 6. li. 1.

But whether it were out of the ſame vanity, which poſſeſt all thoſe learned Philoſophers and Poets, that *Plato* alſo publiſhed (not under the right Authors names) thoſe things which he had read in the Scriptures; or fearing the ſeverity of the *Areopagites*, and the example of his Maſter *Socrates*, by them put to death by Poyſon, I cannot judge. *Juſtine Martyr* (as it ſeemeth) aſcribeth it wholly to *Plato*'s fear, whoſe words among many other of the ſame effect, are theſe, *Plato Moſis mentionem facere, ob id, quod unum ſolumque Deum docuerat, ſibi apud Athenienſes tutum non putavit, veritus Areopagum*; Plato *fearing the* Areopagites *thought it not ſafe for him among the* Athenians *to make mention of* Moſes, *that he taught that there is but one God*. But for that Divinity which he hath written in *Timæo*; *id ipſum de Deo diſſerit quod & Moſes*; *he diſcourſed and taught the ſame of God* (ſaith *Juſtine Martyr*) *which* Moſes *did*. For where it pleaſed God by his Angel to anſwer *Moſes*, *Ego ſum exiſtens* (which is) *I am*; and *exiſtens miſit me ad vos*, *I am hath ſent me unto you*, herein did *Plato* (ſaith *Juſtine Martyr*) no otherwiſe differ than that *Moſes* uſed the word [*qui*] and *Plato* the word *quod*: *Moſes enim qui exiſtit* (*inquit*) *Plato quod exiſtit*. For *Moſes* ſaith, *He who is*; Plato *That which is*. Now of Gods incomprehenſible Nature, and of the difficulty either to conceive, or expreſs the ſame, he giveth this teſtimony: *Genitorem Univerſitatis tam difficile eſt invenire, quàm inventum impoſſibile dignè profari*, *It is as hard to find out the Creator of the Univerſal, as it is impoſſible, if he were found, to ſpeak of him worthily*. And what can be more agreeable to the Majeſty of Gods Nature, than this property by *Plato* acknowledged? *Deus bonus, & quidem, Deus cauſa bonorum: malorum autem omnium non cauſa*, *God is abſolutely good, and ſo* (aſſuredly) *the cauſe of all that is good: but of any thing that is evil he is no cauſe at all*: and again, *Charitas Dei fuit cauſa factionis mundi, & originis omnium rerum*, *The love of God was the cauſe of the Worlds creating, and the original of all things*. *Apuleius* the Platoniſt, *Summus Deus infinitus eſt, non ſolum loci excluſione ſed etiam naturæ dignitate: Et nihil eſt Deo ſimilius & gratius, quàm vir animo perfecto bonus*, *The moſt high God is alſo an infinite God, not only by excluſion of place, but by the dignity of Nature: neither is there any thing more like or more acceptable to God than a man of a perfect heart*. *Thales* affirmed that God comprehended all things, and that God was of all things the moſt ancient, *quia nunquam eſſe cœpit*, *becauſe he never had any beginning*: *Zeno*, that God beheld even the thoughts of Men: *Athenodorus*, that therefore all Men ought to be careful in the actions of their life, becauſe God was every where preſent, and beheld all done. But what can be more agreeable to *Moſes* ſtory of the Creation, than this opinion and deſcription of the Worlds beginning in *Euripides*, Scholar of *Anaxagoras*?

Areopagus, or domus ſive mons Martis, Mars his Hill: a Houſe wherein capital matters were tried: ſo called at firſt: becauſe Mars therein firſt pleaded his cauſe for the murder of Hulirrothos. Pauſan. in Attic. Nat. Com. li. 2. ca. 7. Juſt. Mar. adv. gent. fol. 8 14. ut ſup. Exod. 3.14 In Timæo.

Cælum terraque unius forma fuit:
Sed cum fuiſſent abjuncta amplexu mutuo,
Emerſit omnis in lucem res progenita,
Arbores, aves, fera, quaſque affert mare,
Gensque mortalium.

Heaven and Earth one form did bear:
But when disjoyned once they were
From mutual embraces,
All things to light appeared then,
Of Trees, Birds, Beaſts, Fiſhes, and Men
The ſtill-remaining Races.

And as in *Pythagoras*, in *Socrates*, and in *Plato*: ſo we find the ſame excellent underſtanding in *Orpheus*, who every where expreſſed the infinite and ſole power of one God, though he uſe the name of *Jupiter*, thereby to avoid the envy and danger of the time; but that he could attribute thoſe things to the Sons of Men and mortal Creatures, which he doth to this *Jupiter*, there is no Man who hath ever heard of God, that can imagine.

Nomina Deorum (ſaith Mirandula) *quos Orpheus canit, non decipientium dæmonum, à quibus malum & non bonum provenit; ſed naturalium virtutum divinarumque ſunt nomina*, *The names of thoſe Gods whom* Orpheus *doth ſing, are not of deceiving Devils, from whom evil comes, and not goodneſs; but they are the names of natural and divine vertues*. Yea that he yet reacheth higher, and ſpeaketh of God himſelf, this his inſtruction to *Muſæus*, and the Hymn following teach us. *Reſpiciens verò ad divinum hunc ſermonem ei diligenter animum adverte, intendens cordis rationis capax conceptaculum: rectam autem aſcende viam, & ſolùm aſpice mundi Regem. Unus eſt ex ſe genitus, ex eo omnia nata ſunt: Ipſe vero in illis verſatur, nec quiſquam eum intueri poteſt mortalium, ſed ipſe nihilominus omnes intuetur.* *Antogenes.*

Then marking this my ſacred ſpeech, but truly lend
Thy heart, that's reaſons Sphere, and the right way aſcend,
And ſee the Worlds ſole King. Firſt, he is ſimply one
Begotten of himſelf, from whom is born alone
All elſe; in which he's ſtill, nor could it ere befal
A mortal eye to ſee him once, yet he ſees all.

And again the ſame Author.

Jupiter omnipotens, & primus, & ultimus idem;
Jupiter eſt caput & medium: Jovis omnia munus.
Jupiter eſt fundamen humi & ſtellantis Olympi.
Jupiter & mas eſt, & fœmina neſcia mortis.
Spiritus eſt cunctis, validi vis Jupiter ignis.
Et Pelagi radix, Sol, Luna eſt Jupiter ipſe
Rex, & origo ſimul rerum eſt, & terminus idem.
Nam priùs occuluit, magno poſt numine, ſacrum
Correſerans bonus in dulcem dedit omnia lucem.

The firſt of all is God, and the ſame laſt is he.
God is the head and midſt, yea from him all things be.
God is the Baſe of Earth, and of the ſtarred Sky.
He is the Male and Female too, ſhall never die.
The ſpirit of all is God, the Sun, the Moon, and what is higher.
The King, th'original of all, of all the end.
For cloſe in Holy Breaſt he all did comprehend,
Whence all to bleſſed light, his wondrous power did ſend.

Laertius.

Now

Now besides these former testimonies, that all the learned Men of ancient times were not so stupid and ignorant, as the *Ægyptians*, *Græcians*, and other Nations by them infected were, I will only repeat two or three other opinions, and leave the Reader to those large and learned Collections of *Justine Martyr*, *Clemens*, *Lactantius*, *Eusebius Eugubinus*, *Peucer*, *Plessis*, *Daneus*, and others. For *Cleanthes* the *Stoick*, being demanded of what nature God was, described him by these Attributes and Properties. *Bonus, justus, sanctus, seipsum possidens, utilis, speciosus, optimus, severus, liber, semper commodus, tutus, gloriosus, charitas*, &c. *Good, just, holy, possessing himself, profitable, beautiful, best, severe, free, always doing good, safe without fear, glorious, and self-charity.* *Epicharmus* affirmed, that God who beheld all things, and pierced every nature, was only and every where powerful: agreeing with *Democritus*. *Rex omnium ipse solus, He is the only King of all kings*; and with *Pindarus* the Poet; *Deus unus, Pater, creator summus, atque optimus artifex, qui progressus singulis diversos secundum merita præbet, One God, the Father, the most high Creator, and best Artificer, who giveth to every thing divers proceedings according to their deserts.* *This God* (saith *Antisthenes*) *cannot be resembled to any thing, and therefore not elsewhere known, Nisi in patria illa perenni, cujus imaginem nullam habes, Save only in that everlasting Country, whose Image thou hast none at all.* Hereof also *Xenophanes Colophonius*. *Unus Deus inter Deas & homines maximus, nec corpore, nec mente mortalibus similis, There is one God among Gods and Men most powerful, neither corporally, nor mentally like unto mortals*: and *Xenophon*, *Deus qui omnia quatit, & omnia quiescere facit, magnus potensque, quod omnibus patet: qualis autem forma sit, nemini patet, nisi ipsi soli, qui luce sua omnia perlustrat, God who shaketh all things, and setteth all things at rest, is great and mighty, as is manifest to all: but of what form he is, it is manifest to none, save only to himself, who illuminateth all things with his own light.* Finally, *Plato* saith, *Totius rerum naturæ causa, & ratio, & origo Deus, summus animi genitor, æternus animantium sospitator, assiduus mundi sui opifex, sine propagatione genitor, neque loco, neque tempore ullo comprensus, eoque paucis cogitabilis, nemini effabilis, God is the cause, ground, and original of the whole nature of things, the most high Father of the Soul, the eternal preserver of living Creatures, the continual framer of his World, a begetter without any propagation, comprehended neither in any place, nor time; therefore few can conceive him in thought, none can express what he is.* Therefore was it said by S. *Hierome*, *Si enim cunctos Philosophorum revolvas libros, necesse est ut in eis reperias aliquam partem vasorum Dei, ut apud Platonem, fabricatorem mundi, Deum: apud Zenonem Stoicorum Principem, inferos & immortales animas*, &c. *If thou consider all the Books of the Philosophers, thou canst not but find in them some part of the Vessels of God, as in* Plato, *God the Creator of the World: in* Zeno *Prince of the* Stoicks, *Hell and immortal Souls*, &c. And this is certain, that if we look into the wisdom of all Ages, we shall find that there never was Man of solid Understanding or excellent Judgment: never any Man whose Mind the art of Education hath not bended; whose Eyes a foolish Superstition hath not afterward blinded; whose apprehensions are sober, and by a pensive inspection advised; but that he hath found by an unresistable necessity, one True God, and everlasting Being, all for ever causing, and all for ever sustaining; which no Man among the Heathen hath with more reverence acknowledged, or more learnedly expresst, than that *Ægyptian Hermes*, howsoever it sailed afterward in his Posterity: all being at length by devilish policy of the *Ægyptian* Priests purposely obscured; who invented new Gods, and those innumerable, best sorting (as the Devil perswaded them) with vulgar capacities, and fittest to keep in awe and order their common People.

Hieron. in Com. in Dan. in princip.

§. VIII.

That Heathenism and Judaism, after many wounds were at length about the same time under Julian *miraculously confounded.*

BUT all these are again vanished: for the inventions of mortal Men are no less mortal than themselves. The Fire, which the *Chaldeans* worshipped for a God, is crept into every Mans Chimney, which the lack of Fewel starveth, Water quencheth, and want of Air suffocateth: *Jupiter* is no more vexed with *Juno*'s jealousies; Death hath perswaded him to Chastity, and her to Patience; and that Time which hath devoured it self, hath also eaten up both the Bodies and Images of him and his: yea, their stately Temples of Stone and dureful Marble. The Houses and sumptuous Buildings erected to *Baal*, can no where be found upon the Earth; nor any Monument of that glorious Temple consecrated to *Diana*. There are none now in *Phœnicia*, that lament the death of *Adonis*; nor any in *Lybia*, *Creta*, *Thessalia*, or elsewhere, that can ask counsel or help from *Jupiter*. The great God *Pan* hath broken his Pipes; *Apollo*'s Priests are become speechless; and the Trade of Riddles in Oracles, with the Devils telling Mens Fortunes therein, is taken up by counterfeit *Ægyptians*, and cozening Astrologers.

But it was long ere the Devil gave way to these his overthrows and dishonours: for after the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos* (one of his chief Mansions) was many times robbed, burnt, and destroyed; yet by his diligence the same was often enriched, repaired, and re-edified again, till by the Hand of God himself it received the last and utter subversion. For it was first robbed of all the Idols and Ornaments therein by the *Eubœan* Pirates: Secondly, by the *Phlegians* utterly sackt: Thirdly, by *Pyrrhus* the Son of *Achilles*: Fourthly, by the Army of *Xerxes*: Fifthly, by the Captains of the *Phocenses*: Sixthly, by *Nero*, who carried thence five hundred brazen Images: all which were new made, and therein again set up at the common charge. But whatsoever was gathered between the time of *Nero* and *Constantine*, the Christian Army made spoil of, defacing as much as the time permitted them; notwithstanding all this it was again gloriously rebuilt, and so remained till such time as *Julian* the *Apostata* sent thither to know the success of his *Parthian* enterprise, at which time it was utterly burnt and consumed with fire from Heaven; and the Image of *Apollo* himself, and all the rest of the Idols therein molten down and lost in the Earth.

The like success had the *Jews* in the same *Julian*'s time, when by his permission they assembled themselves to rebuild the Temple of *Hierusalem*: for while they were busied to lay the Foundations, their Buildings were overthrown by an Earthquake, and many thousands of the *Jews* were overwhelmed with the ruines, and others slain, and scattered by Tempest and Thunder: though *Am. Marcellinus* report it more favourably for the *Jews*, ascribing this to the Nature of that Element. For, saith he, *Allypius* and the Ruler of the Province of *Judæa*, being by *Julian* busied in the reedifying of this

Am. Mar. l. 23. c. 1.

this Temple, flaming balls of Fire issuing near the Foundation, and oft consuming the Workmen, made the Enterprise frustrate.

§. IX.

Of the last refuges of the Devil to maintain his Kingdom.

NOW the Devil, because he cannot play upon the open Stage of this World (as in those days) and being still as industrious as ever, finds it more for his advantage to creep into the minds of Men; and inhabiting in the Temples of their hearts, works them to a more effectual adoration of himself than ever. For whereas he first taught them to sacrifice to Monsters, to dead Stones cut into Faces of Beasts, Birds, and other mixt Natures; he now sets before them the high and shining Idol of glory, the all-commanding Image of bright Gold. He tells them that Truth is the Goddess of Dangers and Oppressions; that Chastity is the Enemy of Nature: and lastly, that as all Vertue (in general) is without taste: so Pleasure satisfieth and delighteth every Sense: for true Wisdom (saith he) is exercised in nothing else, than in the obtaining of Power to oppress, and of Riches to maintain plentifully our worldly delights. And if this *Arch-politician* find in his Pupils any remorse, any fear or feeling of Gods future Judgment, he perswades them that God hath so great need of Mens Souls, that he will accept them at any time, and upon any conditions: interrupting by his vigilant endeavours all offer of timefal return towards God, by laying those great blocks of rugged Poverty, and despised Contempt in the narrow passage leading to his Divine Presence. But as the Mind of Man hath two Ports, the one always frequented by the entrance of manifold Vanities; the other desolate and overgrown with Grass, by which enter our Charitable Thoughts and Divine Contemplations: so hath that of Death a double and twofold opening: worldly Misery passing by the one, worldly Prosperity by the other: at the entrance of the one we find our sufferings and patience to attend us: (all which have gone before us to prepare our joys) at the other our Cruelties, Covetousness, Licentiousness, Injustice, and Oppressions (the Harbingers of most fearful and terrible sorrow) staying for us. And as the Devil our most industrious Enemy was ever most diligent: so he is now more laborious than ever: the long Day of Mankind drawing fast towards an Evening, and the Worlds Tragedy and Time near at an end.

CHAP. VII.

Of Noah's *Flood.*

§. I.

Of God's fore-warning: and some human Testimonies; and some doubting touching the truth of Noah's *Flood.*

OF this Destruction it pleased God to give warning unto *Noah*: who (saith *Josephus*) fearing to perish among the rest, *secedens cum suis, in aliam regionem migravit: He departed with his Children, and travelled into another Region.* And of these Giants, from whom *Noah* withdrew himself, *Berosus* writeth in this manner: *That they exceeded in all sorts of inhuman and unnatural wickedness*, and that they were *contemptores & Religionis & Deorum: contemners of Religion and of the Gods*: among which mighty Men (saith *Berosus*) *unus erat qui Deorum venerantior, & prudentior cæteris*, &c. *hujus nomen erat Noah. There was one more wise and reverencing the Gods than the rest, whose name was* Noah: who with his three Sons *Sem, Japhetus*, and *Cham*, and with their Wives, and the Wife of *Noah*, (namely *Titea* the great, *Pandora*, *Noela*, and *Naagla*) preserved themselves in the *Ark*. This *Ark* God commanded *Noah* to prepare: *And God said unto Noah, make thee an Ark of pine-trees: thou shalt make cabins in the Ark, and shalt pitch it within, and without, with pitch.* For God made *Noah* to know that an end of all Flesh was at hand, and that the Graves of the rebellious and cruel Generations were already fashioned in the Clouds, which soon after should swallow up and cover all living Creatures, which breathed in the Air: *Noah* and his Family excepted.

Joseph. l. 1. c. 4.

Gen. 6. 14.

v. 13.

But this universal Grave of Waters, and general Deluge hath not been received by all: for Divine Testimonies do not perswade all natural Men to those things, to which their own Reason cannot reach: *dum obvoluta in obscuro veritas latet; whilst the truth lieth wrapped up in obscurity.* Many there are who have disputed against the Universality of this overflowing, and have judged that this Flood of *Noah* fell but on some particular Places and Kingdoms: moved so to think, because in elder Ages there have been many other Floods (as they suppose) of that nature. Hereof *Nicholaus Damascenus* writeth in this manner, as his words are cited by *Josephus*, *Est super Minyadam excelsus mons in Armenia, qui Baris appellatur, in quo multos confugientes servos ejt diluvii tempore liberatos, & quendam simul in Arca devectum in hujus vertice hasisse, ligno-rumque reliquias multo tempore conservatas, qui fortasse is fuit, de quo etiam Moses Judæorum Legislator scribit*: thus far this Author: *There is* (saith he) *above Minyada* (or the Country of *Minye*) *an exceeding high Mountain in* Armenia, *called* Baris: *on which it is reported, that many having fled thither, were saved in the time of the Deluge; and that one was carried in an Ark, and rested upon the top of the Mountain, whereon there remained a long time after certain pieces thereof; and this might be the same, of which Moses the Law-giver of the* Jews *maketh mention.* And of this opinion were the *Thalmudists* (saith *Annius*) that many Giants saved themselves upon Mount *Sion*.

Lact. in Præf. de falsa relig.

Joseph. ant. l. 1. c. 4. Euseb. de præp. l. 9. c. 4.

But *Berosus* (who after *Moses* was one of the most ancient, howsoever he have been since deformed and corrupted) doth in the substance of all agree with *Moses* as touching the general Flood, taking from thence the beginning of his History in these words: *Ante aquarum cladem famosam, qua*

mig

universus periit Orbis, &c. Before that famous Destruction of Waters, by which the World universal perished: witnessing withal, that *Noah*, with his Wife *Tirea*, and his three Sons, with their Wives (in all eight persons) were only saved.

§. II.

Of the Flood in the time of Ogyges: *and that this was not* Noah's *Flood.*

BUT from the vanity of the Greeks, the corrupters of all Truth (saith *Lactantius*) who without all ground of certainty vaunt their Antiquity, came the errour first of all: who therein flattering themselves also, sought to perswade the World, that there was no Flood preceded the Flood of *Ogyges*, King of the *Thebans* in *Bœotia*, or rather of *Attica*; and therefore saith *Rhodoginus*, *Ogygium id appellant Poëta tanquàm pervetus dixeris, ab Ogyge vetustissimo. The Poets gave the name of* Ogygia *to things exceeding ancient, as of* Ogyges, *the most ancient.*

Rho. li. 15. c. 33.

But let *Ogyges* be as ancient as those men can make him, yet it is manifest, that he lived but in *Jacob*'s time (though *Eusebius* makes him later, and in *Moses*'s time) and was born 67. Years after him. There is also an opinion, that *Ogyges* was *Cadmus* (and then was he far later) as *Rodoginus* in the ninth Book of his Antiquities remembreth: *Sint tamèn qui in Ægypto regnâsse autument hunc: unde sit* Cadmus *qui in* Græciam *profectus* Thebas *condidit, à bove jugulato sic nuncupatas; quoniàm* Syrorum *lingua Bos dicitur* Thebe. *There are* (saith he) *who think that this* Ogyges *did raign in* Ægypt, *whereby he should be* Cadmus, *who travelling into* Greece *built* Thebes, *so named of a Beef slain: because in the* Syrian *Language a Beef is called* Thebe.

Euseb. de prap evang. li. 10. ca. 3. Ca. 22.

But this Flood of *Ogyges* fell in the Year of the World 3440. according to *Eusebius*, who followed the account of the *Septuagint*: and the Flood of *Noah* in the Year 2242, after the same account; and so there came 1200. Years between these Floods, wanting but two, though herein *Eusebius* was much mistaken, and corrected this opinion in his *Chronology*. Now although the very Year and time of this overflowing in *Achaia*, or rather *Attica*, be not precisely set down, but that there is a great difference among Writers, yet whosoever makes it most ancient, finds above 500. Years difference between that and the general Flood.

Li. 1. ca. 7.

For *Paulus Orosius* affirms, that this Tempest fell upon the *Athenians* but 1040. Years before *Rome* built. *Bucholzerus* saith it was 1043. elder then *Rome*; which was founded (according to the same *Bucholzerus*) in the Worlds Year 3219: though after the account which I follow (and whereof I will give my reasons in the story of *Abraham*) it was built in the Worlds Year 3280. Now the general Flood preceded the building of *Rome* (saith *Bucholzerus*) 1563. Years: and the Flood of *Ogyges* (as before) 1043. Hence it followeth by easie calculation, that (if he place *Ogyges* in his true age) the difference between these two Floods must be 520. Years, to which we (allowing 60. more) find 580. And that this of *Ogyges* was not the same of *Noah* (except we call *Noah Ogyges priscus*, † as some do) it appears by this, that the Flood of *Ogyges* then King of *Attica* or *Ogygia*, did not extend it self any further than the banks of *Archipelago*, or the *Ægean* Sea. For whereas *Mela*,* *Pliny*, and *Solinus* witness, that the City of *Joppe* in *Judæa* was founded before the Flood; and that (notwithstanding the weight of waters) their remained on certain Altars of Stone the title of the King, and of his brother *Phineus*, with many of the grounds of their Religion: sure, it is no where found among Prophane Historians nor in the Scriptures, that ever the Flood of *Ogyges* spread it self over any part of *Syria*, much less over all the Earth. But that it drowned both the Regions of *Attica* about *Athens*, and that of *Achaia* in *Peloponnesus*, it is very probable. For it seemeth that at that time it was, when *Helice* and *Bura* were swallowed up (Cities seated on the North part of *Peloponnesus*) of which *Ovid.*

Ovid. Metam. li. 15. 303.

Si quaris Helicœn, & Buran, Achaidas urbes,
Invenies sub aquis.

Bura and *Helice* on *Achaian* ground
Are sought in vain, but under Sea are found.

Of this Flood of *Ogyges* was invented the Table of *Apollo* and *Diana*. For *Latona*, the Daughter of *Cœus*, the Son of *Titan*, being beloved and forced by *Jupiter*, and by him gotten with Child; *Juno* thereat enraged, permitted her (as they say) no part of the Earth to be delivered on; and withal caused the monstrous Serpent *Python* to follow and affright her, whersoever she travailed, till at length arriving at the *Isle* of *Ortygia* she was there received: in which she was delivered, first of *Diana*, and then of *Apollo*, being Twins; whereof *Barlaam* makes this exposition: That at such time as the Deluge (which happened in *Ogyges* his Reign) ceased, out of the abundant moisture of the Earth (heat by putrefaction being thereto mixed) there were exhaled such thick mists and fogs, that in *Attica*, and along the Coasts of the *Ægean* Sea, neither the beams, of the Sun by day, nor of the Moon by night could pierce the Air, or be perceived by the Inhabitants: so as when at length (the Earth being dried, and these Vapours dissipated) the Air began to be clear, and the people of *Ortygia* espied the light of the Moon somewhat before day, and in the same morning the Sun also appeared: fabulously (because *Diana* represented the Moon, and *Apollo* the Sun, they were reported to be born in the *Isle* of *Ortygia* thereof afterwards called *Delos*: which signifieth manifestation.

Nat. Com. li. 1. ca. 6.

Plin. li. 2. c. 12.

And surely it is not improbable, that the Flood of *Ogyges*, being so great, as Histories have reported it, was accompanied with much alteration of the Air sensibly discerned in those parts, and some unusual face of the skies. *Varro* in his Books *De gente populi Romani* (as he is cited by S. *Augustine*) reporteth out of *Castor*, that so great a miracle happened in the Star of *Venus*, as never was seen before, nor in after times: For the colour, the greatness, the figure, and the course of it, were changed. This fell out as *Adrastus Cyzicenus*, and *Dion Neapolites*, famous *Mathematicians*, affirmed, in the time of *Ogyges*.

Aug. de civ. Dei, li. 21. ca. 8.

Now concerning the course of that or any other Planet, I do not remember, that I have any where read, of so good *Astrologers* flourishing among the *Greeks*, or elsewhere in those days, as were likely to make any calculation of the revolutions of the *Planets* so exact, that it should need no reformation. Of the colour and magnitude. I see no reason why the difference found in the Star of *Venus* should be held miraculous; considering that lesser mists and fogs, than those which covered *Greece* with so long Darkness, do familiarly present our Senses, with as great alterations in the *Sun* and *Moon*. That the figure should vary, questionless it was very strange: Yet I cannot hold it any prodigy: for it stands well with good reason, that

†*Xenophon.* **Annianus. Mela li. 3. Plin. li. 5. Sol. ca. 47. Joppe oppidum antiquissimum Orbe toto, utpotè ante inundationem terrarum conditum. Solin. ibid.*

that the ſide of *Venus* which the *Sun* beholds, being enlightened by him, the oppoſite half ſhould remain ſhadowed; whereby that *Planet*, would unto our eyes, deſcrying only that part whereon the light falleth, appear to be horned, as the *Moon* doth ſeem; if diſtance (as in other things) did not hinder the apprehenſion of our Senſes.

Galilæus a worthy *Aſtrologer* now living, who by the help of perſpective Glaſſes hath found in the Stars many things unknown to the Ancients, affirmeth ſo much to have been diſcovered in *Venus* by his late Obſervations. Whether ſome watery diſpoſition of the Air might preſent as much to them that lived with *Ogyges*, as *Galilæus* hath ſeen through his inſtrument; I cannot tell: ſure I am, that the diſcovery of a truth formerly unknown, doth rather convince Man of ignorance, than Nature of error. One thing herein is worthy to be noted, that this great, but particular Flood of *Ogyges*, was (as appeareth by this of St. *Auguſtine*) accompanied with ſuch unuſual (and therefore the more dreadful, though natural) Signs teſtifying the concurrence of Cauſes with Effects in that Inundation; whereas the Flood of *Noah* which was general and altogether miraculous, may ſeem to have had no other token, or foreſhewing, than the long preaching of *Noah* himſelf, which was not regarded: for they were eating and drinking, when the Flood came ſudainly, and took them all away. *Luke 17. v. 27.*

§. III.

Of Deucalion's *Flood: and that this was not* Noah's *Flood: nor the* Umbri *in* Italy *a remnant of any univerſal Flood.*

A Second Flood of great fame, and of which the time is more certain, was that of *Deucalion* in *Theſſalia*, of which St. *Auguſtine* out of *Varro*. *His temporibus (ut Varro ſcribit) regnante Athenienſibus Cranao, ſucceſſore Cecropis (ut autem noſtri, Euſebius & Hieronymus) adhuc eodem Cecrope permanente, Diluvium fuit, quod appellatum eſt Deucalionis*: (that is) *In theſe times (as* Varro *reporteth)* Cranaus *the ſucceſſour of* Cecrops *governing the* Athenians, *or (as our* Euſebius *and* Hierome *ſay)* Cecrops *yet living, that Flood (called* Deucalion's *)happened.*

And in the beginning of the eleventh Chapter of the ſame eighteenth Book, he uſeth theſe words. *Eduxit ergo Moſes ex Ægypto populum Dei noviſſimo tempore Cecropis Athenienſium Regis, cum apud Aſſyrios regnaret Aſcatades, apud Sicyonios Marathus, apud Argivos Triopas.* Moſes *led the people of God out of* Ægypt *about the latter times of* Cecrops *King of the* Athenians, Aſcatades *reigning over the Aſſyrians, over the* Scyonians Marathus, *and over the* Argives Triopas: ſo as leaving the curioſity of a few Years, more or leſs, it appeareth, that this Flood of *Deucalion* was either at the egreſſion of the Children of *Iſrael* out of *Ægypt*, or near it: and then after *Noah* 753. Years, according to *Funckius*, who makes *Cecrops* to live in the Year of the World 2409. or if we follow *Mercator*, then 739. Years after *Noah*, and in the Year of the World 2395. But if *Deucalion* were born in the Age of the World 2356. according to *Codoman*; then giving unto *Deucalion* forty Years of Age when this Flood happened, it falleth within one Year of *Mercator*'s account. But *Deucalion* by all approved Hiſtorians is ſaid to have been 82. Years old at that time. Now *Clemens Alexandrinus* dates the time of this Flood of *Deucalion*, and the Conflagration and burning in *Phaëton*'s time, by the raign of *Crotopus* King of the *Argives*; but *Crotopus* lived King of the *Argives* ſix Years after *Iſrael* departed *Ægypt*, which makes twenty Years difference according to *Funckius*, who will have this Flood and burning to have fallen fourteen Years before *Moſes* left *Ægypt*: for he gave of the Worlds Years to the Flood and burning the Year 2440. and to *Moſes* his egreſſion the Year 2454. And yet *Cedrenus* thinks that *Moſes* was more ancient, and lived with *Inachus*; but that cannot be true: for then had the Flood of *Deucalion*, and the burning of *Phaëton*, preceded the Flood of *Ogyges*, which is denyed by all: for that of *Theſſaly* (called *Deucalion*'s) followed that of *Attica* (called *Ogygia*) at leaſt 250. Years or thereabouts. *Euſebius* in his *Chronology* makes it 230. and ſo doth *P. Oroſius*: *Euſebius* about the 50. Year of *Moſes*'s life, and *Cyrillus* about the 67. and both after *Noah*'s Flood 770. Years: for theſe be *Clemens Alexandrinus* his words. *Fuit autem in Græcia tempore quidem Phoronei, qui fuit poſt Inachum, inundatio quæ fuit tempore Ogygis*: *There happened in* Greece *in the time of* Phoroneus, *who lived after* Inachus *the Flood of* Ogyges. Now if the Flood of *Ogyges* in *Attica* were 1020. or 1016. Years before the firſt *Olympiad*, according to *Euſebius* and *Oroſius*; (as before) then is it manifeſt, that taking 763. out of this number of 1020. it falls out that *Ogyges* Flood happened before the Hebrews left *Ægypt* 250. Years, or 260. Years, according to the difference between the Opinions of *Euſebius* and *Oroſius*. And for my ſelf (who rather follow thoſe *Chronologers*, which give 60. Years more to *Abraham* after the Flood, than the reſt) I reckon the times which come between theſe Floods in this ſort. The general Flood was in the Year of the World 1656. *Jacob* was born in the Year of the World 2169. ſo as from the beginning of the Flood to *Jacob*'s birth there were conſumed 513. Years. *Ogyges* Flood happened 100 Years after *Jacob* was born; and therefore after the general Flood 613. Years. Now *Deucalion* was born in the Year of the World 2356. and had lived 82. Years, when his Kingdom of *Theſſaly* was overwhelmed; (which added to 2356. make 2438) his Flood was after *Noah*'s Flood ended 782. Years. And hereto *Annius* his *Xenophon* agreeth, who makes 700. Years between the general Flood and *Deucalion*'s birth; to which add 82. Years of his Age (as before) and then the Flood of *Theſſaly* followed the general 782. Years. The words of that *Xenophon* are theſe. *Ab inundatione terrarum ad ortum Deucalionis, ſecundo anno Sphæri, ſeptingenti ſupputantur anni, qui natus annos duos & octoginta Theſſaliam vidit inundatam*: *From the drowning of the World to the birth of* Deucalion, *in the ſecond Year of* Sphærus *are numbred 700 Years, and when* Deucalion *was 82 Years old, he ſaw* Theſſalia *drowned.* This Flood happened in the Winter time about *Parnaſſus*; witneſs *Ariſtotle* in the firſt of his *Meteors*. And *Varro* (whom St. *Auguſtine* ſo often citeth for his excellent learning, eſpecially in Antiquities) findeth this Flood of *Deucalion* to have happened in the time of *Cranaus*, who ſucceeded *Cecrops*: *Oroſius* thinks it ſomewhat later, *Amphitryon* reigning in *Athens*, the third from *Cecrops*. Only this of *Deucalion* was very great, and reached not only over *Theſſaly* it ſelf, and the Regions adjoyning Weſtward; but it covered the greateſt part of *Italy*: and either the ſame, or ſome other particular Flood then happening oppreſt *Ægypt*, ſaith *Euſebius*. And therefore did the Greeks either think it, or fain it to be univerſal; and *Deucalion*, then King, ſaving himſelf and ſome others on the Mountains of *Theſſaly* (of all other the higheſt, ſaith *Solinus*) was by reaſon thereof (as *Strabo* witneſſeth) ſaid to be the preſerver of Mankind.

Cedren. l. 1. f. 34.

Clem. Alex. Græcia lex. 1. ſtro. ex Cteſ.

Euſeb. in Chron.

C. 14.

Solin. l. 14.

Strabo, l. 9.

kind. That this Flood covered a great part of *Italy*, *Pliny* and *Solinus* make it probable: who affirm that the People then inhabiting *Italy* were therefore called *Ὀμβριοι quia ab imbribus diluvii superfuissent*; and therefore also were they esteemed the most ancient Nation, as *Strabo* confirmeth in his first Book, and *Trezenius* in his second: which *Umbri* these Authors make the Parents of the *Sabines*, and the *Sabines* to be the Parents of the *Samnites*, *Piceni*, *Lucani*, *Brutii*, and all others inhabiting anciently the Banks of the *Mediterrane* Sea. But that these *Umbri* were not the Inhabiters of *Italy* before the Flood of *Noah*, and so took name by saving themselves upon the *Appenine* Mountains, the Scriptures teach us: shewing who, and who only then were preserved, which is sufficient. Report hath adventured further, telling us that the first People which after the general Flood inhabited *Italy*, were the *Camesenes*; (so named from *Camese*, whom *Cato in originibus*, another of *Annius* his Authors, names for a Consort of *Janus*) which People lived altogether a savage Life; till such time as *Saturn* arriving on those Coasts, devised Laws to govern them by; the memory of whose acts in that Region *Diodore* and *Thallus* among the Greeks, *Nepos Cassius* and *Varro* among the Latins have preserved; and of whom *Virgil*;

Plin. l. 3. c. 14. Sol. c. 7. Plin. ibid.

Athenæus deipnosoph. l. 15. out of Draco Corcyræus, saith that Camese was the Wife and sister of Janus. Lact. l. 1. c. 13.

Æn. l. 8. 319.

Primus ab æthereo venit Saturnus Olympo,
Arma Jovis fugiens, & regnis exul ademptis,
Is genus indocile, ac dispersum montibus altis
Composuit, legesq; dedit, Latiumq; vocari
Maluit.

Saturn descending from the Heavens high,
Fearing the Arms of *Jupiter* his Son,
His Kingdom lost, and banisht thence doth fly.
Rude People on the Mountain tops he won
To live together, and by Laws: which done,
He chose to call it *Latium*.

And afterward in the Verses following he speaketh of the *Ausones*, and after them of the *Sicani*: Nations, which again sought to displant the ancient Inhabiters:

Virg. l. 8. Æn.

Tum manus Ausonia, & gentes venêre Sicani.
Then came th' *Ausonian* bands, and the *Sicanian* Tribes.

Of these *Sicani* (which left *Spain* and sate down in *Italy*) *Thucydides* and *Pliny* give testimony: who were again expelled by the *Ligii*, saith *Thucydides*. After all these plantations and replantations came the *Umbri*, descended of the *Galles* (saith *Annius*) not of those *Galles* of *France*, but of those of *Scythia*, who commanded a great part of *Italy*, even all *Hetruria* and *Campania*, as *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, and *Dionysius*, have assured us; and therefore this Flood of *Deucalion* was long after that of *Noah*. For all those Nations were planted in *Italy*, and dispossest of *Italy* again, before the *Umbri* were ever heard of, or had being. So that Kingdom was first called *Camasene*, then *Latium* or *Saturnia*, then *Ausonia*, then *Sicania*, before the *Umbri* (in whose time *Deucalion*'s Flood happened) possest the same, about 306. Years before the War of *Troy*: *Lycaon* then governing *Arcadia*; who being the Father of two and twenty Sons, the youngest called *Oenotrius* invaded *Italy*, who gave it the name of *Oenotria*. This name it held until *Italus* of the same Nation changed it into *Italy*, after his own name, about 250. Years before the fall of *Troy*. After these came the *Pelasgi*, of whom *Pliny* in his third Book and fifth Chapter; and *Strabo* in his fifth; *Thucydides* in his sixth speaks at large: and after them the *Lydi* under *Tyrrhenus* their Captain, that gave name to the *Tyrrheni*; who casting thence the *Umbri*, took from them three hundred Castles, and built therein twelve Cities; to which (after they had possest and past over the *Appenine* Mountains) they added divers others, whereof *Telsina* (afterward *Bononia*) was one.

Thucyd. l. 6. Plin. l. 3. c. 5.

Annius ex Samuele Thalmudista.

Herod. l. 1. Plin. l. 3. c. 5. Dion. l. 1. & 2.

Pausan. Arcad. lib. 8.

Arist. pol. 7. c. 10.

Herod. l. 2. Plin. l. 3. c. 4.

Now that there was not anciently such a Nation, as these *Umbri*, in those parts, I do not affirm: having respect to the testimonies before repeated. And *Stephanus* thinks, that the name was derived from the Greek word *Ombros*; but that these *Umbri* of *Italy* were descended of the Nation of *Scythians* (called *Galli*) it shall be shewed hereafter.

§. IV.

Of some other Records testifying the universal Flood: and of two ancient Deluges in Ægypt: and of some elsewhere

SAint *Augustine* out of *Varro* affirmeth that the Greeks and Latins made not any mention of the universal Flood, because they had nothing of Antiquity foregoing that of *Ogyges*; and therefore (according to *Rhodoginus* before remembred) were all things among the Greeks (which Antiquity had worn out of knowledge) called *Ogygia*, which we in English commonly call (wormeaten) or of defaced date. But as all the parts of the Earth were successively planted and peopled; and as all Nations had their proper times, and not their beginning at once and at the instant: so did every Family which afterward became a great People, with whom the knowledge of divine letters was not received, find no parent of more Antiquity, than such as they had themselves, nor allow of any before their own; and as the Grecians, so did others vaunt themselves to be *Indigenæ*, and growing out of the Earth, or invent some other prophane or ridiculous beginning. But the *Chaldæans* had certain knowledge of *Noah*'s Flood, as *Berosus* witnesseth; and *Nicolaus Damascenus* maketh particular mention thereof (as is aforesaid) though he also affirm by hearsay, that some Giants saved themselves upon the Mountains *Baris* in *Armenia*, but speaketh not thereof as from any authority approved: using the word *sermo est, that such a speech there was*. And *Eusebius* remembreth a place out of the Ancient Historian *Abydenus*: who writeth that *Sisithrus* to preserve himself from a Flood foretold him by *Saturnus*, fled to the hills of *Armenia* by ship, *ad Armenian navigio confugiebat*: who the third day (after the Waters were fallen) sent forth Birds, that finding no Land to rest on, returned again; which he also did a second time, but at the third return the Birds feet were covered with Mud and Slime. To this effect are *Eusebius*'s words out of *Abydenus*, which may seem a true description (though in other terms) of *Noah*'s Flood.

Euseb. de præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 4.

Cyrillus also affirmeth, that *Alex. Polyhistor* maketh mention of this general Flood. And *Plato* in *Timæo* produceth an *Ægyptian* Priest, who recounted to *Solon* out of the holy Books of *Ægypt*, the Story of the Flood universal, which (saith he) happened long before the Grecian Inundations. Fryer *Annius* his *Xenophon* remembreth a third Flood, which also *Diodorus Siculus* confirmeth, some what more ancient than that of *Ogyges* in *Attica*. For he named the general Flood for the first, which happened (saith he) under the old *Ogyges*, *sub prisca Ogyge*, which was *Noah*; he calleth the second *Niliaca*: *Hercules* and *Prometheus* then living, 44. Years before that of *Attica*, in the

Diod. l. 1.

the 34. Year of *Belochus* King of the *Assyrians*, though I do not believe him as touching the time. But this Flood covered a great part of the nether *Ægypt*, especially all that Region subject to *Prometheus*; and hereof came the Fable of the *Vultur* on *Prometheus* his Liver, afterward slain by *Hercules* of *Ægypt*: which Fiction *Diod. Siculus* delivereth in these words: *Fluvium propter cursus velocitatem, profunditatemque aquarum Aquilam tunc appellatum, Herculem cum consilii magnitudine, tum virtute, volunt è vestigio compressisse, & aquarum impetum ad priorem cursum convertisse: Unde & Græci quidam Poeta rem gestam in fabulam vertentes, Herculem tradunt Aquilam Promethei jecur depascentem occidisse. This Flood* (meaning of *Nilus*) *for the swiftness of his course, as also for the depth, was in those days called the Eagle: but* Hercules *by his great judgment and Vertue did again compress and straighten this River so far extended and overspread, turning it into the old channels: Whence certain* Greek *Poets (converting this labour and work of* Hercules *into a Fable) devised that* Hercules *slew the Eagle, which fed on* Prometheus's *Liver*; meaning that he delivered *Prometheus* of that sorrow and torment, which for the loss of his People and Country (by the waters destroyed and covered over) he suffered.

Nat. com. l. 4. c. 6.

A fourth Flood chanced about *Pharus* in *Ægypt*, where *Alexander Macedon* built *Alexandria*, as *Annius* conceiveth out of his *Xenophon*, who in this brief sort writeth of all these Inundations. *Inundationes plures fuere: prima novimestris Inundatio terrarum sub prisco Ogyge: secunda Niliaca, &c. There were many Inundations* (saith the same *Xenophon*) *the first which was universal of nine Months, and this happened under the first* Ogyges: *the second was* Niliaca, and of one Months continuance in the time of *Hercules* and *Prometheus* Ægyptians: a third of two Months under *Ogyges Atticus*: the fourth of three Months in *Thessalia* under *Deucalion*; and a fifth of the like continuance (called *Pharonica*) under *Proteus* of Ægypt, about the time of *Helens* rape. *Diodorus* in his fifth book and eleventh Chapter, taking the *Samothraces* for his Authors, remembreth a Flood in *Asia* the less and elsewhere, of no less destruction than any of the other particular Inundations, saying, that the same happened before that of *Deucalion*: the Sea of *Pontus* and *Hellespont* breaking in over the Land.

Xenop. de æquiv. Comm. per Annium. fol. 37.

But there have been many Floods in divers times, and ages, not inferiour to any of these two last remembred, *Niliaca* and *Pharonica* in *Ægypt*: as in the Year of our Redemption 590. when in *October* of the same Year, *Gregory* then being Bishop of *Rome*, there happened a marvailous overflowing in *Italy*, and especially in the *Venetian* Territory, and in *Liguria*, accompanied with a most fearful storm of Thunder and Lightning: after which followed the great Plague at *Rome* by reason of the many dead Serpents cast up and left upon the Land, after the Waters decreased and returned. And in the Year 1446. there perished 10000. People by the breaking in of the Sea at *Dordroch* in *Holland*: of which kind I take that Flood to be of *Achaia* or *Attica*. Before that and in the Year 1238. *Trithemius* speaketh of an Earthquake which swallowed many thousands: and after that of a Flood in *Friseland*, in which there perished 100000. persons. *Strozius Sigog.* in his *Magia omnifaria*, telleth of an Inundation in *Italy*, in the time of *Pope Damasus*, in which also many Cities of *Sicily* were swallowed: another in the *Papacy* of *Alexander* the sixth: also in the Year 1515. *Maximilian* being Emperour. He also remembreth a perilous overflowing in *Polonia*, about *Cracovia*, by which many People perished. Likewise *Viginier* a French Historian speaketh of a great Flood in the South part of *Languedoc* which fell in the Year of our Lord 1557. with so dreadful a Tempest, as all the people attended therein the very end of the World and Judgement day; saying, that by the violent descent of the waters from the Mountains, about *Nismes* there were removed divers old heaps and Mountures of Ground, and many other places torn up and rent: by which accident there was found both coyn of Silver and Gold, divers Pieces of Plate, and vessels of other Metal, supposed to be hidden at such time as the *Goths* invaded that Province, in the Year 1156.

Munster.

Eclipsis. & terræ motus continui multa hominum millia oppresserunt. Frisia quoq; per maritimos fluctus tota penè submersa fuit, & perierunt plusquam 100000.

§. V.

That the Flood of Noah *was supernatural, though some say it might have been foreseen by the Stars.*

NOW howsoever all these Floods and many other, which have covered at several times several Regions, not only in these parts of the World, but in *America* also, (as I have learned of some ancient Southsayers among them) may be ascribed to natural causes and accidents; yet that universal Flood (in the time of *Noah*) was poured over the whole face of the Earth by a power above Nature, and by the especial commandment of God himself, who at that time gave strength of influence to the Stars, and abundance to the Fountains of the Deep: whereby the irruption of waters was made more forcible, than any ability of Nature could effect, or any second causes by whatsoever union could perform, without receiving from the Fountain of all power, strength, and faculties supernatural. *Henricus Mecliniensis*, a Scholar of *Albertus Magnus*, in his Commentaries upon the great conjunctions of *Albu Masar* observeth, that before the Flood of *Noah*, the like Conjunction of *Jupiter* and *Saturn*, happened in the last degree of *Cancer*, against that Constellation since called the *Ship of Argos*; by which the Flood of *Noah* might be foretold, because *Cancer* is both a watery Sign, and the House of the Moon, which is the Lady of the Sea, and of moisture, according to the rules of *Astronomy*, and common experience. And this Opinion *Petrus de Aliaco* upon *Genesis* confirmeth, affirming that although *Noah* did well know this Flood by divine revelation, yet (this Conjunction being notorious) he could not be ignorant of the second causes thereof: for those were not only Signs, but also working causes, by strength received from the first cause, which is God himself: and further that by * *Cataractæ cœli* (Englished the windores of Heaven) *Moses* meant this great and watery conjunction; the word [*Cataractæ*] signifying flowing down or coming down. Now (saith *P. de Aliaco*) it pleased God to ordain by the course of the Heavens such a Constellation, by which all Men might behold therein their destruction towards, and thereby forsake those wicked ways wherein they walked, and call unto God for Mercy.

Also *de Concordia Theolog. & Astrolog.*

Gen. 7. 11.

* The word καταῤῥάκτης properly signifieth any place of stoppage, against which the force of the water being naturally carried downwards, dasheth and breaketh; of ἀράσσω *allido*, or *frango*. Hence, because windores do not only open but also shut, the word hath been expounded (Windores) for Bars or Flood Gates.

Of this judgement was *Gul. Parisiensis*, who understood that the words *Catarractæ cœli*, or windores of Heaven were to be taken for the former Conjunction, or for these watery Signs, *Cancer*, *Pisces*, *Pleiades*, *Hyades*, and *Orion*, and of the Planets, *Mars*, *Venus*, and the *Moon*: which are the forcible causes of the greatest Inundations. His own words are these, *Nondum intelligo Prophetam Hebræorum*

catarractas cœli vocâsse, nisi partes illas cœli, quæ generativæ sunt Pluviarum & Inundationum aquarum, quales sunt signa aquatica, ut Cancer, &c. as aforesaid. *As yet* (saith he) *I perceive not what the Prophet of the* Hebrews *meaneth by those words,* [*Catarractæ cœli,* or, Windows of Heaven] *unless he thereby understand those Cœlestial Powers, by whose influences are engendered the Rain, and Inundations of Waters, such as are the watery Signs of* Cancer, *&c.*

But in a word, as it might please God, that in the course of his unsearchable Wisdom this Conjunction should at such time be: so did he (as aforesaid) add vigour and faculty, and gave to every operation increase of Vertues, violent Eruptions to Springs and Fountains, commanding them to cast out the whole treasure and heap of their Waters; taking retention from the Clouds, and condensing Air into Water by the Ministery of his Angels, or howsoever else best pleased his All-powerfulness.

§. VI.

That there was no need of any new Creation of matter to make the universal Flood: and what are Catarractæ Cœli Gen. 7. vers. 11.

NOW if it be objected, that God doth not create any thing of new; (for God resteth the seventh day; (that is) he did not then after create any new *species*) which granted, it may seem that then all the Earth and Air had not Waters sufficient to cover the habitable World fifteen Cubits above the highest Mountains. Of this Proposition, Whether God hath so restrained himself or no, I will not dispute; but for the consequent (which is) that the World had want of water to overcover the highest Mountains, I take that conceit to be unlearned and foolish: for it is written, that *the Fountains of the great Deep were broken up* (that is) the waters forsook the very Bowels of the Earth; and all whatsoever was dispersed therein, pierced and brake through the Face thereof. Then let us consider that the Earth had above one and twenty thousand Miles: the Diameter of the Earth according to that Circle seven thousand Mile, and then from the Superficies to the Center some three thousand five hundred Miles: Take then the highest Mountain of the World, *Caucasus, Taurus, Olympus*, or *Atlas*, the Mountains of *Armenia* or *Scythia*, or that (of all other the highest) in *Tennerif*, and I do not find, that he that looketh highest, stretcheth above thirty miles upright. It is not then impossible, answering Reason with Reason, that all those Waters mixed within the Earth three thousand five hundred Miles deep should not well help to cover the space of thirty Miles in height, this thirty Miles upright being found in the depths of the Earth one hundred and sixteen times: for the Fountains of the great Deep were broken up, and the waters drawn out of the Bowels of the Earth. Secondly, if we consider what proportion the Earth beareth to the extension of the Air over and above it, we shall find the difference exceeding great. If then it pleased God to condense but so much of this Air as every-where compasseth and embraceth the Earth, which condensation is a conversion of Air into water, a change familiar in those Elements, it will not seem strange to Men of Judgment, yea but of ordinary understanding, that the Earth (God so pleasing) was covered over with Waters without any new Creation.

Lastly, for the opinions of *Gulielmus Parisiensis*, and *Aliacensis*, to which I may add *Berosus* and others, That such a Conjunction there was, foreshewing that destruction by Waters which followed; and that by the word *Catarractæ Cœli*, or Windows of Heaven, was meant this Conjunction; there needs no other answer than that Observation of *Ludovicus Vives*, who affirmeth that by the gravest *Astrologians* it was observed, that in the Year 1524. there should happen the like Conjunction, as at *Noah*'s Flood, than which (saith he) there was never a more fair, dry, and seasonable Year: the like destruction was prophesied of the Year 1588. But *Picus Earl of Mirandula* proveth that there could not be any such Conjunction at that time.

To conclude, I find no other mystery in the word *Catarractæ Cœli*, than that the Clouds were meant thereby: *Moses* using the word *Windows of Heaven* (if that be the sense of the word) to express the violence of the Rains, and pouring down of Waters. For whosoever hath seen those fallings of water, which sometimes happen in the *Indies*, which are called the Spouts (where Clouds do not break into drops, but fall with a resistless violence in one body) may properly use that manner of speech which *Moses* did; That the Windows or Flood-Gates of Heaven opened: (which is) That Waters fell, contrary to Custom, and that order which we call Natural. God then loosened the Power retentive in the uppermost Air; and the Waters fell in abundance: *Behold* (saith Job) *he which holdeth the waters, and they dry up*; or better in Latin, *Et omnia siccantur, And all things are dried up*; *but when he sendeth them out, they destroy the Earth*: and in the 26. Chapter, *He bindeth the waters in the Clouds*; but these bonds God loosed at that time of the general Flood, and called up the Waters which slept in the great Deep: and these joyning together covered the Earth, till they had performed the work of his will: which done, he then commanded them to return into their dark and vast Caves, and the rest (by a Wind) rarified again into Air, formerly condensed into Drops.

Job c. 12. v. 15.

Gen. 8. 1.

§. VII.

Of some remainder of the memory of Noah *among the Heathen.*

NOAH commanded by God, before the fall of those Waters, entred the Ark which he had built, with his own Wife, and his Sons, and his Sons Wives, taking with them of every Creature, which took life by generation, seven of the clean, and of the unclean, two. *Noah*, according to *Philo*, signifieth quietness: after others, and according to the Prophecy of his Father *Lamech*, cessation; to whom after-times gave many names answering his Antiquity, Zeal, Vertue and other qualities: as, *The first Ogyges*, because in the time of the Grecian *Ogyges* there was also a great Flood of *Achaia*: *Saturn* they called him, because he was the Father of Nations: Others gave him the name of *Prometheus*, who was said to steal away *Jupiter*'s Fire; Fire in that place being taken and understood for the knowledge of God and Heavenly things. Others think that he was so called for his excellent Wisdom and foresight. He had also the name of *Janus*, (*id est*) *vinosus*, because *Jain*, signifieth Wine in the Hebrew. And so *Tertullian* finds him written *in libris ritualibus, in the Books of Ceremonies*, preceding both *Saturn, Uranus*, and *Jove*: which three enjoyed an elder time than all the other ancientest feigned Gods. And this name *Jain* is taken from the Hebrew and *Syrian*, and not from the Latin: for it was in use before there was any Latin Nation, or any Kingdom

Kingdom by that name known. Of the Antiquity of *Janus*, *Fabius Pictor* giveth this Teſtimony. *Jani ætate nulla erat Monarchia, quid mortalibus pectoribus nondum hæſerat ulla regnandi cupiditas*, &c. *Vinum & ſar primus populos docuit Janus ad ſacrificia: primus enim aras & Pomœria & ſacra docuit. In the time of* Janus (ſaith he) *there was no Monarchy: for the deſire of rule had not then folded it ſelf about the hearts of Men.* Janus *firſt taught the People to ſacrifice Wine and Meal: he firſt ſet up Altars, inſtituted Gardens and ſolitary Groves, wherein they uſed to pray; with other Holy Rites and Ceremonies.* A greater Teſtimony than this there cannot be found among the Heathen, which in all agreeth ſo well with the Scriptures. For firſt, whilſt *Noah* flouriſhed, there was not any King or Monarch: *Nimrod* being the firſt that took on him Sovereign Authority. Secondly, *Noah* after the Flood was the firſt that planted
Gen. 9. 20. the Vine, and became a Husbandman; and therefore offered the Firſt-fruits of both (to wit) Wine and Meal. Thirdly, he was the firſt that raiſed
Gen. 8. 20. an Altar, and offered Sacrifice to God, a Thankſgiving for his Merciful goodneſs towards him. *Noah* was alſo ſignified in the name of *Biſrons* (which was given to *Janus*) becauſe he beheld the times both before and after the Flood, *quia præterita noverit, & futura proſpexerit*, ſaith *Arnobius*.
Arn. cont. gent. l. 6. *Becauſe he knew what was paſt, and provided for what was to come.* He was alſo in the Perſon of *Janus* ſhadowed by the name of *Chaos*, and *ſemen Orbis, the Seed of the World*; becauſe as out of that confuſed heap was drawn all the kinds of Beaſts and Plants: ſo from *Noah* came all Mankind: whereof *Ovid* in the Perſon of *Janus*:

Ovid. de faſtis. l. 1.

Me Chaos antiqui (nam ſum res priſca) vocabant,
Aſpice quam longi temporis acta cano.

The ancient call'd me *Chaos*: my great Years
By thoſe old times, of which I ſing, appears.

He was alſo intituled *Cœlum* and *Sol*, Heaven and the Sun, for his excellent knowledge in Aſtronomy: *Vertumnus*, *Bacchus*, and *Liber Pater*; not that latter, which *Diod. Siculus*, and *Alex. Aphrodiſeus* ſo call, becauſe he was the reſtorer of the *Greeks* to their former Liberty, but in reſpect of the Flood. For the *Greeks* called *Liber* Τὸν ὑν, and his Nurſes *Hyades*, of Rain, becauſe *Noah* entred the Ark, when the Sun joyned with the Stars *Hyades*, a Conſtellation in the brow or neck of *Taurus*, and ever after a Monument of *Noah*'s Flood. He was alſo by others ſurnamed *Triton*, a Marine God, the Son of *Neptune*: becauſe he lived in ſafety on the Waters. So was he known by the name of *Dionyſus, quaſi*
Nat. Com. l. 5. c. 13. Διανυσσων, *mentem pungens, bite-brain*, or *wit-ſtinger*, though *Diodorus* conceive otherwiſe, and derive that name *à patre & loco, of his Father, and the place of his Birth*, (to wit) of *Jove*, and *Niſa* a Town of *Arabia*
Cælius. *Fœlix*, ſaith *Suidas* out of *Orpheus*. He had alſo the by-name of *Taurus*, or *Taurophagus*; becauſe he
Gen. 9. 20. firſt yoked Oxen and tilled the Ground, according to that of *Moſes*. *And Noah became an husbandman.* Now howſoever the *Grecians* vaunt of their *Theban Bacchus* (otherwiſe *Dionyſus*) it is certain that the name was borrowed, and the invention ſtollen from *Noah*. But this name of *Bacchus*, more anciently *Baachus*, was taken (ſaith *Gul. Stuckius*, and out of
Stuck. in libris conviv. & Danæus de prima Noachi ætate. him *Danæus*) from *Noachus*, [N] being changed into [B]; and it is the more probable, becauſe it cannot be doubted but that *Noah* was the firſt Planter of the Vine after the Flood: and of *Noah* (the firſt and ancient *Bacchus*) were all thoſe Fables deviſed, of which *Diodorus* complaineth in his fourth Book, and fifth Chapter. This firſt *Bacchus* (to wit) *Noah* was ſurnamed *Nyſius* of the Mountain *Nyſa* in *India*, where the *Grecian Bacchus* never came, whatſoever themſelves feign of his Enterpriſes; and theſe Mountains of *Nyſa* joyn with thoſe of *Paropaniſus*, and thoſe other Eaſtern Mountains, on which the Ark of *Noah* reſted after the Flood.

Furthermore, to the end that the memory of this ſecond Parent of Mankind might the better be preſerved, there were founded by his Iſſues many great Cities which bare his name; with many Rivers and Mountains: which oftentimes forgat that it was done in his regard, becauſe the many names given him brought the ſame confuſion to places as to himſelf. Notwithſtanding all which, we find the City of *Noah* upon the banks of the red Sea and elſewhere: the River of *Nous* in *Thrace*, which *Strabo* calleth *Noarus*; *Ptolomy Danus*; dividing *Illyria* from *Panonia*. Thus much for the name.
Plin. l. 6. Steph. de urb. Herod. l. 4. Strabo, l. 7.

§ VIII.

Of ſundry particulars touching the Ark: as the place where it was made, the matter, faſhion and name.

NOW in what part of the World *Noah* built the Ark, it doth not appear in the Scriptures, neither do I find any approved Author that hath written thereof: only *Goropius Becanus* in his *Indo-Scythia* conceiverh, that *Noah* built his Ark near the Mountains of *Caucaſus*, becauſe on thoſe Hills are found the goodlieſt Cedars: for when *Alex. Macedon.* made the War among a People, called *Nyſæi*, inhabiting the other ſide of *Caucaſus*, he found all their Burials and Sepulchers wrought over with Cedar. To this place (ſaith *Becanus*) *Noah* repaired, both to ſeparate himſelf from the reprobate Giants, who rebelled againſt God and Nature, as alſo becauſe he would not be interrupted in the Building of the Ark; to which alſo he addeth the conveniency of Rivers, to tranſport the Timber which he uſed, without troubling any other Carriages.

Only this we are ſure of, that the *Ark* was built in ſome part of the Eaſtern World; and to my underſtanding, not far from the place where it reſted after the Flood. For *Noah* did not uſe any Maſt or Sail (as in other Ships) and therefore did the *Ark* no otherwiſe move than the Hulk or Body of a Ship doth in a calm Sea. Alſo becauſe it is not probable, that during theſe continual and downright Rains there were any Winds at all, therefore was the Ark little moved from the place where it was faſhioned and ſet together. For it is written: *God made a wind to paſs upon the earth, and*
Gen. 8. 1. *the waters ceaſed*; and therefore it may be gathered, that during the fall of the Waters, there was not any Storm or forcible Wind at all, which could drive the Ark any great diſtance from the place where it was firſt by the Waters liſted up. This is alſo the more probable, if that ancient opinion be true, as it is very likely, that the Ark had *fundum planum*; *a flat bottom*, and not raiſed in form of a Ship with a ſharpneſs forward, to cut the Waves for the better ſpeed.

This kind of Veſſel the *Hebrews* call *Thebet*, and the *Greeks Larnax*, for ſo they termed *Deucalion*'s Ship: and ſome ſay, that the Hill *Parnaſſus*, to which in eight days he arrived, was firſt called *Larnaſſus*, and by the change of [L] into [P] *Parnaſſus*; but *Pauſanias* thinks that it took name of a
Steph. de urb. fol. 227. Son of the *Nymph Cleodora*, called *Parnaſſus*, the Inventor of *Auguration*.

Pencerus

De Oracul. fol. 94. *Peucerus* finds the word [*Parnassus*] to have no affinity with the *Greek*, but thinks it derived from the *Hebrew* word *Nahas*, which signifieth *Auguration* and *Divination*: or from *Har* or *Parai*, as in his Chapter of Oracles in the Leaf before cited.

Epiph. in Ancor. *Josephus* calls the Ark *Machina*, by the general name of a huge Frame: and *Epiphanius* out of the *Hebrew Aron*; but herein lieth the difference between *Aron* and *Thebet*, That *Aron* signifieth properly the Ark of the Sanctuary, but *Thebet* such a Vessel as swimmeth, and beareth it self upon the Waters.

Lastly, this Ark of *Noah* differed from the fashion of a Ship in this, That it had a Cover and Roof, with a Crest in the midst thereof, and the Sides declining like the Roof of an House, to the end, both to cast off the Waters, and that thereunder *Noah* himself and his Children might shelter, *Gen. 6. 4.* and separate themselves from the noysomness of the many Beasts, which filled the other Rooms and Parts of the Ark.

Of what Wood the Ark was built it is uncertain. The *Hebrew* word *Gopher* once and in this place only used is diversly understood; and though the matter be of little importance, yet this difference there is, That the *Geneva* Translation calls it Pine-tree, the *Rabbine* Cedar, the Seventy square Timber, the *Latin* smooth Timber. Others will have it Cypress-trees, as dedicated to the Dead, because Cypress is worn at Funerals. But out of doubt if the word *Gopher* signifie any special kind of Timber, *Noah* obeyed the Voice of God therein; if not, he was not then curious as touching the kind or nature of the Wood, having the Promise of God, and his Grace and Mercy for his defence. *V. 18.* For with *Noah* God promised *to establish his covenant*. *Plin. l. 16. c. 40.* *Pliny* affirmeth, That in *Ægypt* it was the use to build Ships of Cedar, which the Worms eat not; and he avoweth that he saw in *Utica*, in the Temple of *Apollo*, Cedar Beams, laid in the time of the Foundation of the City, and that they were still found in his time, which was above 1188. Years after: proving thereby, that this kind of Wood was not subject to putrifying or moulding in a very long time. But in that it is easie to cut, light to carry, and of a sweet savour, lasting also better than any other Wood, and because near the place where the Ark rested, there are found great store of these Cedar-trees, as also in all the Mountains of the East, besides those of *Libanus*, it is probable enough that the Ark might be of that Wood: which hath besides the other Commodities the greatest length of Timber, and therefore fittest to build Ships withal. *Pererius* conceiveth that the Ark had divers sorts of Timber, and that the Bottom had of one sort, the Deck and Partition of another; all which may be true or false, if *Gopher* may be taken for Timber in general. True it is, that Cedar will serve for all parts of a Ship, as well for the Body, as for Masts and Yards. But *Noah* had most respect to the direction received from God: to the length, breadth, and heighth, and to the partitions of the Ark; and to pitch it, and to divide it into Cabins, thereby to sever the clean Beasts from the unclean, and to preserve their several sorts of Food; and that it might be capable of all kind of living Creatures, according to the Numbers by God appointed. All which when *Noah* had gathered together, he cast his confidence wholly on God, who by his Angels steered this Ship without a Rudder, and directed it without the help of a Compass or the North-star. The Pitch which *Noah* used, is by some supposed to have been a kind of *Bitumen*, whereof there is *Pererius.* great quantity about the Valley of *Sodom* and *Gomorrha*, now the dead Sea or *Asphaltes*: and in the Region of *Babylon*, and in the *West India*, and herein it exceedeth other Pitch, that it melts not with the Sun, but by the Fire only, after the manner of hard Wax.

§. IX.

That the Ark was of sufficient capacity.

THE Ark according to Gods Commandment had of length three hundred Cubits, fifty of breadth, and thirty deep or high: by which proportion it had six parts of length to one of breadth, and ten times in length to one of depth; of which S. *Augustine*, *Proculdubio figura est peregrinantis in hoc sæculo Civitatis Dei, (hoc est) Ecclesiæ, quæ sit salva per lignum, in quo pependit Mediator Dei & hominum, homo Christus Jesus: nam & mensura ipsa longitudinis, altitudinis, latitudinisque ejus significat corpus humanum, in cujus veritate ad homines prænunciatus est venturus, & venit*, &c. *Without doubt* (saith he) *it is a Figure of the City of God, travelling in this World as a stranger (that is) of the Church, saved by the Tree whereupon the Mediator between God and Man, the Man Jesus Christ did hang: for even the very measure of the length, heighth, and breadth, answereth the shape of Mans Body, in the truth whereof the coming of Christ was fore-told and performed.* *De Civit. Dei, l. 15. c. 26.*

By what kind of Cubit the Ark was measured, it hath been a disputed Question among the Fathers, and others; and the differences are in effect these: The first kind of Cubit (called the Common) containeth one Foot and a half, measured from the sharp of the Elbow to the point of the middle Finger. The second (the Palm Cubit) which taketh one handful more than the common. The third is called *Regius Cubitus*, or the *Persian Cubit*, which exceedeth the common Cubit three Inches. The fourth is the Sacred Cubit, which containeth the common or vulgar Cubit double, wanting but a quarter or fourth part. Lastly there is a fifth Cubit, called Geometrical, which containeth six common Cubits. But of all these sorts, which were commonly measured by the vulgar Cubit, the alteration and diminution of Mens Statures hath made the difference. For as there is now a less proportion of Bodies: so is the common Cubit, from the sharp of the Elbow to the point of the middle Finger, of less length than it was in elder times.

S. *Augustine* considering the many sorts of Beasts and Birds which the Ark held, with their Food and Water, was sometimes of opinion, that the Ark had proportion after the Geometrical Cubit, which containeth almost six of the common. For measuring the Ark by the vulgar Cubit, it did not exceed the capacity of that Vessel built by *Hiero* of *Syracuse*, or the Ship of *Ptolomy Philo-pater*. But S. *Augustine* (who at the first was led by *Origen*) changed his Judgment as touching the Geometrical Cubit; and found upon better consideration, that there needed not so huge a Body to preserve all sorts of Creatures by God appointed to be reserved. For it was not needful to take any kinds of Fishes into the Ark, because they were kept living (saith S. *Augustine*) *in their own Element. Non fuit necesse conservare in Arca quæ possent in aquis vivere; non solùm mersa sicut pisces, verùm supernatantia, sicut multa alites. It was not needful to conserve those Creatures in the Ark, which could live in the Waters; and not only Fishes, which can live under Water, but also those Fowls which sit and swim on them:* And again, *Terra non aqua, maledicta, quia Adam* *Athen. deipnosop. lib. 4. Plutar. in vita Demetrii.* *Aug. de Civit. lib. 1. c. 27.*

non

non hujus, ſed illius fructum vetitum comedit. It was the Earth, and not the Waters, which God curſed: for of the forbidden Fruit of the Earth, and not of the Sea, did Adam *eat*; ſo as S. *Auguſtine* gathereth hereupon, (as aforeſaid) that ſo huge a Frame needed not.

And if we look with the Eyes of Judgment hereunto, we ſhall find nothing monſtrous therein; although the imaginations of Men, who (for the moſt part) have more of miſchief and of ignorance, than of any reverend reaſon, find many impoſſibilities in this Work of God. But it is manifeſt, and undoubtedly true, that many of the Species, which now ſeem differing and of ſeveral kinds, were not then *in rerum natura*. For thoſe Beaſts which are of mixt natures, either they were not in that Age, or elſe it was not needful to preſerve them: ſeeing they might be generated again by others, as the Mules, the Hyæna's and the like: the one begotten by Aſſes and Mares, the other by Foxes and Wolves. And whereas by diſcovering of ſtrange Lands, wherein there are found divers Beaſts and Birds differing in Colour or Stature from thoſe of theſe Northern parts, it may be ſuppoſed by a ſuperficial conſideration, that all thoſe which wear Red and Pyed Skins, or Feathers, are differing from thoſe that are leſs painted, and were plain Ruſſet or Black: they are much miſtaken that ſo think. And for my own Opinion I find no difference, but only in Magnitude, between the Cat of *Europe*, and the Ounce of *India*; and even thoſe Dogs which are become wild in *Hiſpagniola*, with which the *Spaniards* uſed to devour the naked *Indians*, are now changed to Wolves, and begin to deſtroy the breed of their Cattle, and do alſo oftentimes tear aſunder their own Children. The common Crow and Rook of *India* is full of red Feathers in the drown'd and low Iſlands of *Caribana*; and the Black-bird and Thruſh hath his Feathers mixt with Black and Carnation, in the North parts of *Virginia*. The Dog Fiſh of *England* is the Shark of the South Ocean: For if Colour or Magnitude made a difference of Species, then were the *Negro's*, which we call the Black-moors, *non animalia rationalia*, not Men, but ſome kind of ſtrange Beaſts: and ſo the Giants of the South *America* ſhould be of another kind, than the People of this part of the World. We alſo ſee it daily that the Natures of Fruits are changed by tranſplantation, ſome to better, ſome to worſe, eſpecially with the change of Climate. Crabs may be made good Fruit by often Grafting, and the beſt Mellons will change in a Year or two to common Cucumbers by being ſet in a barren Soil: Therefore taking the kinds preciſely of all Creatures, as they were by God created, or out of the Earth by his Ordinance produced: The Ark, after the meaſure of the common Cubit was ſufficiently capacious to contain of all, according to the number by God appointed: For if we add but half a Foot of meaſure to the common Cubit, which had a Foot and a half of Giantly Stature (and leſs allowance we cannot give to the difference between them and us) then did the Ark contain 600 Foot in length, and 100 Foot in breadth, and 60 Foot deep.

Acoſt. hiſt. India.

But firſt of all to make it manifeſt, that the Geometrical Cubit is not uſed in the Scripture, the Stature of the Giants therein named may ſuffice. For if the Bed of *Og* King of *Baſan* had been nine Geometrical Cubits long, it had taken 54 Cubits of the common, which make 80 Foot: and *Goliah*, who had the length of 6 Cubits and a handful, (which makes nine Foot and a handful, a proportion credible) if theſe Cubits had been Geometrical, they had been 54 Foot in heighth and upwards, which were monſtrous and moſt incredible: for (according to this proportion) had the Head of *Goliah* been nine Foot long, and far weightier and bigger than all *David*'s Body, who carried it away.

Deut. 3. 11.

1 Sam. 17. 4.

Again if the Geometrical Cubit had been uſed for a meaſure in the Scripture, as many Commenters have obſerved, then had the Altar (appointed to contain five Cubits of length, five of breadth and three of heighth) have reached the length of 27 Foot upright, and ſo muſt their Prieſts have aſcended by Steps or Ladders to have performed their Sacrifices thereon, which was contrary to Gods Commandment given in theſe words: *Thou ſhalt not go up with ſteps unto mine altar, that thy ſhame be not diſcovered thereon*; and therefore was the Altar but three common Cubits high which make four Foot, that their Prieſts ſtanding thereby might execute their office: Wherefore I may conclude, that the Cubit mentioned in the Scriptures was not the Geometrical, but the ordinary Cubit of one Foot and a half, according to the Meaſure of Giantly Stature; which Meaſure (doubtleſs) might give much the more capacity to the Ark, although it be alſo probable, that as the Men were, ſo were the Horſes whereon they rode, and all other Creatures of a correſpondent ſize. And yet (as I take it) though by this means there were not any whit the more room in the Ark, it were not hard to conceive, how all the diſtinct Species of Animals, whoſe Lives cannot be preſerved in the Waters, might according to their preſent quantities be contained in a Veſſel of thoſe Dimenſions which the Ark had; allowing to the Cubit one Foot and a half of our now uſual Meaſure: whence it followeth of neceſſity, that thoſe large Bodies which were in the days of *Noah* might have room ſufficient in the Ark, which was meaſured by a Cubit of length proportionable.

Exod. 20. 26.

How the appointed number of Creatures, to be ſaved (that is) ſeven of the clean, two of the unclean (with neceſſary Food) might have place in the Ark, *Buteo* hath very learnedly declared: the brief ſumm of whoſe Diſcourſe to that purpoſe is this: *The length of the Ark was three hundred Cubits, which multiplied by the breadth, namely fifty Cubits, and the Product by the heighth of thirty Cubits, ſheweth the whole Concavity to have been* 450000. Now whereas the Poſts, Walls, and other Partitions of Lodgings may ſeem to have taken up a great part of the hollow: the heighth of the Roof which (the Perpendicular being one Cubit) contained 7500 cubical Cubes, was a ſufficient recompence: If therefore in a Ship of ſuch greatneſs we ſeek room for 89 diſtinct Species of Beaſts, or (leſt any ſhould be omitted) for 100 ſeveral kinds, we ſhall eaſily find place both for them, and for the Birds, which in bigneſs are no way anſwerable to them, and for Meat to ſuſtain them all. For there are three ſorts of Beaſts, whoſe Bodies are of a quantity beſt known; the Beef, the Sheep, and the Wolf: to which the reſt may be reduced, by ſaying, (according to *Ariſtotle*) that one Elephant is anſwerable to four Beeves, one Lyon to two Wolves, and ſo of the reſt. Of Beaſts, ſome feed on Vegetables, others on Fleſh. There are one and thirty kinds of the greater ſort, feeding on Vegetables: of which number, only three are clean, according to the Law of *Moſes*, whereof ſeven of a kind entred into the Ark, namely three couples for Breed, and one odd one for Sacrifice: the other eight and twenty kinds were taken by two of each kind, ſo that in all there were in the Ark one and twenty great Beaſts clean, and ſix and fifty unclean, eſtimable for largeneſs as 91 Beeves; yet for a ſupplement (leſt perhaps

perhaps any *Species* be omitted) let them be valued, as 120 Beeves. Of the leſſer ſort, feeding on Vegetables, were in the Ark ſix and twenty kinds, eſtimable with good allowance for ſupply, as fourſcore Sheep. Of thoſe which devour Fleſh were two and thirty kinds, anſwerable to threeſcore and four Wolves. All theſe 280 Beaſts might be kept in one Story or Room of the Ark in their ſeveral Cabbins; their Meat in a ſecond: the Birds and their Proviſion in a third, with place to ſpare for *Noah* and his Family, and all their neceſſaries.

§. X.

That the Ark reſted upon part of the Hill Taurus (*or* Caucaſus) *between the* Eaſt Indies, *and* Scythia.

†. I.

A Preteritian of ſome Queſtions leſs material: with a Note of the uſe of this Queſtion, to find out the Metropolis *of Nations.*

WHAT time *Noah* took to build the Ark, I leave to others to diſpute; but he received the Commandment from God 100 Years before the Waters fell: and had therefore choice of time and leiſure ſufficient. As for the number of Decks and Partitions, which *Origen* divides into four, S. *Auguſtine* into three, I will not trouble the Reader with the controverſie: or whether thoſe Creatures which ſometimes reſt on the Land, other times in the Waters, as the Crocodiles (now called *Alegartos*) the Sea-Cows or Sea-Horſes, were kept in the Ark, or no, I think it a needleſs curioſity; and yet to this ſaith *Pererius*, and others before him, that a Fiſh-Pool might be made as well within the Ark, as in *Hiero* his Ship of *Syracuſe*. Laſtly, to conſider or labour to diſprove the foolery of the *Hebrews*, who ſuppoſe that the Ark was lightened by a Carbuncle, or had Windows of Cryſtal to receive in Light, and keep out Water, were but to revive the buried Vanities of former times. But that which I ſeek moſt to ſatisfie my ſelf and others in, is in what part of the World the Ark reſted after the Flood: becauſe the true underſtanding of ſome of theſe places (as the Seat of the Terreſtrial *Paradiſe*, and the reſting of the Ark) do only and truly teach the Worlds Plantation, and the beginning of Nations, before and after the Flood; and all Story, as well general as particular, thereby may be the better underſtood.

†. II.

A Propoſal of the common Opinion, that the Ark reſted upon ſome of the Hills of Armenia.

AND firſt, for the true place where the Ark reſted after the Flood, and from what part of the World the Children of *Noah* travelled to their firſt Settlement and Plantation, I am reſolved (without any preſumption) that therein the moſt Writers were utterly miſtaken. And I am not led ſo to think out of my humour or newneſs of opinion, or ſingularity; but do herein ground my ſelf on the Original and firſt Truth, which is the Word of God, and after that upon Reaſon, and the moſt probable circumſtances thereon depending. For whereas it is written, *that the Ark ſtayed upon one of the mountains of Ararat*, which the *Chaldaan* Paraphraſt hath converted *Kardu*, meaning the Hills *Gordei* or *Gordiei* in *Armenia* the greater: (as the words *Gordai* and *Kardu* ſeem to be one and the ſame) of which Opinion alſo the moſt of our Interpreters are; I find neither Scripture nor Reaſon which teacheth any ſuch thing: (to wit) that it reſted on that part of *Ararat*, which is in the greater *Armenia*. *Nicolaus Damaſcenus* calls this Mountain of *Ararat*, *Baris*, being the ſame which the *Chaldaan* nameth *Kardu*, to which Mountain the Frier *Annius* (citing this place out of *Joſephus*) makes him find another adjoyning, called *Ocila*, and to ſay that the Ark (of which *Moſes* the Law-giver of the *Hebrews* wrote) did firſt take ground on this *Ocila*. But I do not find any ſuch Mountain in being, as this *Ocila*; neither is there any mention of it in the place of *Joſephus*. *Strabo* remembreth a Promontory in *Arabia Fœlix*, of that name, and *Pliny* finds a Mart-Town ſo called in the ſame, which *Ptolomy* calls *Ocilis*, *Pinetus Acyla*, and *Niger Zidon*. But this *Ocila* of *Damaſcenus*, or rather of *Annius*, ſeemeth to be one and a part of the *Armenian* Mountains. *Beroſus* calleth thoſe Mountains of *Armenia Cordiai*, and *Curtius Cordei*: *Ptolomy Gordai* and *Gordiei*: of which the Country next adjoyning is by this *Nicolaus Damaſcenus* called *Ninyada*, perhaps (as *Becanus* conjectures) for *Myliada* or rather *Minni*: which word is uſed for *Armenia Minor*. And the very word of *Armenia* ſeems to be compounded of this word *Minni*, and *Aram*: as if we ſhould ſay *Minni* of *Syria*; for that *Armenia* alſo was a part of *Syria*, *Pliny* witneſſeth. *Epiphanius* placeth the *Cardyes* about theſe Mountains, whom others call *Gordieni* or *Gordeni*. The Mountains are ſeated a part from all other to the North of that Ledge of Mountains called *Taurus*, or *Niphates* in the Plains of *Armenia* the great, near the Lake *Thoſpitis*: whence the River of *Tigris* floweth in 75 Degrees of Longitude, and 41 and 42 Degrees of Latitude. One of the Mountains *Gordiei* (that which ſurmounteth the reſt) *Epiphanius* calls *Lubar*, which in the *Armenian* ſignifieth a place of deſcent: but this out of *Joſephus*; which name (ſaith *Junius*) was of the event, becauſe of *Noah*'s coming down with his Children. But this alſo I take to be a ſuppoſed event; ſeeing any Hill, from whence on every ſide we muſt deſcend, may thus be called: as *Junius* corrects the place in *Joſephus* Λέβυες (*Kubaris.*) That the place is thus to be read, he conjectureth, becauſe *Joſeph. l. 1. c. 4.* ſays, the place is called Ἀναβατήριον (as it were the deſcent or coming down) and *Epiphan. l. 1. cont. Hæreſ.* calls it Λόραι: which word in the *Armenian* and *Ægyptian* Tongue ſignifieth deſcent, of *Lubar*, which is to deſcend; whence alſo *Lubra* is a *Synagogue*, becauſe it was commonly built on ſome high place: whereof alſo the *Latin Delubrum* may ſeem to be derived; and *Act.* 6.9. they that belonged to the *Synagogue* of the *Ægyptians* are called *Libertini*, for *Lubra Tenu*. Yet this Opinion hath been embraced from Age to Age: receiving a habit of ſtrength by time, and allowance without any farther examination; although the name of *Lubar* might otherwiſe rightly be given, eſpecially to that Mountain, by reaſon that the paſſage was more fair, up and down unto it, than to any of the reſt adjoyning.

Gen. 8. 4.

See c. 7. §. 1.

Hieron. 51. 27.

Nat. Hiſt. l. 5. c. 12.

Joſeph. de Antiq. l. 1. c. 4.

†. III.

†. III.

The first Argument against the common Opinion. They that came to build Babel, *would have come sooner, had they come from so near a place as* Armenia.

BUT there are many Arguments to perswade me, that the Ark of *Noah* did not rest it self in any part of *Armenia*, and that the Mountain *Ararat* was not *Baris*, not any one of the *Gordiaan* Mountains.

Beros. l. 1. For first, it is agreed by all which follow *Berosus*, that it was in the 130. Year, or in the Year 131. after the Flood, when *Nimrod* came into the Valley of *Shinaar*, which Valley was afterward called *Babylonia*, *Cush*, and *Chaldæa*. If then the Ark had first found Land in *Armenia*, it is very unprobable, that the Children of *Noah* which came into that Valley could have spent so many Years in so short a passage: seeing the Region of *Mesopotamia* was only interjacent, which might by easie Journeys have been past over in 10. days; and to hasten and help which Passage the Navigable River of *Tygris* offered it self, which is every where transpassable by Boats of great burden: so as where the Desart on the one side resisted their Expedition, the River on the contrary side served to advance it; the River rising out of the same Ledge of Mountains, or at the Foot of them, where the Ark of *Noah* was first supposed to settle it self; Then, if the Nations which followed *Nimrod* still doubted the surprise of a second Flood (according to the Opinions of the ancient *Hebrews*) it soundeth ill to the Ear of Reason, that they would have spent many Years in that low and overflown Valley of *Mesopotamia*, so called of the many Rivers which imbroider or compass it: for the Effects witnessed their Affections, and the Works, which they undertook, their Unbelief; being no sooner arrived in *Shinaar*, but they began to provide themselves of a Defence (by erecting *Babel*) against any future or feared Inundation. Now at *Babel* it was that *Nimrod* began his Kingdom, the first known City of the World founded after the Flood, about 131. Years, or (as others suppose) ten Years later: though (for my self) I rather think, that they undertook that Work in two respects, first, to make themselves famous, *To get us a Name* (saith the Text:) *Gen. 10. 10.* Secondly, thereby to usurp Dominion over the rest. *Beros. l. 1.*

†. IV.

The second Argument, That the Eastern People were most ancient in Populosity, and in all Humane Glory.

FOR a second Argument: The Civility, Magnificence and multitude of People (wherein the East parts of the World first abounded) hath more weight than any thing which hath been, or can be said for *Armenia*, and for *Noah*'s taking Land there. And that this is true, the use of Printing and Artillery (among many other things which the East had) may easily perswade us, that those Sun-rising Nations were the most ancient. The certainty of this Report, that the East *Indians* (time out of mind) have had Guns and Ordnance of Battery, confirmed by the *Portugals* and others, makes us now to understand, That the place of *Philostratus in vita Apollonii Tianæi, l. 2. c. 14.* is no Fable, though expresst in fabulous words: when he saith, that the wise Men which dwell between *Hyphasis* and *Ganges*, use not themselves to go forth into Battail: that they but drive away their Enemies with Thunder and Lightning sent from *Jupiter*. By which means there it is said, That *Semiramis Egyptius* and *Barbius*, joyning their Forces were defeated there; and that the Eagle there chast away his golden Shield. For the Invention of Letters was ignorantly ascribed to *Cadmus*, because he brought them first into *Greece*: of which the People (then rude and savage) had reason to give him the Honour, from whom they received the Benefit. But it is true, that Letters are no less ancient than *Seth* or *Henoch* were; for they are said to have written on Pillars of Stone (as before remembred) long before the Flood. But from the Eastern World it was that *John Cathenberg a German*, brought the Device of Printing; by whom *Conradus* being instructed, brought the Practice thereof to *Rome*: and after that, *Nicolaus Gerson a Frenchman* bettered both the Letters and Invention. And notwithstanding that this Mystery was then supposed to be but newly born, the *Chinaes* had Letters long before either the *Ægyptians* or *Phœnicians*; and also the Art of Printing, when as the *Greeks* had neither any civil Knowledge, or any Letters among them.

And that this is true, both the *Portugals* and *Spaniards* have witnessed, who about an hundred Years since discovered those Kingdoms, and do now enjoy their rich Trades therein: for the *Chinaes* account all other Nations but Salvages in respect of themselves.

And to add strength to this Argument, the Conquest and Story of *Alex. Macedon* may justly be called to witness, who found more Cities and Sumptuosity in that little Kingdom of *Porus*, which lay side by side to the East *India*, than in all his other Travels and Undertakings. For in *Alexander*'s time Learning and Greatness had not travelled so far to the West as *Rome*: *Alexander* esteeming of *Italy* but as a barbarous Country, and of *Rome* as of a Village. But it was *Babylon* that stood in his Eye, and the Fame of the East pierced his Ears. And if we look as far as the Sun-rising, and hear *Paulus Venetus* what he reporteth of the uttermost Angle and Island thereof, we shall find that those Nations have sent out, and not received, lent Knowledge, and not borrowed it from the West. For the farther East (to this day) the more civil, the farther West the more salvage. And of the Isle of *Japan* (now *Zipinguri*) *Venetus* maketh this Report: *Incolæ religioni, literis, & sapientiæ sunt addictissimi, & veritatis indagatores acerrimi; nihil illis frequentius orationc, quam (more nostro) sacris in delubris exercent: unum cognoscunt Principem, unum Deum adorant.* *The Islanders are exceedingly addicted to Religion, Letters, and Philosophy, and most diligent searchers out of Truth: there is nothing among them more frequent than Prayer, which they use in their Churches, after the manner of Christians. They acknowledge one King, and worship one God.* The Antiquity, Magnificence, Civility, Riches, sumptuous Buildings, and Policy in Government, is reported to be such by those who have been employed into those parts, as it seemeth to exceed (in those formerly named, and divers other particulars) all other Kingdoms of the World.

†. V.

The third Argument, From the wonderful Resistance which Semiramis *found in the East* Indies.

BUT for a third Argument, and also of a treble strength to the rest, I lay the Invasion of *Semiramis* before the indifferent and advised Reader: who may consider in what Age she lived, and how

ſoon after the Worlds new birth ſhe gathered her Army (as *Diodorus Siculus* out of *Ctefias* reporteth) of more than three Millions to invade *India*, to which he adjoineth alſo 500000. Horſe, and 100000. Waggons: whereof if we believe but a third part, it ſhall ſuffice to prove that *India* was the firſt planted and peopled Country after the Flood. Now as touching the time wherein ſhe lived: All Hiſtorians conſent, that ſhe was the Wife of *Ninus*; and the moſt approved Writers agree, that *Ninus* was the Son of *Belus*, and *Belus* of *Nimrod*, that *Nimrod* was the Son of *Cuſh*, *Cuſh* of *Cham*, and *Cham* of *Noah*. And at ſuch time as *Nimrod* came into *Shinaar*, he was then a great Nation, as by the building of the City and Tower of *Babel* may appear; and being then ſo multiplied and increaſed, the two Deſcents caſt between *Nimrod* and *Semiramis*, brought forth in that time thoſe multitudes, whereof her Army was compoſed. Let us then ſee with whom ſhe encountred in that War with this her powerful Army: even with a multitude, rather exceeding, than equalling her own, conducted by *Staurobates* King of *India* beyond *Indus*; of whoſe multitudes this is the Witneſs of *Diodor. Siculus*. Staurobates, *avitis majoribus quàm quæ erant* Semiramidis *copiis*. Staurobates *gathering together greater Troops than thoſe of* Semiramis. If then theſe numbers of *Indians* had been encreaſed but by a *Colony* ſent out from *Shinaar*, (and that alſo after *Babel* was built, which no doubt took ſome time in the performance) this Increaſe in the Eaſt, and this Army of *Staurobates* muſt have been made of Stone, or ſomewhat elſe by Miracle. For as the Numbers which *Semiramis* gathered might eaſily grow up in that time, from ſo great a Troop as *Nimrod* brought with him into *Babylonia* (as ſhall be demonſtrated hereafter in the Story of *Iſrael*) ſo could not any ſuch time, by any multiplication natural, produce ſo many Bodies of Men, as were in the *Indian* Army victorious over *Semiramis*, if the Colonies ſent thither had been ſo late as *Babel* overturned, and the confuſion of Languages. For if we allow 65. Years time after the Flood, before *Nimrod* was born: of which 30. Years to *Cuſh* ere he begat *Seba*, after whom
Gen. 10. 7. he had *Havilah*, *Sabtah*, *Raamah*, and *Sabtecha*: and then 30. Years to *Raamah*, ere he begat *Sheba* and *Dedan*, both which were born before *Nimrod*: and five Years to his five elder Brothers, which make 65. and then twice 30. Years for two Generations more, as for *Nimrod*, *Sheba* and *Dedan* with others, to beget their Sons, and that a third Generation might grow up, which makes in all 125. Years, there will then remain ſix Years to have been ſpent in travelling from the Eaſt, ere they arrived in *Shinaar* in the Year after the Flood 131. And ſo the followers of *Nimrod* might be of ſufficient multitude. But as for thoſe which make him to have arrived at *Shinaar* in the Year 101: and the Confuſion to have been at *Peleg*'s Birth, theſe Men do all by Miracle: they beget whole Nations without the help of Time, and build *Nimrod*'s Tower in the Air; and not on thoſe low and mariſh Grounds (which require ſound Foundations) in the Plains of *Shinaar*. For except that huge Tower were built in a Day, there could be no confuſion in that Year 101. or at *Peleg*'s Birth. And therefore it is far more probable, that *Nimrod* uſurped Regal Authority in the 131. Year after the Flood, (according to *Beroſus*) and that the Work of *Babel* laſted forty Years (according to *Glycas*) *hominibus in ea perficienda totis* 40. *annis incaſſum laboramibus*: *Men labouring in vain* 40. *Years to finiſh it*. By which Account it falls out, that it was 170. Years after the Flood, ere a Colony were ſent into *Eaſt India*; which granted (the one being the main Body, and the other but a Troop taken thence) it can hardly be believed, that *Staurobates* could have exceeded *Semiramis* in Numbers: who being then Empreſs of all that part of the World, gathered the moſt of Nations into one Body.

Glyc. in Gen. & de Turris exſtructione. fol. 173.

†. VI.

The fourth Arguments from divers Conſiderations in the Perſon of Noah.

FOurthly, it is no way probable, that *Noah*, who knew the World before the Flood; and had lived therein the long time of 600. Years; was all that ſpace 130. Years after the Flood without any certain Habitation: No, it will fall out, and better agree with Reaſon, that *Nimrod* was but the Conductor of thoſe People, by *Noah* deſtinied and appointed to fill and inhabit that middle part of the Earth and the Weſtern World; (which Travels *Noah* put over to young and able Bodies) and that *Noah* himſelf then covered with many Years planted himſelf in the ſame place which God had aſſigned him: which was where he firſt came down out of the Ark from the Waters: For it is written, that after *Noah* came down out of the Ark he planted a Vineyard, and became a Husbandman: whoſe Buſineſs was to dreſs and manure the Earth, and not to range over ſo many parts of the World, as from *Armenia* into *Arabia Felix*, where he ſhould (if the Tradition be ſound) have left certain *Colonies*: thence into *Africa* towards *Triton*; then into *Spain*, where they ſay he ſetled other Companies; and built Cities after the Names of *Noela* and *Noegla* his Sons Wives: from thence into *Italy*, where they ſay he found his Son *Cham* the *Saturn* of *Egypt*, who had corrupted the People and Subjects of *Gomer* in his abſence: with whom *Noah* (as they make the Story) had patience for three Years; but then finding no amendment, they ſay, he baniſh'd him out of *Italy*. Theſe be but the Fancies of *Beroſus Annianus*, a plain imitation of the Grecian Fables. For let every reaſonable Man conceive, what it was to travel far in ſuch a Foreſt as the World was, when after ſo great a rotting of the Earth by the Flood the ſame lay waſte and over-grown for 130. or 140. Years, and wherein there could hardly be found either Path or Paſſage through which Men were able to creep, for Woods, Buſhes and Briars that in thoſe Years were grown up.

And there are ſo many Reaſons, proving that *Noah* never came into the Valley of *Shinaar*, as we need not ſuſpect his Paſſage into *Italy* or *Spain*: For *Noah*, who was Father of all thoſe Nations, a Man reverenced both for his Authority, Knowledge, Experience and Piety, would never have permitted his Children and Iſſues to have undertaken that unbelieving preſumptuous Work of *Babel*. Rather by his Preſence and prevalent Perſwaſions he would have bound their hands from ſo vain Labours, and by the Authority which he received even from God himſelf, he would have held them in that awful ſubjection, as whatſoever they had vainly conceived or feared, yet they durſt not have diſobeyed the perſonal Commandment of him, who in the beginning had a kind of Regal Authority over his Children and People. Certainly, *Noah* knew right well, that the former deſtruction of Mankind was by themſelves purchaſed through Cruelty and Diſobedience; and that to diſtruſt God, and to raiſe up Building againſt his Almighty Power, was as much as in them lay, a provocation of God to lay on them the ſame, if not a more ſharp affliction.

Ptol. Aſia.

affliction. Wherefore, there is no probability, that ever he came so far West as *Babylonia*; but rather, that he sent those numbers which came into *Shinaar* (being the greatest Troop, because they had the greatest Part of the World to plant) under *Nimrod*, or those upon whom he usurped. *Nauclerus* and *Cœlestinus* take the Testimony of *Methodius* Bishop of *Tyre* for currant, that there were three Leaders of the People after their encrease (to wit) *Nimrod*, *Suphene*, and *Joctan*; of which *Nimrod* commanded the issues of *Cham*, *Joctan* of *Sem*, and *Suphene* of *Japhet*. This Opinion I cannot judge of, although I will not doubt, but that so great a Work as the Worlds Plantation, could not be effected without order and conduction.

Of the Sons of *Sem*: *Joctan*, *Havilah*, and *Ophir*, are especially noted to have dwelt in the *East India*. The rest of *Sem*'s issues had also the Regions of *Persia* and the other adjoyning to *Indus*, and held also a part of *Chaldea* for a time: for *Abraham* inhabited *Ur*, till he was thence called by God; and whether they were of the Sons of *Joctan*, or of all the rest a certain number (*Cham* and his issue only excepted) that *Noah* kept with himself, it cannot be known. Of which Plantation I shall speak at large in the Chapter following.

Now another reason which moves me to believe, that *Noah* stayed in the East far away from all those that came into *Shinaar*, is that *Moses* doth not in any word make mention of *Noah* in all the story of the *Hebrews*; or among any of those Nations which contended with them. And *Noah*, being the Father of all Mankind, and the chosen servant of God, was too principal a person, to be either forgotten or neglected, had he not (in respect of his Age and wearisome experience of the World) withdrawn himself, and rested apart with his best beloved, giving himself to the service and contemplation of God and Heavenly things, after he had directed his Children to their destined portions. For he landed in a warm and fertile soil, where he planted his Vineyard, and drest the Earth; after which, and his thanks-giving to God by sacrifice; he is not remembred in the Scriptures, because he was so far away from those Nations of which *Moses* wrote: which were the Hebrews chiefly, and their Enemies and Borderers.

†. VII.

Of the senseless Opinion of Annius *the Commentor upon* Berosus: *that the Ark rested upon* Montes Caspii *in* Armenia, *and yet upon* Gordiæi, *which are three hundred Miles distant also in* Armenia, *and yet in* Scythia.

IT remaineth now that we examine the Arguments and authorities of Frier *Annius*, who in his Commentaries upon *Berosus* and others, labour-eth marvelously to prove, that the *Ark* of *Noah* rested upon the *Armenian* Mountains called *Caspii*; which Mountains separate *Armenia* from the upper *Media*, and do equally belong to both. And because all his Authors speak of the Mountains *Gordiæi*, he hath no other shift to unite these Opinions, but by uniting those far distant Mountains together. To effect which he hath found no other invention, than to charge those Men with error which have carefully overseen, printed, and published *Ptolomy*'s Geography, in which they are altogether dissevered: for that last edition of *Mercator*'s, sets these Hills five Degrees (which makes three hundred English Miles) asunder. And certainly, if we look into those more ancient Copies of *Villanovanus* and others, we shall find nothing in them to help *Annius* withall: for in those the Mountains *Caspii* stand seven Degrees to the East of the *Gordiæi*, which make 420. Miles. And for those Authors by whose Authority *Annius* strengthneth himself, *Diodorus* whom he so much followeth, giveth this judgement upon them in the like dispute. *Aberrarunt vero omnes, non negligentia, sed regnorum suus ignorantia.* They have all erred (saith he) *not through negligence, but through ignorance of the situation of Kingdoms.* But for an induction, to prove that the *Ark* of *Noah* stood on the Mountains of *Armenia*, he beginneth with the antiquity of the *Scythians*: and to prove the same he citeth *Marcus Portius Cato*, who avoweth that 250. years before *Ninus*, the Earth was overflown with Waters, *& in Scythia Saga renatum mortale genus, and that in* Scythia Saga *the stock of mortal Men was renewed.* The same Author also teacheth that the *Umbri* before remembred (who were so called, because saved from *Deucalion*'s flood) were the Sons of the *Galli*, a Nation of the *Scythians*. *Ex his venisse Janum cum Dyrim & Gallis Progenitoribus Umbrorum*: *From these* Scythians, he saith, *that* Janus *came with* Dyrim *and with the* Galli *the Progenitors of the* Umbri; And again, *Equidem principatus originis semper Scythis tribuitur*, *Certainly, the prime antiquity of off-spring is always given to the* Scythians. And herein truly I agree with *Annius*, that those Regions called *Scythia*, and now *Tartaria*, and by some Writers *Sarmatia Asiatica*, were among the first peopled: and they held the greatest part of *Asia* under tribute till *Ninus* time. Also *Pliny* calleth the *Umbri* which long since inhabited *Italy*, *Gens antiquissima, a most ancient Nation*, who descended of these *Scythians*. Now that which *Annius* laboureth, is to prove that these ancient *Scythians* (meaning the Nephews of *Noah*) did first inhabit that Region of the Mountains, on which the *Ark* rested; and confessing that this great ship was grounded in *Armenia*, he feigneth a Nation of *Scythians* called *Araxea*, taking Name of the Mountain *Ararat*, near the River of *Araxes*. And because his Author *Cato* helpeth him in part (to wit, That in *Scythia* Mankind was restored after the great Flood, 250 Years before *Ninus*) and in part utterly destroyeth his conceit of *Armenia*, by adding the word *Saga*, as in *Scythia Saga renatum mortale genus*, *in* Scythia Saga *Mankind was restored*; he therefore in the *Proem* of his Commentary upon *Berosus*, leaveth out the addition of *Saga* altogether in the repetition of *Cato* his words, and writes, *homines in Scythia salvatos*. For *Scythia Saga* or *Saca* is undoubtedly under the Mountains of *Paropanisus*, on which, or near which it is most probable that the *Ark* first took ground; and from those East parts (according to *Moses*) came all those Companies which erected the Tower of *Babel* in *Shinaar* or *Babylonia*.

But now the best Authority which *Annius* hath, is out of *Diodorus*: where he hath read, that the *Scythians* were originally *Armenians*, taking name *a Scytha Rege eorum*, *from* Scytha *their King*. But (in a word) we may see his vanity, or rather (indeed) his falsehood in citing this place. For *Diodorus*, a most approved and diligent Author, beginneth in that place with these words. *Fabulantur Scythæ*, *The* Scythians *fable*: and his Interpreter in the Table of that Work giveth this Title to that very Chapter. *Scytharum origo & successus, fabula*; *The original and success of the* Scythians, *a fable*. And (indeed) there needs no great disproof hereof, since *Ptolomy* doth directly delineate *Scythia Saga*, or *Saca*, and sets them in 130 Degrees of Longitude: and the *Persians*, (saith *Herodotus*)

Ptol. tab. Asia. 3.

Diod. l. c. 3.

Cato de orig. pari prima.

Plin. l. 3. c. 14.

Pto. Asiæ. tab. 7.

Gen. 11. 2.

dotus) call all the *Scythians Saca*, which *Pliny* confirmeth: for in respect that these *Saca* (saith *Pliny*) are the next *Scythians* to the *Persians*, therefore they give all the rest that Name. Now that any Nation in *Armenia* can neighbour the *Persians*, there is no Man believeth. But this supposed *Scythia Araxea* in *Armenia* lyeth in 78 Degrees of Longitude (that is) 42 Degrees distant from the *Saca*; and the Country about *Araxes Ptolomy* calleth *Colthene* and *Sodicene* and *Sacapene*, without any mention of *Scythia* at all: and yet all those which are or were reputed *Scythians*, either within *Imaus* or without, to the number of 100 several Nations are by *Ptolomy* precisely set down.

L. 6. c. 17.

Tab. Asiæ, 7. & 8.

But to come to those later Authors, whereof some have written, others have seen a great Part of those North-East Regions, and searched their Antiquities with great diligence: First, *Marius Niger* boundeth *Scythia* within *Imaus*, in this manner: (for *Scythia* without these Mountains is also beyond our Purpose.) *Scythia intra Imaum montem ea est, quæ proprio vocabulo Gallaria hoc tempore dicitur: ab Occasu Sarmatia Asiatica: ab Oriente Imao monte: à Septentrione terra incognita: à Meridie Saccis, Sogdianis, Margianis, usque ostia Oxi amnis in Hyrcanum mare exeuntis; & parte ipsius maris hinc usque ad Rha fluminis ostia terminatur*: Scythia *within the Mountain* Imaus *is that part of the World which in their own Speech is at this time called* Gallaria; *and the same is bounded on the West-side by* Sarmatia Asiatica, (or of *Asia*) *on the East by the* Imaan *Mountains: on the North by unknown Lands: on the South by the* Saccæ (which are the Sacæ) *the* Sogdiani, *and the* Margiani, *to the Mouth of* Oxus, *falling into the* Hyrcan *Sea, and by a part of the same Sea as far as the Mouth of* Rha.

Rha now Wolga. Com. 2. Asiæ, fol. 472.

Now if *Niger* sets all *Sarmatia Asiatica*, to the West of *Scythia*, then *Sarmatia* (*qua magna sanè regio est, & qua innumeras Nationes complectitur*, *Which is a great Region, comprehending innumerable Nations*, (saith *Niger*) much of it being between *Scythia* and *Armenia*, doth sufficiently warrant us, that *Armenia* can be no part of *Scythia*; and to make it more plain, he dissevereth *Sarmatia* it self from any part of *Armenia*, by the Regions of *Colchis*, *Iberia*, *Albanea*, which he leaveth on the right Hand of *Sarmatia*, and yet makes *Sarmatia* but the West bound of *Scythia*.

Ad meridiem flexo Bosphoro pars septentrionalis ponte Euxini usque in ostium Coracis fluvii: unde relictis à parte dextra Colchis, Iberis, Albaniisque in Littus Hyrcani maris provenit. Spec. hist. l. 30.

And for *Paulus Venetus*, he hath not a word of *Armenia* among the *Tartarian*, or *Scythian* Nations; neither doth his Fellow Frier *John Plancarpio* (cited by *Vincentius* in his description of *Scythia*) make any mention of *Armenia*; neither doth *Haytonus* an *Armenian* born, of the blood of those Kings, (though afterward a Monk) ever acknowledge himself for a *Tartarian*, or of the *Scythian* races descended: though he write that story at large, gathered by *Nicolaus Salcuni*, and (by the commandment of *Pope Clement* the Fifth) in the Year 1307 published.

Neither doth *Matthias à Michon* (a *Canon* of *Cracovia* in *Polonia*) a *Sarmatian* born, and that travailed a great part of *Sarmatia Asiatica*, find *Armenia* any way within the compass of *Tartaria*, *Scythia*, or *Sarmatia*; and yet no Man (whose travails are extant) hath observed so much of those Regions as he hath done: proving and disproving many things, heretofore subject to dispute. And among others he burieth that ancient and received opinion, That out of the Mountains *Riphæi*, and *Hyperborei* in *Scythia*, spring the Rivers of *Tanais* or *Don*, *Volga* or *Edel*; proving by unanswerable experience, that there are no such Mountains *in rerum natura*; and (indeed) the Heads and Fountains of those famous Rivers, are now by the Trade of *Muscovia* known to every Merchant, and that they arise out of Lakes, low, woody, and marish Grounds. The River of *Tanais* or *Don*, ariseth to the South of the City *Tulla*, some twenty English Miles, out of a Lake called *Iwanowesero* in the great Wood *Okenitzkilies* or *Jepiphanolies*. *Volga*, which *Ptolomy* calls *Rha*, and the *Tartars* call *Edel*, riseth out of a Lake called *Fronow*, in the great Wood *Vodkonzki*: from which Lake the two other famous Rivers flow of *Borysthenes* (now *Nyeper*) and *Dsuina* or *Dividna*. And this learned *Polonian* doth in this sort bound the *Europæan Sarmatia*. *In* Sarmatia *of* Europe *are the Regions of* Russians, Lithuanians, Muscovians, and those adjoyning, bounded on the West by the River of *Vissa*, the name perchance misprinted *Vissa* for *Vistula*, a River which parts *Germany* and *Sarmatia*: and for the East Border he nameth *Tanais*, or *Don*. *Sarmatia Asiatica* he cutteth from *Europe* by the same River of *Tanais*, and the *Caspian* Sea, to withhold it from stretching farther East: this *Asian Sarmatia* being part of that *Scythia* which *Ptolomy* calleth *Scythia intra Imaum montem*, Scythia *within the Mountain* Imaus. And the same *Matthias Michon* farther affirmeth, that the *Scythians* (which Frier *Annius* would make *Armenians*) came not into *Sarmatia Asiatica* it self above three hundred and a few odd Years before his own time: these be his words. *Constat eam esse gentem novam, & adventitiam à partibus Orientis, (mutatis sedibus) paulo plus abhinc trecentis annis Asiæ Sarmatiam ingressam*: *It is manifest* (saith he, speaking of the *Scythian* Nation) *that this is a late planted Nation, come from the Coasts of the East: from whence they entred into Asia, and got new seats a little more than three hundred Years since*: for (indeed) before that time the *Goths* or *Pouloci* inhabited *Sarmatia Asiatica*. And this *Matthias* lived in the Year 1511. and this his discourse of *Sarmatia* was printed at *Augusta* in the Year 1506 as *Bucholzerus* in his *Chronologie* witnesseth. Now these *Scythians* (saith he) came from the East, for in the East it was that the Ark of *Noah* rested; and the *Scythæ Sacæ* were those People which lived at the North Foot of those Mountains of *Taurus* or *Ararat*, where they encounter or begin to mix themselves with the great *Imaus*. And were there no other testimony than the general description of the Earth now extant, and the witness of *Ptolomy*, it is plain, that between all parts of *Armenia* and *Scythia*, there are not only those three Regions of *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania*, but the *Caspian* Sea: on the East shore of which Sea, but not on the West, or on that part which any way toucheth *Armenia*, there are (indeed) a Nation of *Scythians* (called *Ariacæ*) between *Jaxartus* and *Jactus*; but what are these *Scythians* to any *Ariacæ*, or *Scythia Araxea* which *Annius* placeth in *Armenia*, more than the *Scythians* of *Europe*?

Sig. Herberstein.

Cranzius calleth this River Wistam, Niger, Bruxmanus, Pom. Mela, Vistula, & Plin. Vistillus.

†. VIII.

The fifth Argument, The Vine must grow naturally near the place where the Ark rested.

TO this if we add the consideration of this part of the Text, *That Noah planted a Vineyard*, we shall find that the Fruit of the Vine or Raisin did not grow naturally in that part of *Armenia*, where this resting of the *Ark* was supposed: for if the Vine was a stranger in *Italy* and *France*, and brought from other Countries thither, it is not probable that it grew naturally in *Armenia*, being a far colder Country. For *Tyrrhenus* first brought Vines into *France*, and *Saturnus* into *Latium*: yea at

Gen. 9. 20.

Servius Æneid. Europæ ac

at such time as *Brennus* and the *Gauls* invaded *Italy* there were few or no Vines in *France*. For (saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Camillus*) the *Gauls* remained between the *Pyrenæs* and the *Alps*, near unto the *Senones*, where they continued a long time, until they drunk Wine, which was first brought them out of *Italy*; and after they tasted thereof they hasted to inhabit that Country, which brought forth such pleasant Fruit: so as it appeared, that the Plant of the Vine was not natural in *France*, but from *Italy* brought thither; as by *Saturn* from elsewhere into *Italy*.

Now it is manifest that *Noah* travailed not far to seek out the Vine. For the Plantation thereof is remembred, before there was any counsel how to dispose of the World among his Children: and the first thing he did was to till the Ground, and to plant a Vineyard, after his Sacrifice and thanks-giving to God; and whersoever the *Ark* rested, there did the Vine grow naturally. From whence it doth no where appear that he travailed far: for the Scriptures teach us, that he was a Husband-man, and not a Wanderer.

† IX.

Answer to an Objection out of the words of the Text: The Lord scattered them from thence upon the face of the whole Earth.

AND that all the Children of *Noah* came together into *Shinaar*, it doth not appear, saving that it may be inferred out of these words [*from thence*] because it is written: *So the Lord scattered them from thence upon all the Earth*; which hath no other sense, but that the Lord scattered them (to wit) those that built this Tower: for those were from thence dispersed into all the Regions of the North and South, and to the Westward. And by these words of *Sibylla* (as they are converted) it seemeth that all came not together into *Shinaar*, for they have this limitation: *Quidam eorum turrem ædificarunt altissmam, quasi per eam cœlum essent ascensuri; Certain of them built a most high Tower, as if they meant thereby to have scaled the Heavens.*

†. X.

An answer to the Objection from the name of Ararat, *taken for* Armenia: *and the heighth of the Hills there.*

BUt before I conclude this part, it is necessary to see and consider, what part of Scripture, and what Reason may be found out to make it true or probable, that the *Ark* of *Noah* was forsaken by the waters on the Mountains of *Armenia*. For the Text hath only these words: *The Ark rested on* (or upon) *the Mountains of Ararat* or *Armenia*, saith the marginal note of the *Geneva*, the *Chaldean Paraphrast* calls it *Kardu*; of which the highest hath the Name of *Lubar*, saith *Epiphanius*. Now this *Ararat* (which the *Septuagint* do not convert at all, but keep the same word) is taken to be a Mountain of *Armenia*, because *Armenia* it self had anciently that name: so as first out of the name, and secondly out of the heighth (which they suppose exceeded all other) is the opinion taken, That the *Ark* first sate thereon.

Gen. 8. 14.

Epiph. l. 1. cont. Hæres.

But these Suppositions have no foundation: for neither is *Ararat* of *Armenia* alone, neither is any part, or any of those Mountains of equal stature to many other Mountains of the World; and yet it doth not follow, that the Ark found the highest Mountain of all other to rest on: for the Plains were also uncovered, before *Noah* came out of the Ark. Now if there were any agreement among Writers of this *Ararat*, and that they did not differ altogether therein, we might give more credit to the conceit. For in the books of the *Sibylls* it is written, that the Mountains of *Ararat* are in *Phrygia*, upon which it was supposed that the Ark stayed after the Flood. And the better to particularize the place and seat of these Mountains, and to prove them in *Phrygia*, and not *Armenia*, they are placed where the City of *Cœlenes* was afterward built. Likewise in the same description she maketh mention of *Marsyas*, a River which runneth through Part of *Phrygia*, and afterward joyneth it self with the River *Maander*: which is far from the *Gordiæan* Mountains in *Armenia*. We may also find a great mistaking in *Josephus*, (though out of *Berosus*, who is in effect the Father of this opinion) that *Josephus* sets *Ararat* between *Armenia* and *Parthia*, toward *Adiabene*, and affirmeth withal, that in the Province of *Cæron* by others *Kairos* and *Arnos*, so called by reason that the Waters have from thence no descent, nor issue out, the people vaunt that they had in those days reserved some pieces of *Noah*'s Ark. But *Parthia* toucheth no where upon *Armenia*, for *Armenia* bordereth *Adiabene*, a Province of *Assyria*: so that all *Media* and a part of *Assyria* is between *Parthia* and *Armenia*. Now whereas the discovery of the Mountains *Cordiæi* was first borrowed out of *Berosus* by *Josephus*; yet the Text which *Josephus* citeth out of *Berosus*, differs far from the words of that *Berosus*, which wandereth up and down in these days, set out by *Annius*. For *Berosus* cited by *Josephus* hath these words: *Fertur & navigii hujus pars in Armenia, apud montem Cordiæorum superesse, & quosdam Bitumen inde abrasum secum reportare, quo vice Amuleti loci hujus homines uti solent*, (which is) *It is reported also that a part of this Ship is yet remaining in* Armenia *upon the* Cordiæan *Mountains; and that divers do scrape from it the Bitumen or Pitch, and carrying it with them, they use it instead of an Amulet.* But *Annius* his Edition of the fragment of *Berosus* useth these words. *Nam elevata ab aquis in Gordiæi Montis vertice quievit, cujus adhuc dicitur aliqua pars esse, & homines ex illa bitumen tollere quo maxime utuntur ad expiationem*: *For the whole Ark being lifted up by the Waters, rested on the top of the* Gordiæan *Mountains, of which it is reported that some parts remain, and that men do carry thence of the Bitumen to purge by Sacrifice therewith.* So as in these two Texts (besides the difference of words) the name is diversly written: The ancient *Berosus* writes *Cordiæi* with a [*C*] and the Fragment *Gordiæi* with a [*G*:] the one that the Bitumen is used for a Preservative against Poyson or Inchantment; the other in Sacrifice; And if it be said that they agree in the general, yet it is reported by neither from any certain knowledge, nor from any approved Author: for one of them useth the word [*fertur*] the other [*dicitur*] the one, that so it is *reported*: the other, *that so it is said*; and both but by Hearsay, and therefore of no authority nor credit. For common bruit is so infamous an Historian, as wise men neither report after it, nor give credit to any thing they receive from it.

Furthermore, these Mountains which *Ptolomy* calls *Gordiæi*, are not those Mountains which himself giveth to *Armenia*, but he calleth the Mountains of *Armenia Moschici*. These be his own words: *Montes Armeniæ nominantur ii, qui Moschici appellantur, qui protenduntur usq ad superjacentem partem Ponti*

Pto. Asiæ. tab.

Ponti Cappadocum; & mons qui Paryardes dicitur: *The Mountains of* Armenia *are they which are called* Moſchici, *which ſtretch along to the higher part of* Pontus *of the* Cappadocians: *alſo the hill which is called* Paryardes; which Mountains *Pliny* calleth *Pariedri*, and both which lye to the North of *Gordiæi* or *Baris*, in 43. and 44. and a half; and the *Gordiæan* Mountains in 39. and a half: from the Northermoſt of which did the *Georgians* take their names, who were firſt *Gordians* and then *Georgians*, who amidſt all the ſtrength of the greateſt infidels of *Perſia* and *Turkey*, do ſtill remain *Chriſtians*. Concerning the other ſuppoſitions, that the Mountains of *Gordiei*, otherwiſe *Baris Kardu* or *Lubar*, (which *Ptolomy* calleth *Togordiaion*) are the higheſt of the World, the ſame is abſolutely falſe.

Plin. l. 6. c. 9.

†. XI.

Of Caucaſus, *and divers far higher hills than the* Armenian.

FOr the beſt *Coſmographers* with others, that have ſeen the Mountains of *Armenia*, find them far inferiour, and under-ſet to divers other Mountains even in that part of the World, and elſewhere: as the Mountain *Athos* between *Macedon* and *Thrace*, which *Ptolomy* calls *Olympus*, now called *Lacas*, (ſaith *Caſtaldus*) is far ſurmounting any Mountain that ever hath been ſeen in *Armenia*: for it caſteth ſhade three hundred Furlongs, which is ſeven and thirty Miles and upwards: of which *Plutarch. Athos adumbrat latera Lemniæ bovis*, Athos *ſhadoweth the Cow of* Lemnos. Alſo the Mount of *Olympus* in *Theſſalie*, is ſaid to be of that heighth, as neither the Winds, Clouds, or rain overtop it. Again, the Mountain of *Antandrus* in *Myſia*, not far from *Ida*, whence the River *Scamandrus* floweth, which runneth through *Troy*, is alſo of a far more admiration than any in *Armenia*, and may be ſeen from *Conſtantinople*. There are alſo in *Mauritania* near the Sea, the famous Mountains of *Atlas*, of which *Herodotus. Extat in hoc maris Mons, cui nomen Atlas, ita ſublimis eſſe dicitur, ut ad illius verticem oculi mortalium pervenire non poſſint*; *Upon this Coaſt there is a Mountain called* Atlas, *whoſe heighth is ſaid to be ſuch as the eye of no mortal man can diſcern the top thereof*. And if we may believe *Ariſtotle*, then are all theſe inferiour to *Caucaſus*, which he maketh the moſt notorious both for breadth and heighth. *Caucaſus Mons omnium maximus, qui æſtivum ad ortum ſunt, acumine atque latitudine, cujus juga à Sole radiantur uſque ad conticinium ab ortu: & iterum ab occaſu.* Caucaſus (ſaith *Ariſtotle*) *is the greateſt Mountain both for breadth and heighth of all thoſe in the North-eaſt, whoſe tops are lightned by the Sun-beams*, uſque ad conticinium (which is, ſaith *Macrobius*) *between the firſt crowing after Midnight and the break of Day*: Others affirm that the top of this Mountain holds the Sun-beams when it is dark in the Valley; but I cannot believe either: for the higheſt Mountain of the World known, is that of *Tenerif* in the *Canaria*: which although it hath nothing to the Weſtward of it for 1000. Leagues together but the Ocean Sea, yet doth it not injoy the Suns company at any ſuch late hours. Beſides, theſe Mountains which *Ariſtotle* calleth *Caucaſi*, are thoſe which ſeparate *Colchis* from *Iberia*; though (indeed) *Caucaſus* doth divide both *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania*, from *Sarmatia*: for he acknowledgeth that the River of *Phaſis* riſeth in the ſame Mountain, which himſelf calleth *Caucaſus*, and that *Phaſis* ſpringeth from thoſe hills which ſunder *Colchis* from *Iberia*, falling afterward into *Euxinus*: which River (it is manifeſt) yieldeth it ſelf to the Sea two Degrees to the North of *Trapezus* (now *Trabeſunda*) howſoever *Mercator* bring it from *Paryardes*.

Plutar. Muſt. Coſm.

Ariſtot. Met. cor. l. 1. c. 13.

†. XII.

Of divers incongruities, if in this Story we ſhould take Ararat *for* Armenia.

SO as it doth firſt appear, that there is no certainty what Mountain *Ararat* was: for the books of the *Sibyls* ſet it in *Phrygia*: and *Beroſus* in *Armenia*: and as for *Beroſus*'s authority, thoſe men have great want of proofs that borrow from thence.

Secondly, that *Baris* was the higheſt hill, and therefore moſt likely that the *Ark* grounded thereon, the aſſertion and ſuppoſition have equal credit: for there are many hills which exceed all thoſe of *Armenia*; and if they did not, yet it doth not follow (as is before written) that the *Ark* ſhould ſit on the higheſt.

Thirdly, it cannot be proved that there is any ſuch Hill in *Armenia*, or *in rerum natura*, as *Baris*: for *Baris* (ſaith *Hierome*) ſignifieth high Towers: and ſo may all high hills be called indifferently; and therefore we may better give the name of *Baris* to the hills of *Caucaſus* (out of which *Indus* riſeth) than to any hills of *Armenia*. For thoſe of *Caucaſus* in the Eaſt, are undoubtedly the higheſt of *Aſia*.

Fourthly, the Authors themſelves do not agree in what Region the Mountains *Gordiæi* ſtand: for *Ptolomy* diſtinguiſheth the Mountains of *Armenia* from the *Gordiæan*, and calleth thoſe of *Armenia Moſchici* and *Paryardes*, as aforeſaid. Now *Paryardes* is ſeated near the middle of *Armenia*, out of which on the Weſt-ſide riſeth *Euphrates*, and out of the Eaſt-ſide *Araxis*: and the Mountains *Moſchici* are thoſe hills which disjoyn *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania* (now the Country of the *Georgians*) from *Armenia*.

†. XIII.

Of the contrary ſituation of Armenia *to the place noted in the Text: and that it is no marvail that the ſame ledge of hills running from* Armenia *to* India, *ſhould keep the ſame name all along: and even in* India *be called* Ararat.

LAſtly, we muſt blow up this Mountain *Ararat* it ſelf, or elſe we muſt dig it down, and carry it out of *Armenia*; or find it elſewhere, and in a warmer Country, and (withall) ſet it Eaſt from *Shinaar*: or elſe we ſhall wound the truth it ſelf with the weapons of our own vain imaginations.

Therefore to make the miſtaking open to every eye, we muſt underſtand, that *Ararat* (named by *Moſes*) is not any one Hill, ſo called, no more than any one Hill among thoſe Mountains which divide *Italy* from *France*, is called the *Alps*: or any one among thoſe which part *France* from *Spain* is the *Pyrenian*; but as theſe being continuations of many Hills keep one name in divers Countries: ſo all that long ledge of Mountains, which *Pliny* calleth by one name *Taurus*, and *Ptolomy* both *Taurus*, *Niphates*, *Coatras*, *Coronus*, *Sariphi*, until they encounter and croſs the Mountains of the great *Imaus*, are of one general name, and are called the Moun-

Ptol. Aſia.

Plinie in his deſcription of Lycia, l. 5. c. 27.

Mountains of *Ararat* or *Armenia*, becauſe from thence or thereabout they ſeem to ariſe. So all theſe Mountains of *Hyrcania*, *Armenia*, *Coraxis*, *Caſpii*, *Moſchici*, *Amazonici*, *Heniochi*, *Scythici*, (thus diverſly called by *Pliny* and others) *Ptolomy* calls by one name *Caucaſus*, lying between the Seas *Caſpium* and *Euxinus*: as all thoſe Mountains which cut aſunder *America*, even from the new Kingdom of *Granado*, to the Streight of *Magellan*, are by one name called *Andes*. And as theſe Mountains of *Ararat* run Eaſt and Weſt: ſo do thoſe marvellous Mountains of *Imaus* ſtretch themſelves North and South; and being of like extent, well near, are called by the name of *Imaus*, even as *Pliny* calleth theſe former Hills *Taurus*, and *Moſes* the Hills of *Ararat*. The reaſon of ſeveral names given by *Ptolomy* was thereby the better to diſtinguiſh the great Regions and Kingdoms, which theſe great Mountains bound and diſſever; as *Armenia*, *Meſopotamia*, *Aſſyria*, *Media*, *Suſiana*, *Perſia*, *Parthia*, *Caramania*, *Aria*, *Margiana*, *Baltria*, *Sogdiana*, and *Paroponiſus*: having all theſe Kingdoms either on the North or South-ſide of them. For all the Mountains of *Aſia* (both the leſs and the greater) have three general names, (to wit) *Taurus*, *Imaus*, and *Caucaſus*: and they receive other Titles, as they ſever and divide particular Places and Regions. For theſe Mountains which ſunder *Cilicia* from the reſt of *Aſia* the leſs on the North-ſide, are called *Taurus*; and thoſe Mountains which part it from *Comagena* (a Province of *Syria*) are called *Amanus*: the Mountains called *Taurus* running Eaſt and Weſt, as *Imaus* doth North and South. Through *Taurus* the River of *Euphrates* forceth her paſſage, leaving the name of *Amanus* to the Mountains on her Weſt-bank; and on her Eaſt-ſide the Mountains are ſometimes known by the name of *Taurus*, (as in *Ptolomy*'s three Tables of *Aſia*) and ſometimes *Niphates*: (as in the fourth) retaining that uncertain appellation ſo long as they bound *Armenia* from *Meſopotamia*: and after the River of *Tygris* cutteth them aſunder, they then take the name of *Niphates* altogether, until they ſeparate *Aſſyria* and *Media*; but then they call themſelves *Coatras*, though between the upper and nether *Media*, they do not appear, but altogether diſcontinue. For at *Mazada* in *Media*, they are not found, but run through the Eaſtern *Media* by pieces: in the middle of which Region they call themſelves *Orontes*, and towards the Eaſt-part *Coronus*; out of the Southern-part whereof the River of *Bagradus* riſeth, which divideth the ancient *Perſia* from *Caramania*: and then continuing their courſe Eaſtward by the name of *Coronus*, they give to the *Parthians* and *Hyrcanians* their proper Countries. This done, they change themſelves into the Mountains of *Sariphi*, out of which riſeth the River *Margus*, afterward yielding her ſelf to *Oxus*: (now *Abia*) and drawing now near their ways end, they firſt make themſelves the South border of *Baltria*, and are then honoured with the Title of *Paropaniſus*; and laſtly of *Caucaſi*, even where the famous River of *Indus* with his principal Companions *Hydaſpis* and *Zaradrus* ſpring forth, and take beginning. And here do theſe Mountains build themſelves exceeding high, to equal the ſtrong Hills called *Imaus* of *Scythia*, which encounter each other in 35,36, and 37 Degrees of Latitude, and in 140 of Longitude: of the which the Weſt-parts are now called *Delanguer*, and the reſt *Nagracot*; and theſe Mountains in this place only are properly called *Caucaſi* (ſaith *Ptolomy*) that is, between *Paropaniſus* and *Imaus*: and improperly, between the two Seas of *Caſpium* and *Pontus*.

Ptol. tab. Aſia.

†. XIV.

Of the beſt Vine naturally growing on the South-ſide of the Mountains Caucaſi, *and toward the* Eaſt Indies: *and of other excellencies of the Soil.*

NOW in this part of the World it is, where the Mountain and River *Janus*, and the Mountain *Nyſeus* (ſo called of *Bacchus Niſeus* or *Noa*) are found: and on theſe higheſt Mountains of that part of the World did *Goropius Becanus* conceive that the Ark of *Noah* grounded after the Flood: of all his conjectures the moſt probable, and by beſt reaſon approved. In his *Indoſcythica* he hath many good Arguments, though mixt with other fantaſtical Opinions of this ſubject. And as the ſame *Becanus* alſo noteth; that as in this part of the World are found the beſt Vines: ſo it is as true, that in the ſame Line, and in 34, 35, and 36 Degrees of Septentrional Latitude are the moſt delicate Wines of the World, namely, in *Judæa*, *Candia*, and other parts of *Greece*: and likewiſe in this Region of *Margiana*, and under theſe Mountains, *Strabo* affirmeth that the moſt excellent Vines of the World are found; the cluſters of Grapes containing two Cubits of length: and it is the more probable, becauſe this place agreeth in Climate with that part of *Paleſtina*, where the Searchers of the Land by *Moſes* direction found Bunches of equal bigneſs at *Eſchol*: *Num.* 13.24

The fruitfulneſs of this place (to wit) on the South bottom of theſe Hills, *Curtius* witneſſeth. For in *Margiana*, near the Mountain of *Meros*, did *Alexander* Feaſt himſelf and his Army ten days together, finding therein the moſt delicate Wine of all other.

†. XV.

The Concluſion, with a brief repeating of divers chief Points.

AND therefore to conclude this Opinion of *Ararat*, it is true, that thoſe Mountains do alſo traverſe *Armenia*: yea, and *Armenia* it ſelf ſometime is known by the name of *Ararat*. But *L. 5. c. 27.* as *Pliny* giveth to this Ledge of high Hills, even from *Cilicia* to *Paropaniſus* and *Caucaſus*, the name of *Taurus*: and as the Hills of *France* and *Germany* are called the *Alps*: and all between *France* and *Spain* the *Pyrenes*: and in *America* the continuation of Hills for 3000 Miles together, the *Andes*: ſo was *Ararat* the general name which *Moſes* gave them; the diverſity of Appellations no otherwiſe growing, than by their dividing and bordering divers Regions and divers Countries. For in the like caſe do we call the Sea, which entreth by *Gibraltar*, the *Mediterran* and inland Sea; and yet where it waſheth the Coaſts of *Carthage*, and over againſt it, it is called *Tyrrhenum*: between *Italy* and *Greece*, *Ionium*: from *Venice* to *Durazzo Adriaticum*: between *Athens* and *Aſia Ægeum*: between *Seſtus* and *Abydus Helleſpont*: and afterward *Pontus*, *Propontis*, and *Boſphorus*. And as in theſe, ſo is the Ocean to the North-eaſt part of *Scotland* called *Deucaledonycum*: and on this ſide, the *Brittan* Sea: to the Eaſt, the *Germane* and *Baltick*; and then the Frozen.

For a final end of this Queſtion we muſt appeal to that Judge which cannot err, even to the word of Truth, which in this place is to be taken and followed according to the plain ſenſe: ſeeing it can admit neither diſtinction, nor other conſtruction

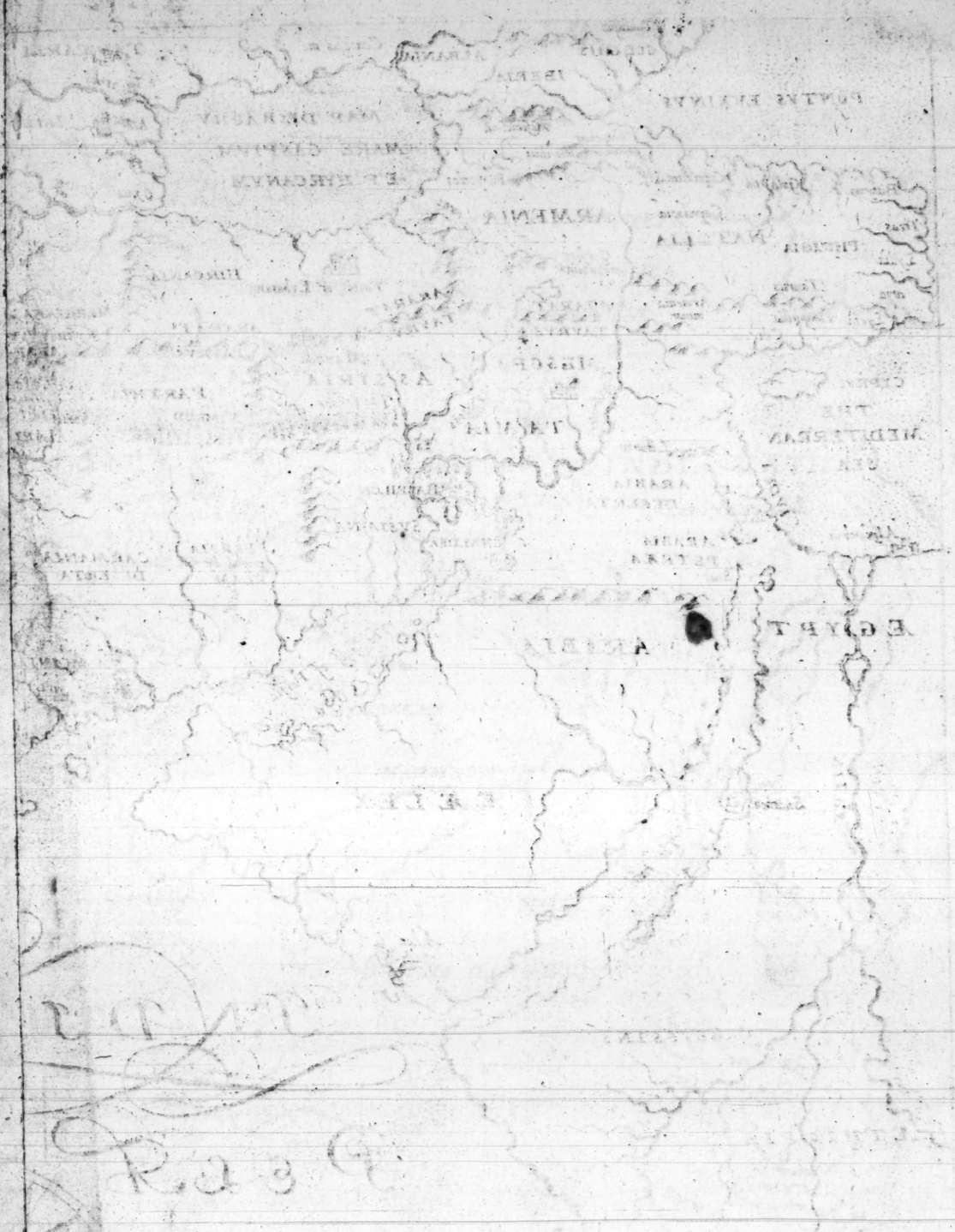
that

than the words bear literally, because they are used to the very same plain purpose of a description, and the making of a true and precise difference of places. Surely where the sense is plain, (and being so understood, it bringeth with it no subsequent inconvenience or contrariety) we ought to be wary, how we fancy to our selves any new or strange exposition; and (withal) to resolve our selves, that every word (as aforesaid) hath his weight in Gods Book. And therefore we must respect and reverence the Testimonies of the Scriptures throughout, in such sort as S. *Augustine* hath taught us touching the Gospel of *Christ Jesus* (which is) *Nequis aliter accipiat, quod (narrantibus discipulis Christi) in Evangelio legerit, quàm si ipsam manum Dei, quam in proprio corpore gestabat, conspexerit.* *That no Man otherwise take or understand that which he readeth in the Gospel, (the Disciples of Christ having written it) than if he had seen the very Hand of the Lord, which he bare in his own Body, setting it down.*

Gen. c. 11. v. 2. The words then of *Moses* which end this dispute are these: *And as they went from the East they found a plain in the land of Shinaar, and there they abode*, which proveth without controversie, that *Nimrod* and all with him came from the East into *Shinaar*; and therefore the Ark of *Noah* rested and took Land to the Eastward thereof. For we must remember, that in all places whersoever *Moses* maketh a difference of Countries, he always precisely nameth toward what Quarters of the World the same were seated: as where he teacheth the Plantation of *Joctan*, he nameth *Sephar*, a Mount in the East: where he remembreth *Cain*'s departure from the presence of God, he addeth: *And Cain dwelt in the land of Nod towards the East-side of Eden*: And when he describeth the Tents and Habitations of *Abraham* after he departed from *Sechem*, he used these words: *Afterwards removing thence unto a mountain East-ward from Bethel, he pitched his Tents: having Bethel on the West-side, and Hai on the East*: and afterward in the ninth Verse of the same Chapter it is written: *And Abraham went forth journying towards the South*: also when *Ezekiel* propheſied of *Gog* and *Magog*, he sheweth that these Nations of *Togorma* were of the North Quarters: and of the Queen of *Saba* it is written, That *she came from the South to visit Salomon*: And the *Magi* (*or wise men*) *came out of the East to offer presents unto Christ*. And that all Regions, and these travels were precisely set down upon the points of the Compass and Quarters of the World, it is most manifest: for *Eden* was due East from *Judea*, *Saba* South from *Jerusalem*: the way from *Bethel* to *Ægypt* directly South; and the *Cœlesyrians*, the *Tubalines* and *Magogians* inhabited the Regions directly North from *Palastina*: and so of the rest. But *Armenia* answereth not to this description of *Shinaar* by *Moses*. For to come out of *Armenia*, and to arrive in that Valley of *Babylonia*, is not a journying from the East, nor so near unto the East as the North: for *Armenia* is to the West of the North it self; and we must not say of *Moses* (whose Hands the Holy Ghost directed) that he erred *toto cœlo*, and that he knew not East from West. For the Body of *Armenia* standeth in forty three Degrees Septentrional, and the North-part thereof in forty five; and those *Gordiaan* Mountains, whereon it was supposed that the Ark rested, stand in forty one. But *Babylonia*, and the Valley of *Shinaar* are situated in thirty five, and for the Longitude (which maketh the difference between East and West) the *Gordiaan* Mountains stand in 75 Degrees, and the Valley of *Shinaar* in 79 and 80. And therefore *Armenia* lieth from *Shinaar* North-west, ninety five Degrees from the East; and if *Armenia* had been but North, yet it had differed from the East one whole quarter of the Compass. But *Gregory* and *Hierome* warn us, *In Scripturis ne minima differentia omitti debet: nam singuli sermones, syllaba, apices & puncta in divina Scriptura plena sunt sensibus.* *In the Scriptures the least difference may not be omitted: for every Speech, Syllable, Note, or Accent, and Point in Divine Scriptures are replenished with their meanings.* And therefore seeing *Moses* teacheth us that the Children of *Noah* came from the East, we may not believe Writers (of little Authority) who also speak by hearsay and by report, *Ut fertur, & ut dicitur*, as *Berosus* and *Nicolaus Damascenus*, determining herein without any examination of the Text, at all adventure. But this is infallibly true, that *Shinaar* lieth West from the place where the Ark of *Noah* rested after the Flood; and therefore it first found Ground in the East, from whence came the first knowledge of all things. The East parts were first Civil, which had *Noah* himself for an Instructer: and directly East from *Shinaar* in the same Degree of 35 are the greatest Grapes and the best Wine. The great Armies also, which overtopped in number those Millions of *Semiramis*, prove that those parts were first planted: And whereas the other Opinion hath neither Scripture nor Reason sufficient: for my self, I build on his words who in plain terms hath told us, that the Sons of *Noah* came out of the East into *Shinaar*, and there they abode. And therefore did the Ark rest on those Eastern Mountains, called by one general name *Taurus*, and by *Moses* the Mountains of *Ararat*, and not on those Mountains of the North-west, as *Berosus* first feigned, whom most part of the Writers have followed therein. It was, I say, in the plentiful warm East where *Noah* rested, where he planted the Vine, where he tilled the Ground, and lived thereon. *Placuit vero Noacho agriculturæ studium, in qua tractanda ipse omnium peritissimus esse dicitur: ob eamque rem suâ ipsius linguâ Ish-Adamath (hoc est) telluris vir appellatur celebratusque est.* *The study of Husbandry pleased Noah* (saith the excellent learned Man *Arias Montanus*) *in the knowledge and order of which it is said, that Noah excelled all Men: and therefore was he called in his own Language a Man exercised in the Earth.* Which also sheweth that he was no wanderer: and that he troubled not himself with the contentions, beginning again in the World, and among Men, but staied in his destinied places, and in that part of the World, where he was first delivered out of the Prison of the Ark, whereinto God had committed him to preserve him and Mankind.

Gen. 10 30. *Gen. 4. 16.* *Gen. 12. 8.* *Ezek. 38. 6.* *Matth. 12. 42.* *Matth. 2. v. 1.*

CHAP.



Caucasus
COLCHIS
ALBANIA
Caucasus m.
TARTARIA
IBERIA
PONTVS EVXINVS
MAR DE BACHV
MARE CASPIVM
ET HYRCANVM
Iaxartes
Oxus
Bithynia
Galatia
Cappadocia
Paryadres
ARMENIA
Cappadocia
Troas
PHRIGIA
NATOLIA
Lydia
Gordæi mountains
HIRCANIA
Tauris or Erbatana
aria
Taurus
Armenia minor
ARARAT
TAVRVS
MARGIANA
Lycia
Pamphilia
Cilicia
Mazada
ASSYRIA
PARTHIA
CYPRVS
THE MEDITERRAN SEA
MESOPO TAMIA
Euphrates
Tigris
The passage of
NINROD
ARIA
Libanus
ARABIA DESERTA
BABILON
SVSIANA
Alexandria
ARABIA PETRÆA
CHALDEA
PERSIA
CARMANIA DESERTA
Suez
ÆGYPT
ARABIA
The gulf of Persia
CARMANIA
NILVS
Suatines
FÆLEX
The red Sea
Aden
ABYSSINS
ÆTHIOPIA
INDI
PELA

TARTARIÆ
PARS
SIVE SCYTHIA IN
TRA IMAVM
SCYTHIA
EXTRA
IMAVM
IMAVS
SOGDIANA
BACTRIA
Heniochi
The Arck
ARARAT
TAVRVS
CAVCASI
PAROPANISVS
Delaware
Negrait
Aix
Bucep
ARACAN
The passage of Ophir & Havilah
into India
INDIA INTRA
GANGEM
INDIA EXTRA
GANGEM
Alexandria
GANGES
BENGALA
GEDROSIA
CAMBAIA
NARSINGA
PEGV
Goa
BISINAGAR
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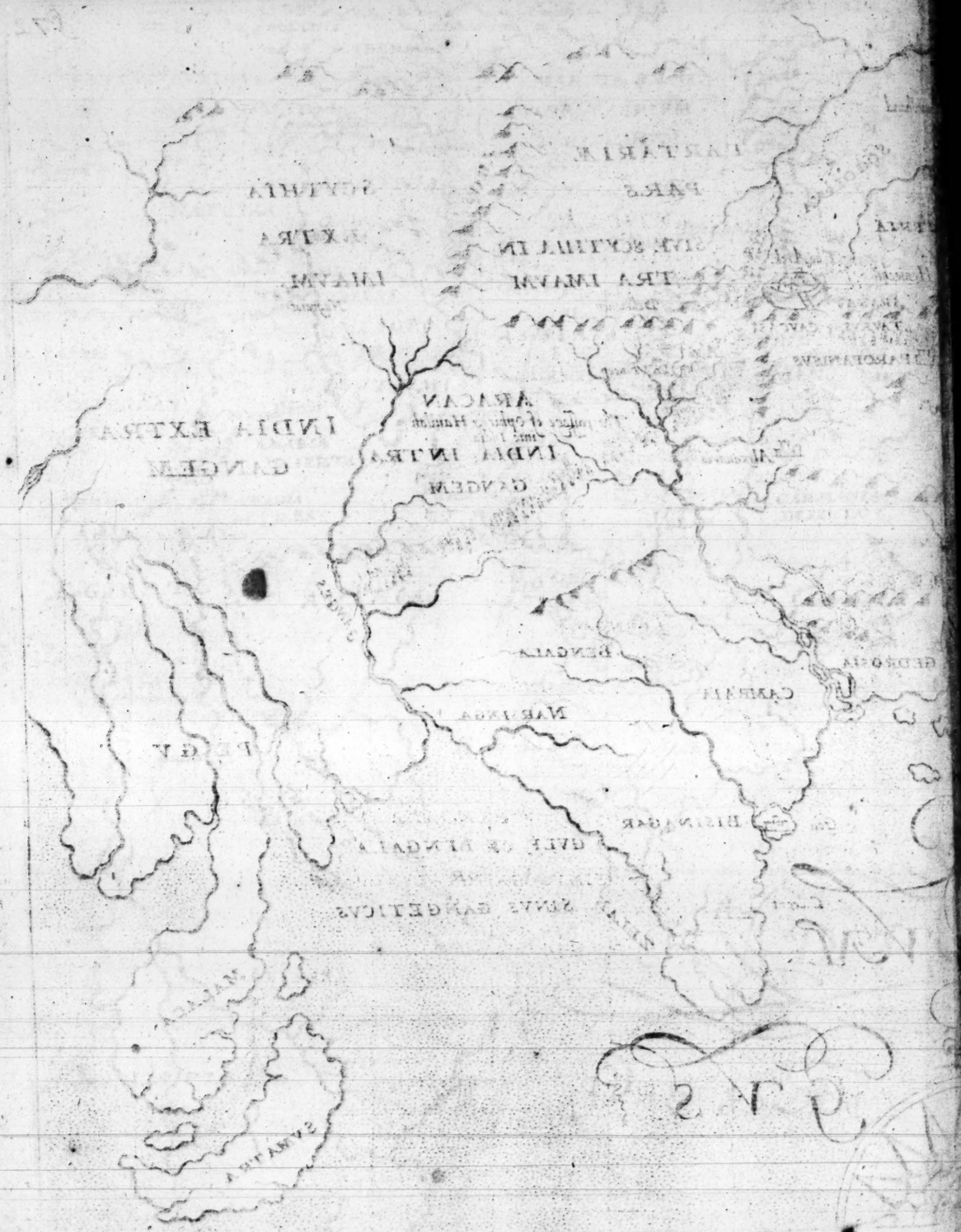


CHAP. VIII.

Of the first Planting of Nations after the Flood; and of the Sons of Noah, Shem, Ham, *and* Japhet, *by whom the Earth was re-peopled.*

§. I.

Whether Shem *and* Ham *were elder than* Japhet.

August. de civit. Dei, l. 16. c. 3.

OF these Sons of *Noah*, which was the eldest, there is a Question made. S. *Augustine* esteemed *Shem* for the eldest, *Ham* for the second, and *Japhet* for the youngest: and herein the Opinions of Writers are divers. But this we find every where in the Scriptures, and especially in *Moses*, that there was never any respect given to the eldest in Years, but in Vertue, as by the examples of *Henoch*, *Abraham*, *Jacob*, and *David*, is made manifest. In a few words, this is the ground of the Controversie: The *Latin* Translation, and so the *Geneva*, hath converted this Scripture of *Genesis* the 10. *v.* 21. in these words: *Unto Shem also the Father of all the Sons of Heber, and elder Brother of Japhet, were children born.* But *Junius* agreeing with the *Septuagint*, placeth the same words in this manner: *To Shem also the Father of all the Sons of Heber, and Brother of Japhet, the eldest Son were children born*: So the transposition of the word [*elder*] made this difference. For if the word [*elder*] had followed after *Japhet*, as it is in the vulgar translation placed before it, then had it been as plain for *Japhet*, as it is by these Translations for *Shem*. Now (the matter being otherwise indifferent) seeing Gods Blessings are not tied to first and last in Blood, but to the eldest in Piety, yet the Arguments are stronger for *Japhet* than for *Shem*. And where the Scriptures are plainly understood without any danger or inconvenience, it seemeth strange why any Man of Judgment should make valuation of conjectural Arguments, for Mens Opinions. For it appeareth that *Noah* in the five hundreth Year of his Life, begat the first of his three Sons, *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*: and in the six hundreth Year (to wit) the hundreth Year following, came the general Flood; two Years after which *Shem* begat *Arphaxad*, which was in the Year 602. of *Noah*'s Life, and in the Year of *Shem*'s Life one hundred: so as *Shem* was but 100 Years old, two Years after the Flood: and *Noah* begat his first-born being 500 Years old; and therefore, were *Shem* the elder, he had then been a hundred Years old at the Flood, and in the six hundreth Year of *Noah*'s Life, and not two Years after. Which seeing the Scripture before remembred hath denied him, and that it is also written: *Then Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger son had done unto him (to wit) Ham*; of necessity the first place doth belong to *Japhet*. This *younger son* so converted by the vulgar and *Geneva*, *Junius* turns it *Filius minimus, his youngest Son*; but S. *Chrysostom* takes it otherwise, and finds *Cham* to be the middle or second Brother, and *Japhet* the youngest Son of all: which *Cham* for his disobedience and the contempt of his Father, (whose nakedness he derided) was disinherited, and lost the preheminency of his Birth, as *Esau* and *Reuben* did. *Pererius* conceiveth that *Ham* was called the younger in respect of *Shem* the eldest, but avoweth withal, that the *Hebrew* hath not that precise difference of *younger* and *youngest*, because it wanteth the comparative Degree. It is true that *Shem* himself was always named in the first place, yet whereas in the first Verse of the tenth Chapter of *Genesis*, *Shem* is accounted before *Japhet*: in the second Verse *Moses* leaveth to begin with the Issue by *Shem*, and reciteth the Children of *Japhet* first. So the first place was given to *Shem* for his Election and Benediction, and for this weighty respect, that the *Hebrew* Nation, *Abraham*, the *Prophets*, *David*, and *Christ* our Saviour were descended of him. And therefore, whether we shall follow the Vulgar, *Pagninus*, and the *Geneva*, who agree in this Conversion, *Shem frater Japhet major*; or with the *Septuagint*, *Junius*, and *Tremelius*, *Shem fratri Japhet majoris*; or with *Pererius*, *Shem frater Japhet ille magnus*: inferring that *Shem* was the great and famous Brother of *Japhet*, let the Reader judge. But for ought that I have seen to the contrary, it appeareth to me that *Japhet* was the eldest. For where *Pererius* qualifieth the strength of the former Argument, That *Shem*'s age at the time of the Flood did not agree with his eldership (with a supposition that the Scriptures took no account of smaller numbers) I do not find in the Sciptures any such neglect at all: for it is written, that *Shem was an hundred years old, and begat Arphaxad two years after the flood*; and again in the 12th. Verse, *So Shela lived after he begat Ebar, four hundred and three years*, &c. So as the number of two Years, of three Years, of five Years, and afterward of two Years were always precisely accounted.

Gn. 11. 10.

Gen. 11. v. 16.

Gn. 11. v. 24.

In Gen.

§. II.

Of divers things that in all Reason are to be presumed, touching the first Planting of the World, as that all Histories must yield to Moses: *that the World was not planted all at once, nor without great direction: and that the known great Lords of the first Ages were of the Issue of* Ham.

BUT let us go unto the Worlds Plantation after the Flood, which being rightly understood, we shall find that many Nations have supposed or feigned themselves those Ancestors and Fathers, which never saw or approached the Bounds of their Countries, and of whom they are by no way or branch descended. For it is plain in the Scriptures how the Sons and Issues of *Noah* were distributed, and what Regions were first planted by them, from whence by degrees the rest of the World was also peopled. And if any Prophane Author may receive allowance herein, the same must be with this caution, That they take their beginning where the Scriptures end. For so far as the Story of Nations is therein handled, we must know that both the Truth and Antiquity of the Books of God find no Companions equal, either in Age or Authority. All Record, Memory, and Testimony of Antiquity whatsoever, which hath come to the know-

knowledge of Men, the ſame hath been borrowed thence, and therefore later than it, as all careful obſervers of time have noted: among which thus writeth *Euſebius* in the *Proœme* of his Chronology. †Moſes *is found more ancient than all thoſe whom the* Græcians *make moſt ancient, as* Homer, Heſiod, *and the* Trojan *War; and far before* Hercules, Muſæus, Linus, Chiron, Orpheus, Caſtor, Pollux, Æſculapius, Bacchus, Mercurius, *and* Apollo, *and the reſt of the Gods of the Nations, their Ceremonies, or Holy Rites, or Prophets: and before all the deeds of* Jupiter, *whom the* Greeks *have ſeated in the top and higheſt Turret of their Divinity.*

Cicero de nat. Deorum, l. 3.

For of the three *Jupiters* remembred by *Cicero*, the ancienteſt was the Son of *Æther*, whoſe three Sons begotten on *Proſerpina*, were born at *Athens*, of which *Cecrops* was the firſt King: and in the end of *Cecrops* time did *Moſes* bring the Children of *Iſrael* out of *Ægypt*. *Eduxit Moſes populum Dei ex Ægypto noviſſimo tempore Cecropis Athenienſis Regis*; Moſes *brought the Children of* Iſrael *out of* Ægypt, *in the laſt days of* Cecrops *King of the* Athenians, ſaith St. *Auguſtine*: and yet was not *Cecrops* the Founder of the City it ſelf, but *Theſeus* long after him. But becauſe the truth hereof is diverſly proved, and by many learned Authors, I will not cut aſunder the purpoſe in hand by alledging many Authorities, in a needleſs queſtion, but leave it to the proper place.

Dt. Civit. Dei, l. 18. c. 11.

The Sons of *Japhet* were:
- *Gomer.*
  - The Sons of *Gomer* were: *Aſkenaz.*, *Riphath.*, *Togorma.*
- *Magog.*
- *Madai.*
- *Javan.*
  - The Sons of *Javan* were: *Eliſha.*, *Tarſhis.*, *Kittim*, and *Dodanim.*
- *Tubal.*
- *Meſhach* and *Tiras.*

Firſt, we are to conſider that the World after the Flood was not planted by Imagination, neither had the Children of *Noah* Wings, to fly from *Shinaar* to the uttermoſt border of *Europe*, *Africa*, and *Aſia* in haſte, but that theſe Children were directed by a wiſe Father, who knew thoſe parts of the World before the Flood, to which he diſpoſed his Children after it, and ſent them not as Diſcoverers, or at all adventure, but aſſigned and allotted to every Son and their Iſſues, their proper parts. And not to hearken to fabulous Authors, who have no other end than to flatter Princes (as *Virgil* did *Auguſtus* in the fiction of *Æneas*) or elſe to glorify their own Nations; Let us build herein upon the Scriptures themſelves, and after them upon Reaſon and Nature. Firſt, therefore we muſt call to mind and conſider, what manner of Face the Earth every where had in the 130. Year after the great Inundation, and by comparing thoſe fruitfuleſt Valleys with our own barren and cold ground, inform our ſelves thereby, what wonderful Deſarts, what impaſſable faſtneſs of Woods, Reeds, Bryars and rotten Graſs, what Lakes, and ſtanding Pools, and what Mariſhes, Fens, and Bogs, all the Face of the Earth (excepting the Mountains) was peſtered withal. For if in this our Climate (where the dead and deſtroying Winter depreſſeth all vegetative and growing Nature, for one half of the Year in effect) yet in twenty or thirty Years theſe our Grounds would all overgrow and be covered (according to the nature thereof) either with Woods or with other offenſive Thickets and Buſhments: much more did all ſorts of Plants, Reeds, and Trees, proſper in the moſt fruitful Vallies, and in the Climate of a long and warm Summer, and having withal the ſtart of 130. Years, to raiſe themſelves without controllment.

This being conſidered, it will appear, that all theſe People which came into *Shinaar*, and over whom *Nimrod* either by order or ſtrength took the Dominion, did after the confuſion of languages, and at ſuch time as they grew to be a mighty People diſperſe themſelves into the Regions adjoyning to the ſaid Valley of *Shinaar*, which contained the beſt part of *Meſopotamia*, *Babylonia* and *Chaldæa*, and from the Borders thereof in time they were propagated: ſome of them towards the South, others towards the Weſt and North. And although there were allotted to *Shem* many Regions, both Eaſt and Weſt from *Shinaar*, with the Dominion of *Paleſtina*, which the *Canaanites* firſt poſſeſt; yet could he not enjoy the Lot of his inheritance on the ſuddain, but by time and Degrees. For we find, that *Abraham* the true ſucceſſor of *Shem* dwelt in *Chaldæa* at *Ur*; and from thence (called by God) he reſted at *Charran* in *Meſopotamia*: from whence after the Death of *Thare* he travailed to *Sichem* in *Paleſtina*: and yet there had paſſed between *Shem* and *Abraham* (reckoning neither of themſelves) ſeven deſcents, before *Abraham* moved out of *Chaldæa*: where, and in *Babylonia*, all thoſe People by *Nimrod* commanded inhabited for many Years, and whence *Nimrod* went out into *Aſſyria*, and founded *Nineveh*. Indeed the great Maſters of Nations, (as far as we can know) were, in that Age of the Iſſues of *Ham*; the bleſſing of God given by *Noah* to *Shem* and *Japhet* taking leſs effect, until divers Years were conſumed; and until the time arrived, which by the wiſdom of God was appointed. For of *Chus*, *Mizraim*, and *Canaan* came the People, and Princes, which held the great Kingdoms of *Babylonia*, *Syria*, and *Ægypt* for many deſcents together.

§. III.

Of the Iſles of the Gentiles in Japhet's *portion: of* Beroſus *his too ſpeedy ſeating* Gomer *the Son of* Japhet *in* Italy; *and another of* Japhet's *Sons* Tubal *in* Spain: *and of the Antiquity of longinque Navigation.*

TO begin therefore (where *Moſes* beginneth) with the Sons of *Japheth*, among whom the Iſles of the Gentiles were divided: which diviſion, as well to *Japhet*'s Sons as to the reſt which came into *Shinaar* was (if the diviſion were made at *Phaleg*'s birth) in the Year of the World 1757. or 1758. and (by that account) in the Year after the Flood one hundred and one, of which queſtion elſewhere.

The habitations proper to the Sons of *Japhet* were the Iſles of the Gentiles. which include all *Europe* with all the Iſlands adjoyning, and compaſſing it about: *Europe* being alſo taken for an Iſland, both in reſpect that the Sea *Helleſpont* and *Ægeum*, *Boſphorus* and *Euxinus* cut it off from the great Continent of *Aſia*, as alſo becauſe *Europe* it ſelf is (in effect) ſurrounded with Water, ſaving that it is faſtened to *Aſia* by the North; for it hath thoſe Seas before named to the Eaſt, the *Mediterran* to the South and South-Weſt, the Ocean to the Weſt, and *Britiſh*, *Germane* and *Baltick* Sea, with that of *Glaciale* to the North North-Eaſt, and North-Weſt. Beſides, it hath about it all the *Cycladæ* or Iſles lying between *Greece* and the leſſer *Aſia*, and the Iſles of *Rhodes*, *Cyprus*, *Creet* or *Candia*, *Sicilia*, *Corſica*, *Sardinia*, *Malta*, the Iſles of *Brittany* and *Zealand*, with their young ones adjacent.

This

This partition and portion of *Japhet*, with the part which he held in *Asia*, and the North, which was also very great, answereth to that blessing of God by *Noah*. *Dilatet Deus Japheth*, *Let God spread abroad* (or increase the Posterity of) Japheth, *and let him dwell in the Tents of* Shem. For though *Junius* here useth the word [*alliciat*] and not *dilatet*: and the *Geneva persuadeat*; yet the *Septuagint* have *dilatet* or *amplificet*; and such was the blessing given to our Fathers, which God promised to *Abraham* and his seed for ever. And the dwelling in the Tents or Tabernacles of *Shem* was a Blessing by God to the Posterity of *Japheth*: noting not only an enlargement of Territories, but that thereby they should be made participant of God's Church. But to come to *Japhet*'s Sons, of whom *Gomer* is the eldest. This *Gomer* (if we may believe *Berosus* and *Annius*, whose Authority the greatest number of all our late Writers have followed) did in the tenth Year of *Nimrod*'s Raign depart from *Babylonia*, and planted *Italy*: which also *Functius* confirmeth in these words, *Anno decimo Nimrodi, &c. In the tenth Year of* Nimrod's *Raign*, Gomerus Gallus *planted a Colony in that Land afterward called* Italy: *and in the twelfth Year of the same* Nimrod's *raign* Tubal *seated himself in* Asturia *in* Spain (*now called* Biscay) *which was in the* 140. *and in the* 142. *Years after the Flood, according to* Berosus. But this opinion is very ridiculous. For before the confusion of Tongues the Children of *Noah* did not separate themselves, at least so many of them as came with *Nimrod* into *Shinaar*. Let us therefore consider with Reason, what time the building such a City and Tower required, where there was no prepared matter, nor any ready means to perform such a work as *Nimrod* had erected (and as *Functius* himself out of his Author *Berosus* witnesseth,) *ad altitudinem & magnitudinem montium, to the heighth and magnitude of the Mountains*. Sure that both this City and Tower were almost builded the Scriptures witness. *But the Lord came down to see the City and Tower, which the Sons of Men builded*. Let us then but allot a time sufficient for the making of Brick to such a work, of the greatest heighth (and therefore of circuit and foundation answerable) that ever was. For where the universal Flood covered the highest Mountains fifteen Cubits; *Let us build us a City and a Tower* (saith *Nimrod*) *whose top may reach unto the Heaven*: meaning, that they would raise their work above fifteen Cubits higher than the highest Mountain, otherwise they could not assure themselves from the fear of a second Inundation: a great part whereof was finished before it fell, and before they left the Work. They also began this building upon a ground, the most oppressed with waters of all the World: as by the great ruin which these waters forcibly overbearing and overflowing, made in the time of the succeeding Emperours, is made manifest, approved also by the Prophet *Jeremy*, speaking of *Babylon* in these Words: *Thou that dwellest upon many waters*. It cannot be doubted but that there needed a substantial Foundation, for so high a raised Building on a marish Ground: and to which *Glycas* upon *Genesis* giveth forty Years. For it seemeth, that the Tower was near finished when God overthrew it: it being afterward written, *So the Lord scattered them from thence upon all the Earth, and they left to build the City*. Out of which place it may be gathered (because the Tower is not then named) that they very near had performed the Work of their supposed defence, which was the Tower: and that afterward they went on with the City adjoyning, wherein they inhabited. It is also to be noted that till such time as this Confusion seized them (whereupon the Tower was thrown down) these Nations did not disperse themselves: for *from thence the Lord scattered them upon all the Earth*, (that was) when they perceived not one anothers speech. Now to think that this work in the newness of the World (wanting all Instruments and Materials) could be performed in ten Years; and that *Tubal* and *Gomer* in the same Year could creep through 3000. Miles of Desart, with Women, Children, and Cattle: let those light believers, that neither tye themselves to the Scripture, nor to Reason, approve it, for I do not. And if the *Ark* of *Noah* was 100. Years in building, or but near such a time, (and then) when the World had stood 1556. Years, it were more than foolishness and madness it self, to think that such a work as this could be performed in ten; when the World (from the Flood to the arrival at *Babel*, and beginning of this Building there) had but 131. Years, and whereof they had spent some part in travailing from the East. Again, if all *Asia* set to their helping Hands in the building of the Temple of *Diana*, and yet they consumed in that work 400. Years (or be it but half that time) and in such an Age as when the World flourished in all sorts of Artificers, and with abundant plenty of Materials and Carriages: This work of the Tower of *Babel* could hardly (with all the former wants supposed) be erected in those few Years remembred. And for conclusion, let all Men of judgement weigh with themselves how impossible it was for a Nation or Family of Men, with their Wives and Children, and Cattle, to travail 3000. Miles through Woods, Boggs, and Desarts, without any Guide or Conductor; and we shall find it rather a Work of 100. Years then of 100. Days. For in the West-*Indies* of which the *Spaniards* have the experience, in those places where they found neither Path nor Guide, they have not entred the Country ten Miles in ten Years. And if *Nimrod*'s People spent many Years by the account before remembred in passing from the *East-India* or the higher part thereof, which standeth in 115. Degrees of Longitude, until they came into *Shinaar* which lyeth in 79. Degrees (the distance between those places containing 36. Degrees, which make 720. Leagues, which is 2160. Miles) and did all the way keep the Mountains and hard ground; then the difference between *Babylon* and *Biscay* is much more: for the Body of *Biscay* lyeth in ten Degrees, and *Babylon* or *Shinaar*, (as aforesaid) in 79. so the length of way from *Shinaar* to *Asturia*, or *Biscay* is 69. Degrees, which make 1380. Leagues, or of Miles 4140. And therefore if *Nimrod* took divers Years to find *Shinaar*, which was but 2160. Miles: or (supposing that the *Ark* rested in *Armenia*) little above 400 Miles: there is no cause to the contrary, but to allow as many Years to *Gomer* and *Tubal* to travail 3000 Miles to Countries less known unto them by far; than the Land of *Shinaar* was to *Nimrod*. For *Paradise* was known to *Noah* before the Flood: and so was the Region of *Eden* by *Moses* afterward remembred; but what he understood of most part of the World else it is unknown. And therefore did *Annius* ill advise himself to plant *Gomer* in *Italy*, and *Tubal* in *Spain*, in the tenth and twelfth of *Nimrod*'s Reign: *Shall the Earth be brought forth in one Day, or shall a Nation be born at once?* But it may be objected, That the Sons of *Japhet* might come by Sea, and so save this great Travail through Desarts by Land. But we never read of any Navigation in those Days, nor long after. Surely he that knoweth what it is to imbarque so great a People as we may justly suppose those Conducters carried

Gen. 9. v. 27.

Funct. Chronol.

Gen. c. 11.

Gen. 11.

Plin.

Isai. 1. 66. v. 8.

with them, will not easily believe, that there were any Vessels in those days to transport Armies, and (withal) their Cattle, by whose Milk they lived and fed their Children: for Milk and Fruit were the Banqueting Dishes of our Forefathers. And in the eldest times, even the Kings and Fathers of Nations valued themselves by the Herds and numbers of their Cattle: who had Flocks of Sheep, and great Droves and Herds of their own, and their own Shepherds and Herdsmen. Now if *Tubal* had past by Sea from any part of *Palestina*, *Syria*, or *Cilicia*, he might have made good choice within the Streights, and not have overgone *Granado*, *Valentia* and other Provinces in that Tract: past the Streights of *Gibralter*, disdained all *Andalusia* and *Portugall*, with all those goodly Ports and Countries; and have sought out the Iron, Woody, and barren Country of the World (called *Biscay*) by a long and dangerous Navigation. But before the journey of the *Argonaute* there were scarce any Vessels that durst cross the Seas in that part of the World: and yet that which *Jason* had (if the tale be true) was but a Galley, and a poor one (God knows) and perchance such as they use this day in *Ireland*: which although it carryed but four and fifty Passengers, yet was it far greater than any of the former times:

Diod. Sicul. l. 4. c. 4. fol. 115. *Erat enim antea parvarum navicularum usus*: *For in former times they used very small Vessels.* I deny not but that the *Tyrians* gave themselves of old to far-off Navigations, whence *Tibullus* ascribed the invention of Ships unto them.

Tibul. Eleg. 7. Strabo, l. 16. *Prima ratem ventis credere docta Tyros.*

Tyrus knew first how Ships might use the Wind.

Diod. Sicul. l. 1. Plin. l. 7. c. 56. And for those Boats called *longa naves* or Gallies, *Pliny* saith that *Ægesias* ascribeth the device to *Paralus*: and *Philostephanus* to *Jason*: *Ctesias* to *Samyras*; and *Saphanus* to *Semiramis*: *Archimachus* to *Ægeon*: to which Invention the *Erythræi* are

Thucyd. said to have added certain numbers of Oars: and then *Aminocles* the *Corinthian* to have increased them: the *Carthaginians* afterwards to have brought them to four Banks: the *Quinque Remi* first to have been used by *Nesichthon* the *Salaminian*, with which Vessels in those parts of the World, the *Romans* served themselves in the *Punick* War. But these be perhaps but the partialities of Writers, or their ignorance. For there are that as constantly cast the devising of these Gallies on *Sesostris*, though *Semiramis* used them in the passage of her Army over

Plin. l. 7. c. 56. Euseb. de præp. Evang. c. 1. Tert. de Coron. Mil. *Indus* in *Abraham*'s time. So it is said, that *Danaus* was the first that brought a Ship into *Greece*: and yet the *Samothracians* challenge the Invention; and yet *Tertullian* (on the contrary) gives it to *Minerva*: others to *Neptune*; *Thucydides* to the *Corinthians*. And so ignorant were the People of those Ages, as the *Ægyptians* used to coast the Shores of the red Sea upon Rafts devised by King *Erythrus*: and in the time of the *Romans*, the *Britains* had a kind of Boat (with which they crost the Seas) made of small Twigs, and covered over with Leather: of which kind I have seen at the *Dingle* in *Ireland*, and elsewhere. *Naves ex corio circumsuto in Oceano Britannico* (saith *Textor*:) of which *Lucan* the Poet:

Primùm cana salix, madefacto vimine, parvam
Texitur in puppim, cæsoque induta juvenco,
Vectoris patiens tumidum superenatat amnem.
Sic Venetus stagnante Pado, fusoque Britannus
Navigat Oceano.

The moistned Osyer of the hoary Willow
Is woven first into a little Boat:
Then loth'd in Bullocks Hide, upon the Billow
Of a proud River, lightly doth it float
Under the Waterman:
So on the Lakes of overswelling *Po*
Sails the *Venetian*: and the *Britain* so
On th'out-spread Ocean.

And although it cannot be denyed, when *Noah* by Gods inspiration was instructed in so many particulars concerning the Ark, that then many things concerning Navigation were first revealed; yet it appears that there was much difference between the Ark of *Noah*, and such Ships as were for any long Navigation. Yea ancient Stories shew, that it was long after these times, ere any durst presume upon any long Voyages to Sea: at least with multitudes of Women, and Children, and Cattle: as also common Reason can tell us, that even now when this Art is come to her perfection, such Voyages are very troublesome and dangerous. So as it doth appear, that there was not in that Age of *Nimrod* any Ship, or use of Ships, fit for any long Navigation. For if *Gomer* and *Tubal* had passed themselves and their People by Sea; the exercise of Navigation would not have been dead for so many hundred Years after. Leaving therefore the fabulous to their Fables, and all Men else to their fancies, who have cast Nations into Countries far off, I know not how, I will follow herein the relation of *Moses* and the Prophets: to which truth there is joyned both Nature, Reason, Policy, and Necessity: and to the rest, neither probability, nor possibility.

§. IV.

Of Gog *and* Magog, Tubal *and* Mesech, *seated first about* Asia *the less, out of* Ezekiel. Chap. 38. 39.

NOwalthough many learned and reverend Men have formed (I know not whereby led) a Plantation of the World, which also hath been and is received: yet I hope I may be excused, if I differ altogether from them in many particulars. Certainly, that great learned Man of this latter Age, *Arias Montanus*, was also in some things much mistaken: and for *Josephus*, as he hath many good things, and is a Guide to many errors withal, so was he in this Plantation of the World very gross and fabulous, whereby both *Eusebius*, *Hieresolymitanus*, *Epiphanius*, and others, that have taken his testimonies for currant, have been by him far misled. But the better to conceive what Regions of the World *Gomer* the first Son of *Japhet* possest, as also *Tubal*, it is needful to begin with *Magog*: because the Scriptures take most knowledg of *Gog* and *Magog*, which two names have troubled many Commentators, saith *Matth. Beroaldus*, who hath laboured herein with great diligence, and whom (of all that ever I read) I find most judicious in the examination of this Plantation. He takes authority from the Prophet *Ezekiel* chiefly, who in the 38th. and 39th. Chapter directeth us, what Nations the *Gomerians*, *Tubalianes*, and *Togormians* were, together with the *Magogians*: of all which *Gog* was Prince or chief Conducter in their attempts against *Israel*. For besides the portions of *Europe*, and the North-East parts of the greater *Asia*, which *Japhet*'s Issues possest, all *Asia* the less was peopled by them. And that those of the Issue of *Japheth* (whom *Ezekiel* spekes of) were seated hereabout, it may best appear if we consider the circumstances of the place, and the dependency upon the former Prophecy in the 37th. Chapter For in that 37th. Chapter, C. 37. a.

Ezekiel

Ezekiel prophesieth of the uniting of the two Kingdoms of *Israel* and *Juda*, after their delivery from Captivity.

By which prophecy of *Ezekiel*, it appeareth, that God purposed to gather together his people, to give life to dead bones, and to rule them by one Prince. For to that purpose it is written; *And David my servant shall be King over them, and they shall have one shepherd*, (that is) they shall be united as they were in *David's* time. Hereupon in the 38. Chapter *Ezekiel* prophesieth against those Nations, which should seek to impeach this Union, and disturb the people of *Israel*, whom God purposed to receive to Grace, and promised to restore. And so in the same Chapter are those Nations coupled together, which infested the *Israelites* after their return, and sought to subiect them: all which were the Subiects or Allies of *Gog*, Prince of the *Magogians*, or *Cœlesyrians*, next bordering *Palestina* or the holy Land, followed also by the rest of the Nations of *Asia* the less, which lay North from *Judea*. The words of *Ezekiel* are these: *Son of man set thy face against Gog, and against the land of Magog the chief Princes of Mesech* (or *Mosoch*) *and Tubal: and* afterward. *Behold, I come against the chief Prince of Meshech and Tubal:* and in the sixth Verse; *Gomer and all his bands, and the house of Togorma of the North quarters.* Herein *Ezekiel* having first delivered the purpose of his prophecy, teacheth what Nations they were, that should in vain assail *Israel.* He joyneth them together under their Prince *Gog*, and sheweth that their habitations were on the North quarters of *Juda*, and how seated and joyned together. *Gog* signifieth in the Hebrew (saith St. *Hierom*) *tectum* or *covering of a house*: and *Pintus* upon *Ezekiel* affirmeth, that by *Gog* is meant *Antichrist*: for (saith he) *Antichristus erit Diaboli tegumentum sub specie humana; That Antichrist shall be the covering of the Devil under humane form.* He addeth that *Magog* is as much to say as *Gog*: the letter [*M*] being an Hebrew Præposition, and importeth as much as *of* or *from*: so he taketh *Magog* for those people which follow *Antichrist.* So far *Pintus*; at least in this not amiss, that he expoundeth *Magog* not for any one person, but for a Nation, with which agreeth this observation of *Beroaldus. Magog* (saith he) in Hebrew is written *Ham Magog*, which sheweth *Magog* to be a Region or Nation: for the Letter [*He*] which is used but for an *Emphasis* (which the Hebrews call *Heliasedia*) is never added to proper Names of men but often to place. So as *Gog* was Prince of that Nation (called either *Magog*, or according to others the people of *Gog*) also Prince of *Meshech*, (or *Mosoch*) and of *Tubal*: as by the first Verse of the 39 Chapter is made manifest. *Behold, I come against thee Gog the chief Prince of Meshech and Tubal.* This must needs be meant by the Successors of *Seleucus Nicanor*, who did not (as other conquering Nations) seek to make the *Jews* their Tributaries only, but endeavoured by all means, and by all kind of violence to extinguish the Religion it self (which the *Hebrews* profest) and the acknowledging of one True God: and to force them to worship and serve the mortal and rotten Gods of the Heathen; of which nothing remained but the very name, and dead Images. S. *Ambrose* and *Isidore* take *Gog* for the Nation of the *Goths*: belike because they invaded *Europe*, and sacked *Rome*, and many other places and Cities thereabout. *Hermolaus Barbarus* out of *Pomp. Mela* derives the *Turks* from the *Scythians*, esteemed *Magogians* of *Gog.* Many take *Gog* for the proper name of a Man: others of a Region: others for a Nation inhabiting a Region, as *Junius*, who says that *Gog* is the name of a Nation, denominated from him whom the Greek stories call *Gyges*: who in former time having slain *Candaules* the *Lydian*, gave his own name to that Nation, thence after called *Gygades*: and thereof also the *Gygean* Lake; which Lake *Strabo* also findeth in *Lydia*, (of which *Gyges* was King) forty furlongs from *Sardis.* *Pliny* calleth it *Gygeum stagnum.* *Herodotus* and *Nicander* set it about the Rivers of *Hyllus*, and *Maander*; but the difference is not great. *Marius Niger* maketh mention of this *Gyges* King of *Lydia*: who after he had subdued the Country about the River *Rhodius* which runneth into the *Hellespont*, called the Promontory *Trapese* after his own name *Gyges.* These Opinions do also seem to strengthen that of *Junius.* For *Magog*, saith he, is that part of *Asia* the less, which *Halyattes* obtained; and after him his Son *Crœsus*; who (as *Junius* further notes) having mastered all those Regions as far South as *Libanus*, in that border built the City *Gigarta* or *Gogkarta* (which in the *Syrian* signifieth the City of *Gog*) seated in *Cœlesyria*, whose People were the ancient Enemies of the *Jews.*

Now that *Magog* is found in *Cœlesyria*, *Pliny* affirmeth, saying; *Cœlesyria habet Bambycen, quæ alio nomine Hierapolis vocatur, Syris vero Magog:* Cœlesyria *hath in it* Bambyce, *which by another name is called* Hierapolis, *but of the* Syrians, *Magog.* He further telleth us that the monstrous Idol *Atergatis*, called by the *Greeks Derceto*, was here worshipped; *Lucian* makes mention hereof, saying that the City had anciently another Name, which yet he expresseth not; forbearing perhaps the word *Magog*; as sounding nothing elegantly in the *Greek.* But if we may believe *Strabo*, then was *Edessa* in *Mesopotamia* the same *Bambyce* or *Hierapolis*, where the same Idol was worshipped. *Ortelius* is doubtful whether one of these Authors did not mistake the place of this *Bambyce* or *Hierapolis.* It may well enough be that the same name and Religion was common to them both. Certain it is, that both of them lay due North from *Palestina*, and were both subject unto the Kings of the Race of *Seleucus.* Now I do not condemn the Opinion of *Hermolaus Barbarus* following *Josephus*, but grant that perhaps *Magog* might also be the Father of the *Scythians*; notwithstanding that in this place, where *Gog* is made the Prince of *Magog*, the Nations of *Cœlesyria* and the North parts adjoining be meant by *Magog*: for by a latter Plantation from these parts they might be propagated into *Scythia.* Yet it is not to be denied, that the *Scythians* in old times coming out of the North-East wasted the better part of *Asia* the less, and possest *Cœlesyria*, where they built both *Scythopolis* and *Hierapolis*, which the *Syrians* call *Magog.* And that to this *Magog Ezekiel* had reference, it is very plain: for this City *Hierapolis* or *Magog* standeth due North from *Judæa*, according to the words of *Ezekiel*, that from the North quarters those Nations should come. For as the Kings of the South which infested the *Israelites* were the *Ptolomies* Kings of *Ægypt*: so those of the North were the Kings of *Asia* and *Syria*, the Successours of *Seleucus*, the successour of *Alexander Macedon. Gulielmus Tyrius* thinks that this *Hierapolis* is that *Rages*, mentioned in the Story of *Tobias.* *Pliny* takes it not only to have been called *Bambyce*, as we have said, but also *Edessa*: not that by *Euphrates*; but another of the same name; now the known name is *Allepo*: for so *Bellonius* expounds this *Hierapolis*, or *Magog.* This City had the Title of Sacred as the Sacred City, (for so the word *Hierapolis* signifieth) yet was it a place of most detested Idolatry; and wherein was worshipped the

C. 38. v. 2.

In Ezekiel.

Lact. de Fid.

Strabo lib. 13.

Suid. col. 207.

Jun. in Ezekiel 38.

Strab. lib. 16.

Lib. 4. Cap. de bello Sacro.

the Idol of the Mermaid *Atergatis*, or *Atirgitis*, according to *Pliny*, which the *Greeks* call *Dercето*.

If then we conser the words of *Ezekiel* in the third Verse of the thirty eight Chapter, wherein he joyneth together *Gog*, *Meſech*, and *Tubal*: and withall remember that *Hierapolis* was the City of *Magog*, which alſo is ſeated directly North from *Judea*: with whom alſo *Ezekiel* coupleth *Gomer*, and all his Bands of the North Quarters; we may (as I conceive) ſafely conclude, that theſe followers and Vaſſals of *Gog* (which were Northern Nations in reſpect of *Judea*) were not the *Gomerians* of *France*, nor the *Tubalines* of *Spain*, but a People of the leſſer *Aſia*, and *Cœleſyria*: and therefore that the Opinions of *Beroſus*, *Joſephus*, and whoſoever elſe hath followed them therein are to be rejected. But if *Joſephus* refer himſelf to later times, and think that ſome Colony of the *Tubalines* might from *Iberia* and *Aſia* paſs into *Spain* (to wit from that piece of Land between *Colchis* (or *Mengrelia*) and *Albania*: (moſt part poſſeſſed by the *Georgians*) then is his Judgment of better allowance. For without any repugnancy of Opinions, it may be granted, that in proceſs of time theſe People might from their firſt Habitation paſs into the Countries near the *Euxine* Sea, and from thence in after Ages into *Spain*.

Joſephus makes mention of the *Iberi*, ſaying, that they were anciently called *Thobelos*, as of *Tubal*; from whence (ſaith *Juſtine*) *they paſſed into* Spain *to ſearch out the Mines of that Region*: having belike underſtood that it was a Southerly Country and mountainous. For it ſeemeth that the *Tubalines* called *Chalybes* lived altogether by the exchange of Iron, and other Metals, as *Apollonius* witneſſeth in theſe following Verſes, telling how the *Argonauts* did viſit them.

Hæc gens tellurem rigido non vertit aratro,
Sed ferri venas ſcindit ſub montibus altis:
Mercibus hæc mutat, quæ vitæ alimenta miniſtrant.

The *Chalybes* plough not their barren Soil,
But undermine high Hills for Iron Veins:
Changing the purchace of their endleſs toil
For Merchandiſe, which their poor Lives ſuſtains.

But it is more probable, that *Spain* was firſt Peopled by the *Africans*, who had ever ſince an affection to return thither, and to repeople it anew. This appeared by the *Carthaginians* of old, who were eaſily drawn to paſs over the Streights into that Country; and after by the *Moors* who held *Granado*, and the South parts eight hundred Years, till the time of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabel*. And either of theſe Opinions are more probable, than that in the twelfth Year of *Nimrod*'s Reign, *Tubal* paſt into *Spain*, and therein built St. *Uval*: a poor Town, and poor Device, God knows. Certain it is that we muſt find *Moſoch* or *Meſech*, and *Tubal* Neighbours, and *Gomer* and *Togorma* not far off, or elſe we ſhall wrong *Ezekiel*: for he called *Gog* the Leader or Prince of *Meſech* and *Tubal*, and maketh *Gomer* and *Togorma* their Aſſiſtants. And that *Meſech* inhabited *Aſia*, *Functius* (though he followed *Beroſus*) confeſſeth, for theſe be his words. *Meſacus, qui à Moſe Meſech, priſcos Meſios ab Adula monte uſque ad Ponticam regionem poſuit: hæc regio poſtea Cappadocia dicta eſt, in qua urbs Mazica, &c. hæc eſt terra Magog principalis: Meſacus, whom* Moſes *calleth* Meſech, *placed the ancient* Meſians *from the Mount* Adulas, *unto the Coaſt of* Pontus. *This Region was afterward called* Cappadocia, *in which is the Town* Mazica, *&c. this is the principal Country of* Magog. And this doth *Annius* alſo avow, and yet forgers that *Gog* was Prince both of *Meſech* and *Tubal*: and therefore, that the one was a Nation of *Spaniards*, the other of *Cappadocians*, is very ridiculous; *Spain* lying directly Weſt, and not North from *Judea*. Alſo *Ezekiel* in the 27 Chapter, where he propheſieth of the deſtruction of *Tyre*, nameth *Meſech* and *Tubal* jointly. And for a final Proof, that theſe Nations were of a Northern Neighbour Land (how far ſoever ſtretched) *Ezekiel* in the 38 Chapter makes them all Horſemen. *Thou, and much People with thee, all ſhall ride upon Horſes, even a great multitude and a mighty.* Then if any Man believe that theſe Troops came out of *Spain* over the *Pyrenes*, and firſt paſſed over a part of *France*, *Italy*, *Hungary*, and *Sarmatia*, and imbarqued again about the *Helleſpont*, or elſe compaſſed all *Pontus Euxinus*, to come into the leſſer *Aſia*, which is half the length or compaſs of the then known World, he may be called a ſtrong Believer, but he ſhall never be juſtified thereby. But on the contrary it is known, that *Seleucis* was a Province neighbouring *Paleſtina* or *Judea*, and that *Hierapolis* (or *Magog*) joyned unto it: whoſe Princes commanded all *Syria*, and *Aſia* the leſs, (namely the *Seleucidæ*; and held it, till *Scipio Aſiaticus* overthrew *Antiochus* the great: after which they yet poſſeſt *Syria* till the the time of *Tigranes*: and whether *Heſhech* be in *Cappadocia*, or under *Iberia*, yet is it of the *Tubalines*, and one and the ſame Dominion.

Of *Gomer* the like may be ſaid. Firſt he ſeated himſelf with *Togorma*, not far from *Magog* and *Tubal*, in the Borders of *Syria* and *Cilicia*. Afterward he proceeded further into *Aſia* the leſs; and in long tract of time his valiant Iſſue filled all *Germany*, reſted long in *France* and *Britain*, and poſſeſſed the utmoſt Borders of the Earth, accompliſhing (as *Melanthon* well notes) the ſignification of their Parents Name, which is *Utmoſt Bordering*. But when theſe Borderers wanted further place, whereinto they might exonerate their ſwelling Multitudes, that were bounded in by the great *Ocean*, then did they return upon the Nations, occupying the Countries, through which they had formerly paſſed, oppreſſing firſt their Neighbours, afterwards the People more remote. Hereupon it was (as the worthy Reſtorer of our Antiquities, Mr. *William Camden* hath noted) that they were called *Cimbri*, which in their old Language doth ſignifie Robbers; Neceſſity inforcing them to ſpoil their Neighbours, to whom in their Original they were as near joyned, as afterwards in the Seats which they poſſeſſed. For that the warlike Nations of *Germany* were in elder Ages accuſtomed to be beaten by the *Gauls*, the Authority of *Cæſar* affirming it, is proof ſufficient. But in times following they purſued richer Conqueſts, and more eaſie though further diſtant, by which (to omit their other Enterpriſes not here to be ſpoken of) they were drawn at length into *Aſia* the leſs, and occupied thoſe Parts, which had formerly been held by their Progenitors. I ſay not that they claimed thoſe Lands as theirs by Deſcent; for likely it is, that they knew little of their own Pedigree. Neither can any Man therefore deny, that they were of old ſeated in *Aſia*, becauſe in late Ages they returned thither; unleſs he will think, that all thoſe Nations which from far Parts have invaded and conquered the Land of *Shinaar*, may by that Argument be proved not to have iſſued from thence at the firſt.

Now concerning *Samothes* (for his excellent Wiſdom ſirnamed *Dis*) whom *Annius* makes the Brother of *Gomer* and *Tubal* (which Brother *Moſes* never heard of, who ſpake his knowledge of

Japhet's

Japhet's Sons) they must find him in some old Poet: for *Funccius* a great *Berosian* confesseth: *Quis hic Samothes fuerit incertum est*: *Who this* Samothes *was it is uncertain*; neither is their any proof that he was that same *Dis*, whom *Cæsar* saith the *Gauls* suppose to be their Ancestor; yea and *Vignier* confesseth with *Funccius*: *Mais on ne sçayt qui il estoit*: *No Man knows who he was.*

In Chron.

Cæsar Comment. Vign. pars 1. Chron.

§. V.

Against the fabulous Berosus *his Fiction. That the* Italian Janus *was* Noah.

BUT before I go on with *Noah* his Sons, I think it necessary to disprove the Fiction which *Annius* hath of *Noah* himself: an invention (indeed) very ridiculous, though warranted (as he hath wrested) by those Authors of whom himself hath commented: as the fragment of *Berosus*, *Fabius Pictor*, *Cato*, *Lavinius* and others. For *Annius* seeks to perswade us, that *Noah* (firnamed *Janus*) was the same which founded *Genoa*, with other Cities in *Italy*, wherein he lived 92 Years. This to disprove, by *Moses*'s silence, is a sufficient Argument to me, if there were nothing else to disprove it. For if he vouchsafed to remember the building of *Babel*, *Erec*, *Achad*, *Chalne* and *Nineveh* by *Nimrod*, *Noah* was a Man of too great mark to be forgotten, with all the acts he did in 9[illegible] Years. But it were a needless labour for me to disprove the Authority of that *Berosus*, on whom *Annius* groundeth, seeing so many learned Men have so demonstratively proved that fragment to be counterfeit. Besides that, *Tatianus* the *Assyrian* in his Oration against the *Greeks* avoweth, that the ancient and true *Berosus* wrote only three Books, dedicated to *Antiochus* the successor of *Seleucus Nicanor*: But *Annius* hath devised five Books, wherewith he honoureth *Berosus*. And whereas *Berosus* handled only the estate of the *Chaldæans* and *Assyrians*, *Annius* hath filled this fragment with the business of all the World. And if we may believe *Eusebius* better than *Annius*, then all the Kings of the *Latins* (before *Æneas*) consumed but 150 Years: whereas no Man hath doubted, but that from *Noah* to *Æneas*'s arrival into *Italy* there past 1126 (after the least rate of the *Hebrew* account) and (after *Codoman*) 1291. For *Janus* (who was the first of their Kings) lived at once with *Ruth*, who married *Booz*, in the Worlds Year (as some reckon) 2717, after the Flood 1064, and *Noah* died 350 Years after the Flood: and so there past between *Janus* of *Italy* and *Noah* firnamed *Janus* 704 Years. For *Saturnus* succeeded *Janus*, *Picus* after *Saturnus*, *Faunus* after *Picus*, and *Latinus* followed *Faunus*: which *Latinus* lived at once with *Tautanes* the 27th King of *Assyria*: with *Pelasgus* of *Peloponnesus*: with *Demophoon* of *Athens*; and *Sampson* Judge of *Israel*. Now all these five Kings of the *Latins* having consumed but one hundred and fifty Years; and the last of them in the time of *Sampson*: then reckoning upwards for one hundred and fifty Year, and it reacheth *Ruth*, with whom *Janus* lived.

Ann. Ide Hetrusc. Pict. de ant. seculo. Cato de origin. Lavin. illust. de Gall.

Joseph. l. 1.

[illegible]ek. 27. [illegible]13. and the [illegible]ace of [illegible]1-66. 19. for Ja[illegible]n] Hel[illegible]s: and [illegible]or the [illegible]ral Ja[illegible]nin] [illegible]lena.

True it is, that the *Greeks* had their *Janus*; but this was not *Noah*: so had they *Ion* the Son of *Xuthus*, the Son of *Deucalion*, from whom they draw the *Ions*, who were indeed the Children of *Javan*, the fourth Son of *Japhet*. For the vulgar Translation (where the *Hebrew* word is *Javan*) writes *Greece*, and the *Septuagint Hellas*; which is the same. So had they *Medus* the Son of *Medea*, whom they make the Parent of the *Medes*, though they were descended of a far more ancient Father (to wit) *Madai* the third Son of *Japhet*.

Lastly we see by a true experience, that the *British* Language hath remained among us above 2000 Years, and the *English* Speech ever since the Invasion of the *Angles*: and the same continuance have all Nations observed among themselves, though with some corruption and alteration. Therefore, it is strange if either *Noah* (by them called *Janus*) had left in *Italy* his Grand-child *Gomer* after him, or *Tubal* in *Spain*, that no plain resemblance of the *Hebrew*, *Syrian*, or *Scythian* (which no time could have quite extinguished) should have been found in the Languages of those Countries. For which reasons we doubt not but these personal Plantations of *Janus*, *Gomer*, *Tubal*, &c. in *Italy*, *Spain*, or *France*, are meerly fabulous. Let the *Italians* therefore content themselves with the same *Grecian Janus*, which commanded them and planted them, and who preceded the Fall of *Troy* but 150 Years, (saith *Eusebius*) which was in the time of *Latinus* the fifth King; which also S. *Augustine* and *Justine* confirm: and this agreeth with Reason, Time, and Possibility. And if this be not sufficient to disprove this vanity, I may out of themselves add thus much: That whereas some of them make *Vesta* (others *Camasena*) the Wife of this *Janus*, who instituted the holy Fire of the *Vestal Virgins* in *Rome* (the *Latins* and *Romans* taking from *Janus* all their idolatrous and heathenish Ceremonies) there is no Man so impious, as to believe that *Noah* himself, (who is said by *Moses* to *have walked with God*, to be a just Man, and whom God of all Mankind made choice of) could be either ignorant of the True and only God, or so wicked and ungrateful, to set up or devise any Heathen Salvage, or Idolatrous Adoration, or have instituted any Ceremony, contrary to that which he knew best pleasing to God himself.

§. VI.

That Gomer *also and his Son* Togarma *of the Posterity of* Japhet *were first seated about* Asia *the less: and that from thence they spread Westward into* Europe: *and Northward into* Sarmatia.

TO turn now to the Sons of *Noah*, and the Worlds Plantation after the Flood: therein I observe, that as both reason and necessity taught them; so, when they multiplied in great numbers, and dispersed themselves into the next Countries bordering to their first habitations, and from thence sent forth Colonies elsewhere, it was in such a manner as that they might repair to each other, and keep intelligence by River: because the Land was yet desart and overprest with Woods, Reeds, Bogs, and rotten Marishes. As when *Nimrod* seated in *Babylonia*, *Chus* took the South-part of *Chaldæa*, down the River of *Gehon*, by which he might pass to and fro from *Babylon* to his own Plantation: those also, which were of the race of *Shem*, inhabiting at *Ur* or *Orchoa* near the Lakes of *Chaldæa*, might by the same River get up to *Babylon*, and receive succour from thence. All which Tract of Land upon *Gehon* Southward, *Moses* in the description of *Paradise* calleth the Land of *Cush*: because the Dominion and Empire was then in the hands of *Nimrod* a *Cushite*, by whom the Children of *Shem* (which came into that Valley and stated not in the East) were for a while oppress, till God afterward by the Seed of *Abraham* made them his own Nation and victorious.

victorious. *Havilah*, the Brother of *Nimrod*, and Son of *Cush*, took both Banks of *Tygris*, especially on the East-side of the River: by which River his People might also pass to and fro to *Babel*.

The Imperial Seat of which Region of *Havilah* or *Susian*, was anciently called *Chusian*, or *Chusan*, afterward *Susa*. *Cush* himself took the Banks of *Gehon*, and planted those Countries West-ward, and Southwest-ward towards *Arabia* the stony, and the Desart, where *Ptolomy* placeth the City of *Chusidia*, first *Chusia*.

Ptol. Asiæ. tab. 4.

Seba, and *Sheba* with the rest that planted *Arabia Fœlix*, had *Tigris* to convey them into the *Persian Gulf*, which washeth the Banks of *Arabia Fœlix* on the East-side: so as those Sons of *Cush* might take Land down the River as they pleased. Also the City of *Niniveh* was by *Nimrod* founded on the said River of *Tigris*: and from thence a *Colony* past to *Charran*, standing also upon a Navigable branch of *Euphrates*. In like manner did *Japhet*'s Sons settle themselves together, and took their Seats in *Asia* the less from whence they might indifferently stretch themselves Northward, and Westward, into the next parts of *Europe*, called the *Isles* of the *Gentiles*. And it seemeth very agreeable to reason, that both *Gomer*, *Magog*, and *Tubal*, sate down first of all in that part of *Syria*, to the North of *Palestina* and *Phœnicia*: and from thence *Gomer* or his Children past on into *Asia* the less, as those of *Magog* and *Tubal* did; from whence the *Tubalines* spread themselves into *Iberia*: and the *Magogians* more Northerly into *Sarmatia*. The first *Gomerians*, and first Planters in *Asia* the less, held the Country of the *Cymmerians* (witness *Herodotus*) the same Region which was afterward by the *Gallo-greeks* called *Galatia*, to whom S. *Paul* wrote his Epistle, so intituled. This Nation of the *Cymmerians* (whom the invincible *Scythians* afterwards dispersed, and forced from their first Plantations) gave names to divers places; as to the Mountains above *Albania* (called *Cymmerini*) and to the City of *Cymmeris* in *Phrygia*: also *Bosphorus Cymmerius* took Appellation from this Nation, in the outlet whereof was also a City of that name called *Cymmerian*: which *Pliny* saith (mistaking the place) had sometime the name of *Cerberion*; but *Cerberion* was a Town in *Campania*, so called of the unhealthful Waters, savouring of Brimstone: which *Augustus* caused to be cleansed by letting in the Water of the Lake *Lucrinus*.

The Children of *Tubal* ranged as far as *Iberia*, to whom the *Moschici* were Neighbours, which others write *Meshech*. The Prophet *Ezekiel* (coupling them together) calleth *Gog* the Prince of *Meschech* and *Tubal*. For these *Meschi* (which *Ptolomy* calleth *Moschi*) inhabit *Syracena* a Province of *Armenia*, directly South from the Mountains *Moschici*, in the Valley between the Mountains *Moschici*, and the Mountains *Pariardes*: out of whose North-part springeth the River *Phasis*; from the East-part *Araxis*; and from the West *Euphrates*: and of this *Meschech* are descended also the *Moscovians* (saith *Melanchthon*) and it may be, that in process of time some of them inhabited those Regions also: For *Meshech* (saith *Melanchthon*) signifieth *extendens*, *enlarging* or *stretching forth*. *Togorma* also at first did inhabit amongst his Parents and Kindred. The *Togormians* were also called *Giblei*, a People neighbouring the *Sydonians* in *Gabala*, a *Tetrarchie* of *Phœnicia*, the same which *Pliny* calleth *Gabon*: from whence *Salomon* had his most excellent Masons, which hewed Stones for the Temple of *Jerusalem*. Thence the *Togormians* stretched into the less *Armenia*, whose Kings were hence called *Tigranes*, and their Cities *Tigranokarta*: of which Cities *Tigranes* subdued by *Lucullus* the *Roman*, built one. *Hierosolymitanus* hath planted the *Togormians* in *Barbary*: forgetting the Prophecy of *Ezekiel* against the *Tyrians*. *They of the house of Togorma, brought to thy fairs horses, and horsemen, and mules,* which could not well be driven over the whole length of the *Mediterran* Sea, but from the neighbour Countrys by Land. But *Josephus* takes them for the Parents of the *Phrygians*; which I do not deny, but they might be in the ensuing Ages: and so might the *Tubalines* be of the *Spaniards*; but it was from *Iberia*, and many hundred Years after the twelfth of *Nimrod*'s Reign. The *Jews* conceive that the *Turks* came of those *Togormians*, because their Emperour is called *Togar*. The *Chaldeans* make them the Fathers of the *Germanes*. But *Laonicus* affirms, that the *Turks* descended of the *Crim Tartar*, which borders *Moscovia*. But for these subderivations it were infinite to examine them. Only of the first and second Plantation, and of the first Nations after the Flood is the matter which I labour to discover; and therein to open the ignorance of some, and the corruption of other fabulous Writers. And this we must note, that those Grand-children of *Noah* which were of a more quiet spirit, or (perchance) of less understanding, and had not therefore the leading of Colonies sent out, their proper habitations can be hardly known: only Reason hath taught us, that they dwelt among the rest, and were covered with the fame of others, who took on them the Conduction and Dominion over the rest.

Ezek. 27. 14.

Note.

From *Madai* the third Son of *Japhet*, were the *Medes*. The *Grecians* bring them (as before) from *Medus* the Son of *Medea*.

1 *King.* 5. *v.* 18.

Jun. in Gen. 10. *v.* 3.

§. VII.

Of Javan *the fourth Son of* Japhet: *and of* Mesch *of* Aram, *and* Meshech *of* Japhet.

OF *Javan* the fourth Son of *Japhet* came the *Iones*, which were afterwards called the *Greeks*: and so the *Latin* and *Greek* Interpreters for *Javan* write *Greece*, as in *Isaiah*. *Et mittam ex iis qui salvati fuerint ad gentes, in mare, in Italiam, & Græciam*: *And I will send those that escape of them to Nations in the Sea, in* Italy *and in* Grecce. The *Geneva* here useth the word [*Tarshich*] for *Tarsus*, a City in *Cilicia*, though *Tarsis* in many places be taken for the Sea. The *Tigurine* and the *Geneva* use the names *Tubal* and *Javan*, and not *Italy* and *Greece*: keeping the same *Hebrew* words. Of these *Iones* were the *Athenians*, though themselves dream that they were *Aborigines*, or Men without Ancestors, and growing (as it were) out of the Soil it self: who abounding in People, sent Colonies into *Asia* the less, of whom came the *Iones* of those parts. Others derive the *Athenians* from *Ion* the Son of *Xuthus*, the Son of *Deucalion*; but the Antiquity of *Javan* marrs the Fashion of that supposition, who so many Years preceded *Xuthus*, *Ion*, or *Deucalion*. *Pausanias* tells us that *Xuthus* stole out of *Thessaly* with all his Fathers Treasure, and his Brothers Portions, and arriving at *Athens*, he was graciously received by *Erictheus*, who gave him his Daughter in Marriage; of whom he received two Sons, *Ion*, and *Achæus*, the supposed Ancestors of the *Athenians*. For *Attica* was called *Ionia* (saith *Plutarch* in the Life of *Theseus*) who, when he had joyned *Megara* to *Attica*, erected a Pillar in that *Isthmus* or *Strait*, which fasteneth *Peloponnesus* to the other part of *Greece*, writing on that part which looketh towards the East, these

Thucyd.

L. 18. de civit. De. c. 10.

Psal. 120. v. 5.

theſe words. *Hæc non ſunt Peloponneſus, aſt Ionia. Theſe Countries are not of* Peloponneſus, *but of* Ionia; and on the other ſide which looketh towards the South and into *Peloponneſus*, this. *Theſe parts are* Peloponneſus, *and not* Ionia.

Strabo out of *Hecatæus* affirmeth, that the *Iones* came out of *Aſia* into *Greece*, which is contrary to the former Opinion: That the *Iones* of *Greece* tranſporting certain Companies into *Aſia* the leſs, the Name of *Iones* was thereby therein retained. And though *Strabo* knew no more thereof than he learned of the *Greeks* themſelves, yet I find this Conjecture of *Hecatæus* reaſonable enough. For though it were to him unknown, yet ſure I am that *Aſia* the leſs had People before *Greece* had any: and that *Javan* did not flie from *Babylonia* into *Greece*, but took *Aſia* the leſs in his paſſage; and from thence paſt over the neareſt way, leaving his own Name to ſome maritimate Province on that ſide, as he did that part of *Greece* ſo called. But yet *Strabo* himſelf believed, that *Ionia* took the Name from *Ion* the Son of *Xuthus*: for ſo much he had learned from themſelves; which was alſo the Opinion of *Pauſanias*. True it is, that the *Greeks* in after-times caſt themſelves into that part of *Aſia* the leſs, oppoſite unto them, which they held for divers Years. And howſoever the *Greeks* vaunt themſelves to be the Fathers of Nations, and the moſt ancient; yet all approved Hiſtorians (not their own) deride and diſprove their Pride, and Vanity therein. For this Diſpute of Antiquity (among prophane Writers) reſted between the *Scythians* and the *Ægyptians*, as *Juſtine* out of *Trogus*, in the War between *Vexoris* of *Ægypt*, and *Tanais* of *Scythia*, witneſſeth: which preceded far the Reign of *Ninus*, and was long before the Name of *Greece* was ever heard of. And it is alſo manifeſt, that in *Cecrops*'s time the *Greeks* were all Salvages without Law or Religion, living like brute Beaſts in all reſpects: and *Cecrops* (ſaith St. *Auguſtine*) lived together with *Moſes*.

L. 18. de civit. Dei c. 10.

The ſixth Son of *Japheth* was *Meſhech*, whom the *Septuagint* call *Moſoch*: (a part of thoſe Nations commanded by *Gog* the chief Prince of *Meſhech* and *Tubal*.) But this we muſt remember, that between *Meſeth* the Son of *Aram*, and *Meſhech* (or *Moſoch*) the Son of *Japheth*, there is a little difference in the Name, and both by divers Interpreters diverſly written. *Montanus* with the Vulgar writteth *Meſch*, the Son of *Aram Mes*; the *Geneva Maſh*; *Junius Meſch*. But it may be gathered out of the 120 Pſalm, that either *Meſhech* the Son of *Japheth*, was the Parent of thoſe People, or gave Name to that Province wherein *David* hid himſelf: or elſe (which may rather ſeem) that it took Name from *Meſch* the Son of *Aram*. For *David* bewailing his Exile (while he lived among a barbarous and irreligious People) uſeth theſe words. *Wo is me that I remain in Meſech, and dwell in the Tents of Kedar*: which *Junius* converteth thus. *Hei mihi quia peregrinor tam diu: habito tanquam Scenita Kedareni*: The *Septuagint* gives it this Senſe, *Wo is me becauſe my Habitation* (or Abode) *is prolonged, who dwell with the Inhabitants of Kedar*; with which this of the Latine agreeth. *Heu mihi, quia incolatus meus prolongatus eſt, habitavi cum habitantibus Kedar*: The *Chaldæan* otherwiſe, and in theſe words, *O me miſerum, quia peregrinatus ſum Aſianis, habitavi cum tabernaculis Arabum*: *O wretch, that I am, for I have travelled among thoſe of* Aſia: *I have dwelt in the Tabernacle of the* Arabians. But howſoever or which ſoever converſion be taken for the beſt, yet all make mention of *Kedar*: which is a Province of *Arabia petræa*; and the *Chaldæan* putteth *Aſia* in ſtead of *Meſech*; but the *Hebrew* it ſelf hath *Moſech*. And if it be to be taken for a Nation, as it is moſt likely, becauſe it anſwers to *Kedar*, the Name of a Nation) ſeeing *Meſh* the Son of *Aram*, 1 *Chron.* 17. is called *Meſhec*, it is indifferent whether this Nation took Name from *Moſhech* or *Meſh*, both bordering *Judea*, and like enough to be commanded by one Prince; for ſo *Ezekiel* makes *Meſech* and *Tubal*. But as for thoſe that take *Meſech* out of the word *Moſoch* (given by the *Septuagint*,) to be the *Muſcovian*: ſure they preſume much upon the affinity of Names, as aforeſaid. And ſure I am that *David* never travelled ſo far North; (for to him *Muſcovia* was utterly unknown) but about the Border of *Kedar* (it may be) he was often in all the time of his perſecution: the ſame being a City on the Mountains of *Sanir* or *Galaad*. And yet *Arias Montanus* makes *Moſoch* the Father of the *Muſcovians*: and herein alſo *Melanthon* runs with the Tide of common Opinion, and ſets *Meſech* in *Muſcovia*, though with ſome better advice of Judgment; as, firſt ſeated in *Cappadocia*, and from thence travelling Northward: expounding the places of the 120 Pſalm, [*Hei mihi quòd exulo in Meſech*] to ſignifie, *gentis ejus feritatem inſignem eſſe*; *that the Ferity of that Nation exceeded*: which fierceneſs or brutality of the *Muſcovians*, *David* never proved, or (perchance) never heard of. But the ſame Ferity or Cruelty which thoſe Northern *Muſcovians* had, may as well be aſcribed to the *Arabians* and *Kederens*. For this Country took Name of *Kedar* the ſecond Son of *Iſhmael*, of whom a People of equal fierceneſs to any of the World were begotten, both in thoſe times and long after, even to this day, (if the *Arabians*, *Iſhmaelites*, and *Saracens* may be accounted one People:) the ſame being foreſhewed by the ſpeech of the Angel to *Hagar*, *Gen.* 16. *v.* 12. *And he ſhall be a wild man: his hand ſhall be againſt every man, and every mans hand againſt him.* Now *Arabia* the Deſart (ſaith *Pliny*) confronteth the *Arabians Cochlei* on the Eaſt, and the *Cedrei* Southward, both which joyn together upon the *Nabathei*. So it appeareth (as before) that *Meſech*, *Tubal*, *Gomer*, *Togorma*, and *Magog*, neighboured *Canaan* and *Iſrael*, and that *Kedar* alſo did joyn to *Meſech*: all which were Regions of *Syria*, or of *Aſia* the leſs, commanded by the Succeſſors of *Seleucus*, enemies of the Re-eſtabliſhment of *Iſrael* and *Juda*. But as (I have already ſaid) it might well be, that long after the firſt Plantation the Iſſue of *Meſech* (or *Moſoch*) might paſs into *Cappadocia*, and thence into *Hyrcania*, and give Names, both to *Mazega* in the one, and to the Mountains *Moſchici* in the other, and from thence might ſend People more Northerly into *Muſcovia*: and ſo all Opinions ſaved. But all ſalvage Nations overgrown and uncultivated, do (for the moſt part) ſhew a late Plantation, even as Civility, Letters, and magnificent Buildings, witneſs Antiquity.

Gen. 25. *v.* 13.

Pſal. 120. *v.* 5.

Tiras the ſeventh Son of *Japheth*, which *Montanus* reckons among the Sons of *Gomer*, was the Father of the *Thracians*, as all Authors (worthy the examination) affirm. *Joſephus* was the firſt that determined hereof: and becauſe the Scriptures are altogether ſilent, what part of the World *Tiras* peopled, the Conjectures are indifferent, and give no ground at all of Diſpute. It followeth now to ſpeak of the Sons of *Gomer*, which were three:

Montan. in Chr.

{ *Aſcanez*, *Riphath*, and *Togorma*. }

§. VIII.

Of Aſcanez and Riphath, the two elder Sons of Gomer.

Aſcanez was the Father of thoſe which the *Greeks* call *Rhegini*, (ſaith *Joſephus*) but he gives no Reaſon why.

Euſebius makes *Aſcanez* the Father of the *Goths*. The *Jews* in their *Thargum* make him the Root of the *German Nation*, but their expoſitions are commonly very idle. *Pliny* findeth *Aſcania* in *Phrygia*, near the Rivers of *Hylas* and *Cios*: *Melanchthon* being of the ſame opinion, that the *Tuiſcones* were deſcended of the *Aſcanez*, (for *Tuiſcones*, ſaith he, is as much to ſay, as of the *Aſcanez*, *præpoſito articulo die Aſcanez*) and that the Word ſignifieth a Religious Keeper of Fire: it being an ancient ſuperſtition to pray at the Fire of Sacrifices, as afterwards at the Tombs of Martyrs. Not far from *Phrygia* was the Lake *Aſcania*, known by that name in the *Romans* time. And among the Kings which came to the ſuccour of *Troy*, was *Aſcanius* (*Deo ſimilis*, ſaith *Homer*) *like unto God*: becauſe he was beautiful and ſtrong: for in the ſame manner doth *Virgil* grace *Æneas*, *Os humeroſq; Deo ſimilis, in face and Body like one of the Gods*. *Virgil* alſo remembreth ſuch a River together with the Hills *Gargara*: as *Illas ducit amor trans Gargara, tranſq; ſonantem Aſcanium*: *Appetite leads them both over the Mountains* Gargara, *and the roaring* Aſcanius. But this *Pliny* maketh more plain in the deſcription of *Phrygia*. For he placeth the City of *Brillion* upon the River *Aſcanius*, which is adjoining to *Milia*, and is near the border of the *Trojan* Empire: and the Lake *Aſcanez* he directs us to find by the deſcription of *Pruſia*, founded by *Hannibal* at the Foot of *Olympus*, which lyeth far within the Countries of *Bithynia*: and then from *Pruſia* to *Nicea* are accounted five and twenty Miles, in which way this Lake lyeth, even between *Pruſia* and *Nicea*. And ſo *Junius* (as I conceive him) takes them of *Aſcanez*, to be the Inhabitants of *Pontus*, and *Bithynia*, and thoſe North parts of *Aſia*. *Stephanus de Urbibus* makes it a City of *Troâs*, built by *Aſcanius* the Son of *Æneas*: ſaying, that there was another of that name in *Myſia*. Of *Aſcanii*, a Lake of *Bithynia*, *Ptolomy* witneſſeth: and *Strabo* giveth *Aſcania*, both a Lake, a River, and a Town in *Myſia*, near unto *Cio*; which alſo agreeth with *Pliny*. For *Pliny* findeth *Pruſia*, (before ſpoken of) near *Cio* and calleth the Iſlands before *Troy Aſcanes*.

Melanct. in car. l. 1.

Hom. Iliad. 2.

Virg Georg. l. 3.

Now whether theſe places took name of *Aſcanez* the Son of *Gomer*, or of *Aſcanius* the Son of *Æneas*, it might be queſtioned: ſure it is, that *Aſcanius* which brought ſuccour to the *Trojans*, could not take his name from *Æneas*'s Son, who was then either exceeding young, or rather unborn: and it ſeemeth that the Countries whence thoſe ſuccours came, were not out of any part of *Phrygia*, or *Myſia*, but farther off, and from the North parts of all *Aſia* the leſs, which by *Hieremy* is called *Aſcanez*, by the figure *Synecdoche*, as *Junius* thinketh. Out of thoſe teſtimonies therefore which deceive not, we may confidently determine. For of the Prophet *Hieremy* we ſhall learn of what Nation the *Aſcenez* were, whoſe words are theſe: *Set up a Standard in the land, blow the trumpet among the Nations againſt her, call up the Kings of Ararat, Minni, and Aſcanez againſt her, &c.* meaning, againſt the *Babylonians*. *Ararat* was *Armenia* the greater, as moſt Interpreters conſent, ſo called of the Mountains of *Ararat* which run through it: *Minni* the leſſer *Armenia*: *Armenia* being compounded of *Aram* and *Minni*. For *Minni* was the ancient name: (ſaith *Junius* and others before him) and *Aram* anciently taken for *Syria*, which contained all that Tract from *Euphrates* to the Sea-coaſts of *Phœnicia* and *Paleſtina*; and therefore *Meſopotamia* being in elder times but a Province of *Syria*, the Scriptures difference it in the Story of *Jacob* and *Eſau*, and call it *Aram-padam*. Then if theſe two Nations were of the *Armenians*, and *Aſcanez* joyned with them (who altogether united under *Cyrus* and *Darius*, came to the ſpoil of the *Babylonian Empire*) we ſhall err much to call *Aſkenaz Germany* or *Almain*, for we hear of no *Swart Rutters* at that Siege. But the *Aſkenaz* were of thoſe Nations which were either ſubject or allied to the *Medes*: of which, if any of them came afterward into *Phrygia*, I know not: for the diſperſion of Nations was in after-times without account. But for the opinion of *Euſebius*, who makes them to be *Goths*; or that of *Joſephus*, who calls them *Rhegini*: or of the *Jews*, who will have them to be *Almains*; when they confirm it either by Scriptures or Reaſon, I will think as they do.

C. 51. v. 27.

Of *Riphath* the ſecond Son of *Gomer* there is mention in the firſt of *Chronicles*. *Beroaldus* and *Pererius* think that he wandered far off from the reſt of his Brothers, and therefore no memory of his plantation. But I ſee nothing to the contrary, but that he might ſeat himſelf with the reſt of his Family; for there wanted no room or ſoil in thoſe days for all the Sons and Grand-Children of *Noah*. Therefore I take it to be well underſtood, that the *Riphei* were of *Riphath*, which the *Greeks* afterwards (according to *Joſephus*) called the *Paphlagones*: and *Riphei* (ſaith *Melanchthon*) ſignifieth Giants. Theſe People were very famous in the North parts, and in *Sarmatia*: the moſt of number and power among them, *Sarmatarum gens maxima Heneti, The greateſt number of the* Sarmatians *were the* Heneti; who ſpake the ancient *Polac*: which being firſt called *Riphei* (for the love of ſome of their Leaders or Kings) changed their names and became *Heneti*, (a cuſtom exceeding common in thoſe times) and dwelt firſt in *Paphlagonia*, as *Homer* witneſſeth, and ſo doth *Apollonius* in his *Argonanticks*: Now, when theſe *Riphei* (afterward *Heneti*) ſought new Regions, they came along the Shores of *Euxinus*, and filled the North part of *Europe*, containing *Ruſſia*, *Lithuania*, and *Polonia*. From thence they croſt thwart the Land, and Peopled *Illyria*, deſirous (ſaith *Melanchthon*) of a warmer ſoil of Fruit and Wine. Theſe *Heneti* or *Veneti*, whom *Melanchthon* taketh to be one People, filled all that Land between the *Baltick* and *Adriatick* Sea; and to this day the name of the Gulf *Venedicus* is found in *Ruſſia*. This Nation, after they were poſſeſs'd of *Lithuania* and *Polonia*, diſturbed the plantation of the *Boii* and *Hermonduri*. Therefore, it ſeemeth to me, that of *Riphath* came the *Riphei*, afterward *Heneti*; and ſo thinketh *Arias Montanus*, firſt ſeated in *Paphlagonia*, but in courſe of time Lords of *Sarmatia*, and thoſe other parts before remembred, chiefly between the Rivers of *Viſtula* and *Albis*. The name (ſaith *Melanchthon*) ſignifieth wandering or wanderers, or *Nomades*: a People which lived by white meats and Fruits, as (indeed) all Nations did in the firſt Ages.

Melanct. in Catin.

Of the third Son of *Gomer*, *Togorma*, I have ſpoken already; now therefore of *Javan*'s Children, which were four:

Eliſa,
Tharſis.
Cethim,
Dodanim,

§. IX.

§. IX.

Of the four Sons of Javan: *and of the double signification of* Tharsis, *either for a proper name or for the Sea.*

OF *Elisa* or *Elipha*, came the *Æoles*: and of this *Elisa* all the *Greeks* were *Elischa* called *Hellenes*, saith *Mamanus*. *Melanthon* makes *Elisa* the Father of the *Æoles* in *Asia* side: others of *Elis* in *Peloponnesus*, or of both. And seeing the *Greeks* were descended in general of *Javan*, it is probable that the *Æoles* and the *Elei*, took name of *Elisa*, his eldest Son. *Ezekiel* in the 27. speaking of *Tyre*, nameth the *Isles* of *Elisa*. *Hyacyntho & purpura de Insulis Elisa fuit operimentum tuum*: *Blue Silk and Purple, brought from the Isles of Elisa, was thy covering*: The *Chaldeans* for *Elisa* write *Italia*: but the *Vulgar*, the *Tigurine*, the *Geneva*, and *Junius*, keep the Word *Elisa*: and so I think they might do with reason. For there was not not found any such Purple Dye in *Italy* in those days, not since, that I can read of: but those *Isles* of *Elisa*, were by a better conjecture the *Isles* of *Greece*; and the best Purple was found afterward at *Tyre* it self, and before that, among the *Cyclades*, and on the Coast of *Getulia*. v. 7.

Tharsis, the second Son of *Javan* inhabited *Cilicia*, of which *Tharsis* is the *Metropolis*. *Mamanus* for *Tharsis* in *Cilicia*, understands *Carthage* in *Africa*; but (reserving the respect due to so learned a Man) he was much mistaken in that conjecture. The *Chaldean Paraphrast* puts *Carthage* for *Tharsis*, but it hath no authority, nor warrant of reason therein. So likewise, where it is written, that the Ships of *Salomon* went every three Years to *Tharsis*, and brought thence Gold, Silver, Elephants Teeth, &c. the *Chaldean Paraphrast* translates *Tharsis* [*Africa.*] But *Salomon*'s Ships were prepared in the Red Sea at *Esion Gaber*, in the Bay of *Elana*, near unto *Madian*, where *Jethro* (*Moses* Father-in-law) inhabited; a Province of *Arabia Petræa*, *Idumæa*, or of the *Chusites*; and they sailed to the higher part of the East *India*. For it had been a strange Navigation to have spent three Years in the passage between *Judea* and *Carthage*, or any other part of *Africa*, which might have been sailed in six or ten days. And if so great Riches might have been found within the bounds of the *Mediterran* Sea, all other neighbouring Princes would soon have entertained that trade also. But this enterprise of *Salomon* is in this sort written of in the first of Kings: *Also King Salomon made a Navy of Ships in Esion Gaber, which is beside Elath and the brink of the Red Sea in the Land of Edom: and Hyram sent with the Navy his servants, that were Mariners, and had knowledge of the Sea, with the Servants of Salomon: and they came to Ophir, and fet from thence 420. talents of Gold, &c.* But as the Nations about *Pontus* thought no Sea in the World like unto their own, and doubted whether there were any other Sea but that only, (whereof it came that *Pontus* was a word used for the Sea in general) so because the *Israelites* and the *Phœnicians* knew no other Sea than that of the *Mediterran* in the beginning; and that the People of *Tharsis* had the greatest Ships, and were the first Navigators in those parts with such Vessels, they were therefore called Men of the Sea: and the word *Tharsis* used often for the Sea. And whereas it's said that the Ships of *Salomon* went every three Years to *Tharsis*, that Phrase is not strange at all: for we use it ordinarily whersoever we navigate, (namely) that the Kings Ships are gone to the Sea, or that they are set out every Year, or every three Year to the Sea; and therefore *Tharsis* was not therein named, either for *Carthage*, *Africa*, or *India*, but used for the Sea it self. But in this place *Tharsis* is truly taken for *Tharsis*, the chief City in *Cilicia*, founded by *Tharsis* the second Son of *Javan*, or by his Successors in memory of their first parent. To this City arrived *Alexander Macedon*, before he gave the first overthrow to *Darius*, and casting himself into the River to bath and wash his Body, he fell into an extreme Fever, and great danger of death: and in this City of *Tharsis* was St. *Paul* born. Now this agreeth with the Reason and Nature of a Plantation. For (*Gomer* and his other Sons inhabiting, *Asia* the less, and that part of *Syria* adjoining,) *Javan* who was to pass over the Sea into *Greece*, took the edge of the same Coast, and first planted the *Ions* on that shore: gave the *Islands* between *Asia* the less and *Greece*, to *Elisa*, and left *Tharsis* upon the Sea-side in *Cilicia*; of whom that City took name.

The third Son of *Javan* was *Cethim*, of whom were the *Romans* and *Italians*, saith *Beroaldus*; but I allow better of *Melanthon*'s opinion, who makes *Cethim* the Father of the *Macedonians*. *Cethim* is a voice plural (saith he) and signifieth *percussores*, though in that respect it may be meant by either. But it seemeth more probable, that the place of *Esay* 23. (according to *Melanthon*) had relation to *Alexander* and the *Macedonians*. *Hæc calamitas ab Esaï prædicta est, qui capite vicesimo tertio inquit, venturos esse eversores Tyri ex terra Cittim*: *This calamity* (saith Melanthon) *was foreshewed by* Esai *the Prophet, who in the three and twentieth Chapter pronounced, that the destroyers of* Tyre *were to come out of* Cittim. And although the Children of *Israel* esteemed all Men *Islanders*, which came unto them by Sea, and separate from that Continent; (and so also *Cittim* might be taken for *Italy*, saith *Beroaldus*) yet we must take the first performance of the former Prophecy, which took effect with the destruction of the *Tyrians* by *Alexander*: who after seven Months Siege entred that proud City, and cut in pieces 7000. principal Citizens; strangled 2000. and changed the freedom of 13000. others into Bondage and Slavery. Now, that *Macedon* was taken for *Cethim*, it appeareth plainly in the first of the *Maccabees*, in these words: *After that Alexander the Macedonian, the Son of Philip, went forth of the Land of Cethim, and slew Darius King of the Persians and Medes.* *Josephus* sets *Cethim* in the Isle of *Cyprus*, in which (saith he) there remaineth the City *Citium*, the Country of *Zeno* the Philosopher (witness *Laertius*) which City *Pintus* upon *Ezekiel* affirmeth, that it stood in St. *Hierome*'s time. So it may be that all the Islands in ancient times by the Hebrews were called the Islands of *Cethim*: and in that sense might *Cyprus* be so called also; and yet because *Tharsis* was the very next Port to *Cyprus*, and directly over against it, it is also very probable, that *Cethim* dwelt by his Brother *Tharsis*: and finding that Island too streight for his People after they were increased, and that the rest of the Coasts, both on *Asia* side and *Greece*, were inhabited by his Father and Brothers, he sent *Colonies* over the *Ægean* Sea, and inhabited *Macedonia*.

Dodanim the fourth Son of *Javan*, and the youngest Brother (by the most opinions) sate down at *Rhodes* as near *Cethim*, *Tharsis*, and *Elisa*, as he could. For *Dodanim* and *Rhodanim* are used indifferently by many Translators: the Hebrew [*D*] and the Hebrew [*R*] are so like, as the one may easily be taken for the other, as all Hebricians affirm. There is also found in *Epirus* the City of *Dodona*, in the Province of *Molossia*. And as *Cethim*, when he wanted Soil in *Cyprus*: so *Dodanim* (seated

in a far less Island (did of necessity send his People farther off; and keeping alongst the Coast, and finding *Peloponnesus* in the possession of *Elisa*, he passed a little farther on the Westward, and planted in *Epirus*. And though the City of *Dodona* was not then built, or (perchance) not so ancient as *Dodanim* himself, yet his Posterity might give it that name in memory of their first Parent, as it hapened all the World over. For names were given to Cities, Mountains, Rivers, and Provinces, after the names of *Noah*'s Children, and Grand-Children; not in all places by themselves, but by their Successours many Years after: every of their Families being desirous to retain among them by those memories, out of what branch themselves were taken, and grafted elsewhere. And because great Kingdoms were often by new Conquerors newly named, and the greatest Cities often fired and demolished: therefore those that hoped better to perpetuate their memories, gave their own names, or the names of their Ancestors, to Mountains and Rivers, as to things (after their judgements) freest from any alteration.

Thus then did *Javan* settle himself and his Children, in the edge and frontier of *Asia* the less, towards the Sea-shore: and afterward in *Greece*, and the Islands and neighbour Provinces thereof, as *Japhet* their Father had done in the body of the lesser *Asia*, together with *Javan*'s Brethren, *Gomer*, *Magog*, *Madai*, *Tubal*, *Meshech*, and the rest round about him. And in like sort did *Chush* (the Son of *Cham*) people *Babylonia*, *Chaldea*, and the borders thereof towards the West and Southwest: and the Sons of *Chush* (all but *Nimrod*, who held *Babylonia* it self) travailed Southward in *Arabia Felix*, and Southwestward into *Arabia Petraa*: the rest of his Children holding the Regions adjoyning to *Nimrod*. *Mizraim* the Brother of *Chush* in like manner took the way of *Ægypt*: and his Brother *Canaan* the Region of *Palestina* adjoining. The Sons of *Canaan* had their Portions in *Canaan*, of whom all those Nations came, which were afterward the Enemies both to the Hebrews, and to those of the Sons of *Shem*, which spred themselves towards the West, and the Borders of the *Mediterran* Sea: of which I shall speak hereafter. But first of the Sons of *Cham* or *Ham*, which were four:

{*Chush*, *Mizraim*, *Phut*, and *Canaan*.}

§. X.

That the seat of Chush *the eldest Son of* Ham *was in* Arabia, *not in* Æthiopia: *and of strange Fables, and ill translations of Scripture, grounded upon the mistaking of this point.*

†. I.

Of Josephus *his Tale of an Æthiopess Wife to* Moses, *grounded on the mistaking of the seat of* Cush.

THat *Ham* was the Father of the *Ægyptians*, it is made manifest in many Scriptures, as in the 105. Psalm *v.* 51. *Then Israel came to Ægypt, and Jacob was a stranger in the Land of Ham*: and in the 78. Psalm. *He slew all the first-born in Ægypt, even the beginning of their strength, in the Tabernacles of Ham.* There is also found a great City in *Thebaida*, called *Cheramis*; (as it were, the City of *Ham*) of which name *Herodotus* also discovers an Island in the same Region. But because *Chush* is the elder Son of *Ham*, it agreeth with order to speak first of him. Now though I have already in the description of *Paradise* handled this question, and (I hope) proved that *Chush* could not be *Æthiopia*: yet seeing it cometh now to his turn to speak for himself, I will add some farther proof to the former. For the manifestation hereof sets many things straight, which had otherwise very crooked constructions, and senseless interpretations. Surely, howsoever the *Septuagint* and *Josephus* have herein failed, yet it is manifest that *Chush* could not be *Æthiopia*, but *Arabia*: (to wit) both that *Arabia* called *Petraea*; and a part of *Arabia* the Happy and the Desart: which Regions *Chush* and the *Chusites* presently planted, after they left *Babylonia* to *Nimrod*, wherein they first sate down all together. And there is nothing which so well cleareth this controversie, as the true interpretation of the place, *Num.* 12. *v.* 1. where *Moses* his Wife is called a *Chusite*; together with some places which speak of *Nabuchodonosor*'s conquests. For whereas *Josephus* and the *Septuagint* in the place, *Num.* 12. *v.* 1. as also elsewhere, understand *Chush* for *Æthiopia*, we must give credit to *Moses* himself herein; and then it will appear that *Josephus* was grosly mistaken, or vainly led by his own invention. For *Josephus* presuming that *Cush* was *Æthiopia*, and therefore that the Wife of *Moses* (which in Scripture *Num.* 12. *v.* 1. is called a Woman of *Cush*) was a Woman of the Land of *Æthiopia*, feigneth that *Tharbis* the Daughter of the King of *Æthiopia*, fell in love with the person and fame of *Moses*, while he besieged *Saba* her Fathers City; and to the end to obtain *Moses* for her Husband, she practised to betray both her Parents, Country, and Friends, with the City it self, and to deliver it into *Moses*'s hands. The Tale (if it be worth the reciting) lyeth thus in *Josephus*. After he had described the strength of the *Æthiopian* City *Meroe*, which he saith at length *Cambyses* called so from the name of his Sister, (the old name being *Saba*) he goeth on in these words. *Hic cùm Moses desidere exercitum otiosum egrè ferret, hoste non audente manus conserere, tale quiddam accidit. Erat Æthiopum regi filia, nomine Tharbis, &c.* which Tale hath this sense in English. *When* Moses *was grieved that his Army lay idle, because the Enemy besieged, durst not sally and come to handy strokes, there hapned this accident in the mean while. The Æthiopian King had a Daughter called* Tharbis, *who at some assaults given beheld the person of* Moses, *and withal admired his valour. And knowing that* Moses *had not only upheld and restored the falling estate of the Ægyptians, but had also brought the conquering Æthiopians to the very brink of subversion: these things working in her thoughts, together with her own affection, which daily encreased, she made means to send unto him by one of her trustiest Servants to offer her self unto him, and become his Wife; Which* Moses *on this condition entertained, that she should first deliver the City into his possession: whereunto she condescending, and* Moses *having taken oath to perform this contract, both the one and the other were instantly performed.*

Antiq. l. 2. c. 5.

†. II.

†. II.

A dispute against the Tale of Josephus.

THis Tale (whereof *Moses* hath not a word) hath *Josephus* fashioned, and therein also utterly mistaken himself, in naming a City of *Arabia*, for a City of *Æthiopia*: as he names *Æthiopia* it self to have been the Country of *Moses* his Wife, when (indeed) it was *Arabia*. For *Saba* is not in *Æthiopia*, but in *Arabia*, as both *Strabo* and all other Geographers, Ancient and Modern, teach us, saying that the *Sabæans* are *Arabians*, and not *Æthiopians*; except *Josephus* can perswade us, that the Queen of *Saba* which came from the South to hear the Wisdom of *Salomon*, were a *Negro*, or Black-Moor. And though *Damianus à Goes* speak of certain Letters to the King of *Portugal* from *Prester John* of the *Abissines*: wherein that *Æthiopian* King would perswade the *Portugals* that he was descended of the Queen of *Saba*, and of *Salomon*; yet it doth no where appear in the Scriptures, that *Salomon* had any Son by that great Princess: which had it been true, it is likely that when *Sisthac* King of *Ægypt* invaded *Roboam*, and sackt *Hierusalem*, his Brother (the Son of *Saba* and *Salomon*) who joined upon *Ægypt*, would both have impeached that Enterprize, as also given Aid and Succour to *Roboam* against *Jeroboam*, who drew from him ten of the twelve Tribes to his own Obedience. Neither is it any thing against our Opinion of *Moses* his Wife, to have been an *Arabian*, that the Scriptures teach us, that *Moses* married the Daughter of *Jethro* Priest of *Midian* or *Madian*: which standing on the North Coast of the Red Sea, over against the Body of *Ægypt*, and near *Esion Gaber*, where *Salomon* provided his Fleet for *India*, in the Region of *Edom*, may well be reckoned as a part of *Arabia*, as the Red Sea is called *Sinus Arabicus*. For *Edumæa* joineth to the Tribe of *Juda* by the North, to *Arabia Petræa* by the East, to the *Mediterran* by the West, and to the Red Sea by the South East. And if we mark the way which *Moses* took when he left *Ægypt*, and conducted *Israel* thence, it will appear that he was no stranger in *Arabia*: in the border whereof, and in *Arabia* it self, he had formerly lived forty Years; where it seemeth, that besides his careful bringing up in *Ægypt*, he was instructed by *Jethro* in the *Ægyptian* Learning. For *Josephus* confesseth, and St. *Stephen* confirmeth, that he was learned in all the Wisdom of the *Ægyptians*. But on the other side this Text makes much against *Josephus*, where it is written in *Exodus* the second, *Therefore Moses fled from Pharao, and dwelt in the Land of Madian* or *Midian*, and not in *Æthiopia*. And in the third Chapter it is as plain as words can express, in what Region *Madian* was, where it is written. *When Moses kept the sheep of Jethro his Father-in-law, Priest of Madian, and drave the flock to the Desart, and came to the Mountain of God in Horeb.* Now that Mount *Horeb* is not in *Æthiopia*, every Infant knoweth. And if we may believe *Moses* himself, then was not the Wife of *Moses* purchased in that manner which *Josephus* reporteth (which was for betraying her Country and Friends) neither had she the Name of *Tharbis*, but of *Sippora*, or *Zippora*: neither was she a *Negro*, but a *Madianitish*. And as God worketh the greatest things by the simplest means: so it pleased him from a Shepherd to call *Moses*, and after him *David*, and by them to deliver his People first and last. For *Moses* sitting by a Well (as disconsolate and a Stranger) defended the Daughters of *Reguel* from the other Shepherds, and drew them Water to water their Sheep: upon which occasion (by God ordained) he was entertained by *Jethro*, whose Daughter he married: and not for any betraying of Towns or Countries.

From hence also came *Jethro* to *Moses* at *Rephidim*, not far from *Idumæa*, and finding the insupportable Government of such a Multitude, he advised him to distribute this weighty charge, and to make Governours and Judges of every Tribe and Family. And if *Jethro* had been an *Æthiopian*, it had been a far progress for him to have passed through all *Egypt* with the Wife and Children of *Moses*, and to have found *Moses* in the border of *Idumæa*: the *Ægyptians* hating *Moses* and all that favoured him. But the passing of *Moses* through *Arabia Petræa* (which joineth to *Madian*) proveth that *Moses* was well acquainted in those parts: in which the second time he wandered forty Years, and did by these late Travails of his seek to instruct the Children of *Israel* in the knowledg of one true God, before he brought them to the Land of plenty and rest. For he found them nourished up with the Milk of Idolatry, and obstinate in the Religion of the Heathen, and finding that those stiff Plants could not be bowed or declined, either by perswasion or by miracle, he ware them out in the Desarts, as God directed, and grafted their Branches anew, that from those he might receive Fruit, agreeable to his own desire, and Gods Commandments.

Lastly, this opinion of *Josephus* is condemned by *Augustinus Chrisamensis*, where also he reprehendeth *Apollinaris*, who avowed that *Moses* had married both *Tharbis* and *Sephora*: His own words have this beginning. *Mentitur etiam Apollinaris duas uxores habuisse Mosen, &c.* Apollinaris *also lyeth in affirming that* Moses *had two Wives: and who doth not perceive these things feigned by them? for it is manifest that the Wife of* Moses *was* Zephora, *Daughter to the Priest or President of* Madian: *and that* Madian *cannot be taken for* Æthiopia *beyond* Ægypt; *being the same that joineth to* Arabia: so far *Chrisamensis*. *Sixt. Senens. Bibl.*

†. III.

Chus *ill expounded for* Æthiopia, Ezek. 29. 10.

NOW as *Chush* is by the *Septuagint* converted *Æthiopia*, and the Wife of *Moses* therefore called *Æthiopissa*: so in the Conquest of *Nabuchodonosor* is *Æthiopia* written for *Arabia*. For by the words of *Ezekiel* it is manifest that *Nabuchodonosor* was never in *Æthiopia*. *Behold* (saith *Ezekiel*; speaking of the Person of this great *Assyrian*) *I come upon thee and upon thy Rivers, and I will make the Land of Ægypt utterly wast and desolate, from the Tower of Seveneh, even to the borders of the Black-Moors*: which last words should have been thus converted: *From the Tower of Seveneh to the borders of the Chusites or Arabians*: between which two is situated all *Ægypt*. For to say, from the borders of *Seveneh* to the *Æthiopians*, hath no sense at all. *Seveneh* it self being the border of *Ægypt*, confronting and joining to *Æthiopia*, or the Land of the Black-Moors. So as if *Nabuchodonosor*'s Conquest had been but between *Seveneh* and the border of *Æthiopia*, it were as much to say, and did express no other Victory than the Conquest of all that Land and Country, lying between *Middlesex* and *Buckingham*, where both the Countries join together; or all the North parts of *England*, between *Barwick* and *Scotland*: for this hath the same sense with the *Ezek.* 29. 10.

the former, if any Man ſought to expreſs by theſe two bounds, the Conqueſt of *England*: *Barwick* being the North border of *England*, as *Seveneh* or *Syene* is the South bound of *Ægypt*, ſeated in *Thebaida* which toucheth *Æthiopia*. But by the words of *Ezekiel* it appeareth, that *Nabuchodonoſor* never entred into any part of *Æthiopia*, although the *Septuagint*, the *Vulgar*, the *Geneva*, and all other (in effect) have written *Æthiopia* for *Chuſh*.

† IV.

Another place of Ezekiel, *c.* 30. *v.* 9. *in like manner miſtaken.*

AND as the former, ſo is this place of *Ezekiel* miſtaken, by being in this ſort converted. *In die illa egredientur nuncii à facie mea in trieribus ad conterendam Æthiopiæ confidentiam*: Which place is thus turned in *Engliſh* by the *Genevans*: *In that day ſhall there meſſengers go forth from me in ſhips to make the careleſs Moors afraid.* Now the *Latin* for [Ships] hath the *Greek* word *Trieres* for *Triremes* which are Galleys of three Banks, and not Ships. But that in this place the Tranſlation ſhould have been (as in the former) amended by uſing the word *Chuſh*, or *Arabia* for *Æthiopia* or the Black-Moors, every Man may ſee which meanly underſtandeth the Geography of the World, knowing, that to paſs out of *Ægypt* into *Æthiopia* there need no Galleys nor Ships, no more than to paſs out of *Northampton* into *Leiceſterſhire*: *Æthiopia* being the conterminate Region with *Ægypt*, and not divided ſo much as by a River. Therefore in this place of *Ezekiel* it was meant, that from *Ægypt Nabuchodonoſor* ſhould ſend Galleys alongſt the Coaſt of the red Sea, by which an Army might be tranſported into *Arabia* the Happy and the Stony (ſparing the long wearifom march over all *Ægypt* and the Deſarts of *Pharan*) which Army might thereby ſurpriſe them unawares in their ſecurity and confidence. For when *Nabuchodonoſor* was at *Seveneh* within a Mile of *Æthiopia*, he needed neither Galley nor Ship to paſs into it: being all one large and firm Land with *Ægypt*, and no otherwiſe parted from it, than one Inland Shire is parted from another; and if he had a fancy to have rowed up the River but for pleaſure, he could not have done it: for the fall of *Nilus* (tumbling over high and ſteepy Mountains) called *Cataduþa Nili* were at hand.

Laſtly, as I have already obſerved, the Sons of every Father ſeated themſelves as near together as poſſibly they could, *Gomer* and his Sons in *Aſia* the leſs; *Javan* and his Sons in *Greece* and the Iſlands adjoyning; *Shem* in *Perſia* and Eaſtward. So the Sons and Grand-children of *Chuſh* from the River of *Gehon* (their Fathers firſt Seat) inhabited upon the ſame, or upon ſome other contiguat unto it, as *Nimrod* and *Havilah* on the one ſide, and *Saba*, *Sheba*, and *Sabtecha* (with the reſt) did on the other ſide. And to conclude in a word, the *Hebrews* had never any Acquaintance or Fellowſhip, any War, Treaty of Peace, or other Intelligence with the *Æthiopian* Black Moors, as is already remembred in the Chapter of *Paradiſe*.

† V.

A place of Iſaiah 18. *v.* 1. *in like manner corrupted by taking* Chuſh *for* Æthiopia.

AND as in theſe places before-remembred, ſo in divers other is the word *Æthiopia* put for *Arabia* or *Chuſh*, which puts the Story (where it is ſo underſtood) quite out of ſquare; one Kingdom thereby being taken for another. For what ſenſe hath this part of Scripture, *Iſaiah* 18. *Væ terræ Cymbalorum alarum quæ eſt trans fluvios Æthiopiæ*, or according to the *Septuagint* in theſe words. *Væ terræ navium alarum quæ eſt trans fluvios Æthiopiæ? Woe to the land ſhadowing with wings, which is beyond the Rivers of Æthiopia, ſending Ambaſſadors by ſea, even in veſſels of reeds upon the waters. Væ terræ umbroſæ oræ*: *Wo to the Land of the ſhady Coaſt*, ſaith *Junius*. The former Tranſlators underſtand it in this ſenſe. That the Waters are ſhadowed with the Sails, which are ſignificatively called the Wings of the Ships; the other, that the Coaſt of the Sea was ſhadowed by the height of the Land.

But to the purpoſe: That this Land here ſpoken of by the Prophet *Iſaiah* is *Ægypt* no Interpreter hath doubted. For they were the *Ægyptians* that ſent this meſſage to the *Iſraelites* which *Iſaiah* repeateth, and by the former Tranſlation every Man may ſee the tranſpoſition of Kingdoms: for here by *Ægypt* is tranſported unto the other ſide of *Æthiopia*, and *Æthiopia* ſet next unto *Judæa*, when it is the Land of *Chuſh* and *Arabia* indeed that lieth between *Judæa* and *Ægypt*, and not *Æthiopia*, which is ſeated under the *Æquinoctial Line*. And of this *Beroaldus* asketh a material Queſtion (to wit) what Region that ſhould be, of which the Prophet ſpeaketh, and placeth it beyond the Rivers of *Æthiopia*: *Nam de ignota agi regione dici nequit*; *For it cannot be ſaid that he treateth of an unknown Region.* Now if *Æthiopia* it ſelf be under the *Æquinoctial Line*, with whom the *Jews* had never any acquaintance, why ſhould any Man dream that they had knowledge of Nations far beyond it again, and beyond the Rivers of *Æthiopia*? except we ſhall impiouſly think that the Prophet ſpake he knew not what, or uſed an impertinent Diſcourſe of thoſe Nations, which were not diſcovered in 2000 Years after, inhabiting as far South as the *Cape of Good Hope*, commonly known by the name of *Bona Eſperanza*.

† VI.

That upon the like miſtaking, both Terrhaka *in the Story of* Senacherib, *and* Zera *in the Story of* Aſa *are unadviſedly made* Æthiopians.

AND by this Tranſlation is the Story of *Senacherib* utterly miſtaken in the cauſe of his retreat. For *Senacherib* was firſt repulſed at *Peluſium*, at the very entrance of *Ægypt* from *Judæa*: when having certain knowledge that *Thirrhaca*, (which all the Interpreters call King of *Æthiopia*) was on the way to ſet on him, he began to withdraw himſelf: and fearing to leave his Army in two parts, he ſent threatning Meſſengers to *Ezekiah* King of *Juda* perſwading him to ſubmit himſelf: the tenor whereof is ſet down in the ſecond of *Kings* in theſe words: *Have any of the Gods of the nations delivered his land out of the hands of the King of Aſſur? Where is the God of Hamah?* &c. by which proud Ambaſſage, if he had obtained entrance into *Jeruſalem*, he then meant to have united that great Army before *Jeruſalem* commanded by *Rabſakeh* with the other which lay before *Peluſium*, a great City upon the branch of *Nilus* next *Arabia*. For *Senacherib* had already maſtered the moſt part of all thoſe Cities in *Judæa* and *Benjamin* with a third Army, (which himſelf commanded) being then at the Siege of *Lebna*. But upon the rumour of that *Arabian* Army led by their King *Thirrhakeh* (whom

Joſephus

Josephus calls *Tharsices*) *Rabsakeh* hasted from the Siege of *Jerusalem* and found *Senacherib* departed from *Lachis*, and set down before *Lebna*, which was afterwards called *Eleutheropolis*, as some have supposed. But while he had ill success at *Pelusium* and feared *Thirrhakeh*, God himself, whom he least feared, strook his Army before *Jerusalem* by the Angel of his Power, so as 185000 were found dead in the place; as in the Life of *Ezekias* is hereafter more largely written. And that this Army of *Tirrakeh* was from *Arabia*, *Josephus* himself makes it plain. For he confesseth in the tenth Book the first Chapter of the *Jews* Antiquities, that it was come to *Senacherib*'s knowledge, that the Army which was a Foot (both to relieve the *Ægyptians* and the *Jews*) marched towards him by the way of the *Desart*: Now the *Desart* which lay indifferent between *Jerusalem* and *Pelusium*, was that of *Pharan* or *Sur*, which also toucheth on the three *Arabia's*, to wit, the Stony, of which it is a part, the *Desart*, and the *Happy*; and by no other way indeed could the *Arabians* come on to succour either *Pelusium* or *Jerusalem*. But, that there is any *Desart* between *Pelusium* and the South part of *Ægypt*, hath never yet been heard of, or described by any Cosmographer or Historian. So then this Scripture of the second of *Kings*, Verse the ninth, hath the same mistaking as the rest. For here the word [*Chush*] is also translated *Æthiopia*; and in this sense have all the Interpreters (but *Junius*) expressed the beginning of the ninth Verse. *He heard also men say of Thirrhakeh King of Æthiopia*, &c. whereas it should have been thus converted with *Junius*. *Audiens autem de Thirrhakeh Rege Chushi*: *He heard also of* Thirrhakeh *King of the* Chusites. For they were the *Chusites* and *Arabians*, whose Houses and Cities were next the Fire, and upon whom the very Smoke of *Juda* flaming was blown, being their neerest Neighbours: and so were not the *Æthiopian* Black-Moors under the *Æquinoctial*, whom neither War nor Peace (which discovereth all Regions) ever found out, saith *Pliny*. For this King was no more King of *Æthiopia* than *Zerah* was, who invaded *Asa* King of *Juda*, with an Army of a Million and three thousand Chariots. Indeed, how such an Army and those Chariots should pass through all *Ægypt*, (the Kings of *Ægypt* being mighty Kings) let all Men that know now these Regions are seated, and how far distant, judge. For Princes do not easily permit Armies of a Million to run through them; neither was there ever any such strength of Black-Moors heard of in that part of the World, or elsewhere. Neither are these *Æthiopians* such Travellers or Conquerors; and yet is this King *Zerah* also called King of *Æthiopia*. But the word *Chush* being first so converted for *Æthiopia*, the rest of the Interpreters (not looking into the Seats of Kingdoms, or the possibilities of Attempts, or Invasions) followed one another in the former mistakings.

10. 2 3.

lin. l. 5. 9.

Chron. 14.

†. VII.

A farther Exposition of the place, Isai. 18. 1.

CONcerning these words in that eighteenth Chapter of *Isaiah*, *Navium alarum*, *winged ships*, (so the *Septuagint* turn it) or *Cymbalo alarum* (according to the *Latin*) *Sails whistling in the Winds*, or *terræ umbrosæ oræ* (after *Junius*) *the Land of a shadowed Coast*, or *the Land shadowing with Wings*, as our *English Geneva* hath it. The two first interpretations of the *Septuagint* and S. *Hierome* have one sense in effect. For the Sails are commonly called the Wings of a Ship; and we use to say ordinarily when our Ships sail slowly, that she wanteth Wings: (that is) when her Sails are either worn or too narrow, and we also use the same Phrase of the wind whistling in the Sails. And it may be that the *Ægyptians* employed so many of those small Ships, as their Sails were said to give a Shadow over the red Sea. But to make both Interpretations good, *Pintus* (upon *Isaiah*) affirmeth, that the word [*Sabal*] doth signifie both to Shadow and to Gingle (which is) to make a kind of Cymbaline sound: so as the meaning of this place (saith *Pintus*) is this: *Wo to thee, O Ægypt, which dost promise to others safegard, under the shadow of thy Wings*, which (indeed) seemeth to agree with the Argument of the eighteenth Chapter of *Isaiah*: and this Phrase is often elsewhere used, as in the sixteenth *Psalm*, *Sub umbra alarum tuarum protege me*: *Defend me under the shadow of thy wings*. The Boats of Reed spoken of are of two kinds; either of Basket-Willow covered with Hides (as anciently in *Britain*) or a Tree made hollow in the bottom, and built upon both sides with Canes. Of the one sort I have seen in *Ireland*, of the other in the *Indies*.

§. XI.

Of the Plantation and Antiquities of Ægypt.

†. I.

That Mizraim *the chief Planter of* Ægypt, *and the rest of the Sons of* Ham, *were seated in order, one by another.*

THE second Son of *Ham* was *Mizraim*, who (according to the place of a second Brother) was sent somewhat farther off to inhabit. For *Chush* first possest *Chaldæa* on the West-side of *Gehon* chiefly: and from thence, as he increased in People, so he entred *Arabia*, and by time came to the Border of the red Sea, and to the South-east-side of *Judæa*. *Mizraim* his Brother (with *Phut*) past over into *Africa*. *Mizraim* held *Ægypt*: and *Phut* (as a third Brother) was thrust farther off into *Mauritania*. *Canaan* took the Sea-coast, and held the side of *Palæstina*: and these four Brothers possest all that Tract of Land, from *Gehon* in *Chaldæa*, as far to the West as the *Mediterran* Sea: comprehending all *Arabia Deserta*, and *Petræa*, all *Canaan* which embraceth *Galilæa*, *Samaria*, and *Judæa*; with the two *Ægypts*; whereof the nether is bounded by *Memphis* on the South, and by the *Mediterran* Sea on the North: and *Thebaida* (called the upper *Ægypt*) stretcheth it self toward the South as far as *Syene*, the Borden of the *Æthiopians* or Black-Moors. All the rest of the Coast of *Africa* Westward, *Phut* peopled; which Brothers had not any other Nation or Family that dwelt between them. And in the same manner did all their Sons again, and all the Sons of the rest of *Noah*'s Children, sort themselves.

2 King. 19.

†. II.

†. II.

Of the time about which the name of Ægypt *began to be known: and of the* Ægyptians *Lunary Years, which made their Antiquities seem the more fabulous.*

THIS flourishing Kingdom possest by *Mizraim*, changed her ancient name, and became *Ægypt*, at such time as *Ægyptus* (otherwise *Rameses*, as some think) the Son of *Belus* chased thence his elder Brother *Danaus*, shifting him into that part of *Greece* now called *Morea*, by whom the *Argives* were made *Danai* abandoning their proper names: which happened 877 Years after the Flood, in the time of *Joshua*, as S. *Augustine* conjectureth out of *Eusebius*. But in *Homer*'s *Odysses* it appeareth that the *Ægyptians* were so called at the time of the *Trojan* War. And before this, *Ægypt* was known by divers other names, as *Oceana*, *Aria*, *Osiriana*, &c. And *Manethon* (whom *Josephus* citeth in his first Book against *Appion*) numbreth all the Kings of *Ægypt* after *Moses*'s departure, who consumed 393 Years. By which other Men conjecture, that the *Ægyptians* took on them that name 330 Years after *Joshua*, and about 1000 Years after the Flood. But where *Josephus* in the same Book taketh *Israel* to be those *Hycsos*, which he also calleth *Pastores* or Shepherds, which are said to have reigned in *Ægypt* 511 Years: whom also he calleth his Ancestors, (meaning the Ancestors of the *Jews*) in this I am sure he was grosly deceived, or that he vainly boasted; for the *Israelites* had no such Dominion as *Manethon* feigneth: nor abode in *Ægypt* so long a time by many Years.

Of the *Ægyptian* Antiquities there are many fancies in *Trogus*, *Herodotus*, *Plato*, *Diod. Siculus*, *Mela*, and others. For they affirm (saith *Pomp. Mela*) that there had reigned in *Ægypt* 330 Kings before *Amasis*, who was contemporary with *Cyrus*; and that they had Memory and Story of 13000 Years; and that the Stars had four times changed their course, and the Sun twice set in the East. These Riddles are also rife among the *Athenians* and *Arcadians*, who dare affirm that they are more ancient than *Jupiter* and the Moon, whereof *Ovid*:

De Fast. l. 1.

Ante Jovem genitum terras habuisse feruntur
Arcades: & Lunâ gens prior illa fuit.

The *Arcadians* the Earth inhabited
Ere yet the Moon did shine, or *Jove* was bred.

But for those 13000 Years it may well be true: seeing it is certain that the *Ægyptians* reckon their Years by Months, which makes after that account not above 1060 or 1100 Years, whether we take their Months or Lunary Years to have been of the first kind of 27 days and eight horus; or otherwise 29 days and twelve hours; or after any other of those five diversities of their Lunary Years.

†. III.

Of certain vain assertions of the Antiquity of the Ægyptians.

GErardus *Mercator* in his Chronology, reasoneth for the *Ægyptians* Antiquity in this manner; That the sixteenth *Dinastie* (where *Eusebius* begins to reckon the *Ægyptians* times) had beginning with the general Flood: and that therefore the first of the other fifteen reached the Creation, or soon after it. To which conjecture of *Mercator*, *Pererius* maketh this answer: That therein *Mercator* was first deceived, because he taketh it for granted, that the beginning of the sixteenth *Dynastie* was at once with the general Flood: which *Eusebius* maketh 292 Years after, and in the time of *Abraham*. Secondly, *Mercator* maketh the beginning of the Shepherds *Dynastia* (being in number the 17.) in the time of their first King, *Saltis*, to have been in the Year of the World 1846, which *Eusebius* findeth in the Worlds Age 2140. For the 16 *Dynastia* was begun but in the 292 Year after the Flood, as they account, and continued 190 Years. Thirdly, whereas *Mercator* maketh every *Dynastia* to endure 115 Years, *Eusebius* reckoneth many of them at less than 100 Years: for the 28 had but 6 Years; the 29 but 20, and the 30 but 18 Years.

Now *Annius* in his Supplement of *Manethon* affirmeth, That all these 15 *Dynasties* lasted but 162 Years: and that the first of the 15 began but in the 131 Year after the Flood: so as where *Mercator* makes all the 15 to precede the Flood, and the 16 to have been then in being at the time of the Flood, *Annius* makes them all after it. But the contrariety of falshood cannot be hidden, though disguised. For *Annius* had forgotten his former opinion and assertion, that it was in the 131 Year that *Nimrod* with the Sons of *Noah* came into the Valley of *Shinaar*: so he forgets the time which was consumed in the building of *Babel*: and that before the confusion of Speech there was no dispersion, nor far-off Plantation at all. And though he hastily conveyed *Gomer* into *Italy*, and *Tubal* into *Spain*, in the 10 Year of *Nimrod*'s Reign: (which was ten Years after his arrival into *Babylonia*) yet herein he is more unadvised. For he makes *Ægypt* possest, and a Government established in the very first Year of the arrival of *Nimrod* into *Shinaar*, before all partition, or any expedition far off or near in question: for *from thence* (that is, from *Babel*) *did the Lord scatter them upon all the earth.*

†. IV.

Against Pererius: *that it is not unlikely, but that* Ægypt *was peopled within 200 Years after the Creation; at least, that both it, and the most parts of the World were peopled before the Flood.*

BUT whereas *Pererius* seeketh to overthrow this Antiquity of the *Ægyptians*, touching their *Dynasties*, (which *Eusebius* doth not altogether destroy, but lessen) I do not find any great strength in this Opinion of *Pererius*; (to wit) that it was either unlikely or impossible that *Ægypt* should be peopled within 100 or 200 Years after *Adam*, in the first Age. And whereas he supposeth that it was not inhabited at all before the general Flood, I do verily believe the contrary: and that not only of *Ægypt*, but the better part of all the World was then peopled: *Pererius* his words are these: *Quomodò enim primos mundi ducentos, vel etiam centum annos Adami proles adeò multiplicari potuit, ut ad Ægyptum usque habitandum & complendum propagata sit*, &c. *For how could the Children of* Adam *be so multiplied in the first two hundred, or in the first hundred Years of the World, and so propagated as to inhabit and fill* Ægypt? for allowing this (saith *Pererius*) we must also confess, that there

there were then both the *Assyrians*, and other Nations.

Now seeing the Scriptures are silent herein, and that it is no point of our saving Belief, it is lawful for every Man to be guided in this and the like Questions by the best Reason, Circumstance, and Likelihood; and herein, as in the rest, I protest that I do not gainsay any Man's Opinion out of any crossing or cavelling Humour: for I think it the part of every Christian, rather to reconcile differences, where there is possibility of Union, than out of froward Subtilty, and prejudicate Resolvedness, to maintain Factions needless, and dangerous Contentions.

First, therefore to this Opinion, that *Ægypt* was not planted so soon after *Adam*, no, not at all before the Flood, I say that there is no Reason why we should give a less Increase to the Sons of *Adam*, than to the Sons of *Noah*. For their length of Life, which exceeded those which came after the Flood double, and (after a few Years) treble, is an infallible proof of their Strength and Ability, to beget many Children: and at that time they observed no degrees of Kindred, nor Consanguinity. And that there was a speedy Increase of People, and in great numbers, it may in some sort appear by this, that *Cain*, who (being fearful that the Death of *Abel* would have been revenged on him) withdrew himself from the rest, which were afterward begotten, and dwelt in the Land of *Nod*, and there by the help of his own Issues built a City, (called *Enoch*) after the Name of his first-born. Now if it be gathered that *Nimrod* came into the Valley of *Shinaar* with so many multitudes, as sufficed to build the City and Tower of *Babel*: and that to this Increase there was given but 130 Years by *Berosus*, and after the Account of the Scriptures (reckoning, as it is commonly understood, by the birth of *Arphaxad*, *Selah*, *Heber*, and *Phaleg*) but one hundred and one Year: I see no cause to doubt, but that in the Infancy of the first Age, when the Bodies of Men were most perfect, even within 130 Years, the same (if not a greater) number might be increased: and so within 70 Years after (that is, by such time as the World had stood 200 Years) as well *Assyria*, *Syria*, and *Ægypt* might be possest before the Flood, as they were within the same or less time after it. Neither doth it agree with the Circumstance, or true Story of the *Babylonian* and *Assyrian* Empire, that all those People, which were increased in the first hundred or 130 Years after the Flood, came into *Shinaar* and *Babylonia*. For that ever *Noah* himself came out of the East, as there is no Scripture or Authority to prove it, so all probable Conjecture and Reason it self denies it. Again, those multitudes and powerful numbers, which *Semiramis* (but the third from *Nimrod*) found in *India*, considered with her own Army of three Millions, (and she left not all her Kingdoms empty) do well prove, that if the World had such plenty of People in so few Years after the Flood, it might also be as plentifully filled in like time before it. For after their own Account *Ninus* governed *Babylonia* and *Assyria* but 292 Years after the Flood of *Noah*. And these Troops of *Semiramis* were gathered out of all those Eastern Kingdoms, from *Media* to the *Mediterran* Sea; when there had now past from the Flood to the time of this her Invasion, somewhat less or more than 360 Years: for much more time the true *Chronology* cannot allow; though I confess, that in respect of the strange Greatness of *Semiramis*'s Army, and the incredible multitudes gathered, this is as short a time as can well be given. And if but the one half be true of that which is said, That her Army consisted of 1300000 Footmen, and 500000 Horsemen, it must needs be, that long before *Semiramis*'s Reign, the greatest part of *Asia* (whence her huge Army was gathered) was full of People: yea *Arabia* it self (much part whereof is barren) must long before this time of *Semiramis* have been plentifully peopled; when *Ninus* having a determination to make himself Master of all Nations, entred (notwithstanding) in League wth the King thereof: whom therefore he either feared, or sought his Assistance. And if *Arabia* were then so well replenished, I see no cause but *Ægypt* might also be peopled. Now if we may believe *Trogus Pompeius* (epitomiz'd by *Justine*) *Ægypt* was a most flourishing and magnificent Nation before *Ninus* was born. For these be his own words, speaking of *Ninus*. *Fuere quidem temporibus antiquioribus Vexoris Rex Ægypti, &c. But there were in times more ancient* Vexoris *King of* Ægypt, *and* Tanais *King of the* Scythians: of which the one invaded *Pontus*, the other *Ægypt*. And how full of People all that part of the World was, the Conquests of *Ninus* witness, who subdued with no small Force the *Armenians*, the *Medes*, and afterwards the *Bactrians*; yea, all that whole Body of *Asia* on this side *India*. For *Diodorus* out of *Ctesias* numbreth the Army, wherewith *Ninus* invaded *Zoroaster*, at 1700000 Footmen, and 200000 Horsemen: and the Stories generally shew, that though *Zoroaster*'s Army was far short of this, yet it was greater than any that those parts of the World ever since beheld. But to what end should I seek for Foreign Authority? for no Man doubteth but that *Ægypt* was possest by *Mizraim*, the Son of *Ham*; and that it was an established Kingdom, filled with many Cities in *Abraham*'s time, the Scriptures tell us. And sure to prepare and cultivate a desolate and overgrown Ground, to beautifie it with many Cities, Laws, and Policies, cannot be esteemed a Labour of a few Days: and therefore it must be inhabited in a less time than 200 Years after the Flood; and in the same time (if not in a shorter) before the Flood. For if so many Millions of Men were found within 300 Years after the general Flood; so as not only *Babylon*, and *Assyria*, *Bactria*, *Armenia*, *Media*, *Arabia*, *Ægypt*, *Palastina*, yea the far-off *Libya* on the one side, and *India* on the other, and *Scythia* (inferiour to neither) were all filled: into what small Corners could then all those Nations be compress, which 1656 Years brought forth before the Flood? even Necessity, which cannot be resisted, cast the abundance of Mens bodies into all parts of the known World; especially, where Death forbare the Father, and made no place for the Son, till he had beheld living Nations of his own Body. Just. l. 1.

§. V.

Of some other Reasons against the Opinion of Pererius.

FOR what a strange Increase did the long Lives of the first Age make, when they continued 800 or 900 Years. Surely, we have reason to doubt, that the World could not contain them, rather than that they were not spread over the World. For let us now reckon the Date of our Lives in this Age of the World: wherein if one exceed 50 Years, ten for one are cut off in that passage, and yet we find no want of People; nay, we know the multitude such, as if by Wars or Pestilence they were not sometimes taken off by many thousands, the Earth with all the Industry of Man could not give them Food. What strange heaps then of Souls had the first Ages, who enjoyed 800 or 900 Years as aforesaid! These numbers, I say, cannot be

counted or conceived. For it would come to the ſame Reckoning in effect, as if all thoſe which have been born in *Britain* ſince 3 or 4 hundred Years before the *Norman Conqueſt* (ſaving ſuch as by accident or by violence were cut off) were now alive; and if to theſe there were added as many as by *Polygamy* might have been increaſed. For (to omit, that the Giants and mighty ones of the firſt Age obſerved no Law of Matrimony) it is to be thought that thoſe Lovers of the World and of Pleaſure, when they knew the long and liberal time which Nature had given them, would not willingly or haſtily preſent themſelves to any danger which they could flie from or eſchew. For what humane Argument hath better perſwaſion to make Men careleſs of Life, and fearleſs of Death, than the little time whch keeps them aſunder, and that ſhort time alſo accompanied with ſo many pains and diſeaſes, which this envious old Age of the World mingleth together, and ſoweth with the Seeds of Mankind.

Now if that *Beroſus* or *Annius* may be alledged for ſufficient Authors, whom *Pererius* himſelf in this Queſtion citeth, then is it by them affirmed, and by *Joſephus* confirmed, that the City of *Enoch* was ſeated near *Libanus* in *Syria*: and if other parts of *Syria* were peopled in *Cain*'s time, I ſee no cauſe why *Paleſtina* (which is alſo a Province of *Syria*) and *Ægypt* (which neighboureth it) could be left deſolate both all the life time of *Cain*, and all thoſe times between his Death and the Flood, which were by eſtimation 700 or 800 Years. And ſure though this Fragment of *Beroſus* with *Annius* his Comment be very ridiculous in many places (the ancient Copies being corrupted or loſt) yet all things in *Beroſus* are not to be rejected. Therefore Saint *Hierome* for ſuch Authors gives a good Rule. *Bona eorum eligamus, vitemus contraria; Let us chuſe what is good in them, and reject the reſt.* And certainly in the very beginning of the firſt Book, *Beroſus* agreeth (in effect) with *Moſes*, touching the general Flood: and in that firſt part *Beroſus* affirmeth, that thoſe mighty Men and Giants which inhabited *Enoch*, commanded over all Nations, and ſubjected the Univerſal World: and though that phraſe [*of all the World*] be often uſed in the Scriptures for a part thereof; as in the ſecond of the *Acts*. *That there were dwelling at Jeruſalem Jews, men that feared God of every Nation under Heaven*: yet by words which follow in *Beroſus*, it is plain that his words and ſenſe were the ſame: for he addeth from the Sun's riſing to the Sun's ſetting, which cannot be taken for any ſmall part thereof. Again, we may ſafely conjecture, that *Noah* did not part and proportion the World among his Sons at adventure, or left them as Diſcoverers, but directed them to thoſe Regions which he formerly knew had been inhabited. And it cannot be denied that the Earth was more paſſable and eaſie to travel over before the Flood, than after it. For *Pererius* himſelf confeſſeth that *Attica* (by reaſon of Mud and Slime which the Water left upon the Earth) was uninhabited 200 Years after *Ogyges* Flood, whereby we may gather that there was no great pleaſure in paſſing into far Countries after the general Deluge, when the Earth lay (as it were) incopſed for 100 or 130 Years together. And therefore was the Face thereof in all conjecture more beautiful, and leſs cumberſome to walk over in the firſt Age, than after the general Overflowing.

†. VI.

Of the words of Moſes, Gen. 10. verſ. *ult. wherepon* Pererius *grounded his Opinion.*

LAſtly, whereas *Pererius* draws this Argument out of the laſt Verſe of the tenth of *Geneſis*. *And out of theſe were the Nations divided after the Flood: Quo ſignificatur talem diviſionem non fuiſſe ante diluvium: By which it appeareth* (ſaith *Pererius*) *that there was no ſuch Diviſion before the Flood*; which he alſo ſeeketh to confirm out of the eleventh of *Geneſis*, becauſe the diviſion of Tongues was cauſe of the Diſperſion of the People. This conſequence, *quo ſignificatur, &c.* ſeemeth to me very weak: the Text it ſelf rather teaching the contrary: *for out of theſe* (ſaith *Moſes*) *were the Nations divided in the earth after the Flood*; inferring, that before the Flood the Nations were divided out of others, though after the Flood out of theſe only. But whatſoever Senſe may be gathered from this place, yet it can no way be drawn to the times before the Flood, or to any Plantation or Diviſion in that Age: for if there were none elſe among whom the Earth could be divided after the Flood, but *Noah*'s Sons, wherein doth that neceſſary diviſion controle the planting of the World before it? And whereas it is alledged that the confuſion of Speech was the cauſe of this diſperſion, it is true, that it was ſo for that preſent; but if *Babel* had never been built, nor any confuſion of Languages at all, yet increaſe of people and time would have enforced a farther-off and general Plantation: as *Beroſus* ſays well, that when Mankind were exceedingly multiplied, *ad comparandas novas ſedes neceſſitas compellebat, They were driven by Neceſſity to ſeek new Habitations.* For we find (as is before ſaid) that within 300 Years after the Flood, there were gathered together into two Armies, ſuch multitudes as the Valley about *Babylon* could not have ſuſtained thoſe numbers with their increaſe for any long time: all *Aſia* the greater and the leſſer; all *Scythia*, *Arabia*, *Paleſtina*, and *Ægypt*, with *Greece*, and the Iſlands thereof; *Mauritania* and *Libya* being alſo at that time fully peopled. And if we believe *Beroſus*, then not only thoſe parts of the World, but (within 140. Years after the Flood) *Spain*, *Italy*, and *France* were alſo planted: much more then may we think, that within 1656 Years before the Flood, in the time of the chief ſtrength of Mankind, they were repleniſhed with People. And certainly ſeeing all the World was overflown, there were People in all the World which offended.

†. VII.

A Concluſion, reſolving of that which is moſt likely, touching the Ægyptian *Antiquities: with ſomewhat of* Phut, (*another Son of* Ham) *which peopled* Libya.

THerefore for the Antiquity of the *Ægyptians*, as I do not agree with *Mercator*, nor judge with the Vulgar, which give too much Credit to the *Ægyptians* Antiquities: ſo I do not think the report of their Antiquities ſo fabulous, as either *Pererius* or other Men conceive it. But I rather incline to this, That *Ægypt* being peopled before the Flood, and 200 or 300 Years, more or leſs after *Adam*, there might remain unto the Sons of *Mizraim* ſome Monuments (in Pillars or Altars of Stone or Mettal) of their former Kings or Governours: which the *Ægyptians* having added to the Liſt and Roll of their Kings after the Flood, in ſucceeding

ceeding time (out of the vanity of glory, or by some corruption in their Priests) something beyond the truth might be inferred. And that the memory of antiquity was in such sort preserved, *Berosus* affirmeth it of the *Chaldeans*, and so doth *Epigenes*. for they both write, that the use of Letters and the Art of Astronomy was known to the *Babylonians* 3634. Years before *Alexander's* Conquest: and this report *Annius* findeth to agree and reach to the time of *Enosh*, who was born 1034. Years before the Flood, and wrote of the Worlds Destruction, both by Water and Fire; as also of *Christ* his coming in judgement; as St. *Jude* hath witnessed. But leaving these Antiquities to other mens judgments, and every Man to his own Reason, I will conclude this Plantation of *Ægypt*. It is agreed by all, that it was peopled by *Mizraim*, and that it took the name of *Ægypt* from *Ægyptus* the Son of *Belus*, as aforesaid. Being divided into two Regions, that part from *Memphis* or *Nicopolis* to the *Mediterran* Sea, was called the inferiour *Ægypt*; surnamed also *Delta*: because the several branches of *Nilus* breaking asunder from one body of the River, gave it the form of the Greek letter *Delta*, which is the form of a *Triangle*. That branch, which ran toward the North-East and embraced the Sea, next unto the Desarts of *Sur* and *Pharan*, had on it the City of *Pelusium*, where *Senacherib* was repulsed: The other branch, which yielded it self to the salt water towards the North-West, is beautified by that famous City of *Alexandria*: The upper part of *Ægypt* is bounded between *Memphis* and *Syene* near *Æthiopa*, and had the name of *Thebaida*, of that ancient City of *Thebes*, which (according to *Homer*) was adorned with 100. Gates: and therefore called *Civitas centum portarum*; and by the Greeks *Diospolis*; in the Scriptures *No-hamon*, which signifieth multitudes of Inhabitants, exceeding belief. *Josephus* calls *Ægypt Mersin* of *Mizraim*: and *Herodotus* affirms that it had once the name of *Thebais*.

Joseph l. 1. Ant. cap. 7. Herod. Euterpe.

Phut the third Son of *Ham* took the next portion of land to his Brother *Mizraim*, and inhabited *Libya*: whose People were anciently called *Phutei*; (saith *Josephus*) and *Pliny* mentioneth the River *Fut* in *Mauritania*: which River from the Mountain *Atlas* (known to the Inhabitants by the name of *Dyris*) he maketh to be distant the space of two hundred Miles. It also appeareth in the thirtieth Chapter of *Ezekiel*, that *Phut*, *Chush* and *Lud* were *contermini* and Associates with the *Ægyptians*.

l. 5. c. 1.

§. XII.

Of the eleven Sons of Canaan, *the fourth Son of* Ham.

†. I.

Of the bounds of the Land of Canaan: *with the names of his eleven Sons.*

Canaan (the fourth Son of *Ham*) possest all that Region called by the *Romans Palestina*; in the Scriptures *Galilæa*, *Samaria*, and *Judæa*; in the latter times known by the name of the Holy Land and *Jurie*: the limits whereof are precisely set down by *Moses*, *Genesis* the tenth. *Then the border of the Canaanites was from Zidon as thou goest to Gerar unto Azzah, and as thou goest unto Sodom and Gomorrha, and Admah, and Zeboim, even unto Lesha.* Now howsoever these words of the Hebrew Text [*as thou goest*] be converted, *Moses's* meaning was that *Gerar* was the South bound of *Canaan* and *Zidon* the North; *Sodom* and *Gomorrha* the East, and the other Cities named stood on the Frontiers thereof. For *Gerar* standeth in a right line from *Gaza*, in the way of *Ægypt*, the uttermost Territory of *Canaan* Southward: and this was properly the Land of *Canaan*.

Now the Sons of *Canaan* which possest this Country, and inhabited some part of the Borders thereof, were in number eleven:

1. *Zidon*.
2. *Heth* or *Chethus*.
3. *Jebusi* or *Jebusæus*.
4. *Emori* or *Emoreus*, or *Amorei*.
5. *Girgeshi* or *Girgesæus*.
6. *Hevi* or *Chivæus*.
7. *Arki* or *Harkeus*.
8. *Seni* or *Sinæus*.
9. *Araadi* or *Arvadæus*.
10. *Zemari* or *Samareus*, or *Tzemareus*.
11. *Hamathi* or *Hamatheus*, or *Chamathæus*.

Of which the most renowned were the *Hethites*, *Gergesites*, *Amorites*, *Hevites*, *Jebusites*, and *Perizzites*: which *Perizzites* were descended of *Zemari* or *Samareus*, or from some of his.

†. II.

Of the Portions of Zidon *and* Heth.

Zidon the first born of *Canaan*, built the famous City of *Zidon* in *Phœnicia*, which afterward fell in partition to the Tribe of *Asher*: for *Asher*, *Zabulon*, and *Nephtali* had a great part of the ancient *Phœnicia* distributed among them; but the *Asherites* could never obtain *Zidon* it self.

The second Son of *Canaan* was *Heth* or *Cethus*: of whom came the *Hethites*, or *Hittites*, one of those seven principal Nations (commanders of *Canaan*) appointed by God to be rooted out: namely, the *Gergesites*, the *Amorites*, the *Canaanites*, the *Perizzites*, and *Hevites*, and the *Jebusites*. The *Hittites* inhabited about *Bersabe*, and towards *Hebron* near the Torrent *Besor*, and about *Gerar*, which *Moses* maketh the uttermost limit of *Canaan*, having the Desart of *Pharan*, to the South: for about *Bersabe* (otherwise *Puteus juramenti*) four Miles from *Gaza* dwelt *Heth* and his Posterity, as far to the North-East as *Hebron*, and *Mamre*; and of *Ephraim* the *Hittite* did *Abraham* buy the Field of *Sarah's* Burial. Of which Nation *Rebecca* bewailed her self to *Isaac*, saying, *That she was weary of her Life for the Daughters of Heth.* The Giants *Anakim* were of these *Hittites*, a strong and fierce Nation, whose entertainment by the Kings of *Israel* against them the *Syrians* greatly feared: as in the second of the Kings; *Israel hath hired against us the Kings of the Hittites.*

Gen. 10. v. 19.

Gen. 23.

Gen. 27. v. 46.

2. Kings. 7. v. 6.

†. III.

Of the Jebusites and Amorites.

Jebusæus, the third Son of *Canaan*, of whom came the *Jebusites*, and whose principal seat was *Jebus*, (afterward *Hierusalem*) were also a valiant and stubborn Nation, and held their City

and the Country near it, till such time as *David* by Gods assistance recovered both: yet were not the *Jebusites* extinguished, but were Tributaries to *Salomon*.

Amoreus was the fourth Son of *Canaan*, of whom the *Amorites* took name, who inhabited that Land to the East of *Jordan* below the Sea of *Galilee*, having *Arnon* and the Mountains of *Galaad* on the East, and *Jordan* on the West: of whom *Og* (King of *Basan*) and *Sihon* (overthrown by *Moses*) were Princes.

The *Amorites* had also many other habitations dispersed within the bounds of *Canaan*: as behind *Libanus* in the edge of *Cœlesyria*, or *Syria Libanica*. They had also their being in the Mountains of *Juda*, and in *Idumæa* near the *Metropolis* thereof, called *Duma*. And hereof it came that all the *Canaanites* were sometime called *Amorites*: as in *Genesis* the fifteenth, *for the wickedness of the Amorites is not yet full*. And that this was also a powerful Nation, we find in the Prophet *Amos*; *Yet destroyed I the Amorite before them, whose heighth was like the heighth of a Cedar, and he was strong as the Oaks*.

Deut. 1. Num. 13.

Amos 2.

†. IV.

Of the Gergesites, Hevites and Harkites.

THE fifth Son of *Canaan* was *Gergeseus* or *Gergesion*, (otherwise *Girgasi*) who inhabited on the East side of the Lake of *Tiberias*, or the Sea of *Galilee*, where *Ptolomy* sets the City *Gerasa*, which *Josephus* calls *Gesera* in the Territory of *Decapolis*. Here it was that *Christ* dispossest the possessed with Devils; and the *Gergesites* desired him to depart their Coasts: because their Swine filled with the evil Spirits drowned themselves in the Sea of *Galilee*. *Gergeseus* also built *Berytus* (sometime *Geris*) afterward *Fœlix Julia*, three Miles from the River *Adonis* in *Phœnicia*: in which the *Romans* held a Garrison: and to which *Augustus* gave many large Priviledges.

Heveus the sixth Son; and Father of the *Hevites*, inhabited under *Libanus* near *Emath*. These *Hevites*, howsoever the *Caphthorim* expelled a good part of them (as in *Deuteronomy* the second is remembred) yet many of them remained all the War of *Joshua*, and afterward to the time of *Salomon*. For God was not pleased utterly to root out these Nations, but they were sometimes made Tributaries to the *Israelites*, and at other times served (in their falling away from the true Worship of God) to afflict them: for as it is written *Judges* the third; *They remained to prove Israel by them, whether they would obey the Commandments of God.*

The seventh Son was *Araceus* or *Harki*, who between the foot of *Libanus* and the *Mediterran* Sea, (over against *Tripolis*) built the City of *Archas*, *Arce*, or *Arca*, afterwards *Arachis*.

†. V.

Of Sini *and* Arvadi.

SIneus the eighth Son *Hierosolymitanus* sets at *Caparorsa*, which *Ptolomy* finds in *Judæa* not far from *Jebus*; to the South thereof, saith *Junius*. But it is more probable, that *Sineus* founded *Sin*, which St. *Hierome* calls *Sim*; *Ptolomy Simyra*: *Mela* and *Pliny Simyrus*: *Brochard Sycon*, (called *Synochis*) near *Arca*. *Pererius* thinks that *Sineus* inhabited the Desarts of *Sinai* or thereabout; but hereof there is no other certainty than the report of *Brochard*, who took view of all these places, affirming that *Sineus* built *Synochis*, as *Zidon* built *Zidon*. There is also another Nation of *Cini* (written with the letter *C.* otherwise *Kenai*) who descended of *Hobab* the Son of *Raguel* the *Madianite*, who assisted the *Israelites*, in their conduction through the Wilderness of *Pharan*. But these *Cinei* were admitted among the *Israelites*, and had a portion of Land with the *Nephtalims*, beside their habitations with the *Amalekites*: against these *Cinei Balaam* prophesied, that they should be destroyed by the *Assyrians*.

Judg. 4. Josua 19. 33.

The ninth Son was *Aradeus* or *Arvadeus*, who in the *Isle* of *Aradus* built the City *Arados*: opposite against which Island on the main of *Phœnicia*, they founded another City of that name, which for opposition was afterwards called *Antaradus*. To this City came S. *Peter* (saith *Clement*) and in this Isle preached the Gospel: and founded a Church in Honour of our Lady: but we find no such work of his in the Acts of the Apostles. Both these two were very famous: and places of skilful Seamen: whom *Ezekiel* remembereth in his prophecies against the *Tyrians*. *The inhabitants of Zidon and Arvad were thy Mariners.*

Gul. Tyr. Vitria. c. 7. v. 8.

†. VI.

Of Zemari.

OF *Samareus*, or *Zemari*, the tenth Son, there are divers opinions. Some think that he first inhabited in *Cœlesyria* at *Edessa*, and founded *Samaraim*, which in *Josbua* is placed in the Tribe of *Benjamin*. There is also *Samaraim* (of the same Orthography) upon the Mountains of *Ephraim* (saith *Beroaldus*) mentioned in the second of *Chronicles c.* 13. *v.* 4. which the Latine converteth amiss (saith he) by *Semeron*. The *Hierosolymitan Paraphrast* makes *Samareus* (of whom were the *Perizzites*) the parent of the *Emissani*, which *Pliny* calls the *Hemiseni*, in *Cœlesyria*; and it may be that it was their first habitation, and that they afterwards inhabited those other places before remembred. But that they founded *Samaria*, both the Hebrew Orthography, and this place in the first of Kings (speaking of *Omri*) disproveth. *And he bought the Mountain Samaria of Shemeron of one Shemer for two Talents of silver, and built in the Mountain: and called the name of the City which he built, after the name of Shemer, Lord of the Mountain Samaria.* But of all these places I shall speak more at large in the Conquest of the Holy Land, by the Children of *Israel*. Of whomsoever the *Samaritans* were descended, sure I am, that they were ever a perfidious Nation, and base: for as long as the State of the *Jews* stood up, they always called themselves *Jews*: when it suffered or sunk, they then utterly denyed to be of that Nation or Family; for at such time as they were returned from their first Captivity, they became a mixt Nation; partly of the Colonies of the *Assyrians*; and partly of the naturals.

Beroal. in Chron. lib. 4.

1 Kings 16. 28.

†. VII.

Of Hamathi.

THE last of *Canaan's* Sons was *Hamatheus*, or (according to the Hebrew) *Hamathi*, of *Hamath*: (saith *Beroaldus*) of which (the aspiration taken

taken away) the ſame is pronounced *Emath*, whereof *Hamathæus* was Parent. *Joſephus* and St. *Hierome* confound *Emath* with *Antioch*, not that *Antioch* which ſtandeth on the River *Orontes* on the Frontier of *Comagena*, betweeen the Mountain *Caſſius* and the Province of *Pieria*, and *Seleucis*, of which S. *Peter* was Biſhop, and in which S. *Luke* and *Ignatius* were born: but *Antioch*, ſurnamed *Epiphania*, as *Beroaldus* ſuppoſeth, which ſtandeth between *Apamea* and *Emeſa* in *Caſſiotis*. Yet, indeed, *Emath* cannot be taken for either: for both that *Antioch* upon *Orontes*, and that which neighboureth *Emeſa*, are farther off ſeated from *Canaan*, than ever any of thoſe Nations ſtragled. And whereas S. *Hierome* ſetteth *Emath*, which he confounded with *Epiphania*, in the Tribe of *Nephtali*; it is manifeſt that *Epiphania*, which ſtandeth to the North of *Emeſa* hath all the Province of *Laodicea* between it and any part of the Land divided. And if *Libanon* it ſelf were not ſhared among the Tribes, then could not *Epiphania* belong unto them: for both the Provinces *Laodicea* and *Libanica*, are between *Epiphania* and any part of the Holy Land, and therefore *Emath* ſo taken could not be a part of *Nephtali*, as in the thirteenth of *Joſhua* is directly proved. For *Joſhua*, counting the lands that remained unpoſſeſt, reckoneth all mount *Libanon* towards the Sun-riſing, from *Baalgad* under Mount *Hermon*, until we come to *Hamath*. And this reaſon (among others) is
2. *Sam.* 8. 9. uſed, that *Emath* was not in *Nephtalim*, or any way belonging to the Children of *Iſrael*: becauſe *David* accepted the Preſents of *Toha* King of *Emath*, and (therewithal) conditions of Peace: which he would not have done, if that Territory had ever belonged to the Children of *Iſrael*, but would have recovered it without compoſition, and by ſtrong hand, as he did the reſt. But this Argument (as I take it) hath no great weight. For if the promiſe which God
Deut. 11. 24. made be conſidered, as it is written in *Deuteronomy*, then might *Emath* be comprehended, though ſeated altogether without the Bounds of the Land promiſed, according to the deſcription of *Moſes* and *Joſhua*: for *Emath* is indeed ſituate on the other ſide of the Mountain of *Hermon*, which joineth to *Libanus*: and is otherwiſe called *Iturea*. But whereas *Hamath* is named in *Joſhua* the 19. *v.* 35. and written in the Latine converſion *Emath*, therein (ſaith *Beroaldus*) was S. *Hierome* miſtaken. *Emath* or *Iturea* is that over the Mountains, and the City in *Nephtalim* ſhould be written *Hamath*: and ſo the *Septuagint* (underſtanding the difference) write it *Ammath* and not *Emath*, the ſame which indeed belonged to the *Nephtalims*, ſeated on the South-ſide of *Libanus* to the Eaſt of *Aſſedim*: which City S. *Hierome* writes *Emath*, *Joſephus Hamath*, others *Emathin*, or *Amatheos*, and the People *Amathein*; of which (as I take it) *Rabſakeh* vaunteth
Cap. 18. & 19. in the ſecond of *Kings*. *Where is the God of Hamath?*

§. XIII.

Of the Sons of Chuſh (*excepting* Nimrod) *of whom hereafter.*

The Sons of *Chuſh* were { *Seba*, *Havila*, *Sabta*, *Raama*, *Sabteca*, *Nimrod*. } And the Sons of *Raama* were, { *Sheba*, and *Dedan*. }

§. I.

That the moſt of the Sons of Chuſh *were ſeated in* Arabia *the Happy: and of the* Sabæans *that robbed* Job: *and of the Queen that came to* Salomon.

Seba or *Saba* was the eldeſt Son of *Chuſh*, the eldeſt Son of *Ham*, to make a difference betweene him and his Nephew *Sheba*, the Son of his Brother *Raama*, or *Regma* (or *Ragma*, after *Montanus*) his name is written with a ſingle [*S*] *Samech*, and *Sheba* the Son of *Regma* with an [*S*] aſpirate, which is the Hebrew *Schin*. *Seba* the eldeſt Son of *Chuſh*, *Regma* his Brother, and *Sheba* the Son of *Regma* poſſeſt both the Shores of *Arabia Fœlix*. *Saba* took that part toward the Red Sea, as neareſt his Father *Chuſh*, and the Land of the *Chuſites*: *Regma*, and *Sheba*, the Eaſt Coaſt of the ſame *Arabia* which looketh into the *Gulf* of *Perſia*; of which *Pliny*, *Sabæi Arabum populi propter thura clariſſimi ad utraq; maria porrectis gentibus habitant*: *The* Sabæans *people*, *of* Arabia, *famous for their Frankincenſe, extending their Nations, dwell along both the Seas* (to wit) the *Perſian*, and the *Arabian*, or *Red Sea*. This Country was afterwards called *Arabia à populi mixtione*, ſaith *Poſtellus*. To this agreeth *Ptolomy*, who ſetteth the City of *Saba* towards the *Arabian* or Red Sea, and the City *Rhegama* towards the *Perſian*, with whom alſo we may leave *Sabta*: for ſo much *Montanus* gathereth out of *Ptolomy*, becauſe he remembreth a Nation (called *Stabei*) near the *Perſian* Sea; and *Maſſabathæ* which deſcended of them. But *Montanus* hath ſent *Regma*, or (as he calls him *Rahma*) into *Carmania*, for which I ſee no reaſon. *Joſephus*, who only attended his own fancies, hath baniſhed *Saba* or *Seba* to the border of *Æthiopia*. But *Beroaldus* thinks it ſtrange, that the *Sabæi*, which ſtole away *Job*'s Cattle, ſhould run through all *Ægypt* and all *Arabia Petræa*, and find out *Job* in *Traconitis* betweeñ *Paleſtina* and *Cœleſyria* 1200. Miles off. Now as this conjecture was more than ridiculous, ſo do I think, that neither the *Sabæi* on the Red Sea, nor thoſe toward the *Perſian* Sea, could by any means execute the ſtealth upon *Job*, which ſoever *Beroaldus* ſhall take for neareſt. But theſe were the *Sabæi* of *Arabia* the Deſart, where *Guilandinus Melchior* affirmeth out of his own experience, that the City *Saba* is ſeated: the ſame which *Ptolomy* calls *Save*, now *Semiſcaſac*: and from this *Saba* in *Arabia* the Deſart, came thoſe *Magi* or *Wiſemen* which worſhipped *Chriſt*, ſaith *Melchior*, whoſe words are theſe: *The* Magi *came neither out of* Meſopotamia (as *Chryſoſtome*, *Hierome*, and *Ambroſe* ſuppoſed) *nor out of* Arabia the Happy, *as many wiſe Men do believe, but out of* Saba *in* Arabia *the Deſart*: *which City when my ſelf was there, was* (*as I judged it*) *called* Semiſcaſac. And to approve this opinion of *Guilandinus*, it appeareth that thee *Sabæi* were Neighbours to *Job*, and lay fit to invade and rob him. For both the other Nations (as well thoſe on the *Perſian* Sea, as thoſe on the Red Sea) are ſo disjoyned with large Deſarts, as there is no poſſibility for Strangers to paſs them, eſpecially with any numbers of Cattle, both in reſpect of the Mountains, of the Sands, and of the extream want of Water in thoſe parts. *Ubi nec homines nec beſtiæ videntur, nec aves, imò nec arbores, nec germen aliquod, ſed non niſi montes ſaxoſi, altiſſimi, & ſperrimi: Where there are found neither Men nor Beaſt, no not ſo much as Birds, or Trees, nor any Paſture, or Graſs, but only ſharp, and high ſtony, and craggy Mountains.* *Beroaldus* and

Pererius

Pererius conceive that the Queen of *Saba* which came to visit *Solomon*, was of the *Sabæi* on the East side of *Arabia Fœlix*; but the contrary seemeth more probable, and that she was Queen of *Saba* towards the Red Sea: for *Solomon* at that time commanding all that part of *Arabia Petræa*, 'twixt *Idumæa* and the Red Sea, as far down as *Midian* or *Madian*, and *Ezion Gaber*: and this Queen of *Saba* which inhabited the West Part of *Arabia Fœlix*, being his Neighbour, might without any far Travel enter his Territories, free from all danger of Surprize by any other Prince or Nation.

But to avoid tediousness, it is manifest that *Seba* or *Saba*, *Sabta*, *Raama*, or *Rhegma*, with his Sons *Sheba* and *Dedan*, and *Sabteca*, were all the possessors of *Arabia* the Happy and the Desart: only *Havilah* and *Nimrod* dwelt together on the East side of *Chush*, who held *Arabia Petræa*. Now for *Sabta*, there is found of his Name the City of *Sabbatha* or *Sabota* in the same *Arabia*: of which both *Pliny* and *Ptolomy*; who withall nameth *Sabotale*, within the Walls whereof there were sometimes found sixty Temples. *Ezekiel* joineth the Father and the Son together, *The Merchants of Sheba and Raama were thy Merchants:* And that they were the Eastern *Arabians* their Merchandize witnesseth, formerly repeated in the Chapter of *Paradise*. For *Josephus* his Fancies, that *Saba* was the Parent of the *Æthiopians* about *Meroe*, and *Sabta* of the *Æthiopians Astabari*, they be not worthy any farther Answer than hath already been given: especially seeing these Cities preserving the memory of the Names of *Saba* and *Sabta* in *Arabia* were yet remaining in *Ptolomy*'s time, though in some Letters changed. As also in the Coasts adjoining, the Names of other of the Brethren of the Family of *Cush*, with little Alterations are preserved. In *Arabia* the Desart is found the City *Saba* or *Save*, (now *Semiscasac*) with the City of *Rhegana* for *Rhegma*; and the Nation by *Ptolomy* himself called *Raabeni* of *Raamah*. In *Arabia* the Happy is found the City of *Rhegama*, and *Rabana*, which also keepeth the found of *Rhegma*, the City of *Saptha* or *Saptah*, not far from the East Coast of *Arabia*: as also the *Metropolis* and chief City, in the body of the South part of *Arabia*, called without difference or alteration *Sabatha*; and to the West of *Sabatha* towards the Red Sea the great City of *Saba*; and the Nation adjoining, *Sabæi*: and to the South thereof again toward the straight entrance of the Red Sea, the Region of *Sabe*. To all these his Brothers and Nephews which were seated on the East side of *Arabia*, *Havilah* by the passage of *Tigris* was a Neighbour, to whom he might pass by Boat even unto *Rhegma* the City of *Raama* or *Rhegma*, set near the River of *Lar* towards the mouth of the *Persian* Sea, which stood in *Ptolomy*'s time.

Plin. l. 12. c. 14. *Ptol. tab. 6. Asiæ.* *Ezek. 27. 22.*

†. II.

Josephus *his Opinion of* Dedan, *one of the Issue of* Chush, *to have been seated in West* Æthiopia, *disproved out of* Ezekiel *and* Jeremy.

AND whereas *Josephus* (whom in this S. *Hierome* followeth, as not curious herein) sent *Dedan* the Son of *Raamah* into West *Æthiopia*, it is strange that *Ezekiel* should couple *Sheba*, *Raamah*, and *Dedan* together; *Dedan* in the 15 Verse, and *Sheba* and *Raamah* in the 22 Verses to be the Merchants of *Tyre*, if *Dedan* had dwelt in West *Æthiopia*, which is distant from *Raamah* and *Sheba* (the Habitation of his Father and Brother) above 4000 Miles. Besides which the Merchandize that the *Dedanites* brought to *Tyre* doth not make them naked Black-moors. For they of *Dedan* (saith *Ezekiel*) were thy Merchants in precious Cloths for thy Chariots; and these Western *Æthiopians* never saw Cloth, till the *Portugals* seeking those Coasts traded with them: the Merchandize of the Country being Hides, Elephants Teeth, some Gold and Amber, Civet Cats, and Rice, but nothing at all of any Manufacture: and all these they exchanged for Linnen, or Iron chiefly.

But in those days the West part of *Africa* within the Body of the Land was known only by Imagination: and, being under the burnt Zone was held uninhabitable. And therefore that the *Negros* of the West *Æthiopia*, which inhabit about *Serra*, *Liona*, or *Niger*, could either pass by Sea or Land to *Tyre* in the bottom of the *Mediterran* Sea, were a strange, or rather a foolish Fancy. Now to put it out of dispute that *Dedan* also dwelt by the rest of the Children of *Chush*, which Seats they held by that Name in the time of *Jeremy* the Prophet, let us hear *Jeremy* his own words. *Fly ye Inhabitants of Dedan, for I have brought the destruction of Esau upon him.* Hereby it appeareth that *Dedan* was a Neighbour to the *Idumæans*: and *Idumæa* is a Province of *Arabia Petræa*: and *Dedan* which dwelt on the North part of *Arabia Fœlix*, joined in that part to *Petræa*, the Seat of his Grand-father *Chush*; which Neighbourhood and Fellowship of *Dedan* and the *Idumæans* is also confirmed by *Ezekiel*. *I will stretch out mine hand upon Edom, and destroy Man and Beast out of it, and I will make it desolate from Teman: and they of Dedan shall fall by the Sword.*

Ezek. 25. 13.

§. XIV.

Of the Issue of Mizraim: *and of the place of* Jeremy, Chap. 9. Vers. 7.

AFter *Chush* it followeth to speak of *Mizraim*'s Sons, whose Names (saith Saint *Augustine*) were plural, to signifie the Nations, which came of them. *Ludim* the eldest Son of *Mizraim* was the Father of the *Libyans* in *Africa*: and the rest of his Brothers dispersed themselves into all Regions adjoining. Among the Sons of *Shem* there is also *Lud*; but he is differenced from *Lud* the Son of *Mizraim* by the singular number: the Son of *Shem* being written *Lud*, the Son of *Mizraim Ludim*: and yet these Names and Nations are often confounded, notwithstanding the apparent difference both of Names and Nations. For that *Ludim* the Son of *Mizraim* was Parent of the *Libyans* in *Africa*, and that he was seated not far from *Mizraim* his Father, appeareth by the Prophet *Jeremy*, who joineth them in this sort together. *Come up ye Horses, and rage ye Chariots, and let the valiant Men come forth, the Black-moors and the Libyans which bear the Shield:* for those Nations assisted the *Ægyptians* being of one Parent descended. And in *Ezekiel*, *Phut* and *Lud* are joined together. *Æthiopia* (or *Chush*) saith *Ezekiel c. 30. v. 3. And Phut and Lud, and all the common People, and the Men of the Land that are in League shall fall with them by the Sword*: which is as much to say, as the Sons of *Chush*; (which were the *Chusites*) the Sons of *Mizraim*, (which were the *Ægyptians*) and the *Libyans*, (descended of his Son *Lud*) with other the Inhabitants of *Ægypt* and *Africa* shall fall together. *Hierosolymitanus* finds also in *Africa* a Nation of the *Lidyans*. And I believe it: because *Jeremy* joineth the *Libyans* and *Lydians* together in the place before remembred. But *Libya* in *Africa* is by the Hebrew called *Ludim* (saith *Arias Montanus*)

The termination *im* in the Hebrew, is commonly a sign of the plural number, as *aim* of the *dual*.

cap. 46. ver. 9.

tanus) though 2 *Chron.* 12. 3. they seem to be called *Lubim* or *Lubes*, a name somewhat nearer the word *Libyes*, and by which it may seem that the truer writing is, not *Libyes*, but *Lybies*. Neither is it here to be omitted, that *Pintus* (upon the thirtieth of *Ezekiel*) understandeth that which is spoken in the third Verse of *Lud*, not to be meant of the *Libyans* at all: for he will have this threatning to be meant against the People of *Lyda*, a City (saith he) between *Ægypt* and *Palæstina*, which opinion I could not mislike if the City of *Lyda* were so seated. But *Lyda* (which should be written *Lydda* with a double *D*, and is the same City which was afterward *Diospolis*, in which S. *Peter* cured *Æneas* of the Palsey) standeth near the Torrent *Gaas*, not far from *Joppe* the Port of *Hierusalem*. Yet it is not impossible but that this City might have *Lud* for the Founder. For there are many Cities of one name founded in all the Regions of the World, and far asunder; as after the names of *Alexander*, *Seleucus*, and *Antiochus*, many Cities called *Alexandria*, *Seleucia*, and *Antiochia*, so of divers others. S. *Hierome* maketh *Lehabim* to be the Father of *Libya* who was the third Son of *Mizraim*: and so doth *Postellus*; and either opinion may be true.

The rest of *Mizraim*'s Sons have no proper Countries given them in the Scriptures, saving *Casluhim* and *Caphtorim*, of whom came the *Philistims*, whom the Scriptures call *Peleset*.

These *Casluhim* inhabited *Cassiotis*, a Region lying in the entrance of *Ægypt* from *Palæstina*, in which the Lake *Sirbonis* and the Mountain *Cassius* are found: not far from whence *Pompey* was buried.

Caphtorim seated near *Casluhim* in that Tract of *Ægypt* called *Sethroitis*, not far from *Pelusium*. *Strabo* calls it *Sethroitis*; *Stephanus* and *Pliny Sethroites*, of the City *Sethron*: which *Ortelius* takes to be the same which *Ptolomy* calls *Hercules parva*. Of the *Casluhim* and *Caphtorim* came the *Philistims*, which are called by the *Septuagint Allophyli* (which is) *Alienigenæ*, Strangers, or of a strange Kindred. These *Philistims* inhabited the South part of the Holy Land towards *Ægypt*, of whom *Palæstina* took name. For the Hebrews (saith *Isidore*) do not use the letter [*P*] but instead of it [*Ph.*] Their principal Cities were *Gaza*, *Ascalon*, *Azotus*, *Geth*, and *Accaron*: and the People of them called *Gazæi*, *Ascalonitæ*, *Azotii*, *Gethæi*, and *Accaronitæ*. *Isidore* affirms that *Ascalon* was first called *Philistim*: and of that City the Country adjoining. But where *Isidore* had it I know not.

The first known King of the *Philistims* was that *Abimelech*, who had a liking to *Abraham*'s Wife; with whom *Abraham* made a Covenant and League. This *Abimelech* dwelt indeed at this time in *Gerar*; but it is written that he was also King of the *Philistims*, in these words: *Wherefore Isaac went to Abimelech King of the Philistims unto Gerar.* Now in regard that this or some ancienter *Abimelech* governed the Commonwealth greatly to his glory, the rest of his Successours called themselves by the same name. The *Philistims* commanded that Tract of Land upon the *Mediterran* Sea to the Northward, from the Castle of *Pilgrims* (otherwise *Cæsarea Palæstina* or *Straton's* Tower) which was the South border of *Phœnicia*, to *Gaza* or to the River of *Ægypt*. The *Anakims* or strong Giants were of these *Philistims*, and *Goliah* was of *Geth* one of the five Cities above named. They had sometimes five Kings, saith *Liranus*. They mastered the *Israelites* at several times above 150 Years, and kept them Tributaries, till they were weakened by *Sampson* and *Samuel*; but in the end this yoke was taken off by *David*, and laid on themselves.

Basil upon the 33. Psalm. *Hieron* upon the 20. of *Ezekiel*.

It is objected, That because these Cities and the Countries adjoining were held by the Sons of *Mizraim*, therefore did the *Israelites* dispossess the Sons of *Mizraim*, and not of *Canaan*, by forcing those places.

To this saith *Pererius*, that although the *Palæstines* or *Philistims* held it in the time of *Joshua*, yet at the time of the promise it was possest by the *Canaanites*; as in the second of *Deuteronomy*. The *Hevites* dwelt in the Villages unto *Gaza*. And what marvel if (the *Canaanites* being the greater part) the denomination were from them? For that the *Philistims* were of *Caphtor*, and so of *Mizraim* and not of *Canaan*, besides *Moses*, the Prophet *Hieremy* witnesseth. *The Lord will destroy the Philistims, the remnant of the Isle of Caphtor*: and in like manner in the ninth of *Amos*, the *Philistims* are said to be the Reliques of *Caphtorim*; *have not I brought up Israel out of the land of Ægypt, and the Philistims from Caphtor, and Aram from Kir?* so I read this place with divers of the learned. For whereas the *Vulgar* hath, *& Palæstinos de Cappadocia, & Syros de Cyrene*, this conversion *Beroaldus* condemneth; where *Caphtor* is taken for *Cappadocia*, and *Cyrene* for *Kir*. For *Cyrene* is a City directly West from *Ægypt*, between *Ptolemais* or *Barce* and *Apollonia*: but *Kir* in *Asia* under the *Assyrians*: *Junius* hath it *Kir*, and not *Cyrene*: and so hath the *Geneva*. But *Pererius* calls *Caphtorim Cappadocia*, according to the *Vulgar* translation, to which he is bound: and yet it is not altogether improbable if he mean *Cappadocia* in *Palæstina*, and not that *Cappadocia* by the Sea *Pontus* in the North of *Asia* the less. For whether they inhabited *Sethreites*, or *Cappadocia* of *Palæstina*, it is not certainly known. And sure in this manner he may expound *Cappadocia* to be ambiguous, as well as he doth *Cyrene*: taking it here not for *Cyrene* in *Africa*, but for a place in *Media*. For it is written in the second of *Kings*, that *Teglatphalasser* King of the *Assyrians* carried away the Inhabitants of *Damascus* into *Kir*: and so *Josephus* seems to understand this *Kir*, for *Cyrene* in *Media*, calling this *Cyrene Media Superior*: for it was the manner and policy of the *Assyrians* to transplant the People Conquered by them, as they did the *Samarians* or *Israelites*, and other Nations. And hereof it came that *Kir* was called *Syro-media*: because the *Syrians* by the *Assyrians* were therein captived.

Hieron. 47. 4.

Amos. c. 9. v. 7.

Of which see in the second Book, ch. 7. §. 3. †. 5.

C. 16. *v.* 9.

§. XV.

Of the Issue of Sem.

†. I.

Of Elam, Assur, Arphaxad, *and* Lud.

It remaineth lastly to speak of the Sons of *Sem*, who were these:

1. *Alam*, or *Elam*.
2. *Ashur*.
3. *Arphaxad*.
4. *Lud*, and
5. *Aram*.

THE Posterity of *Sem*, *Moses* recounteth after the rest: because from them he proceedeth in order with the Genealogy and Story of the Hebrews. For of *Sem* was *Abraham* descended.

Of these five sons the Scriptures remember the length of the Life of *Arphaxad* only, and only the Children of him and *Aram*, the rest are barely spoken of by

by rehearſal of their Names, ſaving that it may be gathered, that *Aſſur* (who was ſuppoſed to found *Niniveh*) was alſo ſaid to be the Father of the *Aſſyrians*, whoſe Iſſues, and the Iſſues of *Cham* inſtantly contended for the Empire of the East: which ſometimes the *Aſſyrians*, ſometimes the *Babylonians* obtained, according to the Vertue of their Princes. This is the common opinion, which alſo teacheth us, that all the East-parts of the World were peopled by *Aſſur*, *Elam*, and *Lud*, (ſaving *India*) which I believe *Noah* himſelf firſt inhabited: and to whom *Ophir* and *Havilah* the Sons of *Joctan* afterward repaired. *Hii filii Sem ab Euphrate fluvio partem Aſia uſque ad Oceanum Indicum tenuerunt*; *Theſe Sons of* Sem (ſaith S. Hierom) *held all thoſe Regions from* Euphrates *to the* Indian *Ocean.*

Joſeph. ant. l. 1. c. 7. Of *Elam* came the *Elamites*, remembred *Acts* the 2. *v.* the 9. and the Princes of *Perſia*; which Name then began to be out of uſe and loſt, when the *Perſians* became Maſters of *Babylonia*: the East *Monarchy* being eſtabliſhed in them. Some prophane Writers diſtinguiſh *Elam* from *Perſia*, and make the *Elamites* a people apart. But *Suſa* (which the Scriptures call *Suſan*) in *Elam* was the *c. 8. v. 2.* Kings Seat of *Perſia* (witneſs *Daniel.*) *And I ſaw* (ſaith he) *in a Viſion, and when I ſaw it I was in the Palace of Suſan, which is in the Province of* Elam. This City is embraced by the River *Eulæus* *Ptol. Aſiæ tab. 5.* (according to *Ptolomy*) in *Daniel*, *Ulai*: and ſeated in the Border of *Suſiana*.

Dan. 8. 2. *Aſhur* (as moſt Hiſtorians believe) the ſecond Son of *Sem*, was Father of the *Aſſyrians*, who diſdaining the Pride of *Nimrod*, parted from *Babel*, and built *Ninive*, of equal Beauty and Magnitude with *Babylon*, or exceeding it. But we ſhall in due place diſprove that opinion. Every mans hand hath been in this Story, and therefore I ſhall not need herein to ſpeak much: for the *Aſſyrians* ſo often invaded and ſpoiled the *Iſraelites*, deſtroyed their Cities, and led them Captives, as both in Divine and Humane letters there is large and often mention of this Nation.

But howſoever *Herodotus* and *D. Siculus* extend this Empire, and honour this Nation with ample Dominion; yet was not the State of the *Aſſyrians* of any ſuch Power, after ſuch time as *Sardanapalus* loſt the Empire. For *Senacherib* who was one of the powerfulleſt Princes among them, had yet the Mountain *Taurus* for the utmoſt of his Dominion toward the North-eaſt, and *Syria* bounded him toward the Weſt, notwithſtanding thoſe Vaunts *V. 11.* of *Senacherib* in *Eſay* the 37. *Have the Gods of the Nations delivered them whom my Fathers have deſtroyed? as Gozan, and Haran, and Reſeph, and the Children of Eden which were at Telaſſar. Where is the King of Hamath, and the King of Arphad, and the King of the City Sepharvaim, Henah and Ivah?* All theſe indeed were but Petty Kings of Cities, and ſmall Countries; as *Haran* in *Meſopotamia*: *Reſeph* in *Palmyrena*: *Hamath* or *Emath* in *Iturea* under *Libanus*: the Iſle of *Eden*: *Sepher*, and others of this ſort. Yea *Nabuchodonoſor*, who was moſt powerfull, before the Conqueſt of *Ægypt* had but *Chaldæa*, *Meſopotamia*, and *Syria*, with *Paleſtina* and *Phœnicia* parts thereof. But in this queſtion of *Aſſur*, I will ſpeak my Opinion freely when I come to *Nimrod*, whoſe Plantation I have omitted among the reſt of the *Chuſites*, becauſe he eſtabliſhed the firſt Empire: from whom the moſt memorable ſtory of the World taketh beginning.

Of *Arphaxad* came the *Chaldæans*, ſaith S. *Hierom*, and *Joſephus*, but it muſt be thoſe *Chaldæans* about *Ur*: for the Sons of *Cham* poſſeſt the reſt. It is true that he was the Father of the Hebrews: for *Arphaxad* begat *Shela*, and *Shela Heber*, of whom hereafter.

And that *Lud* the fourth Son of *Shem*, gave name to the *Lydians* in *Aſia* the leſs, is the common opinion, taken from *Joſephus* and S. *Hierom*; but I ſee not by what reaſon he was moved to ſtraggle thither from his Friends.

†. II.

Of Aram *and his Sons.*

Aram the fifth and laſt Son of *Shem* was the Parent of the *Syrians*: of which *Damaſcus* was head. Their name was changed from *Aram* or *Aramites* by *Syrus* (ſaith *Euſebius* out of *Joſephus*) which *Syrus* lived before *Moſes* was born; the ſame which others call the Son of *Apollo*. *Meſopotamia* alſo being but a Province of *Syria* had the name of *Aram Naharaiim*, which is as much to ſay, as *Syria duorum fluviorum*, Syria *compaſſed with two Rivers*: (to wit) *Tigris* and *Euphrates*. The Scriptures call it *Meſopotamia*, *Syria*, and *Padan Aram*, and the *Greeks Meſopotamia* ſimply. *Eſay. 7. v. 8.* *Euſeb. p. 10. 6.*

Ariſe and get thee to Padan Aram (ſaith *Iſaac* to *Jacob*) *to the houſe of Bethuel thy Mothers Father, and thence take thee a Wife.* *Strabo* alſo remembreth it by the antient name of *Aram* or *Aramea*, as theſe his own words converted witneſs. *Quos nos Syros vocamus, ipſi Syri Aramenios & Arameas vocant*, *Thoſe which we call* Syrians (ſaith he) *themſelves call* Aramenians *and* Arameans. *Gen. 28. 2.* *See Gen. 25. 20. alſo Deutr. 23. 4.* *Judg. 3.* *Paral. l. 19* *Pſalm. 59.* *Strabo. l. 1.*

Againſt this opinion that *Aram* the Son of *Sem*, was the Father and Denominator of the *Syrians* in general; (and not only of thoſe in *Syria Inter-amnis*, which is *Meſopotamia*) ſome read *Gen.* 22. 21. *Kemuel*, the Father of the *Syrians*: where other out of the Original read *Kemuel*, the Son of *Aram*. Neither is it any inconvenience for us to underſtand the word [*Aram*] here, not for the Nation, but for the name of ſome one of note; the rather, becauſe in the Hiſtory of *Abraham* and *Iſaac* (which was in time long before *Kemuel's* Poſterity could be famous) we find *Meſopotamia* called *Aram*; and that with an addition: ſometimes with *Naharaiim*, and ſometimes of *Padan*, to diſtinguiſh it from another *Aram*, which (as it ſeems) then alſo was called *Aram*. For whereas *Junius* thinks in his Note upon *Gen.* 25. 20. that *Padan Aram* ought to be reſtrained to ſome part of *Meſopotamia*, (to wit) to that part which *Ptolomy* calls *Ancobaritis* (ſo called from the River *Chaborus*, which dividing it, runneth into *Euphrates*) the promiſcuous uſe of *Padan Aram*, and *Aram Naharaiim* (which latter appellation queſtionleſs comprehends the whole *Meſopotamia*) may ſeem to refute this opinion: eſpecially ſeeing the ſignification of this appellation agreeth with the whole Region. For it ſignifieth as much as the Yoke of *Syria*, which name agrees with this Region: becauſe the two Rivers (as it were) yoked together go along it. The Reliques of the name *Padan* appear in the name of two Cities in *Ptolomy*, called *Aphadana* (as *Junius* hath well noted) the one upon *Chaborus*, the other upon *Euphrates*.

The Sons of *Aram* were, { *Uz* or *Hus*, *Hul*, *Gether*, and *Meſeh* or *Mes*.

Uz or *Hus* inhabited about *Damaſcus*, and built that City, ſay *Joſephus* and S. *Hierom*. But *Toſtatus* miſliking this opinion, both in them and in *Lyra*, who alſo followeth *Joſephus*, affirmeth that *Abraham's* Steward *Eliezer* was the Founder thereof; *Hieron. in trad. Hebraic.*

of; though it were likely that *Hus* the eldest Son of *Aram* dwelt near unto his Father, who inhabited the body of *Syria*. For *Hus* was a Region of the same, adjoining to *Arabia* the Desart, and to *Batanea* or *Traconitis*: whereof the Prophet *Jeremy*. *Rejoyce and be glad O daughter of Edom that dwellest in the land of Hus.* *Hus* therefore is seated beyond *Jordan*, in the East Region of *Traconitis*, adjoining to *Basan*, having *Batanea Gaulonitis*, and the Mountain *Seir* to the East, *Edrai* to the South, *Damascus* North, and *Jordan* West: having in it many Cities and People, as may also be gathered out of *Jeremy*: *And all sorts of people: and all the Kings of the land of Hus.* In this Region dwelt *Job*, descended of *Hus*, the Son of *Nahor*, the Brother of *Abraham* (saith S. *Jerome*) and married *Dinah* the Daughter of *Jacob*, saith *Philo*.

Jerem. Lament. c. 4. v. 21.

c. 25. v. 20.

Hul the second Son of *Aram* S. *Jerome* makes the Father of the *Armenians*: and *Gether* the third Son, Parent to the *Arcananians* or *Carians*: which opinion, (because I find not where to set him) I do not disprove, though I see no reason why *Gether* should leave the fellowship of his own Brethren, and dwell among Strangers in *Asia* the less. *Junius* gives *Hul* (whom he writes *Chul*) the Desart of *Palmyrena*, as far as *Euphrates*, were *Ptolomy* setteth the City of *Challe*.

Gether (saith *Josephus*) founded the *Bactrians*: but *Josephus* gave all *Noah*'s Children Feathers, to carry them far away in all haste. For mine own opinion I always keep the rule of neighbourhood, and think with *Junius*: (to wit) That *Gether* seated himself near his Brothers, in the Body of *Syria*, and in the Province of *Cassiotis*, and *Seleucis*, where *Ptolomy* placeth *Gindarus*, and the Nation by *Pliny* called *Gindareni*.

Junius also giveth to *Mes* or *Mesch* the North part of *Syria*, between *Cilicia* and *Mesopotamia*, near the Mountain *Masius*. The certainty of those Plantations can no otherwise be known than by this probability, that *Aram* the Father (of whom that great Region took name) planted his Sons in the same Land about him: for he wanted no scope of Territory for himself and them; neither then when the World was newly planted, nor in many hundred Years after; and therefore there is no reason to cast them into the Desart parts of the World, so far asunder. And as necessity and policy held them together for a while: so Ambition (which began together with Angels and Men) inhabiting the hearts of their Children set them asunder. For although these Sons of *Aram*, and the Sons of the rest of *Noah*'s Children, kept themselves within the Bounds of some one large Kingdom; yet therein every one also sought a Province apart, and to themselves; giving to the Cities therein built their own Names, thereby to leave their memory to their Posterity: the use of Letters being then rare, and known to few.

In this sort did the Pride of the *Spaniards* in *America* cast them into so many Provinces: every one emulating and disdaining the greatness of others, as they are thereby to this day subject to Invasion, Expulsion, and Destruction: so as (*Nova Hispania* and *Peru* excepted, because those Countries are unaccessable to Strangers) an easie Force will cast them out of all the rest.

Mes the fourth Son is made the Parent of the *Maonians*; of whom something hath been spoken already. *Arphaxad* the third Son of *Shem*, begat *Shelah*, and *Heber*. *Heber* had two Sons, *Phaleg* and *Jektan*: and in *Phaleg*'s time was the Earth divided.

Chap. 8. §. 7.

§. III.

Of the division of the Earth in the time of Phaleg, *one of the Sons of* Heber, *of the Issue of* Sem.

THE many People which at the division (at *Phaleg*'s Birth) were then living, and the through Plantation of all the East part of the World (at his Death) hath made a doubt, whether the Earth were divided at either. The Hebrews (saith *Pererius* out of *Sedar Holam*, one of their Chronicles) affirm that this partition happened at the Death of *Phaleg*: and *Phaleg* was born in the Year after the Flood 101. and lived in all 239 Years, which numbers added make 340. And therefore was it so many Years, after the Flood, ere the Children of *Noah* severed themselves. But to this opinion of the Hebrews, and the doubt they make how in so few Years as 101 (the time of *Phaleg*'s Birth) so many People could be increased; *Pererius* gives this answer, that if 70 Persons of the Family of *Jacob* increased to 600000 fighting Men in 215 Years, (besides Women, Children, and impotent Persons) how much more is it likely, that so soon after the Flood the Children of *Noah* might in a shorter time bring forth many multitudes, having received the Blessing of God: *Increase and multiply, and fill the Earth?* What strength this answer hath, let others judge: for the Children of *Israel* were 70. and had 215 Years time: and the Sons of *Noah* were but three, and had but 101 Years of time, to the Birth of *Phaleg*.

Others conceive that *Phaleg* took that name after the division, in memory thereof: as *Josephus* and S. *Augustine*, who reason in this manner. If the division were at *Phaleg*'s Death (which happened in the Year, which is commonly held to be the 48 of *Abraham*, but was by more likely computation 12 Years before his Birth (then was the division 38 Years after *Ninus*, who governed 52 Years: in the 43 Year of whose Reign *Abraham* was born. But when *Ninus* began to rule the *Assyrians* 80 Years before this division (as this division is placed by the Hebrews, *Jerome* and *Chrysostom*) then was the Earth so peopled in all the East and Northern parts, as greater numbers have not been found at any time since. For *Ninus* associating to himself *Arbeus* King of *Arabia*, a People who at that time (saith *Diod. Siculus*) *plurimum opibus atque armis præstabant*, *exceeded both in Riches and Bodies of Men*, subdued many Cities in *Armenia*; received *Barzanis* into grace; then invaded *Media*, and Crucified *Pharnus* the King thereof, with his Wife and seven Children; vanquished all those Regions between *Nilus* and *Tanais*, the *Egyptians*, *Phœnicians*, the Kingdoms of *Syria*; and all the Nations of *Persia*, to the *Hyrcanian* Sea. For the numbers which followed *Ninus* (already remembred out of *Ctesias*) against *Zoroaster* and others: and *Zoroaster* on the other side, who made resistance with four hundred thousand, prove it sufficiently, that if the division had not happened before the Death of *Phaleg*, there had needed no division at that time at all. For some of them were so ill satisfied with their partitions, as they sought to be Masters of all; and greater Armies were there never gathered than by *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: wherefore in this opinion there is little appearance of the truth.

Josephus. l. 1. Ant. Aug. de Civitat. Dei. l. 16. c. 11.

Pererius in Gen. l. 1. c. 10.

But for that conceit that if the division had been made at the Birth of *Phaleg*, there were not then sufficient numbers born to fill the Earth: It was never meant that the Earth could be filled every where at the instant, but by times and degrees:

And surely whatsoever mens opinions have been herein, yet it is certain, that the Division of Tongues and of Men must go near together with the ceasing of the work at *Babel*: and that the enterprise of *Babel* was left off instantly upon the confusion of Languages, where followed the Execution of the Division; and so neither at the birth nor death of *Phaleg*: for *Phaleg* was born in the year 101 after the Flood, which was the year that *Nimrod* came into *Shinaar*, or 10 years after he arrived, saith *Berosus*.

Now if it be objected that *Phaleg* (the Etymology of whose name signifieth Division) must have lived without a name, except the name had been given him at the time of this Confusion and Partition: To this objection it may be answered, That the change of names upon divers accidents is not rare in the Scriptures: for *Jacob* was called *Israel* after he had wrestled with the Angel; *Abraham* was first *Abram*; and *Edom Esau*; and that *Phaleg* being a principal man in this division had his first name upon this accident changed, it is most probable.

And lastly whereas the *Hebrews*, S. *Hierom* and *Chrysostom* account *Heber* a great Prophet, if that by giving his Son the name of *Phaleg*, he foretold the Division which followed: To this I say, I do not find that *Heber* deserved any such honour, if he had thereupon so called his Son: for division and dispersion followeth increase of people of necessity; and this Prophecy (if any such had been) might also have reference to the division, which afterwards fell among the Hebrews themselves.

But if we give a reasonable time to the building of the Tower and City of *Babel*, by which time many people (by reason and by demonstrative proof) might be increased: and that upon the fall thereof the confusion and division followed (whereupon *Phaleg* took name) then in this opinion there is nothing either curious or monstrous.

† IV.

Of the Sons of Joctan, *the other Son of* Heber.

The Sons of *Joctan* were:

1. *Elmodad.*
2. *Saleph*, or *Selep*, or *Sheleph.*
3. *Asamath*, or *Chatzar.*
4. *Jare*, or *Jarah*, or *Jerah.*
5. *Hadoram.*
6. *Uzal*, or *Uxal.*
7. *Dicklach*, or *Dicla*,
8. *Obal*, or *Ebal*, or *Hobal.*
9. *Abimael.*
10. *Sheba*, or *Seba*,
11. *Ophir*, or *Opir.*
12. *Havila*, or *Chavila*, and
13. *Jobab.*

ALL those Sons of *Joctan* (according to S. *Hierom*) dwelled in the East parts of the World, or *India*, even from the River *Cophe* or *Choas*, which is one of the branches or heads of *Indus*.

But the certain places of those thirteen Sons cannot be gathered out of the Scriptures, the words of *Moses* being general. *And their dwelling was from Mesha as thou goest unto Sephar a mount in the East.* Of all these thirteen Sons, there were only three memorable, (to wit) *Sheba*, *Ophir*, and *Havilah*. Concerning whose names to avoid confusion it is to be observed, that among the Sons of *Chush*, two of them had also the names of *Seba* and *Havilah*. *Abraham* had also a third *Saba* or *Sheba*, his grand-child by his Wife *Ketura*. But *Seba* the Son of *Chush*, and *Sheba* the Son of *Rhegma* his Nephew, we have left in *Arabia Felix*: and *Havilah* the Son of *Chush* upon *Tigris*. *Saba* the Grand-child of *Abraham* was (as some have thought) the Father of the *Sabaans* in *Persia*: of which Nations *Dionysius de Orbis situ* maketh mention. *Primum Sabæi; post hos sunt Passagardæ, prope vero hos sunt Tasci: The first are* Sabæans: *after these be* Passagardæ; *and near these the* Tasci. And whereas it is written: *But unto the Sons of the Concubines which Abraham had, Abraham gave gifts, and sent them away from Isaac his Son (while he yet lived) Eastward to the East Country*: hereupon it is supposed, that this *Saba* the Son of *Abraham* wandred into *Persia*: for *Persia* was accounted the furthermost East Country in respect of *Judæa*; which also *Ovid* setteth under the Sun-rising. Yet seeing the rest of *Abraham*'s Sons seated themselves on the Borders of *Judæa*, I rather choose to leave *Saba* the Son of *Abraham* in *Arabia* the Desart, where *Ptolomy* setteth a City of that name.

Gen. 25. vi 6.

Metam. l. 1.

But *Saba* the Son of *Joctan*, the Son of *Heber*, (as I conceive) inhabited *India* it self. For *Dionysius Afer* in his *Periegesis*, (or description of the World) which he wrote in Greek Verse, among the Regions of *India* findeth a Nation called the *Sabæi*. *Taxilus hos inter medios habitatque Sabæus, In the midst of these dwell the* Sabæi, *and the* Taxili, saith this *Dionysius*.

Τῶν δ' μέσοι ναίουσι Σαβαῖ καὶ Ταξίλοι ἀνδρες.

† V.

Of Ophir *one of* Joctan's *Sons, and of* Peru, *and of that Voyage of* Salomon.

OPhir also was Inhabitant of the East *India*, and as (S. *Hierom* understands it) in one of the Islands plentiful of Gold, which are now known by the name of *Moluccæ*. *Josephus* understands *Ophir* to be one of those great Head-lands in *India*, which by a general name are called *Chersonesi*, or *Peninsula*: of which there are two very notorious; *Callecut*, and *Malacca*. *Pererius* takes it rightly for an Island, as S. *Hierom* doth, but he sets it at the Head-land of *Malacca*. But *Ophir* is found among the *Moluccas* farther East.

Arias Montanus out of the second of *Chronicles*, the third Chapter and sixth Verse, gathers that *Ophir* was *Peru* in *America*, looking into the West Ocean, commonly called *Mare del Sur*, or the South Sea; by others *Mare pacificum*. The words in the second of the *Chronicles* are these, *And he overlayed the House with pretious Stones for Beauty; and the Gold was Gold of Parvaim.* *Junius* takes this Gold to be the Gold of *Havilah*, remembered by *Moses* in the description of *Paradise*: *And the Gold of that Land is good*: finding a Town in *Characene* a Province of *Susiana* called *Barbatia*; so called (as he thinks) by corruption for *Parvaim*: from whence those Kings subjected by *David*, brought this Gold, with which they presented him; and which *David* preserved for the enriching of the Temple.

Gen. 2. 11. & 12. Plin. l. 6. c. 28.

But this fancy of *Peru* hath deceived many men, before *Montanus*, and *Plessis*, who also took *Ophir* for *Peru*. And that this question may be a subject of no farther dispute; it is very true, that there is no Region in the World of that name: sure I am that at least *America* hath none, no not any City, Village, or Mountain so called. But when *Francis Pisarro* first discovered those Lands to the South of *Panama*, arriving in that Region which *Atabaliba* commanded (a Prince of magnificence,

Riches

Riches and Dominion inferiour to none) ſome of the *Spaniards* utterly ignorant of that Language, demanding by ſigns (as they could) the name of the Country, and pointing with their hand athwart a River, or Torrent, or Brook that ran by, the *Indians* anſwered *Peru*, which was either the name of that Brook, or of Water in general. The *Spaniards* thereupon conceiving that the people had rightly underſtood them, ſet it down in the Diurnal of their Enterpriſe, and ſo in the firſt deſcription made, and ſent over to *Charles* the Emperour, all that Weſt part of *America* to the South of *Panama* had the name of *Peru*, which hath continued ever ſince as divers *Spaniards* in the *Indies* aſſured me; which alſo *Acoſta* the *Jeſuite* in his natural and moral Hiſtory of the *Indies* confirmeth. And whereas *Montanus* alſo findeth, that a part of the *Indies* (called *Jucatan*) took that name of *Jottan*, who as he ſuppoſeth navigated from the utmoſt Eaſt of *India* to *America*: it is moſt true, that *Jucatan*, is nothing elſe in the Language of that Country, but [*What is that*] or [*What ſay you?*] For when the *Spaniards* asked the name of that place (no man conceiving their meaning) one of the Salvages anſwered *Jucatan* (which is) *What ask you*, or *What ſay you*? The like hapned touching *Paria*, a mountainous Country on the South ſide of *Trinidado* and *Margarita*: for when the *Spaniards* inquiring (as all men do) the names of thoſe new Regions which they diſcovered, pointed to the Hills afar off, one of the People anſwered, *Paria*, which is as much to ſay, as *high Hills* or *Mountains*. For as *Paria* begins that marvailous ledge of Mountains, which from thence are continued to the *Strait of Magellan*: from 8 degrees of North Latitude to 52. of South; and ſo hath that Country ever ſince retained the name of *Paria*.

The ſame hapned among the *Engliſh*, which I ſent under Sir *Richard Greenevile* to inhabit *Virginia*. For when ſome of my People asked the name of that Country, one of the Salvages anſwered *Wingandacon*, which is as much to ſay, as, *You wear good Cloths*, or gay Cloths. The ſame hapned to the *Spaniard* in asking the name of the Iſland *Trinidado*: For a *Spaniard* demanding the name of that ſelf place which the Sea incompaſſed, they anſwered *Caeri*, which ſignifieth an Iſland. And in this manner have many places newly diſcovered been intituled: of which *Peru* is one. And therefore we muſt leave *Ophir* among the *Moluccas* whereabout ſuch an Iſland is credibly affirmed to be.

Now although there may be found Gold in *Arabia* it ſelf (towards *Perſia*) in *Havilah*, now *Suſiana*, and all alongſt that Eaſt *Indian* ſhore; yet the greateſt Plenty is taken up at the *Philippins*, certain Iſlands planted by the *Spaniards* from the Weſt *India*. And by the length of the paſſage which *Salomon*'s Ships made from the Red Sea, (which were three years in going and coming) it ſeemeth they went to the uttermoſt Eaſt, as the *Moluccas* or *Philippins*. Indeed theſe that now go from *Portugal*, or from hence, finiſh that Navigation in two Year, and ſometimes leſs: and *Salomon*'s Ships went not above a tenth part of this our Courſe from hence. But we muſt conſider, that they evermore kept the Coaſt, and crept by the Shores, which made the way exceeding long. For before the uſe of the Compaſs was known, it was impoſſible to Navigate athwart the Ocean; and therefore *Salomon*'s Ships could not find *Peru* in *America*. Neither was it needful for the *Spaniards* themſelves (had it not been for the plenty of Gold in the Eaſt *India* Iſlands, far above the Mines of any one place of *America*) to ſail every Year from the Weſt part of *America* thither, and there to have ſtrongly planted, and inhabited the richeſt of thoſe Iſlands: wherein they have built a City called *Manilia*. *Salomon* therefore needed not to have gone farther off than *Ophir* in the Eaſt, to have ſped worſe: neither could he navigate from the Eaſt to the Weſt in thoſe days, whereas he had no Coaſt to have guided him.

Toſtatus alſo gathereth a phantaſtical opinion out of *Rabanus*, who makes *Ophir* to be a Country, whoſe Mountains of Gold are kept by *Griffins*; which Mountains *Solinus* affirmeth to be in *Scythia Aſiatica*, in theſe words. *Nam cum auro & gemmis affluant, Griphes tenent Univerſa, alites ferociſſimae, Arimaſpi cum his dimicant*, &c. *For whereas theſe Countries abound in Gold, and rich Stone, the Griffins defend the one and the other; a kind of Fowle the fierceſt of all other; with which Griffins a Nation of people called* Arimaſpi *make war.* Theſe *Arimaſpi* are ſaid to have been men with one eye only, like unto the *Cyclopes* of *Sicilia*: of which *Cyclopes Herodotus* and *Ariſteus* make mention: and ſo doth *Lucan* in his third Book; and *Valerius Flaccus*: and *D. Siculus* in the ſtory of *Alexander Macedon*. But (for mine own opinion) I believe none of them. And for theſe *Arimaſpi*, I take it that this name ſignifying *One-eyed* was firſt given them by reaſon that they uſed to wear a Vizard of defence, with one ſight in the middle to ſerve both Eyes; and not that they had by nature any ſuch defect. But *Solinus* borroweth theſe things out of *Pliny*, who ſpeaks of ſuch a Nation in the extream North, at a place called *Giſolitron*, or the Cave of the North-Eaſt Wind. For the reſt, as all Fables were commonly grounded upon ſome true Stories or other things done: ſo might theſe tales of the *Griffins* receive this Moral: That if thoſe men which fight againſt ſo many dangerous paſſages for Gold, or other Riches of this World, had their perfect Senſes, and were not deprived of half their Eye-ſight (at leaſt of the Eye of right reaſon and underſtanding) they would content themſelves with a quiet and moderate eſtate; and not ſubject themſelves to Famine, corrupt Air, violent Heat, and Cold, and to all ſorts of miſerable Diſeaſes. And though this Fable be feigned in this place, yet if ſuch a Tale were told of ſome other places of the World, where wild Beaſts or Serpents defend Mountains of Gold, it might be avowed. For there are in many places of the World, eſpecially in *America*, many high and impaſſable Mountains which are very rich and full of Gold, inhabited only with Tigers, Lions, and other ravenous and cruel Beaſts: into which if any man aſcend (except his ſtrength be very great) he ſhall be ſure to find the ſame War, which the *Arimaſpi* make againſt the *Griffins*: not that the one or other had any ſenſe of Gold, or ſeek to defend that Metal, but being diſquieted, or made afraid of themſelves or their young ones, they grow inraged and adventurous. In like ſort it may be ſaid that the *Alegartos*, (which the *Ægyptians* call the *Crocodiles*) defend thoſe Pearls which lie in the Lakes of the Inland: for many times the poor *Indians* are eaten up by them, when they dive for the Pearl. And though the *Alegartos* know not the Pearl, yet they find ſavour in the fleſh and blood of the *Indians*, whom they devour.

Flaccus l. 6
Diod. Sicul. l. 16.

§. VI.

Of Havilah *the Son of* Joctan, *who alſo paſſed into the* Eaſt Indies: *and of* Meſha *and* Sepher *named in the bordering of the Families of* Joctan: *with a concluſion of this Diſcourſe touching the Plantation of the World.*

OF *Havilah* the Son of *Joktan*, there is nothing elſe to be ſaid, but that the general Opinion is, that he alſo inhabited in the Eaſt *India* in the Continent, from which *Ophir* paſt into the Iſlands adjoyning. And whereas *Ganges* is ſaid to water *Havilah*, it is meant by *Havilah* in the Eaſt *India*, which took name of *Havilah*, the Son of *Joktan*: but *Havilah*, which *Piſon* compaſſeth, was ſo called of *Havilah*, the Son of *Chuſh*, as is formerly proved by this place of Scripture: *Saul ſmote the Amalekites from Havilah, as thou comeſt to Shur, which is before Ægypt.* But that *Saul* ever made War in the Eaſt *India*, no man hath ſuſpected. For an end we may conclude, that of the thirteen Sons of *Joktan*, theſe three *Saba*, *Havilah*, and *Ophir*; though at the firſt ſeated by their Brethren about the Hill *Maſius*, or *Meſh*, Gen. 10. 30. (to wit) between *Cilicia* and *Meſopotamia*; yet at length either themſelves or their Iſſues removed into Eaſt *India*, leaving the other Families of *Joktan*, to fill the Countries of their firſt Plantation, which the Scripture deſines to have been from *Meſh* unto *Sephar*. And although S. *Hierom* take *Meſh* to be a Region of the Eaſt *India*, and *Sephar* a Mountain of the ſame (which Mountain *Montanus* would have to be the *Andes* in *America*) thoſe fancies are far beyond my underſtanding. For the Word [Eaſt] in the Scriptures, where it hath reference to *Judea*, is never farther extended than into *Perſia*. But *Meſch* is that part of the Mountains of *Maſius* in the North of *Meſopotamia*, out of which the River *Chaborus* ſpringeth which runneth by *Charran*: and in the ſame Region we alſo find for *Sephar* (remembred by *Moſes*) *Sipphara* by *Ptolomy*, ſtanding to the Eaſt of the Mountain *Maſius*; from whence *Joktan* having many Sons, ſome of them might paſs into *India*, hearing of the Beauty and Riches thereof. But this was in proceſs of time.

1 Sam. 15. 7.

The other faſhion of Planting I underſtand not being grounded but upon mens imaginations, contrary to reaſon and poſſibility. And that this Mountain in the Eaſt was no farther off than in thoſe Regions before remembred, it appeareth by many places of the Scripture where the ſame phraſe is uſed: as in *Numbers* 23. *Balac the King of Moab hath brought me from Aram, out of the Mountain of the Eaſt*; which was from the Eaſt part of *Meſopotamia*. For *Balac* brought *Balaam* out of *Meſopotamia*, (witneſs this place of *Deuteronomy*.) *Becauſe they hired Balaam the Son of Beor, of Pethor in Aram Naharaiim, to curſe thee*: for *Aram Naharaiim* was *Syria fluviorum*, which is *Meſopotamia*, as aforeſaid. V. 7. c. 23. v. 4.

This Plantation of the World after the Flood doth beſt agree, (as to me it ſeems) with all the places of Scripture compared together. And theſe be the reports of reaſon and probable conjecture; the Guides which I have followed herein, and which I have choſen to go after, making no valuation of the opinions of men, conducted by their own fancies: be they Antient or Modern. Neither have I any end herein, private, or publick, other than the diſcovery of Truth. For as the partiality of man to himſelf hath diſguiſed all things: ſo the factious and hireling Hiſtorians of all Ages (eſpecially of theſe latter times) have by their many Volumes of untrue reports left Honour without a Monument, and Vertue without Memory: and (inſtead thereof) have erected *Statues* and *Trophies* to thoſe, whom the darkeſt forgetfulneſs ought to have buried, and covered over for evermore. And although the length and diſſolving nature of time hath worn out or changed the names and memory of the Worlds firſt Planters after the Flood (I mean the greateſt number and moſt part of them) yet all the footſteps of Antiquity (as appears by that which hath been ſpoken) are not quite worn out nor overgrown: for *Babylon* hath to this day the ſound of *Babel*; *Phœnicia* hath *Zidon*, to which City the Eldeſt Son of *Canaan* gave name; ſo hath *Cilicia Tharſis*; and the *Armenians*, *Medes*, *Hiberians*, *Cappadocians*, *Phrygians*, the *Syrians*, *Idumæans*, *Lybians*, *Moors*, and other Nations, have preſerved from the death of forgetfulneſs ſome ſigns of their firſt Founders and true Parents.

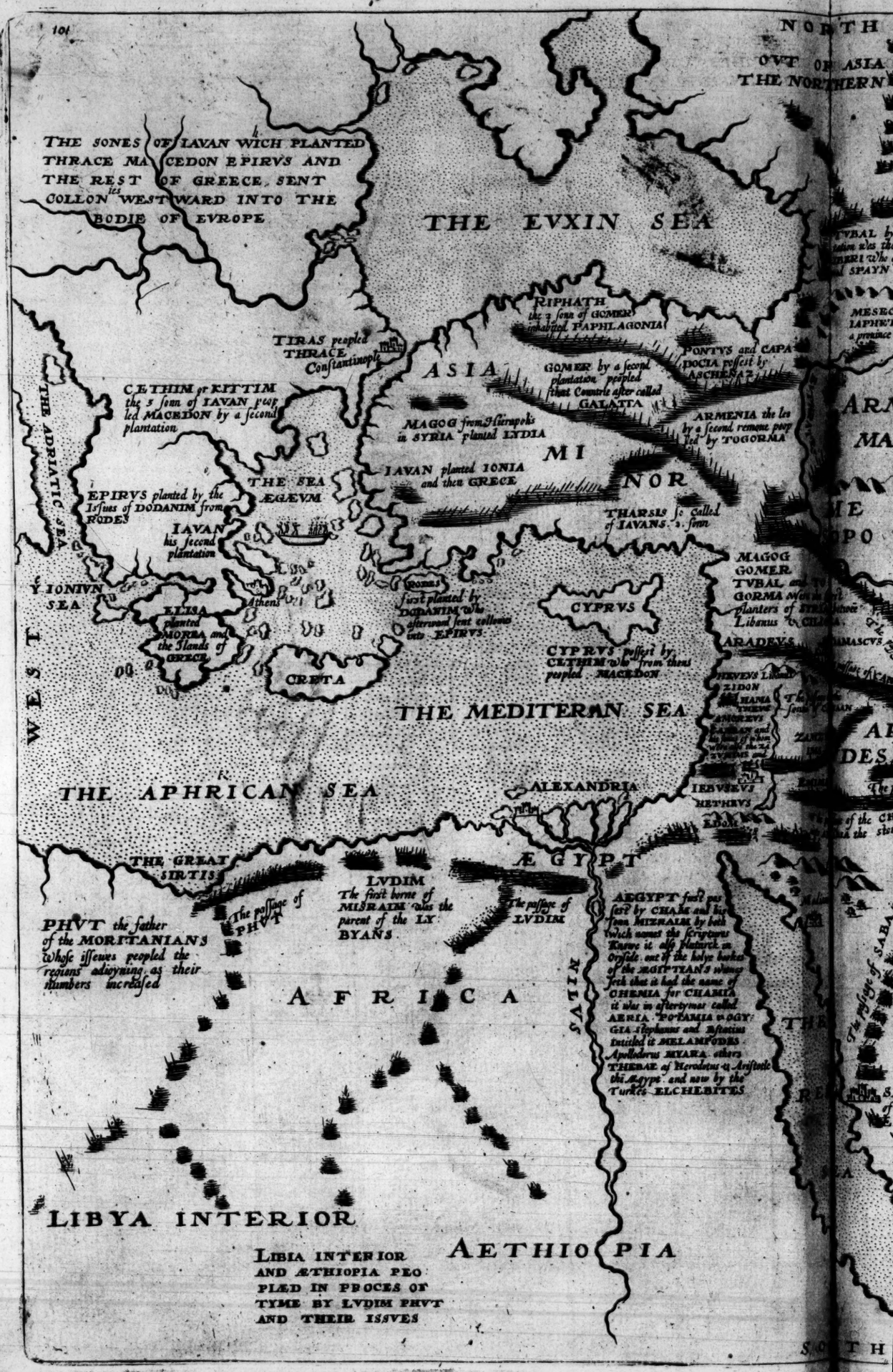
CHAP. IX.

Of the Beginning and Eſtabliſhing of Government.

§. I.

Of the proceeding from the firſt Government under the Eldeſt of Families to Regal, and from Regal Abſolute to Regal tempered with Laws.

IT followeth now to entreat how the World began to receive Rule and Government, which (while it had ſcarcity of People) underwent no other Dominion than Paternity and Elderſhip. For the Fathers of Nations were then as Kings, and the Eldeſt of Families as Princes. Hereof it came, that the Word [Elder] was always uſed both for the Magiſtrate, and for thoſe of Age and Gravity: the ſame bearing one ſignification almoſt in all Languages. For in the eleventh of *Numbers* God commanded *Moſes* to gather together 70. of the Elders of the People, and Governours over them: the Hebrew bearing the ſame ſenſe, which the Latin word *Senes* or *Seniores* doth. So it is written in *Suſanna*, *Then the Aſſembly believed them as thoſe that were the Elders and Judges of the people.* And ſo in the words of thoſe falſe Judges and witneſſes to *Daniel*, *Show it unto us, ſeeing God hath given thee the office of an Elder.* *Demoſthenes* uſeth the ſame word for the Magiſtrate among the *Grecians*. *Cicero* in *Cato* giveth two other reaſons for this appellation: *Apud Lacedæmonios qui ampliſſimum magiſtratum gerunt, ut ſunt, ſic etiam appellantur Senes*: *Among the Lacedæmonians the chief Magiſtrates, as they are, ſo are they called Eldermen*: and again, *Ratio & prudentia niſi eſſent in ſenibus*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THE EVXIN SEA
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TIRAS peopled THRACE
Constantinople
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GOMER by a second plantation peopled that Countrie after called GALATIA
CETHIM or KITTIM the 3 sonn of IAVAN peopled MACEDON by a second plantation
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IAVAN his second plantation
MAGOG GOMER TVBAL and TOGORMA Men planters of Libanus
Athens
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CYPRVS possest by CETHIM who from thens peopled MACEDON
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CRETA
THE MEDITERAN SEA
THE APHRICAN SEA
ALEXANDRIA
ÆGYPT
THE GREAT SIRTIS
LVDIM The first borne of MISRAIM was the parent of the LYBYANS
The passage of PHVT
The passage of LVDIM
PHVT the father of the MORITANIANS Whose issewes peopled the regions adioyning as their numbers increased
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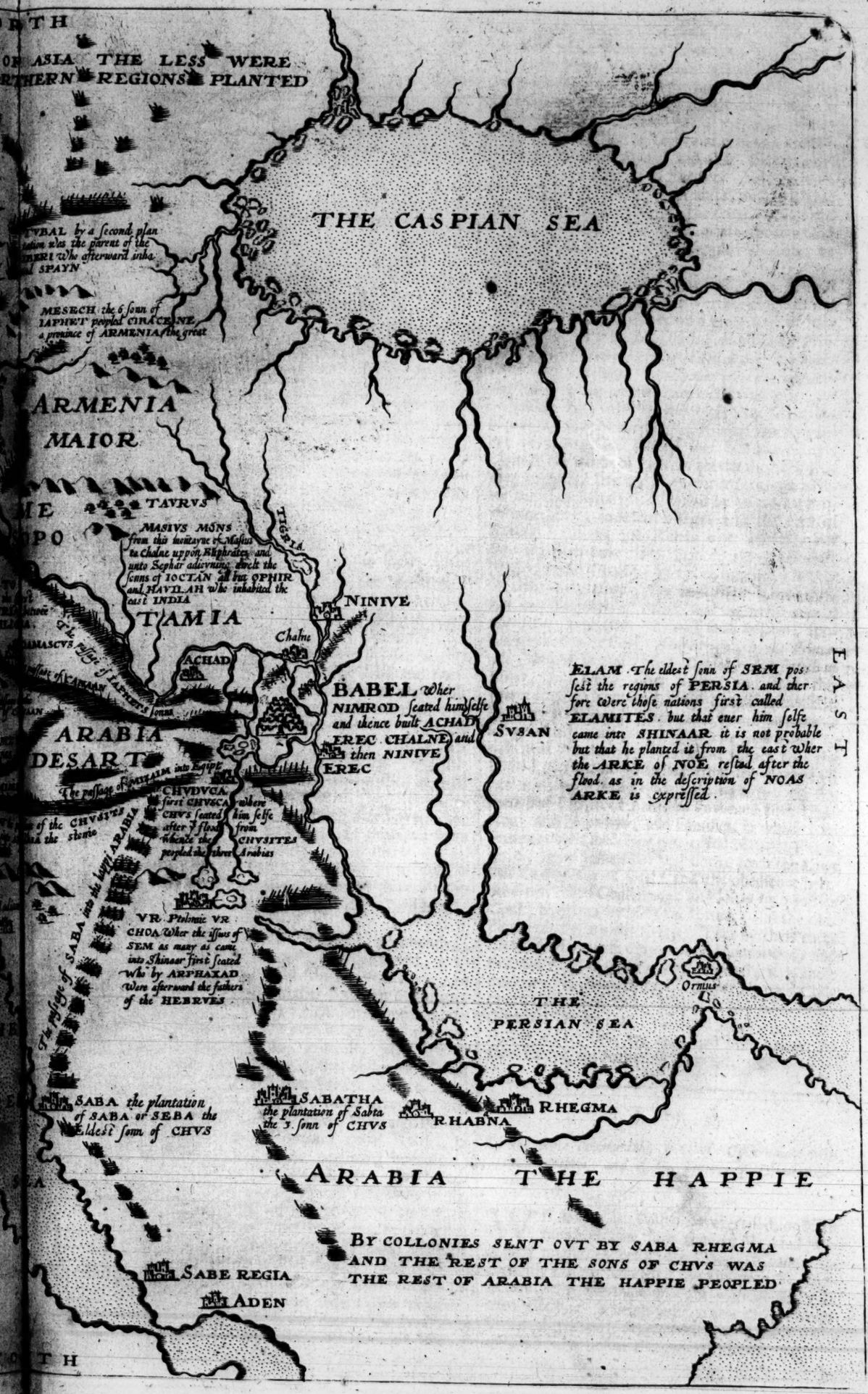
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unto Sephar adiovninge dwelt the
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NINIVE
Chalne
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non summum Concilium Majores nostri appellâssint Senatum: If Reason and Advisement were not in old Men, our Ancestors had never called the highest Council by the name of a Senate. But though these Reasons may well be given, yet we doubt not but in this Name of [*Elders*] for Governors or Counsellors of State, there is a sign that the first Governors were the Fathers of Families; and under them the eldest Sons. And from thence did the *French*, *Italian*, and *Spaniard* take the word [*Signor*] and out of it [*Seignory*] for Lordship and Dominion: signifying (according to *Loyseau*) Puissance in Propriety, or proper Power. The kinds of this *Seignory*, *Seneca* makes two: the one, *Potestas aut imperium*, *Power or Command*: the other, *Proprietas aut dominium*, *Propriety or Mastership*: the Correlative of the one is the Subject, of the other the Slave. *Ad Cæsarem* (saith he) *potestas omnium pertinet, ad singulos proprietas*: Cæsar *hath Power over all*; *and every Man Propriety in his own.* And again, *Cæsar omnia imperio possidet, singuli dominio*; Cæsar *holdeth all in his Power, and every Man possesseth his own.* But as Men and Vice began abundantly to increase: so Obedience, (the fruit of natural Reverence, which but from excellent seed seldom ripeneth) being exceedingly overshadowed with Pride, and ill Examples, utterly withered and fell away. And the soft weapons of paternal perswasions (after Mankind began to neglect and forget the original and first giver of Life) became in all over-weak, either to resist the first inclination of evil, or after (when it became habitual) to constrain it. So that now, when the Hearts of Men were only guided and steered by their own Fancies, and toss't to and fro on the tempestuous Seas of the World, while Wisdom was severed from Power, and Strength from Charity: Necessity (which bindeth ever Nature but the immortal) made both the Wise and Foolish understand at once, that the estate of reasonable Men would become far more miserable than that of Beasts, and that a general Flood of Confusion would a second time overflow them, did they not by a general Obedience to Order and Dominion prevent it. For the Mighty, who trusted in their own strengths, found others again (by interchange of times) more mighty than themselves: the feeble fell under the forcible; and the equal from equal received equal harms. In so much that licentious Disorder (which seemed to promise a Liberty upon the first acquaintance) proved upon a better trial, no less perilous than an unindurable Bondage.

Necessitas & summum judicium, & immutabilis providentiæ potestas.

These Arguments by Necessity propounded, and by Reason maintained and confirmed, perswaded all Nations which the Heavens cover, to subject themselves to a Master, and to Magistracy in some degree. Under which Government, as the change (which brought with it less evil, than the former mischiefs) was generally pleasing: so Time (making all Men wise that observe it) found some imperfection and corrosive in this Cure. And therefore the same Necessity which invented, and the same Reason which approved Sovereign Power, bethought it self of certain equal Rules, in which Dominion (in the beginning boundless) might also discern her own Limits. For before the invention of Laws, private Affections in Supream Rulers made their own Fancies both their Treasurers and Hangmen: measuring by this Yard, and weighing in this Balance both Good and Evil.

For as Wisdom in Eldership preceded the Rule of Kings: so the Will of Kings fore-went the Inventions of Laws. *Populus nullis legibus tenebatur: arbitria Principum pro legibus erant*: *The People were not governed by any other Laws than the Wills of Princes*: Hereof it followed, that when Kings left to be good, neither did those Mens vertues value them which were not fansied by their Kings, nor those Mens vices deform them that were. *Amor interdum nimis videt, interdum nihil videt, Love sees one while too much, another while stark nothing.* Hence it came to pass, that after a few Years (for direction and restraint of Royal Power) Laws were established: and that Government which had this mixture of Equality (holding in an even Balance Supream Power and Common Right) acquired the Title of Regal: the other (which had it not) was known for Tyrannical: the one God established in favour of his People: the other he permitted for their affliction.

In the Infancy of this Regal Authority, Princes as they were chosen for their Vertues only: so did they measure their Powers by a great deal of Moderation. And therefore (saith *Fabius Pictor*) *Principes, quia justi erant, & religionibus dediti, jure habiti Dii & dicti*; *Princes, because they were just and religious, were rightly accounted and called Gods.* *De aurea sæcula, part. 1.*

And though (speaking humanely) the beginning of Empire may be ascribed to Reason and Necessity; yet it was God himself that first kindled this Light in the minds of Men, whereby they saw that they could not live and be preserved without a Ruler and Conductor: God himself by his eternal Providence having ordained Kings; and the Law of Nature Leaders, and Rulers over others. For the very Bees have their Prince; the Deer their Leaders; and Cranes (by order imposed) watch for their own safety. *The most High beareth Rule over the Kingdoms of Men; and appointeth over it whomsoever he pleaseth.* *Dan. 4. 21.* *By me* (saith *Wisdom*, spoken by the Son of God) *Kings reign; by me Princes rule*, and *it is God* (saith *Daniel*) *that setteth up Kings, and taketh away Kings*: and that this Power is given from God, *Christ* himself witnesseth, speaking to *Pilate*, *Thou couldest have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above.* *Prov. 8. ver. 15.* *Dan. 2. ver. 21.* *Joh. 19. ver. 21.*

It was therefore by a threefold Justice that the World hath been governed from the beginning, (to wit) by a Justice natural: by which the Parents and Elders of Families governed their Children, and Nephews, and Families, in which Government the Obedience was called Natural Piety: again, by a Justice Divine, drawn from the Laws and Ordinances of God: and the obedience hereunto was called Conscience; and lastly by a Justice Civil, begotten by both the former: and the obedience to this we call Duty. That by these three those of the eldest times were commanded: and that the Rule in general was paternal, it is most evident: for *Adam* being Lord over his own Children, instructed them in the service of God his Creator; as we read, *Cain* and *Abel* brought Oblations before God, as they had been taught by their Parent, the Father of Mankind.

§. II.

Of the three commendable sorts of Government with their opposites: and of the degrees of Humane Society.

WHAT other Policy was exercised, or State founded after such time as Mankind was greatly multiplied before the Flood, it cannot be certainly known, though it seem by probable Conjecture, that the same was not without Kings in that first Age: it being possible that many Princes of the *Ægyptians* (remembred among their Antiquities) were before the general Flood; and very likely,

likely, that the cruel Oppreſſions in that Age proceeded from ſome Tyranny in Government, or from ſome rougher form of Rule, than the Paternal.

Beroſ. l. 1. *Beroſius* aſcribeth the Rule of the World in thoſe days to the Giants of *Libanus*, who maſtered (ſaith he) all Nations from the Sun-riſing to the Sun-ſet. But in the ſecond Age of the World, and after ſuch time as the Rule of Elderſhip failed, three ſeveral ſorts of Government were in ſeveral times eſtabliſhed among Men, according to the divers natures of places and People.

The firſt, the moſt ancient, moſt general, and moſt approved, was the Government of one, ruling by juſt Laws, called *Monarchy*: to which *Tyranny* is oppoſed, being alſo a ſole and abſolute Rule, exerciſed according to the Will of the Commander, without reſpect or obſervation of the Laws of God, or Men. For a lawful Prince or Magiſtrate (ſaith *Ariſtotle*) is the keeper of Right and Equity: and of this Condition ought every Magiſtrate to be, according to the Rule of God's Word. *Judges and Officers ſhalt thou make thee in thy Cities: And theſe ſhall judge the People with righteous Judgment.*

Deut. 16. ver. 18.

The ſecond Government is of divers principal Perſons eſtabliſhed by Order, and ruling by Laws, called *Ariſtocracy*, or *Optimatum poteſtas*; to which *Oligarchia* (or the particular Faction and Uſurpation of a few great ones) is oppoſed: as the *Decemviri*, or *Triumviri*, and the like.

The third is a State Popular, (or Government of the People) called *Democratia*, to which is oppoſed *Ochlocratia*, or the turbulent unjuſt Ruling of the confuſed Multitude, ſeditiouſly ſwaying the State, contrary to their own Laws and Ordinances. Theſe three kinds of Government are briefly expreſt by *Tholoſanus*; *Unius, pauorum, & multorum*; *Of one, of few, of many.*

Now as touching the beginning and order of Policy ſince the ſecond increaſe of Mankind, the ſame grew in this ſort: Firſt of all, every Father, or eldeſt of the Family gave Laws to his own Iſſues; and to the People from him and them increaſed. Theſe as they were multiplied into many Houſholds (Man by nature loving Society) joined their Cottages together in one common Field or Village, which the Latins call *Vicus*; of the *Greek* οἶκος, which ſignifieth a Houſe, or of the word [*Via*] becauſe it hath divers ways and paths leading to it. And as the firſt Houſe grew into a Village, ſo the Village into that which is called *Pagus*, (being a Society of divers Villages) ſo called of the *Greek* πηγη, which ſignifieth a Fountain; becauſe many People (having their Habitations not far aſunder) drank of one ſpring or ſtream of Water. To this word the Engliſh Hundreds, or as (ſome think) Shires anſwereth not unfitly.

But as Men and Impiety began to gather ſtrength, and as Emulation and Pride between the Races of the one and the other daily increaſed: ſo both to defend themſelves from outrage, and to preſerve ſuch Goods as they had gathered, they began to join and ſet together divers of their Villages, invironing them firſt with Banks and Ditches, and afterwards with Walls: which being ſo compaſſed were then called *Oppida*; either *ab opponenda ſe hoſtibus, becauſe Walls were oppoſed againſt Enemies*, or *ab opibus, becauſe thither they gathered their Riches for ſafety and defence*: as alſo they were called *Urbes*, *ab orbe*; becauſe when they were to build a City, they made a Circle with a Plough (ſaith *Varro*) therewith meaſuring and compaſſing the Ground which they went to incloſe or fortifie. And although *Urbs* and *Civitas* be often confounded, yet the difference was anciently in this, that *Urbs* ſignified no other than the very Walls and Buildings, and *Civitas* was taken for the Citizens, inhabiting therein: ſo called of *Civis*; and that, *ab eo quòd multitudo coivit, of coming together.* But all Inhabitants within theſe Walls are not properly Citizens, but only ſuch as are called Free-men: who bearing proportionably the Charge of the City, may by turns become Officers and Magiſtrates thereof: the reſt go under the Name of Subjects, though Citizens by the ſame general Name of Subjects are alſo known. For every Citizen is alſo a Subject, but not every Subject a Citizen: perhaps alſo ſome Citizen (as the chief Magiſtrate, if he be to be termed one of the Citizens) is no Subject; but of this we need not ſtand to inquire. The word [Magiſtrate] is taken *à Magiſtro, from a Maſter*, and the word [Maſter] from the Adverb *Magis* (as alſo *Magiſteria, Precepts of Art*) or elſe from the *Greek* word [*Megiſtos:*] and ſo the *Greeks* call them *Megiſtanes*, whom the Latins call *Magnates* or *Magiſtratus.*

The Office and Duty of every Magiſtrate *Ariſtotle* hath written in few words. *A Magiſtrate or Prince* (ſaith he) *is the keeper of Right and Equity*; but the ſame is beſt taught by S. *Paul*, who expreſſeth both the cauſe efficient, and final, (that is) by whom Magiſtrates and Princes are ordained, together with their Duties and Offices. *A Magiſtrate is the Miniſter of God for thy Wealth; but if thou do evil, fear: for he beareth not the Sword for nought. For he is the Miniſter of God, to take vengeance on him that doth evil.* He alſo teacheth in the ſame place, *That every Soul ought to be ſubject to the higher Powers, becauſe they are by God ordained*; and that *whoſoever reſiſteth that Power, reſiſteth God*, the giver and fountain thereof: and ſhall not only be therefore ſubject to the judgment and condemnation of Man, but of God: *For ye muſt be ſubject* (ſaith he) *not becauſe of Wrath only, but alſo for Conſcience ſake.*

Ethic. 5.

Rom. 13.4

V. 1, 2.

Ibid. v. 5.

The Examples are not to be numbred of God's puniſhments upon thoſe that have reſiſted Authority, by God ordained and eſtabliſhed. Neither ought any Subject therefore to reſiſt the Power of Kings, becauſe they may be taxed with Injuſtice or Cruelty: for it pleaſeth God ſometimes to puniſh his People by a tyrannous hand: and the Commandment of Obedience is without diſtinction. The *Prophets* and *Chriſt* himſelf ſubjected themſelves to the Power of Magiſtracy. *Chriſt* commanded that all due to *Cæſar* ſhould be given unto him: and he payed Tribute for himſelf and *Peter*. *Jeremy* commanded the *Iſraelites* (even thoſe that were Captives under Heathen Kings) to pray for them, and for the peace of *Babylon*. So *Abraham* prayed for *Abimelech*; and *Jacob* bleſſed the King of *Ægypt*. *And it is acceptable in the ſight of our Saviour* (ſaith *Paul*) *that ye make Supplications and Prayers for Kings, and for all that are in Authority*: and if for ſuch Kings as were Idolatrous, much more for Chriſtian Kings and Magiſtrates. And ſo much did Saint *Chryſoſtome* in his Homily to the People prefer *Monarchical* Government, as he rather commended the Rule of Kings (though Tyrants) than that they ſhould be wanting: *Præſtat regem tyrannum habere, quam nullum, Better a tyrannous King, than no King*: to which alſo *Tacitus* ſubſcribeth. *Præſtat* (ſaith *Tacitus* in the firſt of his Hiſtory) *ſub malo Principe eſſe, quàm ſub nullo*; *It is better to have a bad Prince than none at all.* And be they good Kings (which is generally preſuppoſed) then is there no Liberty more ſafe, than to ſerve them. *Neque enim libertas tutior ulla eſt* (ſaith *Claudian*) *quàm Domino ſervire bono, No liberty* (ſaith he) *more*

Jerem. 29. ver. 7.

Gen. 20. v. 17. 23. ver. 10.

ſafe

safe for us than to be servants to the Vertuous. And certainly howsoever it may be disputed, yet is it far safer to live under one Tyrant, than under 100000 Tyrants: under a wise Man that is cruel, than under the foolish and barbarous cruelty of the Multitude. For as *Agesilaus* answered a Citizen of *Sparta* that desired an Alteration of the Government, That kind of Rule which a Man would disdain in his own House, were very unfit to govern great Regions by.

Lastly, as many Fathers erected many Cottages for their many Children: and as (for the Reason before remembred) many Households joined themselves together, and made Villages; many Villages made Cities: so when these Cities and Citizens joined together, and established Laws by Consent, associating themselves under one Governor and Government, they so joined were called a Commonwealth: the same being sometimes governed by Kings; sometimes by Magistrates; sometimes by the People themselves.

§. III.

Of the good Government of the first Kings.

NOW this first Age after the Flood, and after such time as the People were increased, and the Families became strong, and dispersed into several parts of the World, was by ancient Historians called Golden: Ambition and Covetousness being as then but green, and newly grown up, the seeds and effects whereof were as yet but potential, and in the blowth and budd. For while the Law of Nature was the Rule of Man's Life, they then sought for no larger Territory than themselves could compass and manure: they erected no other magnificent Buildings, than sufficient to defend them from Cold and Tempest: they cared for no other delicacy of Fare, or curiosity of Diet, than to maintain Life: nor for any other Apparel than to cover them from the Cold, the Rain and the Sun.

And sure if we understand by that Age (which was called Golden) the ancient simplicity of our Forefathers, this Name may then truly be cast upon those elder times: but if it be taken otherwise, then, whether the same may be attributed more to any one time than to another, (I mean to one limited time and none else) it may be doubted. For good and golden Kings make good and golden Ages: and all times have brought forth of both sorts. And as the Infancy of Empire, (when Princes played their Prizes, and did then only woo Men to Obedience) might be called the golden Age: so may the beginning of all Princes times be truly called Golden: for be it that Men effect Honour, it is then best purchased; or if Honour affect Men, it is then that good deservings have commonly the least impediments: and if ever Liberality overflow her banks and bounds, the same is then best warranted both by Policy and Example. But Age and time do not only harden and shrink the openest and most Jovial Hearts, but the Experience which it bringeth with it, layeth Princes torn Estates before their Eyes, and (withall) perswadeth them to compassionate themselves. And although there be no Kings under the Sun whose Means are answerable unto other Men's Desires; yet such as value all things by their own Respects, do no sooner find their Appetites unanswered, but they complain of Alteration, and account the times injurious and Iron. And as this falleth out in the Reign of every King, so doth it in the Life of every Man, if his days be many: for our younger Years are our golden Age; which being eaten up by time, we praise those Seasons which our Youth accompanied: and (indeed) the grievous alterations in our selves, and the Pains and Diseases which never part from us but at the Grave, make the times seem so differing and displeasing: especially the quality of Man's Nature being also such, as it adoreth and extolleth the Passages of the former, and condemneth the present State how just soever. *Fit humanæ malignitatis vitio, ut semper vetera in laude, præsentia in fastidio sint; It comes to pass* (saith *Tacitus*) *by the Vice of our Malignity, that we always extoll the time past, and hold the present fastidious.* For it is one of the Errors of wayward Age: *Quod sint laudatores temporis acti, That they are praisers of forepassed times*, forgetting this Advice of *Salomon*. *Say not then, why is it that the former days were better than these? for thou doest not inquire wisely of this thing:* to which purpose *Seneca*, *Majores nostri questi sunt, & nos querimur, posteri querentur, eversos esse mores, regnare nequitiam, in deterius res hominum, & in omne nefas labi: Our Ancestors have complained, we do complain, our Children will complain, that good Manners are gone, that Wickedness doth reign, and all things grow worse and worse, and fall into all evil.* These are the usual discourses of Age and Misfortune. But hereof what can we add to this of *Arnobius*; *Nova res quandoque vetus fiet, & vetus temporibus quibus cæpit nova fuit & repentina: Whatsoever is new, in time shall be made old: and the ancientest things when they took beginning were also new and sudden.* Wherefore not to stand in much admiration of these first times, which the discontentments of present times have made golden, this we may set down for certain, That as it was the Vertue of the first Kings, which (after God) gave them Crowns: so the love of their People thereby purchased, held the same Crowns on their Heads. And as God gave the obedience of Subjects to Princes: so (relatively) he gave the care and justice of Kings to the Subjects; having respect, not only to the Kings themselves, but even to the meanest of his Creatures. *Nunquam particulari bono servit omne homin, The infinite goodness of God doth not attend any one only:* for he that made the small and the great, careth for all alike: and it is the care which the Kings have of all theirs, which makes them beloved of all theirs; and by a general Love it is, that Princes hold a general Obedience: For *Potestas humana radicatur in voluntatibus hominum; All humane Power is rooted in the Will or Dispositions of Men.*

Tacit. in Dial. de Orat.

Eccles. 3.

Arnob. l. 2.

Wisd. 6. 7.

§. IV.

Of the beginning of Nobility: and of the vain vaunt thereof without Vertue.

AND with this Supream Rule and Kingly Authority began also other degrees and differences among Subjects. For Princes made Election of others by the same Rule, by which themselves were chosen; unto whom they gave Place, Trust and Power. From which Employments and Offices sprung those Titles, and those degrees of Honour, which have continued from Age to Age to these days. But this Nobilty, or difference from the Vulgar, was not in the beginning given to the succession of Blood, but to succession of Vertue, as hereafter may be proved. Though at length it was sufficient

Vera nobilis non nascitur sed fit.

cient for those whose Parents were advanced, to be known for the Sons of such Fathers: and so there needed then no endeavour of well-doing at all, or any contention for them to excel, upon whom Glory or Worldly Nobility necessarily descended. Yet hereof had Nobility denomination in the beginning, That such as excelled others in Vertue were so called. *Hinc dictus Nobilis, quasi virtute præ aliis notabilis.* But after such time as the deserved Honour of the Father was given in reward to his Posterity, S. *Hierom* judged of the Succession in this manner. *Nihil aliud video in Nobilitate appetendum, nisi quod Nobiles quadam necessitate constringantur, ne ab antiquorum probitate degenerent: I see no other thing to be affected in Nobility, than that Noblemen are by a kind of necessity bound not to degenerate from the vertue of their Ancestors.* For if Nobility be *virtus & antiqua divitiæ, Vertue and ancient Riches*, then to exceed in all those things which are *extra hominem*, as Riches, Power, Glory, and the like, do no otherwise define Nobility, than the word [*animal*] alone doth define a reasonable Man. Or if honour (according to *L. Vives*) be a witness of Vertue and well-doing: and Nobility (after *Plutarch*) the continuance of Vertue in a Race or Linage: then are those in whom Vertue is extinguished, but like unto Painted and Printed Papers, which ignorant men worship instead of *Christ*, our Lady and other Saints: Men, in whom there remain but the dreggs and vices of antient Vertue: Flowers, and Herbs, which by change of Soil and want of Manuring are turned to Weeds. For what is found praise-worthy in those waters, which had their beginning out of pure Fountains, if in all the rest of their course they run foul, filthy, and defiled? *Ex terra fertili producitur aliquando cicuta venenosa, & ex terra sterili pretiosum aurum; Out of fruitful ground ariseth sometime poysoning Henbane: And out of barren Soil pretious Gold.* For as all things consist of matter and form, so doth *Charron* (in his Chapter of Nobility) call the Race and Linage but the matter of Nobility: the form (which gives life and perfect being) he maketh to be Vertue and Quality, profitable to the Commonweal. For he is truly and entirely Noble, who maketh a singular profession of publick Vertue, serving his Prince and Country, and being descended of Parents and Ancestors that have done the like. And although that Nobility, which the same Author calleth personal, (the same which our selves acquire by our Vertue and well deservings) cannot be ballanced with that which is both natural by descent, and also personal; yet if vertue be wanting to the natural, then is the personal and acquired Nobility by many degrees to be preferred: For (saith this *Charron*) this Honour (to wit) by descent, may light upon such an one, as in his own nature is a true Villain. There is also a third Nobility which he calleth Nobility in Parchment, bought with Silver or Favour: And these be indeed but Honours of affection, which Kings with the change of their fancies wish they knew well how to wipe off again. But surely if we had as much sense of our degenerating in Worthiness, as we have of Vanity in deriving our selves of such and such Parents, we should rather know such Nobility (without Vertue) to be Shame and Dishonour, than Nobleness, and glory to vaunt thereof. *What calamity is wanting* (saith *Bernard*) *to him that is born in sin, of a Potshare body and barren mind?* for (according to the same Father) *Dele fucum fugacis honoris hujus, & male coronate nitorem gloriæ, &c. Wipe away the painting of this fleeting Honour, and the glittering of the ill crowned Glory, that then thou maiest consider thy self nakedly: For thou cameſt naked out of thy Mothers Womb. Camest thou thence with thy Mitre, or glissening with Jewels, or garnished with Silks, or adorned with Feathers, or stuffed with Gold? If thou scatter and blow away all these by thy consideration as certain morning Clouds, which do or will soon pass over, thou shalt meet with a naked, and poor, and wretched, and miserable Man, and blushing, because he is naked, and weeping because he is born, and repining because he is born to Labour, and not to Honour.*

Bernard. l. 2. de Consider. ad Eugen. Ca.

For as touching the matter of all Men, there is no difference between it and Dust: which if *thou dost not believe* (saith S. *Chrysostom*) *look into the Sepulchers and Monuments of thy Ancestors, and they shall easily perswade thee by their own example, that thou art dust and dirt: So that if man seem more Noble and beautiful than dust, this proceedeth not from the diversity of his Nature, but from the cunning of his Creatour.*

Chrysost. Homil. 2. de incompos. Dei natura, cap. 5.

Pint. in Ezekiel.

For true Nobility standeth in the Trade
Of vertuous life; not in the fleshly line:
For Blood is brute, but Gentry is Divine.

Phaer.

And howsoever the custom of the World have made it good, that Honours be cast by Birth upon unworthy Issues: yet *Saleman* (as wise as any King) reprehendeth the same in his fellow Princes. *There is an evil* (saith he) *that I have seen under the Sun, as an errour that proceedeth from the face of him that ruleth. Folly is set in great excellency.*

Eccles. 10.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Of Nimrod, Belus, *and* Ninus: *and of memorable things about those times.*

§. I.

That Nimrod *was the first after the Flood that reigned like Soveraign Lord: and that his beginning seemeth to have been of just Authority.*

THE first of all that raigned as Soveraign Lord after the Flood was *Nimrod*, the Son of *Chush*, distinguished by *Moses* from the rest (according to S. *Augustine*) in one of these two respects: either for his eminency, and because he was the first of Fame, and that took on him to command others: or else in that he was begotten by *Chush*, after his other Children were also become Fathers; and of a later time than some of his Grand-children and Nephews. Howsoever, seeing *Moses* in express words calleth *Nimrod* the Son of *Chush*, other mens conjectures to the contrary ought to have no respect. This Empire of *Nimrod*, both the Fathers and many later Writers call tyrannical: The same beginning in *Babel*, (which is) confusion. But it seemeth to me that *Melancthon* conceived not amiss hereof: The same exposition being also made by the Author of that work called *Onomasticum Theologicum*, who affirms that *Nimrod* was therefore called *Amarus Dominator*, *A bitter or severe Governour*, because his form of rule seemed at first far more terrible than Paternal Authority. And therefore is he in this respect also called *a mighty hunter*: because he took and destroyed both Beasts and Thieves. But S. *Augustine* understands it otherwise, and converts the word [*ante*] by [*contra*] affirming therein, that *Nimrod* was a mighty hunter against God, *Sic ergo intelligendus est Gigas ille, venator contra Dominum, So is that Giant to be understood, a hunter against the Lord.* But howsoever this word [*a mighty hunter*] be understood; yet it rather appeareth, that as *Nimrod* had the command of all those, which went with him from the East into *Shinaar*: so, this charge was rather given him, than by him usurped. For it is no where found, that *Noah* himself, or any of the Sons of his own Body came with this Troop into *Babylonia*: no mention at all being made of *Noah* (the Years of his Life excepted) in the succeeding Story of the Hebrews: Nor that *Sem* was in this disobedient Troop, or among the Builders *of Babel*.

The same is also confirmed by divers antient Historians, that *Nimrod*, *Suphne*, and *Jokkan* were the Captains and Leaders of all those which came from the East. And though *Sem* came not himself so far West as *Shinaar* (his lot being cast on the East parts) yet from his Sons Nephew *Heber*, the name and Nation of the Hebrews (according to the general opinion) took beginning, who inhabited the Southermost parts of *Chaldaa* about the City of *Ur*; from whence *Abraham* was by God called into *Charran*, and thence into *Canaan*.

And because those of the Race of *Sem* which came into *Chaldea* were no Partners in the unbelieving work of the Tower: therefore (as many of the Fathers conjecture) did they retain the first and most antient Language, which the Fathers of the first Age had left to *Noah*; and *Noah* to *Sem* and his Issues. *In familia* Heber *remansit hæc lingua*, *In the family of* Heber *this Language remained* (saith S. *Augustine* out of *Epiphanius*;) and this Language *Abraham* used: Yea it was antiently and before the Flood the general Speech: and therefore first called (saith *Cœlestinus*) *lingua humana*: *the humane Tongue*. *Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 6. c. 11.*

We know that *Goropius Becanus* following *Theodoret*, *Rabbi Moses*, *Ægyptius*, *Vergara*, and others, is of another opinion; but howsoever we determine of this point, we may with good probability resolve, that none of the Godly Seed of *Sem* were the chief Leaders of this presumptuous multitude. And seeing it is not likely but that some one was by order appointed for this charge, we may imagine that *Nimrod* rather had it by just Authority, than by violence of usurpation.

§. II.

That Nimrod, Belus, *and* Ninus *were three distinct persons.*

BEnzo, and out of him *Nauclerus* with others make many *Nimrods*. *Eusebius* confounds him with *Belus*; and so doth S. *Hierom* upon *Osea*: and these words of S. *Augustine* seem to make him of the same opinion. *Ibi autem* Ninus *regnabat post mortem patris sui* Beli, *qui primus illic regnaverat* 65. *annos*; *There did* Ninus *Raign after the death of his Father* Belus, *who first governed in* Babylon *sixty five Years*. But it could not be unknown to S. *Augustine*, that *Nimrod* was the Establisher of that Empire: *Moses* being plain and direct therein. *For the beginning of Nimrod's Kingdom* (saith he) *was Babel*, *Erec*, *Accad*, *and Chalne*, *in the Land of Shinaar*: Wherefore *Nimrod* was the first King of *Babel*. And certainly it best agreeth with reason, that *Ninus* was the third, and not one with *Nimrod*, as *Mercator* (led by *Clement*) supposed: for in *Ninus* time the World was marvailously replenished. And if S. *Augustine* had undoubtedly taken *Belus* for *Nimrod*, he would have given him the name which the Scriptures give him, rather than have borrowed any thing out of prophane Authors. And for those words of S. *Augustine* (*qui primus illic regnaverat*, *Who was the first that Reigned there*) supposed to be meant by *Belus*: those words do not disprove that *Nimrod* was the Founder of the *Babylonian* Empire. For although *Julius Cæsar* overthrew the liberty of the *Roman* Commonwealth, making himself a perpetual *Dictator*; yet *Augustus* was the first Established Emperour: and the first that Raigned absolutely by Sovereign Authority over the *Romans*, as an Emperour. The like may be said of *Nimrod*, that he first brake the rule of Eldership and Paternity, laying the foundation of Soveraign Rule, as *Cæsar* did; and yet *Belus* was the first, *De Civit. Dei.*

who peaceably, and with a general allowance exercised such a power. *Pererius* is of opinon, that *Belus* and *Nimrod* were the same, because many things are said of them both agreeing in time: for it was about 200 years after the Flood (as they account) that *Belus* Raigned: but such agreement of times proves it not. For so *Edward the Third*, and his Grand-child *Richard the Second*, were Kings both in one Year: the one dyed; the other in the same Year was Crowned King.

And yet the opinion (that *Nimrod* and *Belus* were one) is far more probable than that of *Mercator*, who makes *Ninus* and *Nimrod* to be the same. For it is plain that the beginning of *Nimrod*'s Kingdom was *Babel*, and the Towns adjoyning: but the first and most famous work of *Ninus* was the City of *Ninive*.

Now whereas *D. Siculus* affirmeth that *Ninus* overcame and suppressed the *Babylonians*, the same rather proveth the contrary, than that *Ninus* and *Nimrod* were one person. For *Ninus* established the seat of his Empire at *Ninive* in *Assyria*, whence the *Babylonians* might (perchance) in disdain thereof fall from his obedience, whom he recovered again by strong hand; which was easie: *Babylon* being not walled till *Semiramis* time.

——Dicitur altam
Coctilibus muris cinxisse Semiramis *Urbem.*

Semiramis with Walls of Brick the City did inclose.

Further where it is alledged, that as the Scriptures call *Nimrod* mighty: so *Justine* hath the same of *Ninus*, which is one of *Mercator*'s arguments; It may be answered, that such an addition might have been given to many other Kings aswell. For if we may believe *Justine*; then were *Vexoris* King of *Ægypt*, and *Tanais* of *Scythia* mighty Kings before *Ninus* was born. And if we may compare the words of *Moses* (touching *Nimrod*) with the undertakings of *Ninus*, there will be found great difference between them. For whereas *Mercator* conceiveth that it was too early for any that lived about the time of the confusion of Languages, to have invaded and mastered those Cities so far removed from *Babel*, namely *Erec*, *Accad*, and *Chalne*: which work he therefore ascribeth to *Ninus*, as a Man of the greatest undertaking; and consequently would have *Nimrod* to have been long after the time, in which we suppose he flourished; and both those names of *Nimrod* and *Ninus* to belong to one person, to wit, to *Ninus*: to these things to make some answer. First, I do not find that supposition true, That ever *Nimrod* invaded any of these Cities; but that he founded them and built them from the Ground, being the first after the Flood, that conducted the Children of *Noah* into those parts: and therefore had nothing built or erected to his hands.

Besides, whereas these Cities in many mens opinions are found to stand far away from *Babylon*, I find no reason to bring me to that belief. The City of *Accad* which the *Septuagint* calls *Archard*, and *Epiphanius Arphal*; *Junius* takes to be *Nisibis* in *Mesopotamia*: for the Region thereabout, the *Cosmographers* (saith he) call *Accabene* for *Accadene*. Others understand *Nisibis* and *Ninive* to be one City: so do *Strabo* and *Stephanus* confound it with *Charran*; but all mistaken. For *Nisibis*, *Accad*, and *Charran* are distinct places. Though I cannot deny *Accadene* to be a Region of *Mesopotamia*, the same which *Arias Montanus* out of S. *Hierom* calls *Achad*: and so do the Hebrews also call *Nisibis*, which seemeth to be the cause of this mistaking. As for the City of *Erec*, which the *Septuagint* call *Orech*, S. *Augustine Oreg*, and *Pagninus Erec*, this place *Junius* understands for *Arraca* in *Susiana*: but there is also a City in *Comegena* called *Arace*: and indeed likelihood of name is no certain proof, without the assistance of other circumstances.

Concerning the third City (called *Chalneh*) some take it for *Calanisis*: of which *Am. Marcellinus.* Lib. 23. S. *Hierom* takes it for *Seleucia*; *Hierosolymitanus* for *Ctesiphon*: others do think it to be the *Agrani* upon *Euphrates*, destroyed and razed by the *Persians*. But let *Moses* be the Moderator and Judge of this dispute, who teacheth us directly, that these Cities are not seated in so divers and distant Regions; for these be his words: *And the beginning of his Kingdom* (speaking of *Nimrod*) *was Babel, Erech, Accad, and Chalneh, in the Land of Shinaar*: so as in this Valley of *Shinaar*, or *Babylonia*, or *Chaldæa* (being all one) we must find them. And therefore I could (rather of the two) think with *Viterbiensis*, that these four made but one *Babylon*, than that they were Cities far removed, and in several Provinces, did not the Prophet *Amos* precisely distinguish *Chalne* from *Babylon*. *Go you* (saith *Amos*) *to Chalne, and from thence go you to Hamath, and to Gath of the Philistims.* The *Geneva* Translation favouring the former opi- C. 6. v. 2. nion, to set these Cities out of *Shinaar*, hath a Marginal Note expressing that *Shinaar* was here named: not that all these Cities were therein seated, but to distinguish *Babylon* of *Chaldæa*, from *Babylon* in *Ægypt*; but I find little substance in that conceit. For sure I am, that in the beginning of *Nimrods* Empire there was no such *Babylon*, nor any City at all to be found in *Ægypt*: *Babylon* of *Ægypt* being all one with the great City of *Cairo*, which was built long after, not far from the place where stood *Memphis* the antient City, but not so antient as *Babylon* upon *Euphrates*. Now that *Chalne* is situate in the Valley of *Shinaar*, it hath been formerly proved in the Chapter of *Paradise*. So as for any argument that may be brought to the contrary, from the remote situation of these three Cities from *Babylon*, we may continue in our opinion, That *Nimrod*, *Belus*, and *Ninus*, were distinct and Successive Kings.

§. III.

That Nimrod, *not* Assur, *built* Ninive: *and that it is probable out of* Esay 23. 13. *that* Assur *built* Ur *of the* Chaldees.

NOW as of *Nimrod*: so are the opinions of Writers different touching *Assur*, and touching the beginning of that great State of *Babylon* and *Assyria*: a Controversie wearisomly disputed without any direct proof, conclusion, or certainty. But to me (of whom, where the Scriptures are silent, the voice of Reason hath the best hearing) the interpretation of *Junius* is most agreeable; who besides all necessary consequence doth not disjoyn the sense of the Scriptures therein, nor confuse the understanding thereof. For in this sort he converteth the Hebrew Text. *Erat enim principium Regni ejus Babel & Erec, & Accad, & Chalneh, in terra Shinaaris; è terra hac processit in Assyriam ubi ædificavit Niniven*: (which is) *For the beginning of this Kingdom was Babel,*

bel, and Erech, and Accad, and Chalneh, in the Land of Shinaar: and he went forth of this Land into Assyria, and built Ninive. So as *Junius* takes *Assur* in this place, not for any person, but for the Region of *Assyria*: the Land being so called in *Moses*'s time, and before it. For certainly the other construction, (where the word [*Assur*] is taken for *Assur* the Son of *Sem*) doth not answer the order which *Moses* observeth through all the Books of *Genesis*, but is quite contrary unto it. For in the beginning of the tenth Chapter he setteth down the Sons of *Noah* in these words. *Now these are the Generations of the Sons of Noah: Sem, Ham, and Japheth, unto whom Sons were born after the Flood:* then it followeth immediately. *The Sons of Japheth were Gomer, &c.* so as *Japheth* is last named among *Noah*'s Sons, be he eldest or youngest: because he was first to be spoken of: with whom (having last named him) he proceeds and sets down his Issue, and then the Issue of his Sons: first, the Issue of *Gomer*; *Japheth*'s eldest Son; and then speaks of *Javan* and his Sons: for of the rest of that Family he is silent. Anon after he numbreth the Sons of *Ham*, of which *Cush* was the eldest: and then the Sons of *Cush* and *Mizraim*, and afterward of *Canaan*; leaving *Shem* for the last, because he would not disjoin the Story of the Hebrews. But after he beginneth with *Sem*, he continueth from thence by *Arphaxad*, *Shela*, and *Heber*, unto *Abraham*; and so to *Jacob*, and the Fathers of that Nation. But to have brought in one of the Sons of *Shem* in the middle of the Generations of *Ham*, had been against order; neither would *Moses* have past over so slightly the erection of the *Assyrian Empire*, in one of the Sons of *Shem*, if he had had any such meaning: it being the Story of *Shem*'s Sons which he most attended. For he nameth *Nimrod* apart, after the rest of the Sons of *Cush*, because he founded the *Babylonian* and *Assyrian* Empire: and in the eleventh Chapter he returns to speak of the building of *Babel* in particular, having formerly named it in the tenth Chapter, with those other Cities which *Nimrod* founded in *Shinaar*. And as he did in the tenth Chapter, so also in the eleventh he maketh no report of *Shem*, till such time as he had finished so much of *Nimrod* as he meant to touch: and then he beginneth with the Issue of *Shem*, which he continueth to *Abraham* and *Israel*. And of *Junius* opinion touching *Assur*, was *Calvin*: to which I conceive that *P. Commestor in historia Scholastica* gave an entrance, who after he had delivered this place in some other sense, he useth these words. *Vel intelligendum non est de Assur filio Sem, &c. sed Assur (id est) Regnum Assyriorum inde egressum est, quod tempore Sarug proavi Abrahami factum est*, (which is) *Or else it is not to be understood of* Assur *the Son of* Sem, *&c. but* Assur (*that is the Kingdom of the Assyrians*) *came from thence* (*videlicet from* Babylon) *or was made out of it: which happened in the time of* Sarug *the great Grand-father of* Abraham. After which he reconcileth the differences in this sort: If you take the Ancient *Belus* (meaning *Nimrod*) to be the first erector of the *Assyrian* Empire, or the first Founder thereof, it is true *quantum ad initium, respecting the beginning*; but others conceive that it had beginning from *Ninus*, which is also true *quantum ad Regni ampliationem, regarding the enlargement of the Empire.* To this I may add the opinion of *Epiphanius* confirmed by *Cedrenus*, who takes *Assur* to be the Son of *Nimrod*: and so doth *Methodius*, and *Viterbiensis*, S. *Hierome* and *Cyrillus*, and now lastly *Torniellus*: who saith he took upon him that name of *Assur* after he had beaten the *Assyrians*, as *Scipio* did of *Africanus* after his Conquest in *Africa*; and that *Assur* was a common name to the Kings of *Assyria*, as it appeareth by many Scriptures, as *Psalm* 81. *Esay* 10. *Osea* 5. *&c.* but to help the matter he makes *Nimrod* of the race of *Shem*, and the Son of *Irari*. But *Rabanus Maurus*, who was Archbishop of *Mentz* in the Year of *Christ* 854. an Ancient and learned Writer, understands this place with *Commestor*, or *Commestor* with him, agreeing in substance with that translation of *Junius*: to which words of *Moses* he giveth this sence. *De hac terra Assyriorum pullulavit imperium, qui ex nomine Nini, Beli filii, Ninum condiderunt, urbem magnam, &c. Out of this Land grew the Empire of the* Assyrians *who built* Ninus *the great City, so named of* Ninus *the Son of* Belus. On the contrary *Calvin* objecteth this place of *Isaiah*. *Behold the land of the Chaldeans, this was no people, Assur founded it by the inhabitants of the wilderness*; than which there is no one place in the Scriptures that hath a greater diversity in the translation and understanding; insomuch as *Michael de palatio* upon *Isaiah* (though in all else very diligent) passeth it over. But *Calvin* seemeth hereby to infer, that because *Assur* founded the state of the *Chaldeans*, therefore also *Assur* rather than *Nimrod* established the *Assyrian* Empire, and built *Ninive*: contrary to the former translation of *Junius*, and to his own opinion. Now out of the *Vulgar*, (called *Hierome*'s translation) it may be gathered that *Assur* both founded and ruined this Estate or City of the *Chaldeans*, by *Isaiah* remembred: unto which City, People or Estate, he plainly telleth the *Tyrians* that they cannot trust, or hope for relief thence. Or rather it may be taken, that the Prophet maketh this City of *Chaldea*, and that Estate, an example unto those *Phœnicians*, whom in this place he foretelleth of their ruin: which City of *Chaldea* being of strength, and carefully defended, was (notwithstanding) by the *Assyrians* utterly wasted and destroyed: whereby he giveth them knowledge, and foretelleth them, that their own City of *Tyre*, (invincible, as themselves thought) should also soon after be overturned by the same *Assyrians*: as (indeed) it was by *Nabuchodonosor*. And these be the words after *Hierome*: *Ecce terra Chaldæorum, talis populus non fuit, Assur fundavit eam, in captivitatem traduxerunt robustos ejus, suffoderunt domos ejus, posuerunt eam in ruinum*, (which is) *Behold the Land of the* Chaldæans, *such a People there were not* (or *this was no People*, after the *Geneva*) Assur (or the *Assyrians*) *founded it, they carried away their strong Men Captive, they undermined their Houses, and ruined their City.* The *Septuagint* expres it but in a part of another Verse, in these words. *Et in terra Chaldæorum, & hæc desolata est ab Assyriis, quoniam murus ejus corruit*, making the sence perfect by the preceding Verse, which all together may be thus understood. *If thou go over to* Chittim (which is *Macedon* or *Greece*) *yet thou shalt have no rest*, (speaking to the *Tyrians*) *neither in the Land of the* Chaldæans, *for this is made desolate by the* Assyrians, *because their Walls fell together to the Ground.* *Pagninus* and *Vatablus* convert it thus. *Ecce terra Chasdiim, iste populus non erat illic olim; nam Assur fundavit eam navibus, erexerunt arces illius, contriverunt ædes ejus, posuit eam in ruinam*: which may be thus Englished. *Behold the Land of the* Chaldæans, *this People was not once therein inhabiting: for* Assur *built it a Harbour for Ships, they erected the Towers thereof, and again brake down the Houses thereof, and ruinated it.* *Junius* in the place of Ships sets the word [*pro Barbaris*] that is, *for the Barbarians*: and the *Geneva*, *by the Barbarians*. But this is undoubted that the Prophet *Isaiah* (as may be gathered by all the sence of the Chapter)

Torniell. Annal. sacr. in Gen. 10.

23. 13.

did therein assure the *Tyrians* of their future Destruction, which (accordingly) fell on them: wherein (for the more terrour) he maketh choice to note the Calamities of those places, Cities, and Regions, by whose Trade the state and greatness of the *Tyrians* was maintained; as by the *Cilicians* from *Tharsis*; from the *Macedonians*, and other *Gracians* under the name of *Citim*; also by the *Ægyptians*, the *Chaldæans*, and the rest. For *Tyre* was then the Mart Town of the World most renowned. And (as it appears in our Discourse of *Paradise*) not the least part of her chief Merchandize came in by the City *Ur* or *Urchoa* in *Chaldæa*, where the Body or chief stream of *Euphrates* (even that stream which runneth through *Babylon* and *Otris*, which now falleth into *Tigris*) had his passage into the *Persian Gulf*: though now it be stopped up. For (as we have heretofore noted) the *Arabians* (that descended from *Sheba* and *Raamah*) dwelling on the East banks of the *Persian Gulf*, trading with the *Tyrians* (as those of *Eden*, *Charran*, and *Chalne* did) transported their Merchandize by the mouth of *Tigris*, that is, from *Teredon*, and of *Euphrates*, that is, from *Ur* or *Urchoa*: and then by *Babylon*, and thence by River and over Land they conveyed it into *Syria*, and so to *Tyre*: as they do this day to *Aleppo*. So then *Ur* of the *Chaldees* was a *Port Town*, and one of those Cities which had intelligence, Trade, and Exchange with the *Tyrians*; for it stood by the great Lakes of *Chaldæa*, through which that part of *Euphrates* ran, which passage is now stopt up. *Ejus cursum vetustas abolevit* (saith *Niger*.) And *Pliny*, *Locus ubi Euphratis ostium fuit, flumen falsum, Time hath worn away the Chanel of* Euphrates: *and the place where the Mouth thereof was, is a Bay of salt Water.* These things being thus, certainly (not without good probability) we may expound the City of the *Chaldees*, whose calamities *Esay* here noteth for terrour of the *Tyrians*, to be the City anciently called *Ur*; and (by *Hecatæus*) *Camerina*; by *Ptolomy Urchoa*: and by the Greeks *Chaldæopolis*, *The City of Chaldæa*: which the Sons of *Shem* until *Abraham*'s time inhabited. And whereas in all the Translations it is said, that *Assur* both founded it and ruined it: it may be understood, that *Assur* the Founder was the Son of *Shem*; and *Assur* the destroyers were the *Assyrians*, by whom those that inhabited *Ur* of *Chaldæa*, were at length oppressed and brought to ruin: which thing God foreseeing, commanded *Abraham* thence to *Charran*, and so into *Canaan*. And if the Hebrew word by *Vatablus* and *Pagninus* converted [*by Ships*] do bear that sense, the same may be the better approved, because it was a Port Town: and the River so far up as this City of *Ur* was in Ancient time Navigable, as both by *Pliny* and *Niger* appeareth. And if the word [*for the Barbarians*] or [*by the Barbarians*] be also in the Hebrew Text, it is no less manifest, that the most barbarous *Arabians* of the Desart were and are the confronting, and next People of all other unto it. For *Chaldæa* is now called *Arachaldar*, which signifieth Desart Lands, because it joineth to that part of *Arabia* so called: and *Cicero* (calling those *Arabians* by the name of *Ituræans*) addeth that they are of all other People the most Salvage; calling them *homines omnium maxime barbaros.*

So as this place of *Esay*, which breedeth some doubt in *Calvin*, proveth in nothing the contrary opinion, nor in any part weakeneth the former Translation of *Junius*, nor the interpretation of *Comestor* and *Rabanus*. For though other Men have not conceived (for any thing that I have read) that *Assur* is in this place diversly taken (as for the Son of *Sem*, when he is spoken of as a Builder of *Ur*; and when as a Destroyer thereof, then for the *Assyrian* Nation) yet certainly the evidence of the truth, and agreement of circumstances seem to inforce it. And so this founding of the City of the *Chaldees* by *Assur* (into which the most of the Posterity of *Sem* that came into *Shinaar*, and were separate for the Idolatry of the *Chusites* and *Nimrodians*, retired themselves) hath nothing in it to prove that the same *Assur* built *Ninive*, or that the same *Assur* was all one with *Ninus*; except we will make *Assur*, who was the Son of *Shem*, both an Idolater, and the Son of *Belus*. For (out of doubt) *Ninus* was the first notorious Sacrificer to Idols; and the first that set up a *Statue* to be honoured as God. Now if *Assur* must be of that race, and not of the Family of *Sem*, as he must be if he founded *Ninive*, then all those which seek to give him the honour thereof, do him by a thousand parts more injury, by taking from him his true Parent and Religion.

Besides, if this supposed *Assur* whom they make the Founder of *Ninive* (and so the Son of *Belus*) were any other, and not the same with *Ninus*; then what became of him? Certainly he was very unworthy and obscure, and not like to be the Founder of such an Empire and such a City, if no Man have vouchsafed to leave to Posterity his expulsion thence, and how he lost that Empire again, or quitted it to *Ninus*: whose Acts and Conquests are so largely written, and (according to my apprehension) far differing from truth. It will therefore be found best agreeing to Scripture and to Reason, and best agreeing with the Story of that Age written by prophane Authors, that *Nimrod* founded *Babel*, *Erech*, and *Accad*, and *Chalne*, the first works and beginnings of his Empire, according to *Moses*, and that these works being finished within the Valley of *Shinaar*, he looked farther abroad, and set in hand the work of *Ninus*, lying near unto the same stream that *Babel* and *Chalne* did: which work his Grand-Child *Ninus* afterward amplified and finished, as *Semiramis* (this *Ninus* his Wife) did *Babylon*. Hence it came to pass, that as *Semiramis* was counted the Foundress of the City which she only finished: so also *Ninus* of *Ninive*. *Quam quidem Babylonem potuit instaurare*, *She might repair or renew Babylon*, saith S. *Augustine*. For so did *Nabuchodonosor* vaunt himself to be the Founder of *Babylon* also, because he built up again some part of the Wall overborn by the fury of the River: which work of his stood till *Alexander*'s time; whereupon he vaunted thus: *Is not this great Babel which I have built?* Dan. 4. 27.

§. IV.

Of the acts of Nimrod *and* Belus, *as far as now they are known.*

BUT to return to the Story, it is plain in *Moses*, that *Nimrod* (whom *Philo* interpreteth *transfugum*; and *Julius Africanus* Surnamed *Saturn*) was the Establisher of the *Babylonian Monarchy*, of whom there is no other thing written, than that his Empire in the beginning consisted of those four Cities before remembred, *Babel*, *Erec*, *Accad*, and *Chalne*: and that from hence he propagated his Empire into *Assyria*; and in *Assyria* built four more Cities (to wit) *Ninive*, *Rehoboth*, *Celah*, and *Resen*. And seeing that he spent much time in building *Babel* it self and those adjoining, and that his Travails were many ere he came into *Shinaar*: that work of *Babel* (such as it was) with the other three Cities, and the large Foundation of *Ninive*,

Nivive, and the other Cities of *Assyria* which he builded (considered with the want of Materials, and with other Impediments) were of greater difficulty than any thing performed by his Successors in many Years after: to whose Undertakings time had given so great an increase of People; and the examples and patterns of his beginning so great an advancement and encouragement: in whose time (saith *Glycas*) all these Nations were called *Meropes, à sermonis linguarum terraque divisione, By reason that the Earth and the Speech were then divided.*

Belus, or *Bel*, or *Jupiter Belus*, succeeded *Nimrod*, after he had reigned 114 Years; of whose Acts and Undertakings there is little written. For it is thought that he spent much of his time in disburdening the low Lands of *Babylon*, and drying and making firm Ground of all those great Fens and overflown Marishes which adjoined unto it. For any of his Wars or Conquests there is no Report, other than of his begun Enterprise against *Sabatius* King of *Armenia*, and those parts of *Scythia* which *Berosus* calls *Scythia Saga*; whose Son and Successor *Barzanes* became Subject and Tributary to *Ninus*, that followed the War to effect, which was by his Father *Belus* begun.

§. V.

That we are not to marvel how so many Kingdoms could be erected about these times: and of Vexoris *of* Egypt, *and* Tanais *of* Scythia.

THat so many Kingdoms were erected in all those Eastern parts of the World so soon after *Nimrod*, (as by the Story of *Ninus* is made manifest) the Causes were threefold; (namely) Opportunity, Example, and Necessity. For Opportunity being a Princess liberal and powerful bestoweth on her first Entertainers many times more Benefits, than either Fortune can, or Wisdom ought; by whose presence alone the understanding Minds of Men receive all those Helps and Supplies, which they either want or wish for: so as every Leader of a Troop (after the division of Tongues and dispersion of People) finding these fair Offers made unto them, held the Power which they possest, and governed by Discretion all those People, whom they conducted to their destined places. For it cannot be conceived, that when the Earth was divided, Mankind straggled abroad like Beasts in a Desart; but that by Agreement they disposed themselves, and undertook to inhabit all the known parts of the World, and by distinct Families and Nations: otherwise, those remote Regions from *Babylon* and *Shinaar*, which had Kings, and were peopled in *Ninus*'s time, would not have been possest in many hundreds of Years after, as then they were; neither did those that were sent, and travelled far off (Order being the true Parent of prosperous Success) undertake so difficult Enterprizes without a Conductor or Commander. Secondly, the Example of *Nimrod* with whom it succeeded well, strengthened every Humour that aspired. Thirdly, Necessity resolved all Men by the Arguments of common Miseries, that without a Commander and Magistrate, nether could those that were laborious, and of honest Dispositions, enjoy the Harvest of their own Travels: nor those which were of little strength, secure themselves against forcible Violence: nor those which sought after any proportion of Greatness, either possess the same in quiet, or rule and order their own Ministers and Attendants.

That these causes had wrought these effects, the Undertakings and Conquests of *Ninus* (the Son of *Belus*) made it apparent: for he found every where Kings and Monarchs, what way soever his Ambition led him in the Wars.

But *Nimrod* (his Grand-father) had no Companion King, to us known, when he first took on him Sovereignty and sole Commandment of all those the Children of *Noah*, which came from the East into *Babylonia*: though in his Life time others also raised themselves to the same Estate; of which hereafter. *Belus* (his Son and Successor) found *Sabatius* King of *Armenia* and *Scythia*, sufficiently powerful to resist his Attempts: which *Sabatius* I take to be the same, which *Justine* calls *Tanais*; and should conjecture, that *Mizraim* had been his *Vexoris*, were it not that I vehemently suspect some error, (as *Justine* placeth him) in the time of that *Vexoris*, who by many Circumstances seems to me rightly accounted by the judicious and learned *Reinecc ius* all one with the great *Sesostris*, that lived certain Ages after *Ninus*. This *Belus*, the second King of *Babylon*, reigned 65 Years, according to the common Account.

See more of this, l. 2. of this first Part, *c.* 2. §. 6.

§. VI.

Of the Name of Belus, *and other Names affine unto it.*

WHence this second King and Successor of *Nimrod* had the Name of *Bel*, or *Belus*, question hath been made: for it seemeth rather a Name imposed, (or of addition) given by *Ninus*, than assumed by *Belus* himself.

Cyrillus against *Julian* calls the Father of *Ninus Arbelus*, affirming that he was the first of all Men that caused himself to be called a God: which were it so, then might the Name of *Belus* be thence derived. But *Bel*, as many learned Writers have observed, signifieth the Sun in the *Chaldaan* Tongue; and therefore did *Ninus* and *Semiramis* give that Name to their Father, that he might be honoured as the Sun, which the *Babylonians* worshipped as a God. And as this Title was assumed in after-times by divers others of the *Chaldaan* Princes, and *Babylonians Satrapæ*: so was it used (in imitation) by the chief of the *Carthaginians* and other Nations, as some Historians have conceived.

To this *Bel*, or *Belus*, pertain (as in affinity) those Voices of *Baal*, *Baalim*, *Belphegor*, *Beelphagor*, *Belsebub*, and *Beelsephon*. Those that are learned in the *Hebrew* and *Chaldaan*, convert the word *Baal* by the Latin *Princeps militiæ*, *Chief in the War*, though *Daniel* was so called (saith *Suidas*) *ob honorem explicationis arcanarum rerum*, *In honour of his expounding secrets*. S. *Hierome* makes *Bel*, *Beel*, and *Baal*, to have the same signification: and saith, that the Idol of *Babylon* was so called, which *Ninus* in memory of his Father set up to be worshipped: to which that he might add the more Honour and Reverence, he made it a Sanctuary and Refuge for all Offenders. Hence (saith *Lyranus*) came Idolatry, and the first use of Images into the World. *Isidore* doth interpret *Bel* by *Vetus*, old or ancient; adding, that as among the *Assyrians* it is taken for *Saturn* and the *Sun*: so in the *Punick* or *Carthaginian* Language it signifieth God. *Glycas* makes it an *Assyrian* name properly; and *Josephus* a *Tyrian*. He also affirmeth that the Idol which the *Moabites* worshipped (by them erected on the Mountain *Phegor*, or *Peor*, and called *Baal*) is the same which the Latins called *Priapus*, the God of Gardens; which was also the opinion of S. *Hierome*. But that the word *Bel*, or *Beel*, was as much to say as God, appeareth

Hier. in Ost. c. 2.

Lyr. in 2. ptm. Salom. c. 11. Isid. l. 8. c. 11.

Hieron. in Ost. c. 4. & 9.

appeareth by the word *Beelzebub*, the Idol of *Accaron*. For *Bel*, or *Beel* foundeth [God] and *Sebub*, [Flies or Hornets:] by which Name (notwithstanding) the *Jews* expreſs the Prince of Devils. But the Prophet *Oſea* teacheth us the proper ſignification of this word from the voice of God himſelf; *And at that day (ſaith the Lord) thou ſhalt call me Iſhi, and ſhalt call me no more Baalim: for I will take away the name of Baalim out of their mouths.* For although the name of *Baal*, or *Bahal*, be juſtly to be uſed towards God; yet in reſpect that the ſame was given to Idols, God both hated it and forbad it. And the uſing of the word *Bel* among the *Chaldaans* for the Sun, was not becauſe it properly ſignifieth the Sun, but becauſe the Sun there was worſhipped as a God: as alſo the Fire was, *tanquam Solis particula*. As for the words compounded (before remembred) as *Belphegor*, and *Belſephon*; *Belſephon* is expounded out of *Fagius*, *Dominus ſpeculæ vel cuſtodiæ, The Lord of the Watch-tower or of the Guard*: the other word noteth the Idol, and the place wherein it was worſhipped. It is alſo written *Belpeor*, or *Baalpeor*: and *Peor* (they ſay) is as much as *Denudavit*; and therefore the word joined expreſſeth a naked Image. Some there are that call this *Belus*, the Son of *Saturn*: for it was uſed among the Ancients to name the Father *Saturn*, the Son *Jupiter*, and the Grandchild *Hercules*. *Auctor. de aequi. l. 1.* *Saturni dicuntur familiarum Nobilium, Regum qui urbes condiderunt ſeniſſimi; primogeniti eorum Joves & Junones; Hercules vero nepotes eorum fortiſſimi, The ancienteſt of Noble Families and Kings which founded Cities, are called* Saturns; *their firſt-born* Jupiters *and* Juno's; *their valiant Nephews* Hercules. But this *Belus* (ſaith *L. Vives*) was famous by reaſon of his Warlike Son *Ninus*, who cauſed his Father to be worſhipped as a God by the name of *Jupiter Babylonius*, whom the *Ægyptians* (tranſported by the Dreams of their Antiquity) make one of theirs. *Diod. l. 3.* For *Neptune* (ſay they) upon *Libya* the Daughter of *Epaphus* begat this *Jupiter Belus*, who was Father to *Ægyptus*. They add, that this *Belus* carrying a Colony to the River of *Euphrates* there built a City, in which he ordained Prieſts after the *Ægyptian* manner. But were there any *Belus* the Son of *Epaphus* and *Iſis*, or of *Neptune* and *Libya*, or (with *Euſebius*) of *Telegonus*, who after the death of *Apis* married *Iſis*, (*Cecrops* then reigning in *Athens*) the ſame was not this *Babylonian Belus* of whom we ſpeak, but rather ſome other *Belus*, of whom the *Ægyptians* ſo much vaunted.

§. VII.

Of the worſhipping of Images begun from Belus *in* Babel.

AS for the *Babylonian Belus*, he was the moſt ancient *Belus*, and the Inventer of *Aſtronomy*, if *Pliny* ſay true: from whence the *Ægyptians* might borrow both the Name and the Doctrine. Some part of the Temple, in which his *Statue* or Image was honoured as a God, the ſame Author affirmeth that it remained in his time.

Strabo, lib. 13. c. 3. Of the Sepulchre of *Belus*, *Strabo* writeth thus. *Over the River* (ſaith he) *there are Gardens, where they ſay the Ruines of* Belus *his Tomb, which* Xerxes *brake up, are yet remaining. It was a ſquare Pyramis made of Brick, a Furlong high, and on every ſide it had a Furlong in breadth.* It appears by *Cyril* againſt *Julian*, that he obtained Divine Worſhip yet living: for ſo he writes of him (calling him *Arbelus*. *L. 4. cont. Julian.* *Arbelus, vir ſuperbus & arrogans, primus hominum dicitur à ſubditis Deitatis nomen acciſſe: perſeverârunt igitur Aſſyrii, & ſinistime illis gentes ſacrificantes ei.* Arbelus, *a Man very proud and arrogant, is accounted to be the firſt of all Men that was ever honoured by their Subjects with Title of Deity*; (or with the Name of God) *The* Aſſyrians *therefore and the bordering Nations have perſevered, ſacrificing to him.* Even *Arius* alſo, whom *Suidas* calls *Thurus*, who ſucceeded next after *Ninyas*, was made an Idol-God among them, if we credit *Suidas*.

After *Ninus* (that is, after *Ninyas*) *Thurus* reigned (ſaith *Suidas*) whom they called after the name of the Planet *Mars*; a Man of ſharp and fierce Diſpoſition, who bidding Battel to *Caucaſus* of the Stock of *Japheth* ſlew him. The *Aſſyrians* worſhipped him for their God, and called him *Baal* (that is) *Mars*; thus far *Suidas*. Neither is it unlikely but that many among idolatrous Nations were Deified in their Life-times, or ſoon after: though I deny not but that the moſt of their Images and *Statua* were firſt erected without Divine Worſhip, only in memory of the glorious Acts of Benefactors, as *Glycas* rightly conceiveth; and ſo afterward the Devil crept into thoſe wooden and brazen Carcaſes, when Poſterity had loſt the Memory of their firſt Invention. Hereof *Iſidore* ſpeaketh in this manner. *Quos autem Pagani Deos aſſerunt homines fuerunt, & pro uniuſcujuſque vitæ meritis vel magnificentia, coli apud ſuos poſt mortem cœperunt: ſed (Dæmonibus perſuadentibus) quos illi pro ſuæ memoriæ honore vêrunt, univerſos Deos exiſtimârunt: ad iſta verò magis excolenda acceſſerunt Poetarum figmenta, They were Men* (ſaith he) *whom the Pagans aſſigned to be Gods; and every one for his Merits or Magnificence began after his Death to be honoured of his own. But in length (the Devils perſwading) they accounted them leſſer Gods, whoſe Memories they honoured: and the Fictions of the Poets made the Opinions (concerning the Honours of the Dead) much more ſuperſtitious.*

And that the worſhipping of Images was brought in by the *Pagans*, and *Heathen* Nations, it is not *Iſidore* alone that witneſſeth; but *Gregory*: *Greg. Nyſſ. cæſar.* *Gentilitas* (ſaith he) *inventrix & caput eſt imaginum, Gentiliſm is the Inventreſs and ground of Images*: and *Ambroſe*; *Gentes lignum adorant, tanquam imaginem Dei, The Gentiles adore Wood as it were the Image of God.* *Ambroſ. in Pſal. 101.* *Euſebius* alſo affirmeth as much, and calleth the worſhipping of Images a Cuſtom borrowed of the Heathen. The like hath Saint *Auguſtine* againſt *Adimantus*. *Euſeb. l. 7. c. 18.* *Et verentur* (ſaith *Lactantius*) *ne religio vana ſit, ſi nihil videant quod adorent, They fear their Religion would be vain, ſhould they not ſee that which they worſhip.* *Aug. c. 14.* *Lact. l. 2. c. 2.*

And (out of doubt) the Schoolmen ſhift this fearful Cuſtom very ſtrangely. For ſeeing the very Workmanſhip is forbidden, how can the Heart of a wiſe Chriſtian ſatisfie it ſelf with the diſtinction of *Doulia* and *Hyperdoulia*, which can imply nothing but ſome difference of worſhipping of thoſe Images after they are made? And it is of all things the moſt ſtrange, why religious and learned Men ſhould ſtrain their Wits to defend the uſe of thoſe things, which the Scriptures have not only no where warranted, but expreſly in many places forbidden, and curſed the practiſers thereof. Yet this Doctrine of the Devil was ſo ſtrongly and ſubtilly rooted, as neither the expreſs Commandment of God himſelf, *Thou ſhalt not make any graven Image*, nor all the threatnings of *Moſes* and the Prophets after him could remove, weed it, or by fear, or by any perſwaſions lead the Hearts of Men from it. For where ſhall we find words of greater weight, or of plainer inſtruction than theſe? *Take therefore good heed to your ſelves* (*for ye ſaw no Image*

in

in the day that the Lord ſpake unto you in Horeb out of the midſt of the fire) that ye corrupt not your ſelves, and make you a graven Image, or repreſentation of any figure, whether it be the likeneſs of Male or Female.

And beſides the expreſs Commandment, *Thou ſhalt make thee no graven Image*, and the prohibition in many Scriptures, ſo it is written in the Book of *Wiſdom*, That *the invention of Idols was the beginning of Whoredom: and the finding of them the corruption of life: for they were not from the beginning, neither ſhall they continue for ever.*

And whereas the Schoolmen affirm, that the Prophets ſpake againſt the worſhipping of the Heathen Idols, it is manifeſt that *Moſes* ſpake of Images of the living God, and not of *Baal* and the reſt of that nature, *For you ſaw no Image* (ſaith *Moſes*) *that day that the Lord ſpake unto you in Horeb.* ſurely it was excellently ſaid of *Baſil*, *Noli aliquam in illo formam imaginari, ne circumſcribas eum mente tua, Do not imagin any form to be in God, leſt thou limit or circumſcribe him in thy mind too.* Now, if the great *Baſil* thought it a preſumption unlawful to repreſent a pattern of the infinite God to our own thoughts and minds, how far do thoſe men preſume that put him under the greaſie pencil of a Painter, or the ruſty Ax or other inſtrument of a Carpenter or Carver?

For as this diſhonour to the infinite and incomprehenſible God began in *Babel*: ſo did the Devil tranſport and ſpeed this invention into all the Regions adjoyning, and into *Ægypt* and *Greece.*

The *Romans* for a while reſiſted the errection of theſe Idols and Images, refuſing to ſet them in their Temples for 170 Years, obſerving therein the Law of *Numa*: who thought it impiety to reſemble things moſt beautiful, by things moſt baſe. But *Tarquinius Priſcus* afterwards prevailing, and following the vanity of the *Græcians* (a Nation of all others under the Sun moſt deluded by *Satan*) ſet up the Images of their Gods; which (as S. *Auguſtine* witneſſeth) that learned *Varro* both bewailed, and utterly condemned: and which *Seneca* thus derideth. *Simulachra deorum venerantur, illis ſupplicant, genu poſito illa adorant, & cum hæc ſuſpiciant, fabros qui illa fecere contemnunt, The Images of the Gods are worſhipped, thoſe they pray unto with bended knees; thoſe they adore, and while they ſo greatly admire them, they contemn the Handicraftſmen that made them:* which alſo *Sedulius* the *Poet* in this ſort ſcoffeth at.

De Civit. Dei, l. 4. c. 31.

Heu miſeri qui vana colunt, qui corde ſiniſtro
Religioſa ſibi ſculpunt ſimulachra, ſuumque
Factorem fugiunt, & quæ fecere verentur.
Quis furor eſt? quæ tanta animos dementia ludit?
Ut Volucrem, turpemq; Bovem, torvumq; Draconem,
Semi-hominemq; Canem ſupplex Homo pronus adoret.

Ah wretched they that worſhip Vanities,
And conſecrate dumb Idols in their Heart,
Who their own Maker (God on high) deſpiſe,
And fear the work of their own hands and art.
What fury? what great madeſs doth beguile
Mens minds? that Man ſhould ugly ſhapes adore,
Of Birds, or Bulls, or Dragons, or the vile
Half-dogg Half-man on Knees for aid implore.

And though this device was Barbarous, and firſt, and many years practiſed by Heathen Nations only, till the *Jews* were corrupted in *Ægypt*, yet it is not *Seneca* alone that laugheth to ſcorn the ignorant ſtupidity of his Nation: but *Juſtin Martyr* remembred how the *Sibyls* inveighed againſt Images: and *Hoſpinian*, how *Sophocles* taught, that it was pernicious to the Souls of men to erect and adore thoſe Bables. *Strabo* and *Herodotus* witneſs, that the *Perſians* did not erect or ſet up any *Statue* of their Gods. *Lycurgus* never taught it the *Lacedæmonians*, but thought it impiety to repreſent immortal natures by mortal figures. *Euſebius* alſo witneſſeth in his ſixth Book *de præparatione Evangelica*, that it was forbidden by a Law in *Serica*, or among the *Brachmans* in *India*, that Images ſhould be worſhipped. The ſame do *Tacitus* and *Crinitus* report of the Antient *Germans*. Many other Authors might be remembred that witneſs the diſdain which the Heathen themſelves had of this childiſh Idolatry: of which *Hoſpinian* hath written at large in his Tract *de origine imaginum.* And it was truly ſaid, *Omnia mala exempla bonis initiis orta ſunt, All ill examples have ſprung from good beginnings.* The Heathen at firſt made theſe *Statuæ* and Images, but in memory of ſuch remarkable men, as had deſerved beſt of their Countries and Commonwealths: *Effigies hominum* (ſaith *Pliny*) *non ſolebant exprimi niſi aliqua illuſtri cauſa perpetuitatem merentium: Men were not wont to make pictures, but of men which merited for ſome notable cauſe to be perpetually remembred.* And though of the more antient *Papiſts*, ſome have borrowed of the *Gentiles* (as appeareth in *Lactantius*) that defence for Images: That *Simulachra* are *pro elementis literarum, ut per ea diſcerent homines Deum inviſibilem cognoſcere: Images* (ſay they, and ſo before them the Heathen ſaid) *are inſtead of Letters, whereby men might learn to know the inviſible God*: in which underſtanding (perhaps) they no otherwiſe eſteemed them than Pictures indeed; yet as that of *Baal* or *Bel* ſet up in memory of *Belus* the *Babylonian* became afterwards the moſt reverenced Idol of the World, by which ſo many Nations (and they which were appropriate to God himſelf) were miſled and caſt away: ſo thoſe very Stocks and Stones, and painted Canvaſes (called the Pictures of *Chriſt*, our *Lady*, and others) were by thouſands of ignorant people, not only adored, but eſteemed to have life, motion, and underſtanding. *On theſe ſtocks we call* (ſaith the Book of *Wiſdom*) *when we paſs through the raging Waves, on theſe ſtocks more rotten than the Ship that carrieth us.*

This Heathen invention of Images became ſo fruitful in after-times, breeding an infinite multitude of Gods, that they were forced to diſtinguiſh them into Degrees and Orders; as *Dii Conſentes, ſeu majorum gentium; ſelecti, Patritii, inſigniores, dii medii*: *Counſelling Gods, or Gods of the mightieſt Nobility, ſelect Gods, Patritian, Gods of mark, and common Gods* (which the *Romans* called *Medioxumi*) *dii infimi*, and *Terreſtrial Hero's*, and multitudes of other Gods: of which S. *Auguſtine* hath made large mention in his Book *de Civitate Dei.* But (ſaith *Lactantius*) among all thoſe miſerable Souls and rotten Bodies, worſhipped by men more like to their Idols, did *Epimenides Cretenſis* (by what good Angel moved I know not) erect in the *Athenian* Fields, Altars to the unknown God, which ſtood with the ſame Title and Dedication even to the times of S. *Paul*: who made them firſt know to whom thoſe Altars belonged, and opened their Eyes which were capable of Grace, that they might diſcern the difference betwixt that light which lighteneth every man, and the obſcure and ſtinking miſt wherein the Devil had ſo many years led and miſled them. And it ſufficed not that the multitude

Lib. 14.

of

of these Gods was so great in general, or that every Nation had some one which took particular and singular care of them; as *Jupiter* in *Creet*, *Isis* in *Ægypt*, in *Athens Minerva*, in *Samos Juno*, in *Paphos Venus*, and so of all other parts; but every City, and almost every Family had a God apart. For as it is written in the second of *Kings*: the Men of *Babel*, made *Succoth Benoth*, and the Men of *Cuth* made *Nergal*, and the Men of *Hamath* made *Ashima*, and the *Avins* made *Nibhaz* and *Tarrack*, and the *Sephernaims* burnt their Children in the fire to *Adramelech*. All which how plainly hath the Prophet *Esay* derided? *Men cut down Trees, rinde them, burn a part of them, make ready their meat, and warm themselves by the fire thereof, and of the residue he maketh a God, an Idol, and prayeth unto it: but God hath shut their Eyes from sight, and their hearts from understanding.* It is therefore safest for a Christian to believe the Commandments of God so direct against Idolatry, to believe the Prophets, and to believe S. *Paul*: who speaketh thus plainly and feelingly. *My beloved fly from Idolatry, I speak as unto them which have understanding, judge ye what I say.*

c. 17. v. 18. 31.

c. 44.

§. VIII.

Of the Wars of Ninus: *and lastly of his War against* Zoroaster.

UNto this *Belus* succeeded *Ninus*, the first that commanded the exercise of Idolatry, the first that injuriously invaded his neighbour Princes; and the first that without shame or fear commited Adultery in publick. But as of *Belus* there is no certain memory (as touching particulars:) so of this *Ninus* (whose Story is gathered out of prophane Authors) I find nothing so warrantable, but that the same may be disputed, and in the greatest part doubted. For although that piece of *Berosus* set out and commented upon by *Annius* hath many good things in it, and giveth great light (as *Chytræus* noteth) to the understanding of *Diodorus Siculus*, *Dion*, *Halicarnassæus*, and others: yet *Lodovicus Vives*, *B. Rhenanus*, and others after them have laid open the imperfection and defects of the fragment; proving directly that it cannot be the same *Berosus* which lived in *Alexanders* time, cited by *Athenæus* and *Josephus*: and whose *Statue* the *Athenians* erected, saith *Pliny*. Yet it is from him chiefly, that many have gathered the succession of the *Babylonian* and *Assyrian* Princes, even from *Nimrod* to the eighteenth King *Ascatades*, and to the times of *Joshua*. For of *Metasthenes* an Historian, of the Race of the *Persian* Priests, there are found but certain Papers, or some few lines of the *Chaldæan* and *Assyrian Monarchies*: but he afterwards in the collection of the *Persian* Kings is not without his errours.

Athen. l. 14. Josephus cont. Appion. l. 1. & 7.

Ctesias of *Cnidus* (a City adjoyning to *Halicarnassus*) who lived together with *Cyrus* the Younger, and with *Artaxerexes Mnemon*, gathered his History out of the *Persian* Records, and reacheth as far upwards as *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: and though in the Story of *Cyrus* the Younger *Xenophon* approveth him in some things, and *Athenæus*, *Pausanias* and *Tertullian* cite him; yet so base and apparent are his flatteries of the times and Princes with whom he lived, and so incredible are the numbers which he finds in the Armies of *Ninus*, and especially of *Semiramis*; as whatsoever his reports were, times have consumed his works, saving some very few excerptions lately published.

And therefore in things uncertain, seeing a long discourse cannot be pleasing to men of judgment, I will pass over the acts of this third *Assyrian*, in as few words as I can express them. S. *Augustine* affirms that *Ninus* mastered all *Asia*, *India* excepted. Others say that he wan it all, save *India*, *Bactria*, and *Arabia*. For he made *Aricus* of *Arabia* the companion of his Conquests, with whom he entred into a straight League of amity, because he commanded many people, and was his kinsman, and a *Chuste*, and the neerest Prince confronting *Babylonia*. His first enterprise was upon *Syria*, which he might easily subdue, both because he invaded it on the suddain, and because it lay next him: And also because the *Arabians* and their King *Aricus* (which bordered *Syria*) assisted him in the Conquest thereof.

The King of *Armenia*, *Barzanes*, he forced to acknowledge him, and to aid him in his War against *Zoroaster*: for from *Armenia* he bent himself that way toward the East; but that ever he commanded the lesser *Asia*, I do not believe, for none of his successors had any possession therein.

His third War was against *Pharnus*, King of the *Medes*, whom it is said that he overthrew, and cruelly murthered with his seven Children, though others affirm that they all dyed in one Battel against him. Whether he invaded *Zoroaster* before the building or amplifying of *Ninive*, or after, it is uncertain. It is said that he made two expeditions into *Bactria*: and that finding little or ill success in the first, he returned, and set the work of *Ninive* forward: and then a second time entred *Bactria* with 1700000. Foot, and 200000. Horse, and 10000. six hundred Chariots: being encountred by *Zoroaster* with 400000. But *Ninus* prevailing, and *Zoroaster* slain, he entred farther into the Country, and besieged the chief City thereof, called *Bactra* or *Bactrion* (saith *Stephanus*:) which by a passage found, and assault given by *Semiramis* (the Wife of *Menon*) he entred and possest. Upon this occasion *Ninus* both admiring her judgment and valour, together with her person and external Beauty, fansied her so strongly, as (neglecting all Princely respects) he took her from her Husband, whose eyes he threatned to thrust out if he refused to consent. He therefore yielding to the passion of Love in *Ninus*, and to the passion of sorrow in himself, by the strong perswasions of shame and dishonour, cast himself headlong into the water and died.

Aug. de Civit. Dei.

Steph. de urb.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Of Zoroaster, *supposed to have been the chief Author of Magick arts: and of the divers kinds of Magick.*

§. I.

That Zoroaster *was not* Cham, *nor the first Inventor of Astrology, or of Magick: and that there were divers great Magicians of this name.*

ZOroaster King of the *Bactrians*, *Vincentius* supposeth to be *Cham*, the Son of *Noah*: A fancy of little probability. For *Cham* was the paternal Ancestor of *Ninus*; the Father of *Chus*; the Grand-father of *Nimrod*, whose Son was *Belus*, the Father of *Ninus*. It may be that *Vincentius* had heard of that Book which was called *Scriptura Cham*, devised by some wicked Knave, and so intituled: of which *Sixtus Senensis* hath made the due mention.

Cassian. in Oct. Col. c. 21. It is reported by *Cassianus*, that *Serenus Abbas* gave the invention of *Magick* to *Cham*, the Son of *Noah*: so did *Commester* in his Scholastical History: which Art (saith he) with the seven Liberal Sciences he writ in fourteen Pillars: Seven of which were made of Brass, to resist the defacing by the Waters of the Flood; and seven of Brick against the injury of Fire. There was also another devised Discourse, which went under the title of *Prophetia Cham*. *Cassianus* out of *Serenus* hath somewhat like unto this of *Commester*. These be *Cassianus*'s words. Cham (*filius* Noah) *qui superstitionibus istis & Sacrilegis fuit artibus infectus, sciens nullum se posse super hiis memorialem librum in Arcam prorsus inferre, in qua erat cum patre justo, &c.* Cham (*the Son of* Noah) *who was infected with these superstitions, and Sacrilegious Arts, knowing that he could not bring any Book or memorial of that nature into the Ark, wherein he was to remain with his godly Father, caused the precepts and rules thereof to be graven in Metal and hard Stone.*

S. *Augustine* noteth that *Zoroaster* was said to have laught at his Birth, when all other Children weep; which presaged the great knowledge which afterward he attained unto: being taken for the inventor of natural *Magick* and other Arts; for the corrupter, saith *Pliny* and *Justine*. But I do not think that *Zoroaster* invented the Doctrine of the Horoscopes or Nativities: or first found out the nature of Herbs, Stones, and Minerals, or their Sympathetical or Antipathetical workings; of which I know not what King of *Chaldea*, is also made the Inventor. I rather think that these knowledges were far more antient, and left by *Noah* to his Sons. For *Abraham* who had not any acquaintance with *Zoroaster*, (as *Josephus* reporteth) was no less learned herein than any other in that age, if he exceeded not all men then living: differing from the wisdom of after-times in this, that he knew and acknowleded the true cause, and giver of Life and Vertue to nature and all natural things; whereas others (forgetting Gods infinite, dispersed, and Universal Power) admired the instruments and attributed proper strength to the things themselves, (from which the effects were sensible) which belonged to that wisdom, *Which being one, and remaining in it self, can do all things and reneweth all.* *wisd. c. 7.*

Now whether this *Zoroaster* (overthrown by *Ninus*) were the same which was so excellent a Naturalist, it is doubted. For *Zoroaster* the *Magician*, *Ctesias* calls *Oxyartes*, whom *Pliny* finds of a later time. And if *Zoroaster* were taken away by a *Spirit* (being in the midst of his Disciples) as some Authors report, then *Zoroaster*, slain by *Ninus*, was not the *Magician*: which is also the opinion of *Scaliger*. *Scalig. in Eusch.*

Again, *Josephus* and *Cedrenus* affirm that *Seth* first found out the Planets, or wandring Stars, and other Motions of the Heavens: for if this art had been invented by *Zoroaster*, he could not have attained to any such excellency therein, in his own life time; but being a man (as it seemeth) of singular judgment, he might add somewhat to this kind of knowledge, and leave it by writing to Posterity. *Josep. l. 1. ant. c. 4.*

But of this *Zoroaster* there is much dispute: and no less jangling about the word and art of *Magick*. *Arnobius* remembreth four to whom the name of *Zoroaster*, or *Zoroastres* was given: which by *Hermodorus* and *Dinon* seemeth to be but a *cognomen*, or name of art, and was as much to say, as *astrorum cultor*. The first, *Arnobius* calleth the *Bactrian*, which may be the same that *Ninus* overthrew: the second, *a Chaldean* and the *Astronomer* of *Ninus*: the Third was *Zoroaster Pamphylius*, who lived in the time of *Cyrus*, and his familiar: the fourth *Zoroaster Armenius*, the Nephew of *Hostianes*, which followed *Xerxes* into *Greece*: between whom and *Cyrus* there past 78 Years. *Suidas* remembreth a fifth, called *Persomedus Sapiens*: and *Plato* speaketh of *Zoroaster* the Son of *Oromasdes*; which *Picus Mirandula* confirmeth.

Now of what Nation the first and chief *Zoroaster* was, it is doubted. *Pliny* and *Laertius* make him a *Persian*. *Gemisthius* or *Plethо*, *Ficinus* and *Teuchius* make him a *Chaldean*. But by those Books of one *Zoroaster*, found by *Picus Mirandula*, it appeareth plainly, that the Author of them was a *Chaldean* by Nation, though the word (*Chaldean*) was as often given to the learned Priests peculiarly, as for any distinguishment of Nations. *Porphyrius* makes the *Chaldei* and *Magi* divers; *Picus* the same. But that this *Zoroaster* was a *Chaldean* both by Nation and Profession, it appeareth by his Books, which (saith *Picus*) were written in the *Chaldean* Tongue; and the Comment in the same Language. Now that the *Magi* and they were not differing, it may be judged by the name of those Books of *Zoroaster*, which in an Epistle of *Mirandula* to *Ficinus*, he saith, to be intituled, *Patris Ezre* Zoroastris & Melchior *magorum oracula*.

§. II.

Of the Name of Magia: *and that it was anciently far divers from Conjuring and Witchcraft.*

Pic. Mir. fol. 81.

NOW for *Magick* it self; which Art (saith *Mirandula*) *pauci intelligunt, multi reprehendunt, Few understand, and many reprehend: Et sicut canes ignotos semper allatrant, As Dogs bark at those they know not*: so they condemn and hate the things they understand not: I think it not amiss (leaving *Ninus* for a while) to speak somewhat thereof.

It is true that many Men abhor the very name and word [*Magus*] because of *Simon Magus*, who being indeed, not *Magus*, but *Goes*, (that is) familiar with evil Spirits, usurped that Title. For *Magick*, Conjuring and Witchery are far differing Arts, whereof *Pliny* being ignorant scoffeth thereat. For *Nero* (saith *Pliny*) who had the most excellent *Magicians* of the East sent him by *Tyridates* King of *Armenia*, who held that Kingdom by his Grace, found the Art after long study and labour altogether ridiculous.

Plin. l. 30. hist. nat.

Porphyr. & Apul.

Plato. in Alcib.

Magus is a *Persian* word primitively, whereby is exprest such a one as is altogether conversant in things Divine. And (as *Plato* affirmeth) the Art of *Magick* is the Art of worshipping God. To which effect *Apollonius* in his Epistles expounding the word [μάγος] saith, that the *Persians* called their Gods μάγους: whence he addeth that *Magus* is either ὁ κατὰ φύσιν θεὸς or θεραπευτὴς θεῶν (that is) that *Magus* is a name sometime of him that is a God by nature; sometimes of him that is in the service of God: in which latter sense it is taken *Mast. c. 2. v. 1.* And this is the first and highest kind; which *Piccolomini* calleth Divine *Magick*: and these did the Latins newly intitle *Sapientes* or *wise men*: *For the fear and worship of God is the beginning of knowledge.* These *Wisemen* the *Greeks* call *Philosophers*: the *Indians Brachmans*: which name they somewhat nearly retain unto this day, calling their Priests *Bramines*; among the *Ægyptians* they were termed Priests; with the *Hebrews* they were called *Cabalists*, *Prophets*, *Scribes*, and *Pharisees*: amongst the *Babylonians* they were differenced by the name of *Chaldaans*: and among the *Persians Magicians*: of whom *Arnobius* (speaking of *Hostanes*, one of the ancient *Magicians*) useth these words, *Et verum Deum merita majestate prosequitur, & Angelos ministros Dei, sed veri, ejus veneration novit assistere, Idem demonas prodit terrenos, vagos, humanitatis inimicos. Sosthenes* (for so *M. Fœlix* calleth him, not *Hostanes*) *ascribeth the due majesty to the true God, and acknowledgeth that his Angels are Ministers and Messengers which attend the Worship of the true God. He also hath delivered that there are Devils earthly and wandring, and enemies to mankind.*

Piccol. de defin.

Prov. 1. 7.

Piccol. de defin.

John Hug. Linschot.

In Octavio Minutii Fœlicis cum Arnobio pag. 360.

His Majesty also in his first Book of *Demonologie c. 3.* acknowledgeth, that in the *Persian* Tongue the word [*Magus*] imports as much as a Contemplator of divine and Heavenly Sciences, but unjustly so called, because the *Chaldaans* were ignorant of the true Divinity. And it is also right which *His Majesty* avoweth, that under the name of *Magick* all other unlawful Arts are comprehended, and yet doth *His Majesty* distinguish it from *Necromancy*, *Witchcraft*, and the rest: of all which he hath written largely and most learnedly. For the *Magick* which *His Majesty* condemneth, is of that kind whereof the Devil is a Party. *Daniel* in his second Chapter nameth four kinds of those *Wisemen*: *Arioli*, *Magi*, *Malefici*, & *Chaldei*. *Arioli* the old Latin Translation calleth *Sophistes*: *Vatablus* and *Paginus Genethliacos*, or *Physicos*, or *Philosophers*, or (according to the Note of *Vatablus*) *Naturalists*: *Nempè sunt Magi apud Barbaros, quod Philosophi apud Græcos* (*scilicet*) *divinarum humanarumque rerum scientiam profitentes, For the* Magi *are the same with the* Barbarians, *as the* Philosophers *are with the* Græcians (that is) *men that profess the knowledge of things both Divine and Humane.* The *Greek* and the *English* call them Inchanters; *Junius* Magicians: *Castalion* Conjecturers: in the *Syrian* they are all four by one name called *Sapientes Babylonis, The Wisemen of* Babel.

Damonolog. l. 2. c. 1.

The second sort *Vatablus*, *Pagnin*, *Junius*, and our *English* call *Astrologers*, *Hierome* and the *Septuagint Magicians.*

The third kind are *Malefici*, or *Venefici*; in *Hierome*, *Pagnin*, and the *Septuagint*, *Witches*, or *Poisoners*: in *Junius Præstigiatores*, or *Sorcerers*, as in *English.*

That Witches are also rightly so called *Venefici*, or Poisoners; and that indeed there is such a kind of *Malefici*, which without any art of *Magick* or *Necromancy*, use the help of the Devil to do mischief, *His Majesty* confirmeth in the first Chapter of his second Book: speaking also in the fifth Chapter of their Practice, to mix the Powder of dead Bodies with other things by the Devil prepared; and at other times to make Pictures of Wax, or Clay, or otherwise (as it were *Sacramentaliter*) to effect those things, which the Devil by other means bringeth to pass.

The fourth, all Translators call *Chaldæans*: who took upon them to foretell all things to come, as well Natural as Humane, and their events: and this they vaunted to perform by the influences of the Stars by them observed, and understood.

Such were, and to this day partly (if not altogether) are the corruptions, which have made odious the very name of *Magick*, having chiefly sought (as is the manner of all Impostures) to counterfeit the highest and most noble part of it, yet so as they have also crept into the inferiour degrees.

A second kind of *Magick* was that part of *Astrology*, which had respect to Sowing and Planting, and all kinds of Agriculture and Husbandry: which was a knowledge of the motions and influences of the Stars into those lower Elements.

Philo Judæus goeth farther, affirming that by this part of *Magick* or *Astrology*, together with the motions of the Stars and other heavenly bodies, *Abraham* found out the knowledge of the true God, while he lived in *Chaldea*: *Qui contemplatione creaturarum cognovit Creatorem*, (saith *Jo. Damascen.*) *Who knew the Creator by the contemplation of the Creature.* Josephus *reporteth of* Abraham *that he instructed the* Ægyptians *in Arithmetick and Astronomy, who before* Abraham's *coming unto them knew none of these Sciences.*

De vit. sanct. Glyc. annal. fol. 180.

And so doth *Archangelus de Burgo* in defence of *Mirandula* against *Garsias*. *Alexander & Eupolemon dicunt, quod Abraham sanctitate & sapientia omnium præstantissimus Chaldæos primum, deinde Phœnices, demum Ægyptios sacerdotes Astrologiam & divina docuerit*: Alexander (*saith he*) *meaning* Alexander Polyhistor) *and* Eupolemon *affirm that* Abraham *the holiest and wisest of men did first teach the* Chaldæans, *then the* Phœnicians, *lastly the* Ægyptian *Priests, Astrology and Divine Knowledge.*

See upon his Comment. in Aug. de civit. Dei, l. 18. c. 2.

The third kind of *Magick* containeth the whole Philosophy of Nature; not the brablings of the *Aristotelians*, but that which bringeth to light the inmost Vertues, and draweth them out of Natures hidden bosome to humane use, *Virtutes in centro centri latentes*, *Virtues hidden in the Center of the Center*, according to the *Chymists*. Of this sort were *Albertus*, *Arnoldus de villa nova*, *Raymond*, *Bacon*, and many others: and before these, in elder times,

times, and who better understood the power of nature, and how to apply things that work to things that suffer, were *Zoroaster* before spoken of: *Apollonius Tyaneus* remembred by S. *Hierom* to *Paulinus*; in some mens opinion *Numa Pompilius* among the *Romans*: among the *Indians Thespion*: among the *Ægyptians Hermes*: among the *Babylonians Budda*: the *Thracians* had *Zamolxis*: the *Hyperborians* (as is supposed) *Abbaris*: and the *Italians Petrus Aponensis*. The *Magick* which these men profest is thus defined. *Magia est connexio à viro sapiente agentium per naturam cum patientibus, sibi congruenter respondentibus, ut inde opera prodeant non sine eorum admiratione qui causam ignorant*: *Magick is the connexion of natural agents and patients, answerable each to other, wrought by a wise Man to the bringing forth of such effects, as are wonderful to those that know not their causes.* In all these three kinds which other men divide into four, it seemeth that *Zoroaster* was exceedingly learned: especially in the first and highest. For in his *Oracles* he confesseth God to be the Creatour of the Universal: He believeth of the *Trinity*, which he could not investigate by any natural knowledge: he speaketh of Angels, and of *Paradise*: approveth the immortality of the Soul: teacheth Truth, Faith, Hope, and Love, discoursing of the Abstinence and Charity of the *Magi*: which *Oracles* of his, † *Psellus, Ficinus, Patritius*, and others have gathered and translated.

* *Tota in mundo lucet via, cujus Monas est Princeps. Cuncta namque perfecit pater, & mundi tradidit secunda.*

† *Psell. & Ficin.*

Of this *Zoroaster*, * *Eusebius* in the *Theology* of the *Phœnicians* using *Zoroaster*'s own words, *Hæc ad verbum scribit*: (saith *Eusebius*) *Deus primus incorruptibilium, sempiternus, ingenitus, expers partium, sibiipsi simillimus, bonorum omnium auriga, mulcra non expectans, optimus, prudentissimus, pater juris, sine doctrina justitiam perdoctus, natura perfectus, sapiens, sacræ naturæ unicus inventor*, &c. *Thus writeth* Zoroaster, *word for word. God the first incorruptible, everlasting, unbegotten, without parts, most like himself, the guide of all good, expecting no reward, the Best, the Wisest, the Father of right, having learn'd justice without teaching, perfect wise by Nature, the only inventor thereof.*

* *De præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 7.*

L. 2. fol. 45. *Sixtus Senensis* speaking of the wisdom of the *Chaldeans*, doth distinguish those wise Men into five Orders, (to wit) *Chascedim*, or *Chaldeans*: *Asaphim*, or *Magicians*: *Chartumim*; (which he translates *Arioli*, or *Sophists*) *Mecasphim*, or *Malefici*, or *Venefici*, *Witches*, or *Poysoners*; and *Gazarim Augures*, or *Aruspices*, or *Diviners*.

Chascedim were those which had the name of *Chaldæans*, which were *Astronomers*, *His cœlorum motus diligentissime spectârunt*, *These did most diligently contemplate the motions of the Heavens*: Whom *Philo* in the life of *Abraham* describeth.

Asaphim were in the Old Latin Translation called *Philosphers*: of the *Septuagint* and *of Hierom Magicians*, *qui de omnium tam divinarum quam humanarum rerum causis Philosophati sunt*, *Who discoursed of the causes of all things, as well divine as humane*: of whom *Origen* makes *Balaam* (the Son of *Beor*) to be the first: but *Laertius* ascribeth the invention of this art to *Zoroastres* the *Persian*.

Lart. l. 1.

Chartumim, or *Inchanters*, the Disciples (saith S. *Augustin*, *Pliny*, and *Justin*) of another *Zoroastres*: who corrupted the admirable wisdom of the *Magi*, which he received from his Ancestors.

Mecasphim, or *Venefici*, or *Witches*, are those of which we have spoken already out of his *Majesty*'s Book of *Dæmonologia*.

Gazarim, or *Aruspices* (after S. *Hierom*) which Divine from the Entrails of Beasts slain for Sacrifices: or by *Gazarim* others understand *Augures*, who Divine by the flying, singing, or feeding of Birds.

By this distinction we may perceive the difference between those wise men which the Kings of *Babylon* entertained; and that the name and profession of the *Magi* among the antient *Persians* was most honest. For as *Peucer* truly observeth, *præerant religioni Persicæ, ut in populo Dei Levitæ, studiisq; vere Philosophiæ dediti erant: nec quisquam Rex Persarum poterat esse, qui non antea Magorum disciplinam scientiamq; percepisset. The Magi* (saith he) *were the chief Ministers of the* Persian *Religion, as the Levites among Gods people, and they were given to the studies of true Philosophy: neither could any be King of the* Persian, *who had not first been exercised in the mysteries and knowledge of the* Migi. *Sixtus Senensis* in defence of *Origen* against *Polychronius* and *Theophilus* hath two kinds of *Magick*, his own words are these. *Et ne quem moveant præmissa Polychronii & Theophili testimonia, sciendum est duplicem esse Magiam; alteram ubique ab Origene damnatam, quæ per fœdera cum dæmonibus inita aut vere aut apparenter operatur; alteram ab Origene laudatam, quæ ad practicen naturalis Philosophiæ pertinet, docens admirabiles res operari ex applicatione mutua naturalium virtutum ad invicem agentium ac patientium. That the testimonies of* Theophilus *and* Polychronius (saith he) *may not move any man, it is to be understood that Magick is of two sorts, the one every where condemned by* Origen; *which worketh (whether truly or seemingly) by Covenants made with Devils: the other commended by* Origen; *which appertaineth to the practick part of natural Philosophy, teaching to work admirable things by the mutual application of natural Vertues, agent and suffering, reciprocally.* This partition *Hierom* doth embrace in the first of his Commentaries upon *Daniel*: where considering of the difference which *Daniel* makes between these four kinds of wise men formerly remembred, he useth this distinction; *Quos nos Hariolos; cæteri vocabulo* (*id est*) *Incantatores interpretati sunt, videntur mihi esse qui verbis rem peragunt; Magi, qui de singulis philosophantur; Malefici, qui sanguine utuntur & victimis, & sæpe contingunt corpora mortuorum: porro in Chaldæis Genethliacos significari puto, quos vulgo Mathematicos vocant. Consuetudo autem communis Magos pro Maleficis accipit, qui aliter habentur apud gentem suam, eo quod sint Philosophi Chaldæorum: & ad artis hujus scientiam Reges quoque & Principes ejusdem gentis omnia faciunt; unde & in nativitate Domini salvatoris ipsi primum ortum ejus intellexerunt, & venientes in sanctam Bethlehem adoraverunt puerum, stella desuper ostendente. They whom we call Sorcerers, and others interpret Inchanters, seem to me such as perform things by words; Magicians, such as handle every thing Philosophically; Witches, that use Blood and Sacrifices, and often lay hands on the Body of the Dead: further, among the* Chaldæans *I take them to be signified by the name of Conjecturers upon Nativities, whom the vulgar call Mathematicians. But common custom takes Magicians for Witches, who are otherwise reputed in their own Nation: for they are the Philosophers of the* Chaldæans: *Yea Kings and Princes of that Nation do all that they do according to the knowledge of this art: whence at the Nativity of the Lord our Saviour they first of all understood his Birth, and coming unto holy* Bethlehem *did worship the Child: the Star from above shewing him unto them.* By this therefore it appeareth that there is great difference between the Doctrine of a *Magician*, and the abuse of the word. For though some Writers affirm that *Magus hodie dicitur, qui ex fœdere facto utitur Diaboli opera ad rem quamcunque*; *That he is called a Magician now adays, who having entred league with the Devil, useth his help to any matter*; yet (as our Saviour said of *Divorce*) it was not so from the beginning. For the Art of *Magick* is of the wisdom of nature; other Arts which undergo that title were invented

Peucer. de divinat. in c. de mag. fol. 135 & 136.

Rib. l. 6. fol. 424.

by the falshood, subtlety and envy of the Devil. In the latter there is no other doctrine, than the use of certain ceremonies *per malam fidem*: *by an evil faith*: in the former no other ill, than the investigation of those vertues and hidden properties which God hath given to his creatures, and how fitly to apply things that work to things that suffer. And though by the *Jews*, those excellent *Magicians*, *Philosophers*, and *Divines* which came to Worship our Saviour *Christ*, were termed *Mechaschephim*, or *Mecasphim*; yet had they no other reason than common custom therein. *Consuetudo autem communis Magos pro Maleficis accipit*, *Common custom* (saith S. *Hierom*) *understandeth Witches under the name of Magicians*: *And antiquity* (saith Peter *Martyr*) by the word [*Magi*] *understood good and wise men*. *Quid igitur expaveſcis Magi nomen formidoloſe, nomen Evangelio gratioſum, quod non maleficum & veneficum, ſed ſapientem ſonat & Sacerdotem? O thou fearful one* (saith *Ficinus*) *why doubtest thou to use the name of* Magus, *a name gratious in the Gospel, which doth not signifie a Witch or Conjurer, but a wise man* and *a Priest*? For what brought this slander to that study and profession but only idle ignorance: the Parent of causeless admiration? *Causa fuit mirificentia quorundam operum, quæ re vera opera naturalia sunt: veruntamen quia procuratione dæmonum naturas ipsas vel conjungentium, vel commiscentium, vel aliter ad operandum expedientium facta sunt, opera dæmonum credebantur ab ignorantibus hæc. De operibus hujusmodi est Magia naturalis, quam Necromantiam multi improprie vocant. The marvelousness of some works, which indeed are natural, hath been the cause of this slander: but because these works have been done by procurement of Devils joining the natures together or mingling them, or howsoever fitting the natures to their working, they were thought the works of the Devils by the ignorant. Among these works is natural Magick, which men call very improperly Necromancy.*

Hieron. in Daniel.

Pet. Mart. loc.

Mar. Ficin. part. prim. sol. 573.

Gul. Parisien. de lege ca. 14.

Fol. 80.

Mirandula in his *Apology* goeth further: *for by understanding* (saith he) *the uttermost activity of natural agents we are assisted to know the Divinity of Christ*: for otherwise (to use his own words) *ignoratis terminis potentiæ & virtutis rerum naturalium stat nos dubitare illa eadem opera, quæ fecit Christus, posse fieri per media naturalia. The terms or limits of natural power and vertue not understood, we must needs doubt whether those very works which Christ did, may not be done by natural means*: after which he goeth on in this sort. *Ideo non hæretice, non superstitiose dixi, sed verissime & Catholice, per talem Magiam adjuvari nos in cognoscenda Divinitate Christi, Therefore I said not Heretically, not Superstitiously, but most truly and Catholickly, that by such Magick we are furthered in knowing the Divinity of Christ*. And seeing the *Jews* and others the Enemies of *Christian* Religion, do impudently and impiously object, that those Miracles which *Christ* wrought were not above nature, but by the exquisite knowledge thereof performed: *Mirandula* a man for his years fuller of knowledge than any that this latter Age hath brought forth, might with good reason avow, that the uttermost of natures works being known, the works which *Christ* did, and which (as himself witnesseth) no man could do, do manifestly testifie of themselves, that they were performed by that hand which held nature therein but as a Pencil, and by a power infinitely Supream and Divine: and thereby those that were faithless, were either converted or put to silence.

§. III.

That the good knowledge in the antient Magick is not to be condemned: though the Devil here as in other kinds hath sought to obtrude evil things under the name and colour of good things.

Seeing therefore it is confessed by all of understanding, that a *Magician* (according to the *Persian* word) is no other than *divinorum cultor & interpres*, *A studious observer and expounder of Divine things*: and the art it self (I mean the Art of natural *Magick*) no other, *quam naturalis Philosophiæ absoluta consummatio*, *Than the absolute perfection of natural Philosophy*: Certainly then it proceedeth from common ignorance, and no way forteth with wise and learned Men *promiscue*, and without difference and distinction, to confound lawful and praise-worthy knowledge with that impious, and (to use S. *Paul*'s words) *with those beggerly rudiments*, which the Devil hath shuffled in, and by them bewitcheth and befooleth graceless Men. For if we condemn natural *Magick*, or the wisdom of Nature, because the Devil (who knoweth more than any man) doth also teach Witches and Poysoners the harmful parts of Herbs, Drugs, Minerals, and Excrements: then may we by the same rule condemn the Physician, and the Art of healing. For the Devil also in the Oracles of *Amphiaraus*, *Amphilochus*, *Trophonius*, and the like, taught men in Dreams what Herbs and Drugs were proper for such and such Diseases. Now no man of judgment is ignorant, that the Devil from the beginning hath sought to thrust himself into the same imployment among the Ministers and Servants of God, changing himself for that purpose into an Angel of light. He hath led men to Idolatry as a Doctrine of Religion; he hath thrust in his Prophets among those of the true God; he hath corrupted the Art of *Astrology*, by giving a Divine power to the Stars, teaching men to esteem them as Gods, and not as Instruments. And (as *Bunting* observeth) it is true, that judicial *Astrology* is corrupted with many superstitions: but the abuse of the thing takes not away the Art; considering that heavenly Bodies (as even general experience sheweth) have and exercise their operation upon the inferiour. For the Sun, and the Star of *Mars* do dry; the Moon doth moisten, and govern the Tides of the Sea. Again, the Planets, as they have several and proper names, so have they several and proper vertues: the Stars do also differ in beauty and in magnitude; and to all the Stars hath God given also their proper names, which (had they not influences and vertues different) needed not: *He counteth the number of the Stars, and calleth them by their names.* But into the good and profitable knowledge of the celestial influences, the Devil ceaseth not to shuffle in his superstitions: and so to the knowledge of the secret vertues of nature hath he fastened his Doctrine of *Characters*, numbers, and incantations; and taught Men to believe in the strength of Words and Letters: (which without faith in God are but Ink or common breath) thereby either to equal his own with the all-powerful word of God, or to diminish the glory of Gods creating Word, by whom are all things.

Bunt. in Chron.

Psal. 147.

Moreover, he was never ignorant, that both the wise and the simple observe when the Sea-birds forsake the Shores and fly into the Land, that commonly some great Storm followeth; that the high flying of the Kite and the Swallow betoken fair weather; that the crying of Crows and bathing of Ducks foreshew rain: for they feel the Air moistened in their Quills. And it is written in

Jeremy

Ca.8.ver.7. *Jeremy* the Prophet, *Even the Stork in the Air knoweth her appointed times, and the Turtle, and the Crane, and the Swallow.* Hereupon, this enemy of Mankind working upon these as upon the rest of Gods Creatures, long time abused the Heathen by teaching them to observe the flying of Fowles, and thereby to judge of good or ill success in the War: and (withal) to look into their Entrails for the same, as if God had written the secrets of unsearchable providence in the Livers and Bowels of Birds and Beasts. Again, because it pleased God sometimes by Dreams, not only to warn and teach his Prophets and Apostles, but Heathen Princes also; as Gen.12.17. *Abimelech* to restore *Sara* to *Abraham*; because he admonisheth *Joseph*, and by Dream informed *Jacob*, *Laban*, *Pharaoh*, *Salomon*, *Paul*, *Ananias*, the *Magi* of the East, and others. For as it is remembred in Job 33.17. *Job*: *In Dreams and Visions of the night when sleep falleth upon men*, &c. *then God openeth the ears, that he might cause man to return from his enterprise*: therefore, I say, doth the Devil also practise his divinations by Dreams, or (after *Parisiensis*) *divinitatis invitationes, his mock Divinity.* This in the end grew so common, as *Aristides* compiled an *Ephemerides* of his own Dreams: *Mithridates* of those of his *Concubines.* Yea the *Romans* finding the inconvenience hereof, because all Dreams (without distinction of causes) were drawn to divination, forbad the same by a law, as by the words of prohibition (*aut narrandis somniis occultam aliquam artem divinandi*) it may appear. Likewise by the Law of God in *Deuteronomy cap.* 13. seducing Dreamers were ordered to be slain. Yet it is not to be contemned that *Marcus Antonius* was told a remedy in his Dream for two grievous Diseases that oppress him; nor that of *Alexander Macedon* for the cure of *Ptolomy*'s poysoned wound; nor that which S. *Augustin* reporteth of a *Millanoise*; whose Son (the Father dead) being demanded a debt already paied, was told by his Father in a Dream where the acquittance lay to discharge it; nor that of *Astyages* of his Daughter, and many others of like nature. Of the reason of all which, forasmuch as the cause is not in our selves, this place denieth dispute.

G. Parisiens. de leg. 24. cap.

Codex. de maleficit. & Mathemat. leg. & si. accepta.

Aug. de cura pro mortuis agenda.

§. IV.

That Daniel's *misliking* Nabuchodonosor's *condemning of the Magicians doth not justifie all their practices.*

BUT it may be objected, that if such Divinations as the Heathens commonly used were to be condemned in them, who took on them very many and strange Revelations: how came it to pass that *Daniel* both condemned the hasty sentence of *Nabuchodonosor* against the *Magicians* of *Chaldaa*, and in a sort forbad it? especially considering that such kind of people God himself commanded to be slain. Deut. 13. & 18. Levit. 20. To this divers answers may be given. First it seemeth that *Daniel* had respect to those *Chaldæans*, because they acknowleded that the Dream of the King, which himself had forgotten, could not be known to any man by Art, either Natural or Diabolical: *For there is none other* (said the *Chaldæans*) *that can declare it before the King, except the Gods, whose dwelling is not with fl sh*: and herein they confessed the power of the ever-living God.

Secondly, it may be conjectured (and that with good reason) that among so many learned Men, some of them did not exercise themselves in any evil or unlawful Arts, but were meerly *Magicians* and *Naturalists*: and therefore when the King commanded to kill all, *Daniel* perswaded the contrary, and called it a hasty judgment, which proceeded with fury without examination. And that some of those mens Studies and Professions were lawful, it may be gathered by *Daniel*'s instruction: For himself had been taught by them, and was called chief of the Inchanters; of which some were termed *Soothsayers*, others *Astrologians*, others *Chaldæans*, others *Magi* or *Wisemen*: and therefore of distinct professions.

Thirdly, *Daniel* misliked and forbad the Execution of that Judgment, because it was unjust. For howsoever those Men might deserve punishment for the practice of unlawful Arts (though not unlawful according to the Law of that State) yet herein they were altogether guiltless. For it exceeded humane power to pierce the Kings thought, which the Devil himself could not know. So then in *Daniel*'s dislike, and hindering of the Execution of sentence of Death pronounced against the *Magicians*, there is no absolute justifying of their practice and Profession.

§. V.

The abuse of things which may be found in all kinds, is not to condemn the right use of them.

NOtwithstanding this mixture every where of good with evil, of falsehood with truth, of corruption with cleanness and purity: The good, The truth, The purity in every kind may well be embraced: As in the antient worshipping of God by Sacrifice; there was no man knowing God among the Elders, that therefore forbare to offer Sacrifice to the God of all Power, because the Devil in the Image of *Baal*, *Astaroth*, *Chemoth*, *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, and the like was so adored.

Neither did the abuse of *Astrology* terrifie *Abraham* (if we may believe the most ancient and Religious Historians) from observing the motions and natures of heavenly Bodies; neither can it dehort wise and learned Men in these days from attributing those Vertues, Influences, and Inclinations to the Stars and other lights of Heaven, which God hath given to those his glorious Creatures. Euseb. et Artapan. & Polybist.

The Sympathetical and Antipathetical working of Herbs, Plants, Stones, Minerals, with their other utmost Vertues sometimes taught by the Devil, and applied by his Ministers to harmful and uncharitable ends, can never terrifie the honest and learned *Physician* or *Magician* from the using of them to the help and comfort of Mankind: neither can the Illusions, whereby the Devil betrayeth such Men as are fallen from God, make other men reject the observations of Dreams; so far as with a good Faith and a Religious caution they may make use of them.

Lastly, the prohibition to mark flying of Fowls (as signs of good or evil Success) hath no reference at all to the crying of Crows against rain, or to any observation not superstitious, and whereof a Reason or cause may be given. For if we confound Arts with the abuse of them, we shall not only condemn all honest Trades and enterchange among Men (for there are that deceive in all Professions) but we shall in a short time bury in forgetfulness all excellent Knowledge and all Learning, or obscure and cover it over with a most scornful and beggerly ignorance: and (as *Pliny* teacheth) we should shew our selves *ingratos erga eos, qui labore curaq; lucem nobis aperuerunt in hac luce, Unthankful we should shew our selves towards those, who with pains and care have discovered unto us light in this light.* Deut. 18. 20.

Indeed not only these natural knowledges are condemned by those that are ignorant; but the *Mathematicks* also and Professors thereof: though those that are excellently learned judge of it in this sort. *In speculo Mathematico Verum illud, quod in omni scibili quæritur, relucet; non modo remota similitudine,* Cusan. Comp. Theolog. c. 1.

similitudine, sed fulgida quadam propinquitate. In the glass of the Mathematicks that truth doth shine, which is sought in every kind of knowledge; not in an obscure Image, but in a near and manifest representation.

§. VI.

Of the divers kinds of unlawful Magick.

IT is true that there are many Arts, if we may so call them, which are covered with the name of *Magick*: and esteemed abusively to be as Branches of that Tree, on whose Root they never grew. The first of these hath the name of *Necromancy* or *Goëtia*: and of this again there are divers kinds. The one is an Invocation at the Graves of the Dead, to whom the Devil himself gives answer in stead of those that seem to appear. For certain it is, that the Immortal Souls of Men do not inhabit the dust and Dead Bodies, but they give motion and understanding to the living: Death being nothing else but a separation of the Body and Soul: and therefore the Soul is not to be found in the Graves.

A second practice of those Men, who pay Tribute, or are in League with Satan, is that of conjuring or of raising up Devils, of whom they hope to learn what they list. These Men are so distract, as they believe that by terrible words they make the Devil to tremble; that being once impaled in a circle (a circle which cannot keep out a Mouse) they therein (as they suppose) insconce themselves against that great Monster. Doubtless they forget that the Devil is not terrified from doing ill and all that is contrary to God and goodness, no, not by the fearful word of the Almighty: and that he feared not to offer to sit in Gods seat, that he made no scruple to tempt our Saviour *Christ*, whom himself called the Son of God. So, forgetting these proud parts of his, an unworthy wretch will yet resolve himself, that he can draw the Devil out of Hell, and terrifie him with a phrase: whereas in very truth, the obedience which Devils seem to use, is but thereby to possess themselves of the Bodies and Souls of those which raise them up; as *His Majesty* in his Book aforenamed hath excellently taught, *That the Devils obedience is only secundum quid, scilicet ex pacto; respectivè*, that is, *upon bargain.*

Sunt in mundo genus quoddam potestatum valde divisum, indiscretum & inconsideratum; & quod neque verum à falso, neque possibile discernit ab impossibili. L. Vives in cap. 11. li. 10. Aug. de Civit. Dei, li. 10. Cusan. exerc. l. 2.

I cannot tell what they can do upon those simple and ignorant Devils, which inhabit *Iamblicus*'s imagination; but sure I am the rest are apt enough to come uncalled: and alwaies attending the cogitations of their Servants and Vassals, do no way need any such inforcement.

Or it may be that these Conjurers deal altogether with *Cardan*'s mortal Devils, following the opinion of *Rabbi Avernathan* and of *Porphyrius* who taught that these kind of Devils lived not above a thousand Years: which *Plutarch* in his Treatise *de Oraculorum defectu* confirmeth, making example of the great God *Pan*. For were it true that the Devils were in awe of wicked Men, or could be compelled by them, then would they alwaies fear those words and threats, by which at other times they are willingly mastered. But the *Familiar* of *Simon Magus* when he had lifted him up in the Air, cast him headlong out of his Claws, when he was sure he should perish with the fall. If this perhaps were done by S. *Peter*'s Prayers (of which S. *Peter* no where vaunteth) yet the same prank at other times upon his own accord the Devil plaied with *Theodotus*: who transported (as *Simon Magus* was supposed to have been) had the same mortal fall that he had. The like success had *Budas*, a principal Pillar of the *Manichean* Heresie, as *Socrates* in his Ecclesiastical History witnesseth: and for a manifest proof hereof we see it every day, that the Devil leaves all Witches and Sorcerers at the Gallows, for whom at other times he maketh himself a *Pegasus*, to convey them in hast to places far distant, or at least makes them so think: *For to those that received not the truth* (saith S. *Paul*) *God shall send them strong illusions.* Of these their supposed transportations (yet agreeing with their confessions) *His Majesty* in the second Book and the fourth Chapter of the *demonologie*, hath confirmed by unanswerable reasons, that they are meerly illusive. Another sort there are who take on them to include *Spirits* in Glasses and Crystals: of whom *Cusanus*: *Fatui sunt incantatores, qui in ungue & vitro volunt spiritum includere: quia Spiritus non clauditur corpore, They are foolish Inchanters which will shut up their Spirits within their nails or in Glass: for a Spirit cannot be inclosed by a Body.*

Li. 1. c. 5.

Exercit. l. 2.

There is also another Art besides the aforementioned, which they call *Theurgia*, or *White Magick*; a pretended conference with good Spirits or Angels, whom by Sacrifice and Invocation they draw out of Heaven, and communicate withal. But the administring Spirits of God, as they require not any kind of adoration due unto their Creatour: so seeing they are most free Spirits; there is no Man so absurd to think (except the Devil have corrupted his Understanding) that they can be constrained or commanded out of Heaven by threats. Wherefore let the Professours thereof cover themselves how they please by a professed purity of life, by the ministry of Infants, by fasting and abstinence in general; yet all those that tamper with immaterial substances and abstract natures, either by Sacrifice, Vow, or inforcement, are Men of evil Faith and in the power of Satan. For good Spirits or Angels cannot be constrained; and the rest are Devils which willingly obey.

Gal. par. de univ. fo. p. 2. c. 7

Other sorts there are of wicked divinations: as by Fire, called *Pyromantia*: by Water, called *Hydromantia*: by the Air, called *Mateotechnia*, and the like.

The last, and (indeed) the worst of all other is Fascination or Witchcraft: the practisers whereof are no less envious and cruel, revengeful and bloody, than the Devil himself. And these accursed Creatures having sold their Souls to the Devil, work two waies; either by the Devil immediately, or by the Art of Poisoning. The difference between *Necromancers* and *Witches*, *His Majesty* hath excellently taught in a word: that the one (in a sort) command; the other obey the Devil.

There is another kind of petty Witchery (if it be not altogether deceit) which they call Charming of Beasts and Birds, of which *Pythagoras* was accused, because an Eagle lighted on his Shoulder in the *Olympian* Fields. But if the same exceeded the Art of Falconry, yet was it no more to be admired than *Mahomet*'s Dove, which he had used to feed whith Wheat out of his Ear: which Dove, when it was hungry, lighted on *Mahomet*'s Shoulder, and thrust his Bill therein to find his breakfast: *Mahomet* perswading the rude and simple *Arabians*, that it was the Holy Ghost that gave him advice. And certainly if *Bankes* had lived in elder times, he would have shamed all the Inchanters of the World; for whosoever was most famous among them, could never master or instruct any Beast as he did his Horse.

Ælian. li. 6. var. Histor.

Maxim. vis est phantasi ad error

For the drawing of Serpents out of their dens, or killing of them in the holes by Inchantments (which the *Marsians*, a People of *Italy*, practised. *Colubros disrumpit Marsia cantu*, *Inchanting* Marsia

Lucil. in Satyr.

Euseb. hist. Eccl. li. 5. c. 16.

Marsia makes the Snakes to burst.) That it hath been used it appears *Psalm* 58. 6. though I doubt not, but that many Impostures may be in this kind; and even by Natural Causes it may be done. For there are many fumes that will either draw them out or destroy them; as Womens hair burnt, and the like. So many things may be laid in the entrance of their holes that will allure them: and therein I find no other *Magick* or Inchantment, than to draw out a Mouse with a piece of toasted Cheese.

§. VII.

Of divers waies by which the Devil seemeth to work his wonders.

BUT to the end that we may not doat with the *Manichees*, who make two powers of Gods: that we do not give to the Devil any other Dominion than he hath (not to speak of his Ability, when he is the minister of Gods vengeance, as when *Ægypt*, according to *David*, was destroyed by evil Angels) he otherwise worketh but three waies. The first is by moving the cogitations and affections of Men: The second by the exquisite knowledge of Nature: and the third by deceit, illusion, and false semblance. And that they cannot work what they would, *G. Parisiensis* giveth three causes: the first a natural Impotency: the second, their own Reason disswading them from daring over much, or indeed (and that which is the only certain cause) the great mercy of the Creatour, *Tenens eas ligatas* (saith the same Author) *velut immanissimas belluas.* S. *Augustine* was of opinion that the Frogs which *Pharaoh's* Sorcerers produced were not Natural, but that the Devil (by betraying of their senses that looked on) made them appear to be such. For as *Vairus* observeth, those Frogs of the Inchanters were not found corrupted as those of *Moses* were, which might argue that they were not Creatures indeed. Hereof saith S. *Augustine*, *Nec sanè dæmones naturas creant, sed quæ à Deo creata sunt commutant, ut videantur esse quod non sunt, The Devils create not any natures, but so change those that are created by God, as they seem to be that which they be not*: of which in the 83. question he giveth the reason, *Dæmon quibusdam nebulis implet omnes meatus intelligentiæ, per quos aperire lumen rationis radius mentis solet,* (that is) *The Devil fills with certain Clouds all passages of the understanding, by which the beam of the mind is wont to open the light of reason.*

Gul. paris. de univers. p. 2. c. 70.

And as *Tertullian* in his Book *de anima* rightly conceiveth, if the Devil can possess himself of the eyes of our minds, and blind them, it is not hard for him to dazle those of the Body. For (out of doubt) by the same way that God passeth out, the Devil entereth in, beginning with the fantasie, by which he doth more easily betray the other faculties of the Soul: for the fantasie is most apt to be abused by vain apprehensions.

Maxima vis est phantasiæ ad errores.

Aquinas on the contrary held that those Frogs were not imaginary, but such indeed as they seemed: not made *magicæ artis ludibrio*, which indeed agreeth not with the art, but (according to *Thomas*) *per aptam & idoneam agentium & patientium applicationem, By an apt and fit applying of agents and patients.* And this I take to be more probable. For *Moses* could not be deceived by that sleight of false semblance; and S. *Augustine* in another case like unto this (to wit) of the turning of *Diomedes* his Companions into Birds, *per activa cum passivis*, incline th rather to this opinion: though I am not perswaded that S. *Augustine* believed that of *Diomedes*. And this opinion of *Thomas*, *G. Parisiensis* a Man very learned also confirmeth. For speaking of Natural *Magick* he useth these words. *De huiusmodi autem operibus est subita generatio ranarum & pediculorum, & vermium, aliorumque animalium quorundam: in quibus omnibus sola natura operatur, verùm adhibitis adjutoriis, quæ ipsa semina naturæ confortant & acuunt, ita ut opus generationis tantum accelerent, ut eis qui hoc nesciunt non opus naturæ videatur (quæ tardius talia efficere consuevit) sed potentia dæmonum, &c.* to which he addeth. *Qui autem in hiis docti sunt talia non mirantur, sed solum Creatorem in hiis glorificant: In such works* (saith he) *the sudain generation of Frogs, and Lice, and Worms, and some other Creatures is: in all which Nature alone worketh; but by means strengthening the seeds of Nature, and quickning them; in such wise that they so hasten the work of Generation, that it seemeth to the ignorant not to be the work of Nature, which usually worketh more leisurely, but they think it is done by the power of Devils. But they who are learned in these Arts marvail not at such working, but glorifie the Creatour.* Now by these two waies the Devils do most frequently work, (to wit) by knowing the uttermost of Nature; and by illusion: for there is no incomprehensible or unsearchable power, but of God only.

De leg. c. 24. fol. 67.

For shall we say, he causeth sometimes Thunders, Lightnings, and Tempests; and can infect the Air, as well as move it or compress it; who knows not that these things are also Natural? Or may it be objected that he foretelleth things before they happen, which exceedeth Nature, and is no illusion? it is true, that he sometimes doth it; but how? In elder Ages he stole his knowledge out of the predictions of the Prophets: and he foretold the Death of *Saul*, at such time as he was in his own Possession and power to dispose of. And he that hath lived from the infancy of the World to this day, and observed the success of every Council: he that by reason of his swift motions can inform himself of all places, and preparations: he that is of Counsel with all those that study and practise subversion and destruction: he that is Prince of the Air, and can thence better judge, than those that inhabit the Earth: if he should not sometimes, yea if he should not very oftentimes guess rightly of things to come (where God pleaseth not to give impediment) it were very strange. For we see that wise and learned Men do oftentimes by comparing like Causes conceive rightly of like effects, before they happen: and yet where the Devil doubteth and would willingly keep his credit, he evermore answereth by Riddles, as

Ephes. 2. 2. & 6. 12. Diabolus magni habet rerum usum: quæ res multum habet momenti in quovis negotio. Aug. de Anima, c. 26, 27, &c.

Crœsus Halym penetrans magnam subvertet opum vim.

If *Crœsus* over *Halys* go,
Great Kingdoms he shall overthrow.

Which answer may be taken either way: either for the overthrow of his own Kingdom, or of his Enemies. And thus far we grant the Devil may proceed in Predictions, which otherwise belong to God only; as it is in *Isaiah*. *Shew the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are Gods: shew us at all times and certainly what is to come. Solius enim divinæ intelligentiæ ac sapientiæ est occulta nosse & revelare. It is only proper to Gods understanding and wisdom to know and reveal hidden things.*

Guil. Parisiensis de legib. ca. 24.

§. VIII.

§. VIII.

That none was ever raised from the dead by the power of the Devil: and that it was not the true Samuel *which appeared to* Saul.

TO conclude, It may be objected that the Devil hath raised from the dead: and that others by his power have done the like, as in the example given of *Samuel* raised by the Witch of *Endor*: which were it true, then might it indeed be affirmed that some of the Devils acts exceed all the powers of nature, false semblance, and other illusions. *Justine Martyr* was sometimes of the opinion, that it was *Samuel* indeed: and so was *Ambrose*, *Lyra*, and *Burgensis*; from which authorities those men borrow strength which so believe. But *Martyr* changed his opinion: and so did S. *Augustine*, who at first seemed to be indifferent: For in his questions upon the Old and New Testament he accounteth it detestable to think that it was *Samuel* which appeared: and these be his words elsewhere to the same effect. *In requie sunt animæ piorum à corpore separatæ, impiorum autem pœnas luunt, donec istarum ad vitam æternam, illarum vero ad æternam mortem quæ secunda dicitur corpora revivisc ant. The Souls of the godly separated from their Bodies are at rest, but those of the wicked suffer punishment, till the bodies of the just rise to Eternal life, and of the wicked to an Eternal and second death.*

Just Martyr in colloq. cum Tryphone in resp. ad Ortho. quæst 52. Ambr. in Luk. li. 1. ca. 1. Lyra in Reg. 1. Aug. ad Simpl. l. 2. q. 3. De Civit Dei li. 13. ca. 8.

And (besides S. *Augustine*) *Justine Martyr*, *Hilarius*, *Tertullian*, *Athanasius*, *Chrysostom* and others believed firmly, and taught it: that the Souls of men being once separate from their bodies did not wander on the Earth at all. *Credere debemus* (saith *Cyril*) *quum à corporibus sanctorum animæ abierint, tanquam in manus charissimi patris bonitati divinæ commendari. We must believe when the Souls of holy men are departed from their Bodies, that they be commended to the Divine Goodness as into the hands of a most dear Father.* If then they be in Heaven, the power of the Devil cannot stretch so high: if in Hell, *ab inferno nulla est redemptio, from Hell there is no redemption.* For there are but two habitations after death; *Unum* (saith *Augustine*) *in igne æterno*; *alterum in regno æterno*: *The one in eternall Fire*; *the other in Gods eternal Kingdom.* And though it be written in *Jure Pontificio*, that many there are who believe that the Dead have again appeared to the living; yet the Gloss upon the same Text finds it ridiculous. *Credunt & male, quia sunt Phantasmata* (saith the Gloss) *They believe, and they beleve amiss, because they be but Phantasms*, or *Apparitions.* For whereas any such voice hath been heard, saying, I am the Soul of such a one; *hæc oratio à fraude atque deceptione Diabolica est. That speech is framed by the fraud and deception of the Devil*, saith *Chrysostom.* Likewise of the same saith *Tertullian. Absit ut animam cujuslibet Sancti, nedum Prophetæ, à dæmonio credamus extractam. God forbid that we should think that the Soul of any holy Man, much less of a Prophet, should be drawn up again by a Devil.*

Aug. de verb. Apost 18. Just. Mar. ad Orthodox. q. 75. Hilar. psal. 2. in fine. Tert. de Anima in fin. Athan. q. 13. Chrysostom hom. 19. in Evang. Matth.

26. q. 5. Episcopi.

It is true that the Scriptures call that apparition *Samuel*; so do they the wooden Images *Cherubins*: and false brazen Gods are called Gods: and the like. And whereas these of the contrary opinion build upon that place of the 26. of *Ecclesiasticus* (a Book not numbred among the *Canonical* Scriptures, as S. *Augustin* himself in his Treatise, if it be his, *de cura pro mortuis agenda*, confesseth) yet *Siracides* following the Literal sense and Phrase of the Scriptures, proveth nothing at all: For though the Devil would willingly perswade, that the Souls (yea even of just Men) were in his power, yet so far is it from the promises of the Scriptures, and from Gods just and merciful Nature, and so contrary to all Divine reason, as Saint *Augustin* (or whosoever wrote that Book before cited) might rightly term it a detestable opinion so to think. For if God had so absolutely forsaken *Saul*, that he refused to answer him either by dreams, by *Urim*, or by his *Prophets*: it were sottish to conceive, that he would permit the Devil, or a wicked Witch to raise a Prophet from the Dead in *Saul*'s respect: it being also contrary to his own Divine Law to ask Counsel of the Dead; as in *Deuteronomy* 18. and elsewhere. Therefore it was the Devil, and not the Soul of a dead Body, that gave answer and advice.

1 Kings 17. 22. 2 Kings 4. 34.

But because *Helias* and *Helizeus* had raised some from the Dead by the power of God; those Devils which S. *Augustine* calleth *ludificatores animantium sibi subjectorum, mockers of their own Vassals*, casting before their Eyes a semblance of humane Bodies, and framing sounds to their Ears like the voices of Men, do also perswade their graceless and accursed attendants, that themselves both possess, and have power over the Souls of Men. *Eludit Diabolus aciem tum spectantium, tum etiam cogitantium* saith L. Vives, *The Devil beguileth the sense both of the beholders, and of those that so imagine.* These then are the bounds of the Devils power, whom if we will not fear, we must fear to sin. For when he is not the instrument of Gods vengeance, he can touch no man that makes not himself his voluntary Vassal: *potest ad malum invitare, non potest trahere*, saith S. *Augustin, he can allure, but he cannot inforce to evil.* Such as think otherwise may go into the number remembred by *Lucretius.*

Nullas vim magus aut dæmon mortuum vere unquam excitavit. vide Vier. de Scin.

Nam veluti pueri trepidant, atque omnia cæcis
In tenebris metuunt: sic nos in luce timemus.

We fear by light, as Children in the dark.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Of the memorable Buildings of Ninus, *and of his Wife* Semiramis : *and of other of her Acts.*

§. I.

Of the magificent Building of Ninive *by* Ninus : *and of* Babylon *by* Semiramis.

BUT to come back to *Ninus* the amplifier and finisher of *Ninive*; whether he performed it before or after the overthrow of *Zoroaster*, it is uncertain. As for the City it self, it is agreed by all prophane Writers, and confirmed by the Scriptures, that it exceeded all other in circuit, and answerable magnificence. For it had in compass 440. *stadia*, or furlongs; the Walls whereof were an hundred foot upright, and had such a breadth as three Chariots might pass on the Rampire in front: these Walls were garnished with 1500 Towers which gave exceeding beauty to the rest, and a strength no less admirable for the nature of those times.

Justin. l. 1. Diod. li. 2. Sabel. l. 8 1.

But this City (built in the Plains of *Assyria*, and on the Banks of *Tigris*, and in the Region of *Eden*,) was founded long before *Ninus*'s time; and (as antient Historians report, and more lately *Nauclerus*) had the name of *Campsor*, at such time as *Ninus* amplified the same, and gave it a Wall, and called it after his own name.

For these works of *Babylon* and *Ninive* begun by *Nimrod* in *Chaldaa*, and in *Assyria*, *Ninus* and *Semiramis* made perfect. *Ninus* finished *Ninive*, *Semiramis Babylon*: wherein she sought to exceed her Husband by far. Indeed in the first Age when Princes were moderate, they neither thought how to invade others, nor feared to be invaded: labouring to build Towns and Villages for the use of themselves and their People without either Walls or Towers; and how they might discharge the Earth of Woods, Briars, Bushments, and Waters, to make it the more habitable and fertile. But *Semiramis* living in that Age, when Ambition was in strong youth: and purposing to follow the Conquest which her Husband had undertaken, gave that beauty and strength to *Babylon* which it had.

Herod. li. 1. Justin. l. 1. Diod. li. 2. & 3.

§. II.

Of the end of Ninus : *and beginning of* Semiramis Reign.

THis she did after the death of her Husband *Ninus*: who after he had mastered *Bactria*, and subjected unto his Empire all those Regions between it and the *Mediterran Sea* and *Hellespont* (*Asia* the less excepted) and finished the work of *Ninive*, he left the World in the year thereof 2019 after he had Raigned 52 years. *Plutarch* reporteth that *Semiramis* desired her Husband *Ninus*, that he would grant unto her the absolute Sovereign power for one day. *Diod. Siculus* out of *Athenaus*, and others, speaks of five days. In which time (moved either with desire of rule, or licentious liberty, or with the memory of her Husband *Menon*, who perished for her) she caused *Ninus* her Husband to be slain. But this seemeth rather a scandal cast on her by the *Greeks*, than that it had any truth.

However *Ninus* came to his end, *Semiramis* took on her after his death the sole rule of the *Assyrian* Empire: of which, *Ninus* was said to be the first *Monarch*, because he changed his Seat from *Babylonia* in *Chaldea* to *Ninive* in *Assyria*. *Justin* reports that *Semiramis* (the better to invest herself, and in her beginning without murmur or offence to take on her so great a charge) presented herself to the people in the person of her Son *Ninias* or *Zameis*, who bare her external form and proportion without any sensible difference.

Ælian. li. 7. & Diodor.

This report I take also to be feigned, for which many arguments might be made. But as she ruled long, so she performed all those memorable Acts which are written of her by the name of *Semiramis*, and subscribed that Letter which she sent to the King of *India* (her last challenge and undertaken Conquest) by her own name. And were it true that her Son *Ninias* had such a Stature at his Fathers death, as that *Semiramis* (who was very personable) could be taken for him; yet it is very unlikely that she could have held the Empire from him 42 years after by any such subtilty: (for so long she Reigned after the death of her Husband:) but it may be true that *Ninias* or *Zameis* (being wholely given to his pleasures as it is written of him) was well pleased with his Mothers prosperous government and undertakings.

§. III.

Of Semiramis *Parentage, and Education, and* Metamorphosis *of her Mother.*

SOme Writers (of which *Plutarch* is one) make this famous Woman to have been of base Parentage, calling her after the name of her Country, a *Syrian*. *Berosus* calls her after the name of her City wherein she was born, *Semiramis Ascalonitis*; of *Ascalon*, the antient City and *Metropolis* of the *Philistims*. Others report her to be the Daughter of *Derceta*, a *Curtizan* of *Ascalon* exceeding beautiful. Others say that this *Derceta* or *Dercetis* the Mother of *Semiramis* was sometimes a Recluse, and had profest a holy and a religious life, to whom there was a Temple dedicated seated on the bank of a Lake adjoyning to *Ascalon*; and afterward falling in love with a goodly young Man she was by him made with Child, which (for fear of extream punishment) she conveyed away, and caused the same to be hidden among the high Reeds which grew on the banks of the Lake: in which (while the Child was left to the mercy of wild Beasts) the same was fed by certain Birds, which used to feed upon or near those waters. But I take this tale to be like that of *Lupa* the Harlot that fostered *Romulus*. For some one or other adjoyning to this Lake had the charge and fosteridge of this Child, who being perchance but some base and obscure creature, the Mother might thereby hope the better to cover her dishonour and breach of vow; notwithstan-

ding which she was cast from the top of her Temple into the Lake adjoining, and (as the Poets have feigned) changed by *Venus* into a Fish, all but her Face, which still held the same Beauty and human shape. It is thought that from this *Derceta* the Invention of that Idol of the *Philistims* (called *Dagon*) was taken: for it is true, that *Dagon* had a Mans Face, and a Fishes Body: into whose Temple when the *Ark* of God was brought, the Idol fell twice to the Ground: and at the second fall there remained only the Trunk of *Dagon*, the head being broken of: For so S. *Hierom* hath converted that place. *Vatablus*, *Pagninus*, and *Junius* write it by *Dagon* only, which signifieth a Fish, and so it only appeared: the Head thereof by the second fall being sundred from the Body.

For my self I rather think, that this *Dagon* of the *Philistims* was an Idol representing *Triton*, one of those imaginary Sea-gods under *Neptune*. For this City being maritimate (as all those of the *Philistims* were, and so were the best of *Phœnicia*) used all their devotions to *Neptune*, and the rest of the petty Gods which attended him.

§. IV.

Of her expedition into India, *and death after discomfiture; with a note of the improbability of her Vices.*

BUT for her Pedigree I leave it to the *Assyrian Heralds*: and for her vitious life I ascribe the report thereof to the envious and lying *Grecians*. For delicacy and ease do more often accompany licentiousness in Men and Women, than labour and hazzard do. And if the one half be true which is reported of this Lady, then there never lived any Prince or Princess more worthy of fame than *Semiramis* was, both for the works she did at *Babylon* and elsewhere, and for the Wars she made with glorious Success: all but her last Enterprise of *India*; from whence both *Strabo* and *Arianus* report that she never returned: and that of all her most powerful Army there survived but only twenty Persons: the rest being either drowned in the River of *Indus*, dead of the Famine, or slain by the Sword of *Staurobates*. But as the multitude which went out are more than reason hath numbred: so were those that returned less than could have escaped of such an Army, as consisted of four millions and upwards. For these numbers which she levied by her Lieutenant *Derceteus* (saith *Suidas*) did consist of Foot-men three millions; of Horsemen one million; of Chariots armed with hooks on each side one hundred thousand; of those which fought upon Camels as many; of Camels for burden two hundred thousand; of raw Hides for all uses three hundred thousand; of Gallies with brazen heads three thousand, by which she might transport over *Indus* at once three hundred thousand Soldiers: which Gallies were furnished with *Syrians*, *Phœnicians*, *Cilicians*, and Men of *Cyprus*. These incredible and impossible numbers, which no one place of the Earth was able to nourish (had every Man and Beast but fed upon Grass) are taken from the Authority of *Ctesias*: whom *Diodorus* followeth. But as the one may be taxed with many frivolous reports: so *Diodorus* himself hath nothing of certainty, but from *Xerxes* expedition into *Greece* and afterwards: whose Army (though the same was far inferior to that of *Semiramis*) yet had it weight enough to overload the belief of any reasonable Man. For all Authors consent, that *Xerxes* transported into *Greece* an Army of 1700000 and gathered together (therein to pass the *Hellespont*) three thousand Gallies, as *Herodotus* out of the several Provinces whence those Gallies were taken hath collected the number.

Suid. f. 845. lit. S.

But of what multitude soever the Army of *Semiramis* consisted: the same being broken, and overthrown by *Staurobates* upon the Banks of *Indus*, *canticum cantavit extremum*: *she sang her last Song*; and (as Antiquity hath feigned) was changed by the Gods into a Dove, (the Bird of *Venus*) whence it came that the *Babylonians* gave a Dove in their Ensigns.

§. V.

Of the Temple of Belus *built by* Semiramis: *and of the Pyramids of* Ægypt.

AMong all her other memorable and more than magnificent works (besides the Wall of the City of *Babylon*) was the Temple of *Bel*, erected in the middle of this City, invironed with a Wall carried four square of great height and beauty, having on each square certain brazen Gates curiously Engraven. In the *Core* of the square she raised a Tower of a furlong high, which is half a quarter of a Mile; and upon it again (taking a *Base* of a less circuit) she set a second Tower; and so eight in all, one above another: upon the top whereof the *Chaldeans* Priests made the observation of the Stars, because this Tower overtopped the ordinary Clouds.

By beholding the ruins of this Tower have many Travellers been deceived; who suppose that they have seen a part of *Nimrod*'s Tower, when it was but the Foundation of this Temple of *Bel*: (except this of *Bel* were founded on that of *Nimrod*.) There were burnt in this Temple one hundred thousand talents of Frankincense every Year (saith *Herodotus*.) This Temple did *Nabuchodonosor* adorn with the spoils of *Jerusalem*, and of the Temple of *Salomon*: all which Vessels and Ornaments *Cyrus* redelivered. This Temple *Zerxes* evened with the soil; which *Alexander* is said to have repaired by the perswasions of the *Chaldeans*. I deny not that it might have been in his desire so to do; but he enjoyed but a few Years after *Babylon* taken, and therefore could not perform any such work. The *Ægyptians* (saith *Proclus*) inhabiting a low and level Ground, and given to the same superstition of the Stars that the *Chaldeans* were, erected in imitation, and for the same service and use, the *Pyramids* by *Memphis*, which were *conspicuæ undique navigantibus*, saith *Pliny*. Of these *Pyramids Bellonius* a careful observer of rarities (who being in *Ægypt* mounted by steps to the top of the highest) maketh this report. *Le meilleur archer qui seroit a sa sommite, & tirant une fleche en l'air, à peine pourroit l'envoyer hors de sa base qu'elle ne se tombast sur les degrez.* *The best Archer standing on the top of one of these Pyramids, and shooting an Arrow from thence into the Air as far as he can, with great difficulty shall be able so to force the same, but that it will fall upon some of the degrees or steps.*

Procl. in Timæ. l. 1.

Bell. l. 2.

Finis Libri primi.

THE

THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD:

Intreating of the Times from the Birth of ABRAHAM *to the destruction of the Temple of* SOLOMON.

The SECOND BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of the time of the Birth of Abraham: *And of the use of this Question, for the ordering of the Story of the* Assyrian *Empire.*

§. I.

Of some of the Successors of Semiramis: *With a brief transition to the Question, about the time of the Birth of* Abraham.

AFter the death of *Semiramis*, *Ninias* or *Zamis* succeeded her in the Empire, on whom *Berosus Annianus* bestows the Conquest of *Bactria*, and the overthrow of *Zoroaster*; contrary to *Diodorus*, *Justin*, *Orosius*, and all other approved Writers. For *Ninias* being esteemed no Man of War at all, but altogether Feminine, and subjected to Ease and Delicacy, there is no probability in that opinion. Now because there was nothing performed by this *Ninias* of any moment, other than that out of jealousie he every year changed his Provincial Governours; and built Colledges for the *Chaldean* Priests, his Astronomers: nor by *Arius* his Successor, whom *Suidas* calleth *Thuras*; but that he reduced again the *Bactrians* and *Caspians*, revolted as it seemeth in *Ninias* his time: nor of *Aralius*, the Successor of *Arius*, but that he added sumptuosity, invented Jewels of Gold and Stone, and some Engines for the War: I will for this present pass them over; and a while follow *Abraham*, whose ways are warrantable, (till we meet these *Assyrians* again in this Story) by whom, and by whose Issues we shall best give date to the Kings

of *Babylon*: *Abraham* living at once with *Ninus*, *Ninias*, *Semiramis*, *Arius*, *Aralius*, and *Xerxes* or *Balæus*. For otherwise if we seek to prove things certain by the uncertain, and judge of those times, which the Scriptures set us down without error, by the Raigns of the *Assyrian* Princes; we shall but patch up the Story at adventure, and leave it in the same confusion, in which to this day it hath remained. For where the Scriptures do not help us, *Plutarch* saith, *Nam non est in rebus antiquis Historia, nisi quæ certa est: No marvel if then in things very Ancient, History want assurance.*

The better therefore to find out, in what age of the World, and how long these *Assyrian* Kings Reigned, as also for other good causes, we must first assure the time of *Abraham*'s Birth, and in what Year the same hapned after the Flood. Now since all agree, that the forty third year of *Ninus* was the Birth-year of *Abraham*; by proving directly out of the Scriptures, in what year after the Flood the Birth of *Abraham* hapned, we shall thereby set all the rest in square and order. But of this time there is much jangling between those *Chronologers*, which follow the *Hebrew* account, and others: the most part making 292. or 293. years; others 352. years between *Abraham*'s Birth and the Flood: a matter often disputed, but never concluded.

Archilochus de temporibus (as we find him in *Annius*) makes but 250. years from the Flood to *Ninus*: then seeing that *Abraham* was born in the forty third year of *Ninus*, according to *Eusebius*, and St. *Augustine*, it followeth by the addition of those two numbers, that the year of *Abraham*'s Birth was in the year after the Flood 293. or as the most part of all Chronologers gather, the year 292.

Now, since I do here enter into that never resolved question, and *Labyrinth* of times, it behoveth me to give reason for my own opinion: and with so much the greater care and circumspection, because I walk aside, and in a way apart from the multitude; yet not alone, and without companions, though the fewer in number: with whom I rather choose to endure the wounds of those Darts, which Envy casteth at novelty, than to go on safely and sleepily in the easie wayes of Ancient mistakings: seeing to be learned in many errors, or to be ignorant in all things, hath little diversity.

§. II.

A proposal of reasons or arguments, that are brought to prove Abraham *was born in the year* 292. *after the Flood, and not in the year* 352.

THose which seek to prove this account of 292. years, between the general Flood and *Abraham*'s Birth, ground themselves, first on these words of the Scripture. *So Terah lived* 70. *years, and begot Abraham, Nahor, and Haran*: secondly upon the opinion of *Josephus*, St. *Augustine*, *Beda*, *Isidore*, and many of the Ancient *Hebrews* before them: Authorities (while they are slightly lookt over) seeming of great weight.

From the place of Scripture last remembred, the latter Chronologers gather these arguments. First out of the words as they lie; that *Terah at* 70. *years begot Abraham, Nahor and Haran*: and that *Abraham* being the first named, *Abraham* being the worthiest, *Abraham* being the Son of the promise, ought in this respect to be accounted the eldest Son of *Terah*, and so necessarily born in the seventieth year of his life. Secondly it was of *Abraham* that *Moses* had respect, in whom the Church of God was continued, who was Heir of the Blessing; and not of *Nahor* and *Haran*: for the scope of this Chapter was to set down the Genealogy of Christ, from *Adam* to *Abraham*, without all regard of *Nahor*, and *Haran*.

It is thirdly objected, that if *Abraham* were not the eldest Son, then there can be no certainty of his age, and so are all future times made doubtful. For it cannot then be proved, that *Abraham* was born more assuredly in the 130. year of *Terah*'s age, than in the 131. 132. or 140. For no where let down perciselie that *Abraham* went into *Canaan* that very year, in which his Father died.

Fourthly it is thought improbable, that *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 130. year: seeing *Abraham* himself thought it a wonder to be made a Father at 100. years.

§. III.

The answer to one of the objections proposed, shewing that Abraham *made but one journey out of* Mesopotamia *into* Canaan: *and it, after his Fathers death.*

TO answer all which objections it is very easie, the way being prepared thereto by divers learned Divines long since, and to which I will add somewhat of mine own, according to the small talent which God hath given me. Now forasmuch as the state of the question cannot well be scanned, unless the time of *Abraham*'s journey into *Canaan* be first considered of; before I descend unto the particular examination of these arguments, I will make bold with order and method so far, as to search into a strange tradition concerning his Travels, that serveth as a ground for this opinion, and a bulwark against all that can be said to the contrary.

But it is conceived that *Abraham* made two journies into *Canaan*: the latter after his Fathers death, the former presently upon his calling, which he performed without all delay, not staying for his Fathers death at *Haran*: a conjecture, drawn from a place in the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, where it is written, *By faith Abraham (when he was called) obeyed God, to go out into a place, which he should afterward receive for inheritance: and he went out, not knowing whither he went.* This supposition (if it be granted) serves very well to uphold the opinion, that can ill stand without it. Let us therefore see whether we may give credit to the supposition it self. *Heb.* 11. 8. *Gen.*

Surely, that *Abraham* first departed *Charran* or *Haran* after the death of *Terah* his Father, the same is proved, without the admission of any distinction, by these words of St. *Stephen*: *And after his Father was dead, God brought him into this Land, where ye now dwell*, that was, out of *Haran* into *Canaan*. Against which place so direct and plain, what force hath any Mans fancy or supposition, perswading, that *Abraham* made two journies into *Canaan*; one before *Terah*'s death, and another after: no such thing being found in the Scriptures, nor any circumstance, probability, or reason to induce it? For if any Man out of this place before alledged can pick any argument, proving, or affording any strong presumption, that *Abraham* past into *Canaan*, and then returned unto *Haran*, from whence he departed a second time: then I think it reason, that he be believed in the rest. But that he performed the Commandment of God after his Fathers death, leaving *Ur* and *Haran* for *Canaan*, it is as true as the Scriptures themselves are true. *For after his Father was dead*, (saith the *Martyr Stephen*) *God brought him into this Land.* And, as *Beza* noteth, *Act.* 7. 4. *Heb.* 11. 8.

teth, if *Abraham* made a double journey into *Canaan*, then must it be inferred, that *Moses* omitted the one, and *Stephen* afterwards remembred the other: and whence had *Stephen*, saith *Beza*, the knowledge of *Abraham*'s coming into *Canaan*, but out of *Moses*? For if *Stephen* had spoken any thing of those times, differing from *Moses*, he had offered the *Jews* his adversaries too great an occasion both of scandalizing himself, and the Gospel of Christ. Indeed we shall find small reason to make us think that *Abraham* passed and repassed those waies, more often than he was enforced so to do, if we consider, that he had no other guide or comforter in this long and wearisome journey, than the strength of his Faith in Gods promise: in which if any thing would have brought him to despair, he had more cause than ever Man had to fall into it. For he came into a Region of strong and stubborn Nations: a Nation of valiant and resolved Idolaters. He was besieged with Famine at his first arrival, and driven to fly into *Ægypt* for relief. His Wife was old, and he had no Son to inherit the Promise. And when God had given him *Isaac*, he commanded him to offer him up to himself for Sacrifice: all which discomforts he patiently and constantly underwent.

Secondly, let us consider the waies themselves, which *Abraham* had to pass over, the length whereof was 300. *English* Miles: and through Countries of which he had no manner of experience. He was to transport himself over the great River of *Euphrates*, to travel through the dangerous and barren Desarts of *Palmyrena*, and to climb over the great and high Mountains of *Libanus*, *Hermon* or *Gilead*: and whether these were easie walks for *Abraham* to march twice over, containing, as afore-said, 300. Miles in length, let every reasonable Man judge. For if he traveled it twice; then was his journey in all 1800. Miles from *Ur* to *Haran*: and from *Haran* twice into *Canaan*. But were there no other argument to disprove this fancy; the manner of *Abraham*'s departing from *Haran* hath more proof, that he had not *animum revertendi*, *not any thought looking backward*, than any Mans bare conjecture, be he of what Antiquity or Authority soever. For thus it is written of him. Gen. 12.5. *Then Abraham took Sarah his Wife, and Lot his Brothers Son, and all their substance that they possest, and the Souls that they had gotten in Haran: and they departed to go to the Land of Canaan, and to the Land of Canaan they came.* Now if *Abraham* brought all with him that was dear unto him; his Wife, and Kinsmen, and his, and their goods: it is not probable that he meant to walk it back again for his pleasure, in so warm, dangerous, and barren a Country as that was: or if he could have been thereto moved, it is more likely that he would have then returned, when he was yet unsetled, and prest with extreme Famine at his first arrival. For had his Father been then alive, he might have hoped from him to receive more assured comfort and relief, than among the *Ægyptians*, to whom he was a meer stranger both in Religion and Nation.

What the cause might be of *Abraham*'s return to *Haran*, as I will not enquire of them, that without warrant from the Scriptures have sent him back thither, about the time of his Fathers Death: so they perhaps, if they were urged, could say little else, than that without such a second Voyage their opinion were not maintainable, One thing in good reason they should do well to make plain, if it be not over-troublesome. They say that *Abraham* was in *Haran* at his Fathers death, or some time after, being then by their account 135. years old, or a little more. How then did it happen, that he left quite undone the business, which as we read, was within four or five years after that time his greatest, or (as may seem) his only care? Did not he bind with a very solemn Oath his principal Servant, in whom he reposed most confidence, to travel into those parts, and seek out a Wife for *Isaac* his Son? and doth it not appear by all circumstances, that neither he nor his Servant were so well acquainted in *Mesopotamia*, that they could particularly design any one Woman, as a fit match for *Isaac*? Surely if *Abraham* had been there in person so lately, as within four or five years before, he would not have forgotten a matter of such importance; but would have trusted his own judgement in chusing a Woman, fit for her Piety, Vertue, and other desireable qualities, to be linked in marriage with his only Son, who was then 35. years old; before which age most of the Patriarchs after the Flood had begotten Children, rather than have left all at randome to the consideration of a Servant, that nither knew any, nor was known of any in that Country. But let it be supposed (if it may be believed) that either *Abraham* forgot this business when he was there, or that somewhat hapned which no Man can devise. What might be the reason, that *Abraham*'s Man in doing his Masters errand was fain to lay open the whole Story of his Masters Prosperity, telling it as news, that *Sarah* had born to him a Son in her old Age? If *Abraham* himself, a more certain Author, had so lately been among them, would not all this have been an idle tale? It were needless to stand long upon a thing so evident. Whether it were lawful for *Abraham* to have returned back to *Haran*, would perhaps be a question hardly answerable: considering how averse he was from permitting his Son to be carried thither, even though a Wife of his own Kindred could not have been obtained without his personal presence. *Jacob* indeed was sent thither by his Parents, to take a Wife of his own Lineage; not without Gods especial approbation, by whose Blessing he prospered in that journey: yet he lived there as a Servant; suffered many injuries; and finally was driven to convey himself away from thence by flight. For although it be not a sentence written, yet out of all written examples it may be observed, that God alloweth not in his Servants any desire of returning to the place, from whence he hath taken and transplanted them. That brief saying, *Remember Lot's Wife*, contains much matter. Let us but consider *Mesopotamia* from whence *Abraham* was taken, and *Ægypt* out of which the whole Nation of the *Israelites* was delivered: we shall find, that no Blessing issued from either of them, to the Posterity of the *Hebrews*. When *Ezechias* was visited with an Honourable Embassy from *Babel*, it seems that he conceived great pleasure in his mind, and thought it a piece of his prosperity; but the Prophecy which thereupon he heard by *Isaiah*, made him to know, that the Counsel of God was not agreeable to such thoughts: which more plainly appeared in a following Generation, when by the Waters of *Babylon* they sat down and wept. Concerninig *Ægypt* we read, that *Sesac* and *Neco* Kings of *Ægypt* brought calamity upon *Israel*: also that their confidence in the *Ægyptian* succours was the cause of their destruction. Where they were forbidden to return into *Ægypt* I do not remember, nor can readily find; but it is found in *Deuteronomy*, that God had said, *They should no more return that way*; which is given, as the reason, why their King might not cause the People to return to *Ægypt*, for the multiplying of his Horses. Whether the Lord had laid any such injunction

Gen. 24, 35, 36, &c.

Gen. 24. 6, & 8.

Gen. 28.

2 Kings 20.

Psal. 137. 1 Kings 14. 25. & 2 Kings 23. v. 29.

Deut. 17. v. 16.

injunction upon *Abraham* of not returning to *Mesopotamia*, I cannot say; many things do argue it probably: that he never did return, all circumstances do (to my understanding) both strongly and necessarily conclude.

But because this double passage of *Abraham*'s is but an imagination: and that imaginations of Men are rather valuable among Children, than that they can perswade those of judgment or understanding: I take it sufficient, that S. *Stephen* hath directly taught us, that *Abraham* left *Haran*, his Father being dead. And for the rest, when they shew any one Scripture to prove it, I will believe as they do. For all the Travels of *Abraham* are precisely set down in the Scriptures: as first from *Ur* or *Camerina* in *Chaldea* to *Haran* or *Charran*: and then from *Haran* (after his Fathers death) to *Sichem*; from *Sichem* he removed to a Mountain between *Bethel* and *Hai*: thence into *Ægypt*: from *Ægypt* he returned thither again, where *Lot* and he parted, because their Flocks and Herds of Cattle were more, than could be fed in that part: from thence the second time he removed to *Mamre*, near *Hebron*: and thence having pursued *Amraphel*, and reicued *Lot*, he after inhabited at *Gerar*, in the border of *Idumæa*, under *Abimelec*: and after near unto it at *Bersabe*, at which time he was ready to offer up his Son *Isaac* on the Mountain *Moriah*. But this Fiction of his retreat to *Haran* or *Charran*, appeareth not in any one Story, either Divine or Humane. Now if it may be supposed, that *Abraham* had made any former journey into *Canaan*, as *Levita* in his *Cabala* hath feigned, it should in reason be therewithal believed, that he would in those his first Travels have provided himself of some certain seat, or place of abiding: and not have come a second time, with his Wife, Kinsmen, Family, Goods and Cattle, not knowing whereon to rest himself. But *Abraham*, when he came from *Charran*, past through the North part of *Canaan*, thence
Gen. 12. v. 6. to *Sichem*, and the Plain of *Moriah*: where finding no place to inhabit, he departed thence to *Bethel* and *Hai*: and so from Nation to Nation, to discover and find out some fit habitation: from whence again, as it is written in *Genesis* the eleventh, *He went forth, going and journeying towards the South*: and always unsetled. By occasion of which wandring to and fro, some say, the *Ægyptians* gave him and his the name of *Hebræi*.
Mont. in Caleb. Further, to prove that he had not formerly been in the Country, we may note, that ere he came to *Bethel* and *Hai*, and at his first entrance into *Canaan*, God appeared unto him saying, *Unto thy Seed will I give this Land*, shewing it him as unto a Stranger therein, and as a Land to him unknown. For *Abraham* without any other provident care for himself, believed in the word of the living God: neither sending before, nor coming first to discover it; but being arrived he received a second promise from God, that he would give those Countries unto him and his Seed to inhabit and inherit.

Lastly, what should move any man to think, that *Moses* would have omitted any such double journy of *Abraham*'s, seeing he setteth down all his passages elsewhere, long and short? As when he moved from *Sichem*, and seated between *Hai* and *Bethel*: the distance being but twenty Mile: and when he moved thence to the Valley of *Mamre*, being but twenty four Miles: and when he left *Mamre*, and sat down at *Gerar*, being less than six Miles; no, *Moses* past over all the times of the first Age with the greater brevity, to hasten him to the Story of *Abraham*: shutting up all between the Creation and the Flood in six Chapters; which age lasted 1656 Years: but he bestoweth on the Story of *Abraham* fourteen Chapters, beginning with his Birth in the eleventh, and ending with his Death in the five and twentieth; and this time endured but 175 Years. It hath therefore no face of truth, that *Moses* forgot or neglected any thing concerning *Abraham*'s Travels, or other actions: or that he would set down those small removes of five Miles, and omit those of three hundred. For such a journey in going and coming would have ministred some variety of matter, or accident, worthy the inserting and adding to *Abraham*'s Story.

§. IV.

The answer to another of the objections proposed, shewing that it was not unlikely, that Terah *should beget* Abraham *in his hundred and thirtieth Year.*

NOW touching the Objection, where it is said, that it was very unlikely that *Terah* should beget *Abraham* in his 130. Year, seeing *Abraham* himself thought it a wonder to have a Son at an hundred: this is hardly worth the answering. This wonder is indeed miscast, and mistaken: *Abraham* having respect only to *Sarah* his Wife, when he spake of their many Years. For when the Angel said unto *Abraham* in his Tent door at *Mamre*; *Lo*, *Sarah thy Wife shall have a Son*, it followeth in the next verse, *Now Abraham and Sarah were old and stricken in age, and it ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of Women: therefore Sarah laughed*, &c.

So then, in that it is said *it ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of Women*, it appeareth that the wonder was wrought on her, and not on *Abraham*. For *Abraham* by his second Wife *Keturah* had many Sons after *Sarahs* death, as *Zimron*, *Jockshan*, *Medan Midian*, *Ishback*, and *Shuah*: and the Eldest of these was born 37. Years after *Isaac*: and the youngest divers Years after. What strangeness then, that *Terah* being 130. Years old should beget *Abraham*, will they say, may be gathered from this supposed despair of *Abraham* at one hundred Years? For *Sarah* dyed in the Year of the World 2145. and *Isaac* was born in the year 2109. and *Abraham* did not marry *Keturah* till *Sarah* was buried. So if we deduct the number of 2109. out of 2145. there remaineth 36. And therefore if *Abraham* begat five Sons 36. years after this supposed wonder, and when *Abraham* was 137. years old: it is not strange that his Father *Terah* should beget *Abraham* at 130. And if *Booz*, *Obed* and *Jesse*, who lived so many years and Ages after *Abraham*, begat Sons at 100. years or near it, it cannot be marvailed at, that *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 130. and *Abraham* others at the same Age and seven years after.

Origen. ho. mil. 11. in Gen. Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 16. c. 34. Cajetan. & Perer. in Gen.

§. V.

§. V.

The answer to two more of the objections: shewing that we may have certainty of Abraham's *Age from the Scripture, though we make not* Abraham *the eldest Son: and that there was great cause, why in the Story of* Abraham *his two Brethren should be respected.*

IT followeth now to speak something to the objection, which brings *Abraham*'s age altogether in doubt, except we allow him to be the eldest Son of *Terah*, and born when *Terah* was 70 years old. For *Abraham*'s age being made uncertain, all succeeding times are thereby without any perfect rule or knowledge.

But this proposition, That we cannot be certain of *Abraham*'s age, unless we make him the eldest Son, is false. For it is plain in the Scriptures, that when *Terah* was 205. which was the Year of his Death, then was *Abraham* 75. And if you ask, how I can judge of times, either preceeding or succeeding, by knowing that *Abraham* departed *Haran* at that age: I answer, that St. *Stephen* hath told us, that *Abraham*'s departure followed the death of his Father *Terah*: and *Terah* died at 205; so as the 75. Year of *Abraham* was the 205. Year of *Terah*: which known, there can be no error in the account of times succeeding. Now to come to the objection, where it is said, That *Moses* had no respect unto *Nachor* and *Haran*, because they were out of the Church, but to *Abraham* only, with whom God established the Covenant, and of whom *Christ* descended according to the Flesh, *&c.* I answer, that *Moses* for many great and necessary Causes had respect of *Nachor* and *Haran*. For the succession of Gods Church is not witnessed by *Abraham* alone, but by the Issues of *Nahor* and *Haran*, were they Idolaters or otherwise. For *Nahor* was the Father of *Bethuel* and *Bethuel* of *Rebecca* the Mother of *Israel*: and *Haran* was the Parent of *Lot*, *Sarah*, and *Milcah*: and *Sarah* was Mother to *Isaac*, and Grand-mother to *Jacob*: *Milcah* also the Wife of *Nahor*, and Mother of *Bethuel*, was *Jacob*'s great Grand-mother: and the age of *Sarah* the Daughter of *Haran* is especially noted, in that it pleased God to give her a Son at 90. years, and when by Nature she could not have conceived. And therefore, though it were not in regard of themselves, yet because both *Nahor* and *Abraham* married the Daughters of their Brother *Haran*; and because *Isaac* married *Rebecca* the Grand-child of *Nahor*; and *Jacob* *Lea* and *Rachel*, the Daughters of *Laban*, the Grand-child also of *Nahor*: it was not superfluous in *Moses* to give light of these mens times and ages. And though sometime they worshipped strange Gods, as it is *Josh.* 24. 2. yet I see no cause to think, that they still continued Idolaters. For they believed and obeyed the calling of *Abraham*, leaving their Natural Country, and City of *Ur* in *Chaldæa*, as *Abraham* did, and removed thence all, except *Haran*, who died before his Father *Terah*, ere they left *Chaldæa*; but *Lot*, his Son, followed *Abraham* into *Canaan*; and *Sarah*, the Sister of *Lot*, *Abraham* married. *Nahor* also, who remained at *Charran*, gave his Sons Daughters to *Isaac* and *Jacob*, his own kinsmen: he himself having also married in his own Family; not thinking it pleasing unto God to mix themselves with strangers and Idolaters. And that these Men at length believed in the God of *Abraham*, it can no way be doubted. For when *Laban* had seen the Servant of *Abraham* standing at the Well beside *Charran*, he invited him to his Fathers House in this manner: *Come in thou blessed of Jehovah, &c.* And when this Servant of *Abraham*'s demanded an answer as touching *Rebecca*, then answered *Laban* and *Bethuel*, and said; *This thing is proceeded of Jehovah*: meaning that it was the will of the true God it should be so; wherein he acknowledged Gods Providence. Likewise in the following verse it is written; *Take, take, go, that she may be thy Masters Sons Wife, even as Jehovah* hath *said.* This their often using of the name of *Jehovah*, which is the proper name of the true God, is a sign that they had the knowledge of him. *Gen.* 24. *v.* 31. *Gen.* 24. *v.* 50.

Now although it be the opinion of Saint *Chrysostom*, and some later writers, as *Cajetan*, *Oleaster*, *Musculus*, *Calvin*, *Mercer*, and others, that *Laban* was an Idolater, because he retained certain Idols, or houshold Gods, which *Rachel* stole from him; yet that he believed in the true God, it cannot be denied. For he acknowledgeth the God of *Abraham* and of *Nahor*, and he called *Abraham*'s Servant, Blessed of *Jehovah*, as aforesaid. So as for my self I dare not avow, that these Men were out of the Church, who sure I am were not out of the Faith.

§. VI.

That the naming of Abraham *first of the three Brethren,* Gen. 11. ver. 26. *doth not prove that he was the eldest: together with divers reasons proving that* Abraham *was not the eldest Son of* Terah.

TO the main objection which I answer last, because it seemeth of most strength, by which, those that strive to shorten the times, endeavour to prove that *Abraham* was the eldest Son of *Terah*, and born in the 70. Year of *Terah*'s life: grounding themselves first and chiefly on this place of the Scripture, *And Terah lived 70. Years and begat Abraham, Nahor and Haran*: To this I say, that although *Abraham* in this verse be first named, yet the same is no proof at all that he was the eldest and first-born Son of *Terah*. For it is no necessary consequence, that the first named in Scriptures was therefore eldest in Blood and Birth, neither doth it appear that it pleased God to make especial choice of the first Sons in Nature and time: for *Seth* was not the first-born of *Adam*: nor *Isaac* of *Abraham*: nor *Jacob* of *Isaac*: nor *Juda* and *Joseph* of *Jacob*: nor *David* the eldest of *Jesse*: nor *Salomon* of *David*: as is formerly remembred. *Gen.* 11. *v.* 26.

But it is written of *Noah*; *Noah was* 500. *years old, and Noah begat Shem, Ham and Japhet*: shewing that at the 500. year of his Age he began to beget the first of those three Sons. For according to S. *Augustine* speaking generally, *Nec attendendus est in his ordo nativitatis, sed significatio futuræ dignitatis: in qua excelluit Abraham. The order of nativity is not here to be respected, but the signification of the future dignity: in which* Abraham *was preferred.* And therefore as in the order of the Sons of *Noah*: so is it here; where it is said *that Terah lived 70 years and begat Abraham, Nahor, and Haran*: For it was late ere *Terah* began to beget Sons, himself being begotten by his Father *Nachor* at 29. as other his Ancestors were at 30. The like also happened to *Noah*; for whereas *Adam* begat *Seth* at 130. *Enosh* *Kenan* at 90. *Kenan* *Mahalaeel* at 70. *Mahalaeel* *Jered* at 60. *Noah* was yet 500. years old when he began to beget the first of his three Sons as aforesaid. And S. *Augustine* in the place before cited, rather inclineth to the opinion that *Abraham* was the youngest of *Terah*'s Sons, than *Aug. quæst. super Gen.* 25.

than otherwise: though for his excellency he was worthily named first. His own words are these: *Fieri enim potuit ut posterior sit generatus Abraham: sed merito excellentiæ, qua in Scripturis valdè commendatur, prior fuerit nominatus. It might be, saith he, that* Abraham *was begotten later; but was first named in regard of his excellency, for which in Scripture he is much commended.* So as the naming first or last, proveth nothing who was first or last born: either in those Issues of *Noah* or in these of *Terah*: Neither hath God any respect of the eldest in Nature, as touching his election or spiritual Blessing: for *Moses* nameth first the Children of the promise, and the eldest and first in Gods favour. *Pietas ergò vel ipsa potiùs electio divina, quæ comitem secum trahit pietatem, & Dei timorem, primas partes dat Semo in liberis Noa, & Abrahamo in liberis Thare. Piety,* saith he, *or rather Divine Election, which doth evermore draw with it or after it piety and the fear of God, gave place: and precedency to* Sem *among the Children of* Noah, *and to* Abraham *among those of* Thare.

For the rest it is manifest, that *Abraham* entred *Canaan* in the 75. year of his age. And it was in *Canaan* that *Hagar* bare him *Ismael*, when *Abraham* had lived 86. years. It was at *Gerar* (the South border of *Canaan*) that *Sarah* bare *Isaac*, when *Abraham* had consumed 100. years. It was from the Valley of *Mamre* in *Canaan* that *Abraham* rose out, when he rescued *Lot* and overthrew *Amraphel*: and he had then but the age of 83 years: and it is as manifest that he parted from *Haran* after his Father *Terah* was dead. But if *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 70. years old, then must *Abrabraham* have been 135. years when he first set his Foot in *Canaan*: seeing *Terah* must be dead ere he parted, and so 70. added to 135. made 205. the true age of *Terah*, which is contrary to all those places of Scripture before remembred. For he entred at 75. he rescued *Lot* at 83. he had *Ismael* at 86. he had *Isaac* at 100. proved by the former places.

Gen. 12. 4. *Gen.* 16. 16. *Act.* 7. 4. & *Gen.* 14.

Moreover if *Abraham* were the eldest Son of *Terah*, and born in the 70. year of his age: then had *Terah* lived till *Isaac* had been 35. years old, and *Ismael* 49. both which must then have been born in *Mesopotamia*, and therein fostered to that age: unless we should either deny credit to St. *Stephen*, who saith that *Abraham* departed from *Mesopotamia* after his Fathers death: or else give credit to the interpretation of *Daniel Angelocrator*, who in his *Chronologia antoptica*, saith it was about his Fathers death: because the *Greek* word μετὰ, may be transported by the Latine *sub*, as well as by *post*: which though elsewhere it may be, yet cannot it be so in this place. For it were most improperly spoken, to say that those things were done about *Terah's* death, which were 60. years before. Wherefore supposing *Abraham* to have been born in the 70. year of *Terah*; we must give those times and places of Birth to *Abraham's* Children, which no Authority will warrant; For *Abraham* had no Children in *Ur* of *Chaldæa*, nor in *Haran*: nor in 10. years after his arrival into *Canaan*. For the year of *Terah's* death, in which *Abraham* left *Haran*, was the year of the World 2083: and the year of *Ismael's* Birth was the Worlds year 2094. which maketh 10. years difference. And that *Isaac* was born in *Canaan*, and was to be offered upon the Mountain *Moriah* therein, 39. Miles from *Bersabe*, where *Abraham* then inhabited: and that three Angels first of all appeared to *Abraham* in the Valley of *Mamre*, no Man doubteth.

And therefore it cannot be that any of *Abraham's* Sons were born in *Mesopotamia*: nor while *Terah* lived: nor in less than 10. years after *Terah's* death: and then consequently was not *Abraham* the eldest Son of *Terah*, nor born in the 70. year of *Terah's* age.

Thirdly, whereas *Abraham* came into *Canaan* at 75. if *Terah* had begotten him at 70. then had *Terah* lived but 145. for 70. and 75. make 145. which must also have been the full age of *Terah*: but *Terah* lived 205. years: and therefore was not *Abraham* born in the 70. year of *Terah*. *Gen.* 11.

Fourthly, the ages of *Lot* and *Sarah* make it manifest, that *Haran* was the elder, if not the eldest Brother of *Abraham*; for *Sarah* or *Iscah* wanted but 10. years of *Abraham's* age: *Isaac* being born when *Abraham* was 100. and *Sarah* 90. years old.

It followeth then that if *Abraham* had been the elder Brother of *Haran*, *Haran* must have begotten *Sarah* at 9. years old: for granting that *Haran* was born but one year after *Abraham*, and *Sarah* within 10. years as old as *Abraham*, then of necessity must *Haran* beget her, when he had lived but 9. years; which were too ridiculous to imagine.

And that *Iscah* was *Sarah*, *Rab. Solomon* affirmeth; both names, saith he, bearing the same signification; and names of Principality. Again, to what end was the word *Iscah* or *Iiscah* inserted in this place, if *Sarah* were not meant thereby? for to speak of any thing superfluous it is not used in Gods Books: and if *Iscah* had not belonged to the Story, it had been but an idle name to no purpose remembred.

Now if it had been true (as those of the contrary opinion affirm) that *Moses* had no respect of *Nachor* and *Haran*, who were notwithstanding the Parents of *Bethuel* and *Rebecca*, the Mother of *Israel*, and of Christ: what regard then had *Moses* of *Iscah* in this place, were she not *Sarah*, but otherwise an idle name of whom there is nothing else first or last.

The age also of *Lot* disproveth the eldership of *Abraham*: for *Lot* was called an old Man when *Abraham* was but 83. years: And if *Lot* were of a greater age than *Abraham*, and *Haran* were Father to *Lot*, *Sarah*, and *Milcah*, *Abraham* marrying one of *Haran's* Daughters, and *Nahor* the other, *Sarah* also being within 10. years as old as *Abraham*: it may appear to every reasonable Man (not obstinate and prejudicate) that *Haran* was the eldest Son of *Terah*, and not *Abraham*: who also died first and before his Father left *Ur* in *Chaldæa*. Also *Lyra* reasoneth against the opinion of *Abraham's* eldership, upon the same place of *Genesis*: drawing argument from the age of *Sarah*, who was but 10. years younger than *Abraham* himself. *Lyra* his words are these. *Si igitur Haran fuit junior ipso Abraham, sequitur quòd non habebat decem annos quando genuit Saram: imò nec octo, &c.* and afterward, *& ideò melius videtur dicendum, quòd Abraham fuit ultimò natus de tribus filiis Thare, tamen nominatur primò, propter ejus dignitatem: & quia ponendus erat caput stirpis & generationis sequentis: & quia primò facta est ei repromissio expressa de Christo, sicut supra dictum est de Sem, &c. If therefore* (saith *Lyra*) Haran *was younger than* Abraham *himself, it followeth, that he was not* 10. *years old when he begat* Sarah: *And therefore it seemeth better to be said, that* Abraham *was the last born of the three Sons of* Thare, *nevertheless he is named first for his dignity, both because he was to be ordained head of the stock and Generation following: and because the promise of Christ was first made unto him, as before it is said of* Sem.

§. VII.

§. VII.

A conclusion of this Dispute, noting the authors on both sides: with an admonition that they which shorten the times make all ancient Stories the more unprobable.

IT therefore agreeth with the Scriptures, with Nature, Time, and Reason, that *Haran* was the eldest Son of *Terah*, and not *Abraham*: and that *Abraham* was born in the 130. year of *Terah*'s life, and not in the 70. year. For *Abraham* departing *Charran* after *Terah* died, according to S. *Stephen*, and that journey by *Abraham* performed when he was 75. years old, these two numbers added make 205. years, the full age of *Terah*: seeing that when *Terah* died, then *Abraham* entred *Canaan*. For my self, I have no other end herein than to manifest the truth of the Worlds Story: I reverence the judgements of the Fathers: but I know they were mistaken in particulars. Saint *Augustine* was doubtful, and could not determine this controversie. For what soever is borrowed from him out of his 16. Book *de Civitate Dei*, *cap.* 15. the same may be answered out of himself in his five and twentieth question upon *Gen.* But S. *Augustine* herein followed *Josephus*, and *Isidore*: and *Beda* followed S. *August*. And it was out of a foolish pride and vanity, that the *Hebrews* and *Josephus* sought to make *Abraham* the first-born: as if God had had respect to the eldest in nature. So did *Josephus* together with *Nicholas Damascenus* (thinking thereby to glorify the *Jewish Nation*) make *Abraham* a King, entitling *Sarah* by the name of *Queen Sarah*: and said that *Abraham* was followed with 318. Captains, of which every one had an infinite multitude under him; *trecentos & octodecim præfectos habuit: quorum singulis infinita multitudo parebat*. And that *Pharaoh* invading him with a great Army, took from him his Wife *Sarah*. Such fables argue that *Josephus* is not to be believed, but with discreet reservations.

Act. 3. 4.

Gen. 12. 4.

This account of times, allowing no more than 292. years from the Flood to *Abraham*, is upheld by many of the *Hebrews*. But how should we value the opinion of such *Chronologers*, as take *Amraphel* for *Nimrod*? Surely, if their judgement in such matters were worthy to be regarded, it would have appeared in setting down the succession of the *Persian Kings*, under whom they lived, whose History was not so far remote in time, as these antiquities, nor wanting the light of many good Writers. Yet grosly have they erred therein, and so familiar are their mistakings in all things of like nature, that we seldom find their opinion rehearsed with out the confutation treading on the heels of it. They of the *Roman* Religion are also generally on the same side: it being a thing usual among them, to maintain whatsoever they have been formerly known to hold and believe. Contrarywise, of the more ancient, *Theodoret*, and some following him: of later times *Beroaldus*, *Codoman*, *Peucer*, *Calvin*, *Junius*, *Beza*, *Broughton*. *Doct. Gibbons*, and *Moor*, with divers of the *Protestants*, hold *Abraham* to have been born in the 130. year of his Father *Terah*. From these (as in a case not concerning any point in Religion) divers of the same Religion, and those nevertheless good Authors, as *Bucholcerus*, *Chitræus*, *Functius* and others, are very averse herein, especially *Josephus Scaliger* with his *Sethus Calvisius*, proclaiming *Beroaldus* an Arch-heretick in *Chronologie*, and condemning this opinion of his as poisonous. Contrariwise *Augustinus Torniellus* a Priest of the Congregation of S. *Paul*, a judicious, diligent, and free Writer, whose *Annales* are newly set forth, very earnestly defends the opinion, which I have already delivered: not alledging *Beroaldus*, nor any *Protestant* Writer, as being perhaps unwilling to owe thanks to Hereticks. For my self I do neither mislike the contrary opinion, because commonly those of the *Romish* Religion labour to uphold it; nor favour this larger account of times, because many notable Men of the *Protestant* Writers have approved it; but for the truth it self. To strengthen which, after all these former reasons, and testimonies of Scripture, I will add thus much more to the rest. First, it is apparent to all Men of judgement, that the best approved Historians, Divine and Prophane, labour to investigate the truth of times, thereby to approve the stories, and forepast actions of the World: and not the truth of Histories to approve the times by. Let us then make judgment to our selves, which of these two accounts give the best reputation to the Story of the Scriptures; teaching the Worlds new Plantation, and the continuance of Gods Church: either that of *Josephus*, and those which follow him; who makes but 292. years, or thereabouts, between the Flood and birth of *Abraham*: or this other account, which makes 352. years between the one and the other: the one taking *Abraham* to be the first-born of *Thare*, in the 70. year of his life: the other a younger Son of *Thare*, and born when he had lived 130. years. And if we look over all, and do not hastily satisfie our understanding with the first things offered, and thereby being satiated do slothfully and drowsily sit down; we shall find it more agreeable rather to allow the reckoning of the *Septuagint*, who, according to some Editions, make it above 1072. years between the Flood and *Abraham*'s birth: than to take away any part of those 352. years given. For if we advisedly consider the State and countenance of the World, such as it was in *Abraham*'s time, yea, before *Abraham* was born, we shall find that it were very ill done of us, by following opinion without the guide of reason, to pare the times over-deeply between *Abraham* and the Flood: because in cutting them too near the quick, the reputation of the whole Story might perchance bleed thereby, were not the testimony of the Scripture supream, so as no objection can approach it: and that we did not follow withal this precept of St. *Augustine*, That whersoever any one place in the Scriptures may be conceived disagreeing to the whole, the same is by ignorance of interpretation misunderstood. For in *Abraham*'s time all the then-known parts of the World were peopled: all Regions and Countries had their Kings. *Egypt* had many magnificent Cities: and so had *Palestina*, and all the bordering Countries: yea, all that part of the World besides, as far as *India*: and those not built with sticks, but of hewen Stones, and defended with Walls, and Rampiers: which magnificence needed a parent of more antiquity, than those other Men have supposed. And therefore, where the Scriptures are plainest, and best agreeing with reason and nature, to what end should we labour to beget doubts and scruples, or draw all things into wonders and marvels? giving also strength thereby to common Cavellers, and to those mens apish brains, who only bend their wits to find impossibilities, and Monsters in the Story of the World and Mankind.

§ VIII.

A computation of the times of the Assyrians *and others, grounded upon the times noted in the Story of* Abraham.

IN this sort therefore for the reasons before alledged I conclude, that from the general Flood, to the birth of *Abraham*, 352. years were consumed:

An. mundi 2008. dil. 352. natus Abraham. Euseb. August. de Civit. Dei, l. 16. c. 17.

sumed: and taking the *Assyrian* History with us, the same number of years were spent from the Flood to the 43. year of *Ninus*: in which 43. year of *Ninus Abraham* was born: which happned in the year of the World 2009.

Now of this time of 352. years, we must give one part as well to the increase of those people which came into *Shinar*, as to those that staid in the East, to wit, 30. year to *Chus*, ere he begat *Sheba*: of which, though the Scriptures are silent, yet because those of the same time had that age when they begat their first Sons, we may the more safely give the like allowance to these. For *Eber* begat *Peleg* at 34. *Peleg Regu* at 30. *Regu Serug* at 32. Now after *Seba*, *Chus* begat *Havila*, *Sabta*, *Raama* and *Sabtecha*: and *Raama* begat *Sheba* and *Dedan*, before *Nimrod* was born, as it appeareth *Gen.* 10. which S. *Augustine* approveth. Giving then 30. years more to *Raama* ere he begat *Sheba*, and five years to the five elder Brothers of *Nimrod*, it may be gathered that 65. years were consumed ere *Nimrod* himself was born! and that *Raamah* had that age ere any of his Sons were begotten, it may be gathered, by example and comparison: for *Peleg*, the fourth from *Noah*, as *Raamah* was, begat *Regu* in the same year of his Life.

Aug. de Civit. Dei.

Gen. 11. 18.

Let us then allow 60. years more after the birth of *Nimrod*, for two other Generations to be brought forth, or else we shall hardly find people to build *Babel*: for sure we are that it was done by Hands, and not by Miracle: because it displeased God. These two numbers of 65. and 60. make 125: The rest of the time of 131. (in which year they arrived in *Shinar* whereof there are 6. years remaining) we may give them for their Travels from the East: because they were pestered with Women, Children and Cattle: and as some ancient Writers have conceived, and *Becanus* of later times, they kept always the Mountains sides, for fear of a second Flood. Now if we take this number of 131. out of 352. there remains 221. of which number *Berosus* bestoweth 65. on *Belus*, and 42. on *Ninus*, before *Abraham* born: Both which S. *Augustine* approveth: which two numbers taken again out of 221. there remaineth 114. years of the 352, from the Flood to *Abraham*'s Birth: which number of 114. necessity bestoweth on *Nimrod*.

An. à salute humani generis ab aquis centesimo primo cœpit regnum Babyloni cum sub nostro Saturno patre Jovis Beli qui imperavit annis 65. Berosus.

And if it be objected that this time given to *Nimrod*, is over long: sure if we compare the Age of *Nimrod* with the rest of the same descent from *Noah*, it will rather appear over-short. For *Nimrod*, by this account, lived in all but one hundred seventy nine years: whereof he Raigned one hundred and twelve: whereas *Sale* who was the Son of *Arphaxad* the Son of *Sem*, lived four hundred and thirty three years: And of the same Age of the World was *Nimrod*, the Son of *Chus*, the Son of *Cham*.

Now after *Abraham* was born

Ninus Reigned 9. years: which added to 43. make 52.

Ninus dyeth and leaveth *Semiramis* his Successor.

Semiramis governed the *Empire* of *Babylonia* and *Assyria* 42. years, and dyed in the 52. year compleat of *Abraham*'s life.

Of the World 2017.

Ninias or *Zameis* succeeded *Semiramis*, and ruled 38. years, in the second year of whose Reign *Abraham* left *Mesopotamia*.

Of the Flood 761. 2059. mundi, 403. à dil. 2083. 427. 2093. 437.

When *Abraham* was 85. years old, he rescued his Nephew *Lot*, and overthrew by surprise *Amraphel* King of *Shinar*, or *Babylonia*. *Ninia* Reigned 38. years, and *Abraham* came into *Canaan* but 23. years after *Semiramis* dyed: which was the 75. year of his Age: So that *Amraphel* may seem to have been this *Ninias* the Son of *Ninus*, and *Semiramis*, whose 23. year, as aforesaid, being the 75. year of *Abraham*, he and his Fellow-Kings might have received this overthrow in the 85. year of *Abraham*, and the 33. year of his own Reign: after which he Reigned five years: which make in all 38. But the truth is, that the reasons to the contrary, urging that this *Amraphel* could not be *Ninias*, are not easily answered. Howbeit for the times of the *Assyrian* Kings, that they are to be ordered as we have set them down, according to the times noted by *Moses*, in the Story of *Abraham*, it is most certain: unless we will either derogate from the truth of *Moses* his computation, which were impiety: or account the whole History of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* to be a Fiction; which were to condemn all Ancient Historians for Fablers.

§. IX.

That Amraphel, *one of the four Kings whom* Abraham *overthrew*, Gen. 14. *may probably be thought to have been* Ninias *the Son of* Ninus.

AND now touching this *Amraphel*, whom *Moses* makes King of *Shinar* or *Babylonia*, in the 85. year of *Abraham*'s life, that is, in the 33. year of the Reign of *Ninias Zameis* the King of the *Assyrians*, the Son of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, it is hard to affirm what he was, and how he could be at this time King of *Babylonia*: *Ninias Zameis* then Reigning there. To this doubt the answer which first offereth it self as most probable, is that which hath been already noted, that this *Ninias* or *Zameis*, was no other than our *Amraphel*: who invaded *Traconitis* or *Basan*, and overthrew those five Kings of *Pentapolis*, or the valley of *Siddim*. For the Scriptures tell us, that *Amraphel* was King of *Shinar*, which is *Babylonia*: and the times before accounted make him to be the Successor of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: and it falleth out with the 85. Year of *Abraham*'s life: wherein he rescued *Lot*, slew *Chedorlaomer*, and overthrew the rest. True it is, that this *Amraphel* was not at this time the greatest *Monarch*: for *Chedorlaomer* commanded in chief, though *Amraphel* be first named by *Moses* in the first verse of the 14. Chapter of *Genesis*. For the Kings of the Valley of *Siddim*, or of *Pentapolis*, or of the five Cities, were the Vassals of *Chedorlaomer*, and not of *Amraphel*: as it is written. *Twelve years were they subject to Chedorlaomer, but in the 13. year they rebelled, and in the 14 year came Chedorlaomer and the Kings that were with him*: and therefore was *Chedorl.* the principal in this enterprise, who was then King of *Elam*, which is *Persia*: Now *Persia* being seated over *Tigris*, and to the East of *Amraphel*'s Country; and the other two Kings, which were Companions with *Amraphel*, being seated to the West of *Shinar* or *Babylonia*: *Amraphel*, who held *Babylonia* it self, seemeth at this time to have had no great scope or large Dominion. For had *Amraphel* been so great a Prince as prophane Historians make *Ninus* or *Semiramis* whom he succeeded, he should not have needed the assistance of three other Kings for this expedition. But though *Chedorlaomer* were the first and greatest of those four Kings, (as it is manifest that he was: For these little Kings of *Sodom*, *Gomorrha*, &c. were his Vassals, and not *Amraphel*'s) yet this makes not the conjecture less probable, but that this *Amraphel* might be *Ninias*. For it may be, that the great and potent Empire of *Assyria*, had now (as we shall shew more plainly in that which followeth) received a down-right fall, at the time of this War: though not long before it commanded all the Kingdoms between *India* and the *Phœnician* Sea: to wit, in the times of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*.

Gen. 14.

§. X.

§. X.

Of Arioch *another of the four Kings: and that* Elias, *whereof he is said to have been King, lies between* Cœlesyria *and* Arabia Petræa.

NOW the two other Kings joyned with *Amraphel*, and *Chedorl.* were *Arioch* and *Tidal*; the one King of *Ellassar*, the other of the Nations. For *Ellassar*, *Aquila* and *Hierom* write *Pontus*: so *Tostatus* thinketh that it should be *Hellespont*: which opinion *Pererius* favoureth. But this is only to defend the Latin Translation. For as *Pontus*, so is *Hellespont* far distant, and out of the way to send any Armies into *Arabia Petræa*, or into *Idumea*: which Countries these four Kings chiefly invaded. Besides that, it is certain, that the *Assyrians* (when they were greatest) had never any Dominion in *Asia* the less. For at such time as the *Assyrians* feared the invasion of the *Medes* and *Persians*, they sent not into *Asia* the Less as Commanders; but used all the art they had to invite *Crœsus* to their assistance: perswading him that nothing could be more dangerous for himself, and the other Kings of those parts, than the success of the *Medes* against the *Assyrians*. But examine the enterprise what it was. *These Kings* (saith the Text) *made War with Bera, King of Sodom, Birsha King of Gomorrha, Shinab King of Admah, and Shemeber King of Zeboim, and the King of Bela which is Zoar.* All which five Kings had not so much ground as *Middlesex*: being such a kind of *Reguli*, as *Joshua* found in the Land long after: Namely Lords of Cities and small Territories adjoyning; of which *Canaan* had 33. all slain or hanged by *Joshua*. Neither can the other Countries, which in the Text they are said also to have invaded, be imagined to have been at that time of any great power: And therefore to call in Kings from *Pontus* or *Hellespont*, had manifested a great impotency and weakness in the Kings of *Babylon* and *Persia*.

Xenophon.

Gen. 14.

And though it be alledged for an example, that divers Kings far off, came to assist *Pompey* against *Cæsar*: yet these same examples without like occasions and circumstances, do neither lead nor teach. For there was no cause to fear the greatness of these petty Kings, or of the other Countries: But the eyes of the World were fixed on *Cæsar*; and his undertakings and intents were to all other Princes, no less doubtful than fearful: But the whole Country by these four Kings mastered in their passage, was afterward given to the half Tribe of *Manasseh*, *Gad*, and *Ruben*: a narrow valley of Ground lying between *Jordan* and the Mountains of *Seir*: inclosed by the River of *Arnon* on the South side, and by *Libanus* on the North, consisting of the two small Provinces of *Traconitis* or *Basan*, and the Region of the *Moabites*: a Conquest far unvaluable, and little answering the power of the *Assyrian Empire*, if the same had remained in any comparable Estate with the times of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, who subjected all the great Kings of that part of the World, without the assistance of any of the Kings of *Hellespont*, or any other part of *Asia* the less. But as the *Vulgar* and *Aquila* convert *Ellassar* by *Pontus*: so *Symmachus* makes *Arioch* a King of the *Scythians*, a King indeed, as far fetched to joyn with the *Assyrians* in this War, as the World had any at that time. The *Septuagint* do not change the word of *Ellassar* at all, but as they keep the word *Ararat*, on the Mountains where of the Ark did rest, so do they in this place retain the *Hebrew* word *Ellassar*, being doubtful to give it a wrong interpretation. And *Pererius* himself remembreth other opinions far more probable than this of *Pontus* or *Hellespont*: yet he dares not avow his liking of them, because the Latin Translation hath it otherwise. For *Stephanus de Urbibus* a *Græcian Cosmographer*, findeth the City of *Ellas* in the border of *Cœlesyria*. And S. *Hierom* calleth *Ellas* the City of *Arioch*, as in truth it was. Now although the same be seated by *Stephanus* in *Cœlesyria*, yet it standeth on the border of *Arabia*, of which *Arioch* was King: who formerly joyned with *Ninus* in all his Conquests, being of the same Family, and descended from *Cham* and *Chus*: after whom the name of *Arius* was by the *Hebrews* written *Arioch*: and afterward again *Aretas*: as in the *Maccabes*: the Kings of *Arabia* holding that name even to the time of S. *Paul*, who was sought to be betrayed by the *Lieutenant* of *Aretas* commanding in *Damascus*. They were Princes for the most part confederate and depending upon the *Assyrian Empire*. It is true that we find in *Daniel*, that in the time of *Nabuchodonosor*, one *Arioch* was General of his Army, and the Principal Commander under him, who was a King of Kings: which makes it plain, that *Arioch* here spoken of, the Son of that *Arioch confederate* of *Ninus*, was no King of *Pontus*, nor of *Scythia*: Regions far removed from the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians*. The name also of *Arioch* who commanded under *Nabuchodonosor* is mentioned in *Judith*, by the name of *King of the Elymeans*: who are a Nation of *Persians* bordering *Assyria*: according to *Stephanus*: though *Pliny* sets it between the Sea-coast, and *Media*: and if any Brother of the *Arabian Kings* or other of that House (known by the name of *Arius*, *Arioch*, *Areta* or *Aretas*) had the Government of that *Persian Province* called *Elymais* (as it seemeth they had by the places of *Daniel* and *Judith*) yet the same was in *Nabuchodonosor's* time. But this *Arioch* here spoken of may with more reason be taken for the King of *Arabia*, the Son of *Arius*, the confederate of *Ninus*: whose Sons held league as their Fathers did, being the next bordering Prince of all on that side towards the West to *Babylonia*, and *Chaldæa*: and in amity with them from the beginning, and of their own House, and Blood: which *D. Siculus* also confirmeth.

2 Mac. c. 5. v. 2.

2 Cor. 11.

Dan. 2.

Diod. Sic. l. 2. c. 1.

§. XI.

Of Tidal *another of the four Kings.*

THE fourth King by *Abraham* overthrown was *Tidal*, King of the Nations. The *Hebrew* writes it *Gojim*, which *Vatablus* takes to be a proper name: *Lyra* of mixt people: *Calvin* of runnagates without habitation: *Pererius* out of *Strabo*, finds that *Galilæa* was inhabited by divers Nations, which were a mixt people: namely of *Ægyptians*, *Arabians*, and *Phœnicians*. *Nam tales sunt qui Galilæam habitant, Such are the inhabitants of Galilee*, saith *Strabo*: and therefore was *Tidal* called King of these Nations, as they suppose. And it may be so: but the authority of *Strabo* is nothing in this question. For *Galilæa* was not peopled at this time as it was in the time of *Strabo*. For when *Abraham* came into *Canaan*, the *Canaanite* was then in the Land, howsoever they might be afterwards mixt; which I know not. But there are many petty Kingdoms adjoyning to *Phœnicia*, and *Palestina*; as *Palmyrena*, *Batanea*, *Laodicene*, *Apamena*, *Chalcidice*, *Cassiotis*, *Chalibonitis*, and all these do also joyn themselves to *Mesopotamia*, on the North, and to *Arabia* on the East. And that these Nations gathered themselves together under *Tidal*, I take to be the probablest conjecture.

Strabo li. 16. fo. 523.

Gen. 12. 6.

§. XII.

That Chedorlaomer *the chief of the 4. Kings was not of* Assyria, *but of* Persia : *and that the* Assyrian *Empire at this time was much impaired.*

LAstly, whereas it is conceived that *Chedorlaomer* was the *Assyrian Emperor*, and that *Amraphel* was but a *Satrape*, *Viceroy*, or *Provincial* Governour of *Babylonia*, and that the other Kings named were such also, I cannot agree with *Pererius* in this. For *Moses* was too well acquainted with the names of *Assur*, and *Shinar*, to call the *Assyrian* a King of *Elam* : those Kings being in the Scriptures evermore called by the name of *Chaldæa*, *Shinar*, *Babylonia*, or *Assyria* : but never by *Elam* ; and *Chedorlaomer* or *Kedarlaomer* was so called of *Kidor*, from *Cidarim* which in the *Hebrew* signifieth *Regale* : for so Q. *Curtius* calleth the Garment which the *Persian* Kings ware on their heads.

Neither do I believe that the *Assyrian* or *Babylonian Empire* stood in any greatness at the time of this Invasion, and my reasons are these : First, example and experience teach us, that those things which are set up hastily, or forced violently, do not long last : *Alexander* became Lord of all *Asia*, on this side of *Indus*, in a time of so short a life, as it lasted not to over-look what it self had brought forth. His Fortunes were violent, but not perpetual. For his Empire died at once with himself : all whose chief Commanders became Kings after him. *Tamberlain* conquered *Asia* and *India* with a storm-like and terrible success : but to prevalent fury God hath adjoined a short life : and whatsoever things Nature her self worketh in hast, she taketh the least care of their continuance. The fruit of his victories perished with him, if not before him.

Ninus being the first whom the madness of boundless dominion transported, invaded his neighbour Princes, and became victorious over them : a Man violent, insolent, and cruel. *Semiramis* taking the opportunity, and being more proud, adventurous, and ambitious, than her *Paramour* : enlarged the *Babylonian Empire*, and beautified many places therein with buildings unexampled. But her Son having changed Nature and Condition with his Mother, proved no less Feminine than she was Masculine. And as Wounds and Wrongs, by their continual smart, put the Patient in mind how to cure the one, and revenge the other : so those Kings adjoining (whose subjection, and calamities incident was but new, and therefore the more grievous) could not sleep, when the advantage was offered by such a Successour. For in *Regno Babylonico hic parùm resplenduit*, *This King shined little* (saith *Nauclerus* of *Ninias*) in the *Babylonian* Kingdom. And likely it is that the necks of mortal Men having been never before galled with the yoke of foreign dominion, Nor having ever had experience of that most miserable and detested condition of living in slavery : no long descent having as yet invested the *Assyrian* with a right : nor any other title being for him to be pretended than a strong hand ; the fooliſh and effeminate Son of a tyrannous and hated Father, could very ill hold so many great Princes and Nations his Vassals, with a power less mastering, and a mind less industrious than his Father and Mother had used before him. And he that was so much given over to licentious idleness, as to suffer his Mother to Raign 42. years, and thereof the greatest part after he came to Mans estate : witnessed thereby to the World, that he so much preferred ease before Honour, and bodily pleasures before greatness, as he neither indeavoured to gain what he could not govern, nor to keep what he could not without contentious peril enjoy.

These Considerations being joined to the Story of *Amraphel*, delivered by *Moses*, by which we find that *Amraphel* King of *Shinar* was rather an inferiour to the King of *Persia*, than either his superiour or equal, make it seem probable, that the Empire of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* was at that time broken asunder, and restrained again to *Babylonia*.

For conclusion I will add these two arguments confirming the former : First, that at such time as it pleased God to impose that great travel upon *Abraham*, from *Ur* in *Chaldæa* to *Charran*, and then to *Canaan* a passage of 700. Miles, or little less, with Women, Children, and Carriages : the Countries through which he wandred were then setled, and in peace. For it was in the 23. year of *Ninias*, when *Abraham* obeying the Voice of God, took this great journey in hand : in which time of 23. years after the death of *Semiramis*, the neighbour Princes had recovered their Liberty and former Estates. For *Semiramis* Army of four millions, with her self utterly consumed in *India*, and all her Arms and Engins of War, at the same time lost, gave an occasion and opportunity even to the poorest Souls and weakest hearted Creatures of the World, to repurchase their former Liberty. *Strab. l. 15.*

Secondly, it is affirmed by the best and ancientest Historians, that *Arius* the Son of *Ninias*, or *Amraphel*, invaded the *Bactrians* and *Caspians*, and again subjected them : which needed not if they had not been revolted from *Ninias*, after *Ninus* death. And as *Arioch* recovered one part, so did *Baleus* or *Balaneus*, otherwise *Xerxes*, reduce the rest revolted to their former obedience. Of whom it is said that he conquered from *Ægypt* to *India* : and therefore was called *Xerxes*, *id est*, *Victor & triumphator*, *a Conquerour and Triumpher*, which undertakings had been no other than the effects of madness, had not those Countries freed themselves from the *Babylonian* subjection. Now if we shall make any doubt hereof, that is of the reconquest of *Arius* and *Xerxes*, both which lived after *Ninus* and *Ninias*, we may as well think the rest of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* to be but feigned : but if we grant this re-conquest, then is it true that while *Ninias* or *Amraphel* ruled, the *Assyrian Empire* was torn asunder, according to that which hath been gathered out of *Moses* as before remembred.

§. XIII.

That it is not unprobable that the four Kings had no dominion in the Countries named, but that they had elsewhere with their Colonies planted themselves : and so retained the names of the Countries whence they came : which if it be so, we need not say that Amraphel *was* Ninias, *nor trouble our selves with many other difficulties.*

THE consent of all Writers, whose works have come to my perusal, agreeing as they do, that these 4. Kings, *Amraphel* of *Shinar*, *Chedorlaomer* of *Elam*, and their fellows were Lords of those Regions, whereunto they are or seem intituled : doth almost inforce us to think that the History

History must so be understood, as I have delivered. But if in this place, as often elsewhere in the Scriptures, the names of Countries may be set for people of those Lands, or if (as *Hierom* hath it) *Chedorlaomer* was King of the *Elamites*, as *Tidal* was said to be of the Nations, that is of people either wanting a fixed habitation, or gathered out of sundry Regions: then may we otherwise conceive of this History: removing thereby some difficulties which Men perhaps have been unwilling to find, because they could not find how to resolve them. For as it had been a strange conjecture to think that *Arioch* was drawn to assist the *Persian*, against the *Sodomite*; as far as from *Pontus*, where it is very unlikely that *Chedorlaomer* was known, and almost impossible that the Vale of *Siddim* should have been once named: so in true estimation it is a thing of great improbability, that *Chedorlaomer*, if he were King of *Persia* alone, should pass through so great a part of the World, as the Countries of *Assyria*, *Chaldæa*, *Mesopotamia*, *Syria*, and part of *Arabia*, and *Canaan*, to subdue those five Towns, whose very names how they should come to his Ear, being disjoyned by so many great Nations of different Languages, a Wise-man could hardly conjecture. And if all the Countries bordering *Persia*, together with the *Babylonian* himself, yea the Kingdom of *Ellassar*, and that of *Tidal*, so far off removed were become his dependants, what reason can we find that might have induced him to hearken after *Sodom* and *Gomorrha*? and when he should have sought the Establishment of his new-gotten *Empire*, by rooting out the Posterity of *Ninus* (as *Ninus* had dealt by *Pharnus* of *Media*, and *Zoroaster* of *Bactria*) than to imploy the forces of *Amraphel*, and those other Kings, against five petty Towns, leaving *Tyrus*, and *Sidon*, and the great City of *Damasco*, with many other places of much importance, and far nearer unto him, unsubdued? Now as these doubts which may be alledged against the first Conquest of the Vale of *Siddim*, are exceeding vehement: So are the objections to be made against his re-conquest of these five Cities, when they had revolted, as forcible; yea and more, as being grounded partly upon the Text it self. For first, what madness had it been in that small *Province* to Rebel against so powerful a *Monarch*? Or if it were so that they dwelling far from him, hoped rather to be forgotten, than that he should come or send to reclaim them: was it not more than madness in them, when his terrible Army approached, still to entertain hope of Evasion: Yea to make resistance (being themselves a dissolute and therefore unwarlike people) against the power of all the Nations between *Euphrates*, yea between themselves and the River of *Indus*? Likewise on the part of *Chedorlaomer* we should find no greater wisedom, if he knowing the weakness of this people, had raised such a World of Men against them: whom by any *Lieutenant*, with small forces he might have subdued. For the perpetual inheritance of that little Country, was not sufficient to countervail one months charges of so huge an Army. How small then must his Valour have been, who with so mighty preparations effected no more than the wasting of that *Valley*, wherein he left the Cities standing, taking no one of them; but returned well contented with a few Prisoners, and the pillage of the Country, although he had broken their Army in the Field? Now the Scriptures do not of this invasion (supposed so great) make any fearful matter: but compose the two Armies, as equally matcht, saying they were four Kings against five: yea, if the place be literally expounded, we shall find that *Abraham* slew all these Kings, of which great slaughter no History makes mention: Neither will the Raign of *Ninias* who lived four or five years longer, permit that he should have died so soon: neither would Histories have forgotten the manner of his death, if he had so strangely perished in *Syria*. Whereby it appears that these four Kings, were not the same that they are commonly thought: nor their forces so great as opinion hath made them. It may therefore well be true, that these Kings were such as many others, who in that age carried the same title: Lords and Commanders every one of his own company, which he carried forth as a *Colony*, seeking place where to settle himself and them, as was the usual manner of those times. Gen. 14. 17.

Neither is it unprobable, that *Chedorlaomer* leading a Troop of *Persians*, *Amraphel* some people out of *Shinar*, and *Tidal* others gathered out of sundry places, might consort together, and make the weakest of the Country which lay about them, to pay them tribute. Whosoever will consider the beginning of the first Book of *Thucydides*, with the manner of Discoveries, Conquests and Plantations, in the infancy of *Greece*, or the manner of the *Saracens* invading *Africa*, and *Spain*, with almost as many Kings as several Armies: or the proceedings of the *Spaniards* in their new Discoveries, Passages, and Conquests in the *West-Indies*: may easily perceive, that it was neither unusual, for the Leaders of *Colonies* to receive title from the people whom they conducted: nor to make Alliances to gether, and break them again, disturbing sometimes one the other, sometimes helping in pursuit of a Conquest. That *Amraphel* and his associates were such manner of Commanders, it may seem the more likely, by the slothful quality of *Ninias* then Raigning in *Assyria*: whose unmanlike temper was such, as might well give occasion to such undertaking spirits, as wanted the imployments whereunto they were accustomed, in the Raign of *Semiramis*, rather to seek adventures abroad, than to remain at home unregarded: whilst others more unworthy than themselves, were advanced. If the consent of the whole stream of Writers upon this place make this conjecture disagreeable to the Text, to the authority whereof all humane reason must subscribe, then we may hold our selves to the former conjecture, that *Amraphel* was *Ninias*: And that the power of his Ancestours being by his sloth decaied, he might well be inferiour to the *Persian Chedorlaomer*: or if this do not satisfie, we may say that *Amraphel* was an Under-King or *Satrape* of *Shinar*, under *Ninias*: who may be supposed to have had his *Imperial* Seat in his Fathers City *Ninive*: and to have preferred it before *Shinar* and *Babylon* the City of his Mother, whom he hated as an Usurper of his right. But if it were possible that in a case not concerning any Mans Salvation, and wherein therefore none hath cared to take great pains, all might erre: then can I think that the opinion, That these four Kings were Leaders of *Colonies*, sent out of the Countries named in the Text, and not Kings of the Countries themselves, is most consonant both to the condition of those times, and to the Scripture. And hereto add that *Chedorlaomer* seems rather called a *Persian* King, than King of *Persia*: and that *Arioch* (whose Kingdom undoubtedly was between *Syria* and *Arabia*) having been a Man of Action of being

being a worthy Mans Son, was very well pleased to give passage and assistance to these Captains or petty Kings. These and such like things here to urge, were but with circumstances to adorn a supposition, which either may stand without them, or if it must fall, is unworthy to have cost bestowed upon it: especially considering, that it is not my intent to imploy any more time in making it good, but to leave it wholly to the Readers pleasure, to follow any of these opinions, or any other, if he find any that shall seem better than these. But of what Countries or people soever these four were Kings, this expedition is the only publick Action that we know of performed by *Abraham*. And as for other things belonging to his Story, and of his Sons, and of his Nephews *Esau* and *Jacob*, as they are registred by *Moses*, because it is not our purpose, neither to stand upon things generally known to all *Christians*, nor to repeat what hath been elsewhere already spoken, nor to prevent our selves in things that may hereafter in due place be remembred, we pass them here in silence. And because in this Story of *Abraham* and his posterity, there is much mention of *Ægypt*: by which it appears that even in the time of *Abraham*, it was a setled and flourishing Kingdom, it will not be amiss in the next place to speak somewhat of the Antiquities, and first Kings thereof.

CHAP. II.

Of the Kings of Ægypt *from the first Peopling of it after the Flood, to the time of the deliverey of the* Israelites *from thence.*

§. I.

A brief of the names and times of the first Kings of Ægypt: *with a note of the causes of difficulty in resolving of the truth in these points.*

SOon after the Confusion at *Babel* (as it seems) *Cham* with many of his Issue and followers (having doubtless known the fertility of *Ægypt* before the Flood) came thither and took possession of the Country: in which they built many Cities: and began the Kingdom one hundred ninety one years after the Deluge. The ancient Governours of this Kingdom till such time as *Israel* departed *Ægypt*, are shewen in the *Table* following.

An. Mundi.	*An. dil.*	
1847.	191.	*Cham.*
2008.	352.	*Osiris.*
2269.	613.	*Typhon* } *Hercules.* }
2276.	620.	*Orus.*
2391.	735.	*Sesostris* the Great.
2424.	768.	*Sesostris* the Blind.
2438.	782.	*Busiris* or *Orus* the second
2476.	820.	*Acenchere* or *Thermutis* or *Meris.*
2488.	832.	*Ratboris* or *Athoris.*
2497.	841.	*Cheneres* drowned in the Red Sea.

The Table and especially the *Chronology*, is to be confirmed by probabilities and conjectures, because in such obscurity manifest and resistless truth cannot be found. For S. *Augustin*, a Man of exceeding great judgment, and incomparable diligence, who had sought into all antiquities, and had read the Books of *Varro*, which now are lost, yet omitted the Succession of the *Ægytian* Kings: which he would not have done, if they had not been more uncertain than the *Sicyonians*, whom he remembreth, than whom doubtless they were more glorious. One great occasion of this obscurity in the *Ægyptian* Story, was the ambition of the Priests: who to magnifie their Antiquities, filled the Records (which were in their hands) with many leasings: and recounted unto Strangers, the names of many Kings that never Reigned. What ground they had for these reports of supposed Kings, it shall appear anon. Sure it is that the magnificent Works and Royal Buildings in *Ægypt*, such as are never found but in States that have greatly flourished, witness that their Princes were of marvelous greatness: and that the reports of the Priests were not altogether false. A second cause of our ignorance in the *Ægyptian* History, was the too much credulity of some good *Authors*, who believing the manifold and contrary reports of sundry *Ægyptians*, and publishing in their own name, such as pleased them best; have confirmed them, and as it were enforced them upon us, by their authority. A third and general cause of more than *Ægyptian* darkness in all ancient Histories, is the edition of many Authors by *John Annius*, of whom (if to the censures of sundry very learned I may add mine) I think thus; That *Annius* having seen some fragments of those Writers, and added unto them what he would, may be credited, as an avoucher of true Histories, where approved Writers confirm him: but otherwise is to be deemed fabulous. Hereupon it cometh to pass that the account of Authors, either in the *Chronology* or *Genealogy* of the *Ægyptian* Kings, runs three altogether different ways. The Christian Writers, such as are ancient, for the most part follow *Eusebius*: Many late Writers follow the Edition of *Annius* his Authors: The prophane Histories follow *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and such others.

§. II.

That by the account of the Ægyptian Dynasties, and otherwise, it appears that Cham's *Reign in* Ægypt *began in the Year after the Flood* 191.

TO reconcile these, or gather out of them the times of the ancient Kings, about whom is most Controversie, the best means is by help of the *Dynasties*: of whose continuance there is little or no disagreement. The account of the *Dynasties* (besides the authority of approved Authors) hath this good ground, that it agreeth for the most part, if not altogether with the Histories of the *Assyrians*, *Trojans*, *Italians*, and others, *&c.* The beginning of the 16. *Dyn.* is joyned by general consent, with the 43. year of *Ninus*: in which *Abraham* was born. The twelve first *Dynasties* lasted each of them seven years, under the twelve, which were called the greater Gods: So that all the years of their continuance were 84. The thirteenth *Dynast.* indured fourteen years: the fourteenth 26: the fifteenth 37. These three last are said to have been under the three younger Gods. So the fifteen first *Dynasties* lasted 161. years. As I do not therefore believe that the continuance of these *Dyn.* was such as hath been mentioned, because *Annius* in such wise limits out their time: so I cannot reject the account upon this only reason, That *Annius* hath it so: considering that both hitherto it hath passed as currant, and is greatly strengthened by many good reasons. For, whereas *Eusebius* placeth the beginning of the sixteenth *Dynasty*, in the year of *Abraham*'s birth, as aforesaid: the reckoning is easily cast; by which the summ of 161. years, which according to our account were spent in the fifteen former, being subducted out of the summ of 352. years, which were between the Flood and *Abraham*'s birth, shew that the beginning of the first *Dynasty*, which was the beginning of *Cham*'s Reign in *Ægypt*, was in the year 191. As also by other probabilities the same may appear. For it is generally agreed, that the multitude of Mankind which came into *Shinar*, arrived at *Babel*, *Anno à diluvio* 131. In building the Tower were consumed forty years as *Glycas* recordeth: whose report I have elsewhere confirmed with divers probabilities. That *Cham* was long in passing with his company, their Wives, Children, Cattle, and Substance, through all *Syria* then desolate, and full of Bogs, Forests, and Bryers (which the Deluge and want of Culture in one hundred and seventy one years had brought upon it) no reasonable Man will doubt. To this his passage therefore, and the seating of himself in *Ægypy*, we allow 20 years: and these summs being added together, to wit one hundred thirty one years after the Flood, before they arrived at *Babel*, 40. years for their stay there, and 20. for *Cham*'s passage into *Ægypt*, and setling there, make up the summ of 191 years: at which time we said that *Cham* began his Reign in *Ægypt*, in the beginning of the first *Dynasty*. And to this summ of 191. years if we add the 161. years of the 15. first *Dynasties*, as they are numbred in common account, we shall fall right with the year of *Abraham*'s birth, which was *An. Dil.* 352. And hereto, omitting many other reasons, which might be brought to prove that these first *Dynasties* must needs have been very short, and not containing in the whole summ of their several times above 161. years: Let it suffice that had they lasted longer, then either must *Ægypt* have been peopled as soon as *Babel* after the Flood: or the *Dynasties* (as *Mercator* thinks) must have been before the Flood. That the arrival at *Babel* was many years before the Plantation of *Ægypt*, after the Flood, enough hath been said to prove: and that the *Dynasties* were not before the Flood, the number of the long-liv'd Generations between *Adam* and the Flood, which was less than the number of the *Dynasties*, may sufficiently witness. Or if we will think, that one life might (perhaps) be divided into many *Dynasties*, then may this have been as well after the Flood, as before: considering that the Sons of *Noah* did not in every Country erect such form of Policy, as had been used in the same ere the Deluge: but such, as the disposition of the people, the authority and power of the Conducter, together with many other circumstances, did induce or inforce them to.

§. III.

That these Dynasties *were not divers Families of Kings, but rather Successions of Regents, oft-times many under one King.*

THE short continuance of the *Dynasties*, doth shew that they were not several Races of Kings, as the vaunting *Ægyptians* were wont to stile them. What they were it cannot certainly be warranted. For in restitutions of decaied Antiquities, it is more easie to deny than to affirm. But this may be said, partly upon good circumstance, partly upon the surest proof, That it was the manner of the *Ægyptian* Kings, to put the Government of the Country into the hands of some trusty Councellor, only reserving the Soveraignty to themselves, as the old Kings of *France* were wont to the Masters of the Palace, and as the *Turk* doth to the chief *Visier*. This is confirmed first by the number of the *Dynasties*, whereof many are under *Cham*, and more than one under *Osiris* or *Mizraim*; and must therefore have been successions, not of Kings, but rather of Councellors and Regents. Secondly, by custom of such Princes Borderers to *Ægypt*, as are mentioned in the Scriptures: of whom *Abimilech* the *Philistim* in his dealing with *Abraham* and *Isaac* about confederation, did nothing without *Phicol* Captain of his Host; though in taking *Abraham*'s Wife, and in his private carriage, he followed his own pleasure. Likewise of *Abimilech* the Son of *Gideon* it was said: *Is not he the Son of Jerubbal? and Zebul is his Officer?* Also *Ishbosheth* the Son of *Saul*, feared *Abner* the Captain of the Host. Yea, *David* himself hating *Joab* for his cruelty, did not punish him, in regard of his greatness, which was such, as was feared even of *Hadad* the *Edomite* living then in *Ægypt*. Thirdly, this is confirmed by the temper and disposition of *Cham*, who was lewd, as appears by the Scriptures: therefore likely both for his own idleness and pleasure, to have laid the burthen of Government upon others; and upon jealousie, the companion of unworthiness, to have changed his Lieutenants often. Above all other proofs is the advancement of *Joseph* by *Pharaoh*. For *Pharaoh* said to *Joseph*; *Only in the Kings Throne will I be above thee: behold I have set thee over all the Land of Ægypt.* William, *Archbishop of* Tyre, who flourished about the year of our Lord one thousand one hundred eighty, affirms that the like or very same form of Government by *Viceroys*, was in his time practised in *Ægypt*, having there been in use (as he believed) ever since the time of *Joseph*. He plainly shews, that the *Soldans* of *Ægypt* were not Lords of the Country,

William Tyr. de bell. Sacro. l. 19. ca. 17, 18, 19, & 20.

Country, how ever they have been so deemed: but that they acknowledged and humbly performed the duty of Subjects unto the *Caliph*: who residing in a most magnificent Palace in *Cairo*, did commit the charge, not only of civil Government, but the power of making War and Peace, with the whole office and authority Royal into the *Soldan*'s hands. He that shall read in *William* of *Tyre*, the
Li. 19. 2c. State of the *Caliph*, or *Mulene Elhadech*, with the form of his Court, shall plainly behold the image of the ancient *Pharaoh*, ruling by a Lieutenant, as great in authority as *Joseph* was, though far inferiour in wisdom.

To think that many names of such *Regents* or Lieutenants as *Joseph* was, have crept into the list of the *Ægyptian* Kings, were no strange imagination. For *Joseph*'s Brethren called him,
Gen 42.30 & 33. *The Man that is Lord of the Land, and the Lord of the Country*: Besides, it is not unlikely that the vain-glorious *Ægyptian* Priests would as easily report him a King to posterity, as ignorant Men and strangers deem him such, under whose hand all dispatches of importance, and royal managing of the State had passed, whilst that the King himself intending his quiet, had given his office to another. How Strangers have mistaken in this kind, the example already cited of *Joseph*'s brethren, doth sufficiently witness. The reports of Priests do appear in *Diodorus*, and *Herodotus*: each of whom, citing their relations, as good authority, say; *Diodorus*, that *Sesostris* was the ninetieth King after *Menas*; *Herodotus*, that he was the 332. after *Menas*: which could not have been if *Menas* had been *Adam*. Therefore we may well conclude, That the *Dynasties* were not so many races of Kings, but successions of *Regents*, appointed by the Kings of so many sundry Lineages or sorts of Men. Now by whatsoever means a *Dynasty* or *Regency* continued: whether in one Family, as being made an hereditary office: or in one order of Men, as held by faction: sure it is that it was the Kings gift, and free choice, that gave the office. But the Crown royal always passed by descent, and not by election: which (beside consent of *Authors*) the Scriptures also prove. For whereas *Joseph* bought all the Land of *Ægypt* for *Pharaoh*, if the Crown had passed by election, then should *Pharaoh*'s Children hereby either have been inthralled amongst the rest of the People, to the next Successour: or injoying their Fathers Land, though not his Estate, have been more mighty than the King: as *Land-lords* of all *Ægypt*, and the King himself their Tenant. Likewise we find in *Exod.* 12. that *God smote the first-born of Pharaoh, that was to sit on his throne*: And in *Esay* it
Esa. 19. is said of Pharaoh, *I am the Son of the ancient King.*

§. IV.

Of Cham, *and his Son* Mizraim, *or* Osiris.

THat the succession of Kings began, and continued in such wise as the Table hath shewed from *Cham* to *Chencres*, now it followeth to shew.
Psal. 78. 51. 105. *Ægypt* is called in the Scripture, *the Land of Ham.*
23.27.106. 22. That this name is not given to it because the posterity of *Cham* did reign there, but for that himself did first plant it, we may gather by many circumstances. For I think it is no where found, that the Countries of *Cush*, *Put*, or *Canaan*, as well as *Ægypt*, were called the Land of *Ham*. Further
Diod. Sic. l. 1. it is found in *Diodorus Siculus*, that *Osiris* calleth himself the eldest Son of *Cham*, saying; *Mihi pater Saturnus deorum omnium junior*: also, *Sum Saturni filius antiquior, germen ex pulchro & generoso ortum*: which must needs be understood of *Cham*: for this *Saturnus Ægyptius* was *Cham*: as it is said, that on the Monument of *Ninus* was an inscription, wherein *Cham* was called *Saturnus Ægyptius*. Likewise the Temple of *Hammon* not far from *Ægypt* doth testifie, that *Ham* resided in those parts: And St. *Hierome in quæstionibus Hebraicis*, saith, that the *Ægyptians* themselves did in his daies call their Country *Ham*: as in four several places in the *Psalms* this Country is called the land of *Cham*. And *Ortelius*, noting out of *Plutarch* in *Osiride*, that in the Sacrifices of the *Ægyptians* this Country of *Egypt* was called *Chemia*, expounds it for *Chamia*: *ut puto* (saith he) *a Chamo Noes filio*, to which also he addeth out of *Isidore*, *Ægyptium usq; hodie Ægyptiorum lingua Kam vocari*: *that* Ægypt *unto this day in the tongue of the* Ægyptians *is called* Kam. For the beginning and continuance of *Cham*'s reign, the same reasons may suffice to be alledged, which I have already given in proof of the time spent in the 15. first *Dynasties*: Neither it is strange that the Reign of *Cham*, should last so long as 161. years: considering that *Sem* lived 600. *Arpachshad* and *Shelah* each above 400. But strange it had been, if one. *Saitis* created by *Manetho*, had in those long-lived generations reigned there, 19. years, and with *Baon Apachnas*, *Apochis*, and others of the same brood, obscured the fame and glory of *Osiris*, *Orus* and *Sesostris*. *Reineccius in histor.* *Julia*, placeth *Mizraim* next, otherwise called *Osiris* according to *Diodorus*: who saith he was the Son of *Hammon*: *Krentzhemius* saith that *Mizraim*, and *Osiris* are words of near affinity and sound in the *Hebrew* tongue. Howsoever it be, we know that *Mizraim* the Son of *Cham*, was Lord of *Ægypt*, and *Reineccius* citing good authority in this case, affirmeth that *Ægypt* is now called by the naturals in their own language *Mezre*. Neither do I see cause of doubt whether *Osiris* were the same with *Mizraim*. It is more necessary, and hard to shew manifestly, how long *Mizraim* or *Osiris* reigned. For whereas the year of his death is no where precisely set down, we must be fain to follow probabilities. That he is not vainly said by *Annius* his *Berosus* to have begun his Reign at the birth of *Abraham*, when the *Dynastie* of the *Thebæi* began, it appeareth, first, by the authority of *Eusebius*: who avoucheth as much; next by *Diodorus*, who saith that he inhabited *Thebes*: which habitation of *Osiris* there, that it might be cause of that *Dynast*. I can well believe: assenting so far to *Reineccius*, who thinks the *Dynasties* were named only, according to the several seats of the Kings.

§. V.

Of the time when Osiris *reign ended*: *and that* Jacob *came into* Ægypt *in the time of* Orus *the Son of* Osiris.

THe death of *Osiris*, when it was, none can certainly affirm. The only conjecture that I know, is made thus. *Lehabim* the Son of *Mizraim* called *Hercules Libyus*, made war in *Italy*, to revenge his Fathers death, on the associates of *Typhon*, in the 41. year of *Baleus* King of *Assyria*: before which year he had made many great Wars in *Ægypt*, *Phœnicia*, *Phrygia*, *Crete*, *Libya*, and *Spain*: and having ended his *Ægyptian* Wars, left the Kingdom to *Orus*. Thus far *Berosus*, or authors following *Berosus*. That *Orus* last of all the Gods (as they were stiled) held the Kingdom of *Isis*, *Diodorus Siculus* plainly saith: and *Plutarch* as much; to which all old Histories agree. *Krentzhemius* here-
Diod. St. l. 2. c. 1. Plut. l. de Iside & Osir.
upon

upon infers, that six years may be allowed to the Wars, which *Hercules* made in so many Countries, after the *Ægyptian* Wars were ended: so should the death of *Osiris* have been the 34. of *Baleus*: when himself had Reigned 297. years. I think that *Krentzhemius* was a greater Scholar than Soldier. For surely in those days when Commerce was not such as now, but all Navigation made by Coasting, a far longer time would have been required, to the subduing of so many Countries. An allowance of more time though it would alter his computation, yet would it well agree with his intent: which was (doubtless) to find the truth. If according to his account the death of *Osiris* had been the 34. of *Baleus*, then must *Israel* have come into *Ægypt* but seven years before the death of *Osiris*: and have lived there in the Reign of *Typhon*. A thing not easily believed. For it was the same King who advanced *Joseph*, bad him send for his Father, and gave him leave to go into *Canaan*, to the performance of his Fathers Funeral: as may easily be gathered out of the Book of *Genesis*. Whereas therefore the Reign of *Osiris*, cannot be extended by any possible allowance in account of times, beyond the seventh year of *Israel's* coming into *Ægypt*: we must needs cut off 23. years from that number, which *Krentzhemius* conjectures his Reign to have continued: namely seven which he should have lived after *Jacob's* coming into *Ægypt*: nine in which *Joseph* had there flourished, ere his Fathers coming: and other seven in which *Typhon* and *Hercules* had Reigned after the death of *Osiris*, yet before *Joseph's* advancement.

Neither will this disagree with the time of *Hercules Libyus* his Wars. For the War which *Hercules* made in *Italy*, is said to have indured 10. years: After which proportion we may well give not only six years, as *Krentzhemius* doth, but 23. more to so many Wars in so many and so far-distant Countries, as are named before: Yea, by this proportion we may attribute unto *Orus* the 13. years, which passed between the time of *Joseph's* being sold into *Ægypt*, unto his advancement: considering that *Putiphar* who bought him, and whose Daughter he may seem to have married, continued all that while chief Steward unto *Pharaoh*: a thing not likely to have been, if so violent alterations had happened the whilst in *Ægypt*, as the tyrannous Usurpation of *Typhon* must needs have brought in. If citing some Fragment of a lost old Author, I should confidently say, that *Putiphar* for his faithfulness to *Orus*, the Son of *Osiris*, was by him in the beginning of his Reign made his chief Steward: at which time buying *Joseph*, and finding him a just man, and one under whose hand all things did prosper, he rather committed his Estate into *Joseph's* hands, than unto any of his *Ægyptian* followers (many of whom he had found either false-hearted, or weak and unlucky in the troublesome days of *Typhon*) I know not what could be objected against this. Perhaps I might proceed further and say, That when the saying of *Joseph* pleased *Pharaoh*, and all his Servants: then *Putiphar* Priest of *On*, being chief Officer to *Pharaoh*, did acknowledge in *Joseph*, the ancient graces of God, and his injurious imprisonment; wherupon he gave him his Daughter to Wife: and being old resigned his Office of chief Steward unto him: who afterward in regard of *Putiphar*, did favour the Priests, when he bought the Lands of all other *Ægyptians*. This might appear to some a tale not unlike to the Frierly Book of *Asenath*, *Putiphar's* Daughter: but unto such as consider that God works usually by means: and that *Putiphar* was the Steward of that King, under whom *Jacob* died: it would seem a matter not unprobable, had it an Author of sufficient credit to avouch it. Concerning the Wars of *Hercules*, in which by this reckoning he should have spent 42. years after he left *Ægypt*, ere he began in *Italy*, it is a circumstance which (the length of his *Italian* Wars considered, and his former enterprises and atchievements proportioned to them) doth not make against us, but for us: or if it were against us, yet could it not so weaken our supposition, as these probabilities collected out of the undisputable truth of Scripture do confirm it. Nevertheless I freely grant that all these proofs are no other, than such as may be gathered out of Authors, not well agreeing, nor to be reconciled in such obscurity, otherwise than by likelihoods, answerable to the holy Text.

§. VI.

Of Typhon, Hercules Ægyptius, Orus, *and the two* Sesostres, *successively Reigning after* Misraim: *and of divers errors about the former* Sesostres.

CConcerning the Reign of *Typhon*, and of *Hercules*, I find none that precisely doth define how long either of them continued. *Daniel Angelocrator* giveth three years to *Typhon*, omitting *Hercules*. But he is so peremptory without proof, as if his own word were sufficient authority, in many points very questionable; alledging no witness, but as it were saying *Teste meipso*: yet herein we may think him to speak probably, forasmuch as the Learned *Krentzhemius* affirmeth, that *Hercules* did very soon undertake his Fathers revenge: and was not long in performing it: and that leaving *Ægypt* to his Brother, he followed other Wars, in the same quarrel, as hath been shewed before. True it is, that I cannot collect (as *Krentzhemius* doth) out of *Berosus*, that *Hercules* Reigned after *Typhon*: yet seeing *Aventinus* a follower of *Berosus* hath it so, I will also believe it. That in the Reign of *Typhon* and *Hercules*, seven years were spent, howsoever divided between them, I gather out of *Krentzhemius* only, who placeth the beginning of *Orus* seven years after the death of *Osiris*: forgetting to set down his reasons, which in a matter so probable I think he wanted not. Now whereas he alloweth 90. years of the eighteenth *Dynasty* to *Osiris*, *Typhon*, *Hercules*, and *Orus*: it seems that the Reign of *Orus* lasted 115 years. From the death of *Orus* to the departure of *Israel* out of *Ægypt*, there passed 122 years by our account: who (according to *Beroaldus* and others,) think that *Abraham* was born in the 130 year of *Terah*, and thereupon reckon thus. From the end of the Flood to the birth of *Abraham* ——— 352

From that time to the { Vocation of *Abraham* — 75 / departure out of *Ægypt* 430

Summa ——— 857

which summ divers other ways may be collected. Since therefore to the departure out of *Ægypt*, there do remain (as is aforesaid) only 122 years from the death of *Orus*: we are now to consider how many of them are to be allowed unto *Sesostris* or *Sesonchosis*: who is placed next unto *Orus*, by authority of the *Scholiastes Apollonii*: not without good probability. For this great King or Conquerour, is by many Histories recorded to have over-run a great part of *Asia*: to have built a Fleet of Ships on the Red Sea: and so to have entred into *India*: likewise with an other Fleet on the middle-earth Seas, to have passed into *Europe*, and subdued many Nations. This is he (as *Reineccius* judgeth) whom *Justine* erring in account of his time

calleth *Vexoris*: For *Juſtine* placeth *Vexoris* in ages before *Nimus*: whereby it would follow that *Seſoſtris*, if he were *Vexoris*, was more ancient than was *Oſiris* (otherwiſe *Mizraim*) a thing altogether unlikely. Certain it is that after the departure of *Iſrael* out of *Ægypt*, no one *Pharaoh* came into the land of *Canaan* (which lieth in the way from *Ægypt* into *Aſia*) till the Father-in-law of *Salomon*, *Pharaoh Vaphres*, took *Gezar*, and gave it to his Daughter: after which time *Seſac* oppreſſed *Rehoboam*, and gave it to his Daughter: after which time *Seſac* oppreſſed *Rehoboam*, and *Necho* ſought paſſage through the land of *Iſrael*, when he made his expedition againſt the *Chaldæans*. Of King *Vaphres* and *Necho* it is out of queſtion, that neither of them was the great King *Seſoſtris*. Of *Seſac* it is doubted by ſome, foraſmuch as he came into *Judæa*, with a great Army. *Reineccius* propounding the doubt leaveth it undecided; unleſs it be ſufficient proof of his own opinion, that he himſelf placeth *Seſoſtris* next to *Orus*: following the *Scholiaſtes Apollonii*. But further anſwer may be made to ſhew that they were not one. For as *Juſtine* witneſſeth, *Seſoſtris*, otherwiſe *Vexoris*, made War on People far removed, abſtaining from his neighbours. *Seſac* came up purpoſely againſt *Hieruſalem*. *Seſoſtris*, as *Diod.* witneſſeth, had but 24000. horſe: *Seſac* had 60000: *Seſoſtris* had 8020. Chariots, *Seſac* but 1200: *Seſoſtris* made his expedition for no private purpoſe, but to get a great name: *Seſac*, as moſt agree, had no other purpoſe than to ſuccour *Jeroboam*, and give him countenance in his new reign: whom he had favoured even againſt *Salomon*: therefore *Seſoſtris* muſt needs have reigned whilſt *Iſrael* abode in *Ægypt*.

Whereas *Krentzhemius* collecteth out of *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*, that one *Menas*, or *Menis*, was next to *Orus*: becauſe thoſe Hiſtorians affirm that he reigned next after the Gods; it moveth me nothing. For *Oſiris* did ſucceed thoſe 15. Gods. namely the twelve greater and three leſſer: himſelf alſo (as the learned *Reineccius* noteth) being calleth *Menas*. Which name, as alſo *Minæus*, and *Menis*, were titles of dignity: though miſtaken by ſome as proper names. *Krentzhemius* doth very probably gather, that *Menas* was *Mercurius Termaximus*: the Hebrew word *Meni* ſignifying an *Arithmetician*: which name *Ter-maximus* might well be attributed to *Oſiris*: who was a great Conquerour, Philoſopher, and benefactor to mankind, by giving good Laws, and teaching profitable Arts. In proweſs and great undertakings *Seſoſtris* was no whit inferiour to *Oſiris*. For he ſought victory not for gain, but for honour only: and being well contented, that many Nations had acknowledged his power, and ſubmitted themſelves to his will and royal diſpoſition, leaving them in a manner to their liberty, returned into *Ægypt*. Soon upon his return he was endangered by a great Treaſon, the houſe in which he was, being by his own brother purpoſely fired: which nevertheleſs he is ſaid to have eſcaped, and to have reigned in all thirty three years: after which time he choſe rather to die than to live: becauſe he fell blind. Both *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*, affirm that *Seſoſtris* left a Son, whoſe name was *Pheron* or *Pherones*: who afterwards took the name of *Seſoſtris*: but was nothing like to his Father in glory: for he ſhortly fell blind. The cauſe of his blindneſs *Herodotus* attributes to his aſſaulting the River *Nilus* with a Javeline: which tale *Diodorus* having likewiſe heard, yet reports as a fable, ſaying that perhaps he took the diſeaſe naturally from his Father. How long this Man reigned it is no where expreſſed: yet forasmuch as *Orus* the ſecond, (otherwiſe *Buſiris*) who ſucceeded him, began 14. years after that this *Seſoſtris* had been King, it muſt needs be that this reigned 14. years at leaſt. That *Buſiris* began not until theſe 14. years at leaſt were expired, the very account of time from the firſt of *Buſiris*, to the departure of *Iſrael* out of *Ægypt* plainly ſhews, being almoſt generally agreed upon, to have been 75. years. That none came between *Seſoſtris* the ſecond and *Buſiris* or *Orus* the ſecond, it ſtands only upon probabilities: which are theſe. After *Seſoſtris* had raigned ſomewhile, he fell blind: after certain years he recovered his ſight, as is ſaid: which may have been true, but is more like to have been a fable: ſurely the manner of his recovery as it is ſet down, is very fabulous: namely that by looking upon a Woman, or waſhing his eyes with her water, who had only known her own Husband, he got his ſight again. As the time of his Reign, before his blindneſs, and when he was well again (if ever he were) may have taken up a good part of 14. years: ſo his works which were great, do much more ſtrongly argue, that his Reign was not very ſhort. His works are largely ſet down by *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*: a part of which may ſeem to have been the finiſhing of that which his Father had begun, about the Channels and Sluces of *Nilus*: whom I think he rather frighted, (as his Father had done) with ſpades and ſhovels, than with darts, and javelins: and by his diligent overſight of that work, was like enough to loſe both his eyeſight and his peoples love: whom his Father had very buſily employed in exceſſive labour about it.

§. VII.

Of Buſiris *the firſt oppreſſor of the* Iſraelites: *and of his ſucceſſor Queen* Thermutis *that took up* Moſes *out of the water.*

AND herein (if I may preſume to conjecture) *Buſiris*, who was afterwards King, is like to have dealt with him, as *Jeroboam* did with the Son of *Salomon*. For that *Buſiris* himſelf was much addicted to magnificent works, it well appeared, by the drudgery wherewith he wearied the Children of *Iſrael* in his buildings: If therefore he were employed by the great *Seſoſtris*, as *Jeroboam* was by *Salomon* in the overſight of thoſe buſineſſes, he had good opportunity to work his greatneſs with the King by induſtry: and afterward with the people by incenſing them againſt their new King: as *Jeroboam* did. For what the multitude will endure at one Princes hands, they will not at anothers: unleſs he have either an equal Spirit, or a ſurer foundation. If moreover he ſought to derive all the pain and labour of publick works from the *Ægyptians*, to the *Iſraelites*: he ſurely did that which to his own people was very plauſible, who (as appears in *Exodus*) were nothing ſlack in fulfilling the Kings cruelty. Now that *Orus* the 2. or *Buſiris* was the King that firſt oppreſſed *Iſrael*, and made the *Edict* of drowning the *Hebrew* Children, which (ſaith *Cedrenus*) laſted ten months: it is a common opinion of many great and moſt learned Writers, who alſo think that hereupon grew the fable of *Buſiris* ſacrificing ſtrangers. It is alſo a common interpretation of that place, *Ex.* 1, that the King, who knew not *Joſeph*, was a King of a new family. That *Buſiris* was of a new family, *Reineccius* doth ſhew: who alſo thinks him Author of the bloody Edict. Nevertheleſs, true it is, that *Buſiris* according to all mens computation, began his reign 5. years after *Exod.* 1.

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the birth of *Moses*; before whose birth it is most manifest, that the Law was made, and much more that the persecution began: which *Bunting* thinks to have lasted 87. years, ere the departure out of *Ægypt*. Let us therefore consider, besides the blindness of *Sesostris* the second, how great the power of the *Regents* or *Viceroys* in *Ægypt* was: and how great confidence the Kings did put in them: seeing *Joseph* ruled with such full power, that he bought all *Ægypt*, and all the *Ægyptians* for Bread; giving at the same time the best of the Land to his own Father and Brethren, for nothing: seeing also that when the *Ægyptians* cried out upon *Pharaoh*, for Bread: *Pharaoh* said to all the *Ægyptians*, *Go to Joseph: what he saith to you, do ye.* If to a Stranger born, lately fetcht out of Prison, a King well able to have governed himself, would give such Trust, and Soveraign Authority: it is not unlikely that a blind Prince should do it to a Man of especial Reputation. For God often prospers, not only the good (such as *Joseph* was) but wicked Men also, as his Instruments against the day of Wrath. Therefore perhaps the King did (as many have done) resign his Kingdom to him, though his Reign was not accounted to have begun, till the death of *Sesostris*. But whether *Busiris* did usurp the Kingdom, or protection of the Land by violence: or whether the blind King resigned it, keeping the Title: or whether *Busiris* were only *Regent*, whilst the King lived, and afterwards (as is acknowledged by all) King himself: it might well be said that *Pharaoh*'s Daughter took up *Moses*, and that *Pharaoh* vexed *Israel*: seeing he both at that time was King in effect, and shortly after King in deed and Title both. It were not absurd for us to say that the blind King *Sesostris* the second oppressed *Israel*: but forasmuch as it may seem that the wicked *Tyrant* shewed his evil Nature even when he first arose: I think it more likely, that *Busiris* did it, using at first the power of a King, and shortly after the stile. Thus of the 122. years which passed between the beginning of *Sesostris* his Reign, and the departure of *Israel* out of *Ægypt*, 47. being spent: the 75. which remain, are to be accounted to *Busiris* or *Orus* the second, and his Children. *Busiris* himself reigned 30. years, according to *Eusebius*: whom very many judicious Authors herein approve. After him his Daughter, who took *Moses* out of the Water, is said by all that I have read, to have reigned 12. years: Her name was *Thermutis Pharesis*, or *Muthis* according to *Cedrenus*: *Euseb.* calls her *Acencris*: and out of *Artabanus* his History *Meris*: *Josephus* calls her both *Acenchere*, and *Thermutis*. *Epiphanius* in *Panario* saith that she was honoured afterward of the *Ægyptians*, by the name of *Thermutis* the Daughter of *Amenoph*, the Son of *Pharaoh*. Of this last Title question might be made and much spoken: For the Scriptures call her not *Pharaoh*'s Sons Daughter, but *Pharaoh*'s Daughter. *Amenophis* indeed is placed next before *Busiris* or *Orus* the second by *Eusebius* and others: But whether he were a King or only a *Regent* I cannot conjecture. For *Herodotus*; *Diodorus*, and the Ancient Historians name the Son of *Sesostris*, *Pheron*. Perhaps his name was *Pharaoh Amenophis*: and his Daughter by the *Ægyptians* called rather the Niece or Grandchild, than the Daughter of *Pharaoh*, because of the glory of *Sesostris*, and the disreputation of his Son. If so, and if that *Busiris* or *Orus* the Second marrying her, pretended any Title by her, then is our conjecture strengthened, and then was she both Daughter, Grandchild, and Wife unto *Pharaoh*: and surviving him, *Queen* of the Land, 12. years. But if she were the Daughter of *Orus* the second and Sister of *Athoris*, or *Rathoris*, as many think, to whose conjecture I will not oppose mine, then may it seem, that either her Brethren were degenerate, or too young to rule, when her Father died.

§. VIII.

Of the two Brethren of Queen Thermutis: *and what King it was, under whom* Moses *was born: and who it was that perished in the Red Sea.*

SHE had two Brethren: the one was *Rathoris*, or *Athoris*, who succeeded her; the other *Telegonus*, who is only named by *Eusebius*: but his lineage and off-spring described by *Reineccius*. *Rathoris* after his Sisters death Reigned 9. years: after whom *Chencres*, thought to be his Son, Reigned 10. and then perished in the Red Sea. During the Reign of *Chencres*, *Eusebius* saith, that *Telegonus* begat *Epaphus* upon *Io*: of which History elsewhere he reporteth otherwise. After the death of *Chencres* (whom some call *Acencheres*: but all or most do stile Στόμαχον a fighter against God) *Acherres* Reigned 8. years: and then *Cherres* 15. This descent seems from Father to Son. In the 11. year of *Cherres* it is said by *Euseb.* that *Epaphus* Reigning in the lower part of *Ægypt* built *Memphis*. This is an argument of that which otherwise was not unlikely: *viz.* That *Ægypt* was greatly brought out of order by the Plagues which God had laid upon it, and the destruction of her King and Army in the Red Sea: else could it not have had two Reigning in it at once; the latter of whom, or his Posterity seems to have taken all from *Cherres* the Grandchild of *Chencres*. For whereas *Armais* is said to have Reigned 4. years after *Cherres*: and *Armesis* one after *Armais*: these two Kings are by *Eusebius* and others accounted as one; and his Reign said to have been 5. years. His name is called *Armeas*, otherwise *Danaus*: and his Pedegree thus described by *Reineccius* in *Historia Julia*,

Telegonus:
Epaphus:
Libya, who had

Agenor, *Belus*, and *Busiris*.

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Ægyptus or *Rameſſes* who gave name to the Country, having expelled his Brother *Danaus*, Reigned, and begat *Lyncæus*, Married to *Hypermneſtra*.

Danaus or *Armeus* expelled by his Brother *Ægyptus*, after he had Reigned five years, became King of *Argos* in *Greece*: was Father to *Hypermneſtra*.

How it might come to pass that the Nephews Sons of *Epaphus* should have occupied the Kingdom after *Cherres*, it is hard to say: considering that *Epaphus* himself is reported by *Eusebius* to have been born in the time of *Chencres*. But forasmuch as the History of *Epaphus* his birth, is diversly related by *Eusebius*, it may suffice, that *Belus* the Father of *Danaus* and *Ægyptus*, otherwise called *Armeus* and *Rameſſes*, was equally distant from *Busiris* or *Orus* the second, with *Cherres* the Grandchild of *Chencres*.

And that the Posterity of *Telegonus* did marry very young, it appears by the History of these two Brethren, *Danaus* and *Ægyptus*: of whom the former had 50. Daughters, the latter 50. Sons: perhaps, or rather questionless, by divers Women: yet surely they began to beget Children in their first youth: Howsoever it were, the general consent of Writers is, that *Armeus* or *Danaus* did succeed *Cherres*: and (according to *Eusebius* and good Authors approving him) reigned five years. *Rameſſes* followed, who reigned 68. years. This *Rameſſes* or *Ægyptus* is that *Armeſeſmiamum* or *Armeſeſmiawus*, under whom, in the opinion of *Mercator*, and of *Bunting* that follows *Mercator*, *Moſes* was born: and the cruel Edict made of drowning the *Hebrew* Children. The length of his Reign seems to me the chief, if not the only ground of *Mercator*'s opinion. For whereas the Lord said to *Moſes*, *Go return to Ægypt, for they are all dead which went about to kill thee*, *Mercator* hereupon conceives, that it was one and the same King under whom *Moſes* was born, and under whom he slew the *Ægyptian* at the 40. year of his age: and fled into the Wilderness, and there abode for fear: all which Circumstances could agree with none, but this *Rameſſes*, who reigned so long: wherefore desirous rather to hold a true Paradox, than a common Error, he placeth one *Aliſfragmuthoſis* (whose name is found in the List of *Ægyptian* Kings, but the time uncertain wherein he reigned) in an age 112. or 113. years more ancient than others left him in: and so continuing the Catalogue of his successors from *Themoſis* (whom *Euſ.* calls *Amaſis*) downwards with no other variation of the length of each Mans Reign, than is the difference between *Manetho* and *Euſeb.* he finds *Moſes* born under *Armeſeſmiamum*: and *Iſrael* delivered in the days of his Son *Amenophis*. The very name of *Aliſfragmuthoſis* seems to him with little alteration to sound like *Pharatates*, of which name one was thought to have flourished either as a King, or a wise Man about the time of *Iſaac*. For (saith he) from *Aliſfragmuthoſis* to *Pharagmuthoſis*, *Pharmuthoſis*, *Pharetaſis*, or *Pharatates*, the change is not great. *Mercator* was a Man of excellent learning and industry: and one to whom the World is bound for his many notable works: yet my assent herein is with-held from him, by these reasons. First, I see all other Writers agree, that *Chencres* was the King who was drowned in the red Sea: Secondly, the place *Exod.* 4. *all are dead*, &c. may better be understood of *Buſiris* and all his Children, than of one King alone: Thirdly, S. *Cyril* in his first Book against *Julian* the *Apoſtata*, saith that *Dardanus* built *Dardania*, when *Moſes* was 120. years old: *Rameſſes*, which was this *Armeſeſmiamum*, being then King of *Ægypt*. After *Rameſſes*, *Amenophis* reigned 19. years: who is thought by *Mercator*, and peremptorily by *Bunting* pronounced, to be the King that perished in the red Sea: of which our opinion being already laid open, I think it most expedient to refer the Kings ensuing to their own times (which a Chronological Table shall lay open) and here to speak of that great deliverance of *Iſrael* out of *Ægypt*: which for many great considerations depending thereupon, we may not lightly over-pass.

Exod. 4. 19.

CHAP. III.

Of the delivery of Israel *out of* Ægypt.

§. I.

Of the time of Moses's *birth, and how long the* Israelites *were oppressed in* Ægypt.

TRUE it is that the History it self is generally and well known: yet concerning the time of *Moſes* his birth, who was the excellent and famous instrument of this, and other great works of the Highest, the different opinions are very near as many, as the Men that have written of that Argument.

L. Vives in his Annotations upon S. *Auguſtine* citeth many of their conjectures: as that of *Porphyrie* out of *Sanchoniato*, that *Moſes* lived in the time of *Semiramis*: but if he meant the first *Semiramis*, it was but a fond conceit: for besides that the same is contrary to all Stories Divine and humane; while that *Semiramis* lived she commanded *Syria*, and all the parts thereof absolutely: neither were the *Ammonites* or *Moabites* or *Edomites* while she ruled, in *rerum natura*.

A second opinion he remembreth of *Appion*, taken from *Ptolomie* a Priest of *Mendes*, who saith that *Moſes* was born while *Inachus* ruled the *Argives*, and *Ameſis* in *Ægypt*.

The third opinion is taken out of *Polemon*, in his *Greek* History the first Book: that *Moſes* was born while *Apis* the third King ruled *Argos*.

A fourth is borrowed from *Tatianus Aſſyrius*, who though he cite some Authorities, that *Moſes* lived after the *Trojan* War, is himself of opinion, that *Moſes* was far more ancient, proving it by many Arguments.

Fifthly, he setteth down the testimony of *Numenius* the Philosopher, who took *Muſeus* and *Moſes* to be one: confirming the same out of *Artapanus*, who confesseth that *Moſes* was called *Muſeus*, by the *Gracians*: and who farther delivereth that he was adopted by *Chenephis*, or *Thermutis*, the Daughter of *Ægypt*: the same which *Eupolemus* calleth *Meris*; others (as *Rabanus Maurus*) *Thermothes*. *Euſebius* also affirmeth that by *Eupolemus* in his first Book *De bono*, *Moſes vir Deo conjunctiſſimus* is called *Muſæus Judæorum*. *Euſebius* in his Chronologie, finds that *Moſes* was born while *Amenophis* ruled *Ægypt*. The ancient *Manethon* calls that *Pharaoh*, which lived at *Moſes*'s birth, *Thumoſis* or *Thmoſis*: the same perchance which *Appion* the *Grammarian* will have to be *Amoſis*, and elsewhere *Amenophis* the Father of *Sethoſis*: to whom *Lyſimachus* and *Cornelius Tacitus* give the name of *Bocchoris*. To me it seemeth most probable, that while *Saphrus*, called also *Spherus* or *Ipherus*, governed *Aſſyria*; *Orthopolis Sicyonia*; and *Criaſus* the *Argives*; that then (*Seſoſtris* the second ruling in *Ægypt*) *Moſes* was born. For if we belive S. *Auguſtine*, it was about the end of *Cecrops*'s time, that *Moſes* led *Iſrael* out of *Ægypt*. *Eduxit Moſes ex Ægypto populum Dei noviſſimo tempore Cecropis Athenienſium regis:*

Euſeb. de prepar. Evang. l. 9. c. 3.

Aug. l. 18. c. 11. de civit. Dei.

gis: *Moses* (saith he) *led the People of God out of Ægypt, about the end of* Cecrops's *time King of the* Athenians. In this sort therefore is the time of *Moses*'s birth, and of his departure out of *Ægypt* best proved. S. *August.* affirms (as before remembred) that *Moses* was born: *Saphrus* governing *Assyria*; and that he left *Ægypt* about the end of *Cecrops*'s time. Now *Saphrus* ruled 20. years; his successor *Mamelus* 30. years; *Sparetus* after him 40. years: in whose fourth year *Cecrops* began to govern in *Attica*: *Ascatades* followed *Sparetus*, and held the Empire 41: So as *Moses* being born while *Saphrus* ruled *Assyria*; *Orthopolis Sicyonia*; and *Criasus Argos* (for these three Kings lived at once at his birth, saith S. *Augustine*, as *Cecrops* did when he departed *Ægypt*) it will follow that the birth of *Moses* was in the nineteenth year of the *Assyrian Saphrus*: for take one year remaining of 20. (for so long *Saphrus* reigned) to which add the thirty years of *Mamelus*, and the 40. years of *Sparetus*, these make 71. with which there were wasted three years of *Cecrops* his 50. years: then take nine years out of the Reign of *Ascatades*, who was *Sparetus*'s successor, those nine years added to 71. make 80. at which age *Moses* left *Ægypt*: and add these nine years to the three years of *Cecrops* formerly spent, there will remain but four years of *Cecrops* his 50. and so it falleth right with S. *Augustine*'s words, affirming that towards the end of *Cecrops* his time, *Moses* led the People of *Israel* out of *Ægypt*.

Now the time in which the *Hebrews* were oppressed in *Ægypt*, seemeth to have had beginning some eight or nine year before the birth of *Moses*, and 54. year, or rather more, after *Joseph*: between whose death and the birth of *Moses*, there were consumed 64. years: some of which time, and 80. years after, they lived in great servitude and misery. Exod. 1. For as it is written in *Exodus*, *They set taskmasters over them, to keep them under with burdens: and they built the Cities Pithom and Ramases*, &c. *And by cruelty they caused the children of Israel to serve; and made them weary of their lives, by sore labour in clay and brick, and in all work of the field, with all manner of bondage.* All which laid upon them by a mastering power and strong hand, they endured to the time by the wisdom of God appointed: even from 54. years, or not much more after the death of *Joseph*, who left the World, when it had lasted 2370. years, to the eightieth year of *Moses*, and until he wrought his Miracles in the Field of *Zoan*, which he performed in the Worlds age 2514. towards the end thereof according to *Codoman*, or after our account, 2513. And because those things which we deliver of *Ægypt*, may the better be understood, I think it necessary to speak a few words of the principal places therein named, in this discourse.

2370.

2514.

§. II.

Of divers Cities and places in Ægypt, *mentioned in this Story, or elsewhere in the Scripture.*

Numb. 33. Ezek. 30. Hierem. 2. 43, 44, 46. Josep. l. 1. c. 9. Tyr. de bell. sacro l. 19. c. 23.

THIS City which the *Hebrews* call *Zoan*, was built seven years after *Hebron*. *Ezekiel* calleth it *Taphnes*; and so doth *Hieremie*; the *Septuagint*, *Tanis*; *Josephus Protarchis*, after the name of an *Ægyptian* Queen; *Antonius* gives it the name of *Thanis*; *Hegesippus Thamna*; and *William Tyrius*, *Tapius*. It adjoineth to the Land of *Gosen*, and is the same, wherein *Hieremie* the Prophet was stoned to death, for preaching against the *Ægyptian* and *Jewish* Idolatry.

Zoan or *Taphnes* was in *Moses*'s time the *Metropolis* of the lower *Ægypt*, in which their *Pharaohs* then commonly resided; and not unlikely to be the same City, where *Abraham* in his time found him. But *Eusebius* out of *Artapanus* affirmeth, that *Abraham* read *Astronomie* in *Heliopolis* or *On*, to *Pharetates* King of *Ægypt*, *Alex. Polyhistor* out of *Eupolemus* hath it otherwise: saying, that *Abraham* instructed the *Ægyptian* Priests, and not the King; both which Authorities *Eusebius* citeth. The *Septuagint*, and the Vulgar Edition, for *Zoan* write *Heliopolis*. *Pagnin*, *Vatablus*, *Junius*, and our *English* call it *On*; and *Ptolomie Onium*. There are two Cities of that name; the one on the frontier of the lower *Ægypt*, towards the South; the other somewhat lower on the Eastern-most branch of *Nilus* falling into the Sea at *Pelusium*. And it may be that *Heliopolis* to the South of the River *Trajan*, was the same which *Vatablus*, and our *English* call *Aven*. Of the latter it is, that the Scriptures take certain knowledge: the same which *Pomp. Mela*, and *Pliny* call *Solis oppidum*; *Tyrius* in the *Holy War*, *Malbec*; the *Arabians Bahalbeth*; and *Simeon Sethi*, *fons Solis*. Of this *Heliopolis* or *On*, was *Putiphar* Priest, or Prince, whose Daughter *Joseph* married. In the Territory adjoining *Jacob* inhabited, while he lived in *Ægypt*. In the confines of this City, *Onias* the high Priest of the *Jews* built a Temple, dedicated to the eternal God; not much inferiour to that of *Jerusalem* (*Ptolomie Philopater* then governing in *Ægypt*) which stood to the time of *Vespasian*, 333. years after the Foundation by *Onias*, whom *Josephus* falsely reporteth, herein to have fulfilled a Prophecie of *Isai. c.* 19. *In die illa erit altare Domini in medio terræ Ægypti. In that day shall the altar of the Lord be in the midst of the land of Ægypt.* *Antiochus Epiphanes* at that time of the building tyrannising over the *Jews*, gave the occasion for the erecting of this Temple in *Ægypt*. Lastly, there it was, that our Saviour Christ Jesus remained, while *Joseph* and the Virgin *Mary* feared the violence of *Herod*: near which (saith *Brochard*) the Fountain is still found, called *Jesus Well*, whose streams do afterward water the Gardens of *Balsamum*, no where else found in *Ægypt*. And hereof see more in *Brochard* in his description of *Ægypt*.

Euseb. de præp. Evang. li. 9. c. 4. Gen. 12. 15. Isai. 19. 11. Ezek. 3. 17. Joseph. t. 1. bel. Judaic. c. 1. Broch. terr. sanct.

There is also the City of *Noph*, remembred by *Isaiah* and *Ezekiel*; the same which *Hosea* the Prophet calleth *Moph*: which latter name it took from a mountain adjoining, so called, which Mountain *Herodotus* remembreth. And this is that great City, which was called *Memphis*; and so the *Septuagint* write it. It is known to the *Arabians* by the name of *Mazar*. The *Chaldeans* name it *Alchahyr*; and *Tudalensis*, *Mizraim*.

Isai. 19. 13. Ezek. 34. Hosea 9. 6. Lib. 2.

Pelusium, which *Vatablus*, *Pagnin*, *Junius*, and our *English* write *Sin*; the *Septuagint* call *Sais*; and *Montanus Lebna*; is not the same with *Damiata*, as *Gul. Tyrius* witnesseth. In the time of *Baldwin* the third, *Pelusium* was called *Belbeis*. *Belbeis* (saith *Tyrius*) *quæ olim dicta est Pelusium*, Belbeis, *that in times past was called* Pelusium.

G. Tyr. l. 20. c. 17. lib. 2. c. 5.

The City of *Noph*, the *Septuagint* call *Diospolis*. Of which name there are two or three in *Ægypt*. *Hierome* converts it *Alexandria*, by anticipation, because it was so called in the future.

Ezek. 30. 15, 16.

Bubastus, for so *Hierome* and *Ziegler* write it, is the same which the *Hebrews* call *Pibeseth*.

Ezek. 30. 17.

To make the Story the more perceivable, I have added a description of the Land of *Gosen*, in which the *Israelites* inhabited; with those Cities and places so often remembred in the Scripture: as of *Taphnes* or *Zoan*, *Heliopolis* or *Bethsemes*, *Balsephon*, *Succoth*, and the rest; together with *Moses*'s passage through the Desarts of *Arabia the Stony*. For all

all Story without the knowledge of the places, wherein the Actions were performed, as it wanteth a great part of the pleasure; so it no way enricheth the knowledge and understanding of the Reader; neither doth any thing serve to retain, what we read, in our memories, so well as these Pictures and Descriptions do. In which respect I am driven to digress in many places, and to interpose some such Discourse, otherwise seeming impertinent: taking for my authority, after many others more ancient, that great learned Man *Arias Montanus*; who in his Preface to the Story of the Holy Land, hath these words. *Si enim absque locorum observatione res gestæ narrentur, aut sine Topographiæ cognitione Historiæ legantur, adeo confusa atque perturbata erunt omnia, ut ex iis nihil non obscurum, nihil non difficile elici possit. If narration* (saith he) *be made of those things which are performed, without the observation of the places, wherein they were done: or if Histories be read without Topographical knowledge; all things will appear so intricate and confused, as we shall thereby understand nothing but obscurely, nor draw thence any knowledge, but with the greatest difficulty.*

§. III.

Of the cruelty against the Israelites *young Children in* Ægypt: *and of* Moses *his preservation, and education.*

BUT to return to the Story it self. It appeareth that notwithstanding the Labour and Slavery, which the *Israelites* endured, yet they decreased not in numbers: insomuch as *Pharaoh* considering the danger of discontented Poverty, and the able Bodies of an oppressed multitude, how perilous they might be to his Estate, by suggestion of the Devil resolved to slaughter all the male Children of the *Hebrews*, so soon as they should be born. To which end he sent for *Sephora* and *Thua*, Women the most famous and expert amongst them, *qua præerant* (saith *Commestor*) *multitudine obstetricum, who had command given them over all Midwives*; by whom (as it seemeth) he gave order to all the rest for the execution of his Edict. For to have called all the Midwives of *Ægypt* together, had been a strange Parliament. Now whether these two, before named, were of the *Hebrews*, or of the *Ægyptians*, it is diversly disputed. S. *Augustin* calls them *Hebrews*, because it is written *Exodus* the first, *The King of Ægypt commanded the Midwives of the Hebrew Women*, &c. But *Josephus*, *Abulensis*, and *Pererius* believe them to be *Ægyptians*. Whosoever they were, when it pleased God to frustrate the execution of that secret Murther, to the end the World might witness both the wickedness of the *Ægyptians*, and the just cause, thereby made manifest, of his future Indignation and Revenge: *Pharaoh* finding those Women filled with Piety, and the fear of God, commanded others of his people to execute his former intent; and publickly, or howsoever, to destroy all the male *Hebrew* Children born within his Dominions.

Ver. 16.

Joseph. ant. l. 2. *c.* 5. *Abul. & Perer. in Exo.*

Ver. 22.

Now besides the doubts, which *Pharaoh* had of the multitudes of the *Hebrews*, the greatest part of whom he might have assured, by affording them the justice, which every King oweth to his Vassals, and the rest he might have employed or sent away at his pleasure; *Josephus* giveth another cause, of his rage against them, namely, That it was prophetically delivered him by an *Ægyptian* Priest, that among the *Hebrews* there should be born a Child; who growing to Mans Estate should become a plague and terrour to his whole Nation. To prevent which, (and presuming that he could resist the Ordinance of God, by a name, contrary to the Laws of Heaven and of Nature) he stretched out his bloody and merciless Hand to the execution of his former intent. The same prevention *Herod* long after practised, when fearing the Spiritual Kingdom of *Christ*, as if it should have been Temporal, he caused all the Male Children at that time born to be slaughtered. And that *Pharaoh* had some kind of foreknowledge of the future success, it may be gathered by these his own words, in the tenth verse of the fifth of *Exodus*. *Come, let us work wisely with them, lest they multiply; and it come to pass, that if there be War, they joyn themselves also unto our enemies, and fight against us, and get them out of the Land.* But we see, and time hath told it us from the beginning, how God derideth the wisdom of the worldly Men, when forgetting the Lord of all Power, they rely on the inventions of their own most feeble, and altogether darkned understanding. For even by the hands of the dearly beloved Daughter of this Tyrant, was that great Prophet and Minister of Gods marvellous works taken out of *Nilus*, being thereinto turned off, in an Ark of Reeds, a sucking and powerless Infant. And this Princess having beheld the Child his form and Beauty, though but yet in the blouth, so pierced her compassion, as she did not only preserve it, and cause it to be fostered; but commanded that it should be esteemed as her own, and with equal care to the Son of a King nourished. And for memory that it was her Deed, she called the Child *Moses*, as it were, *extractus*, or *ereptus*, *taken out*, to wit, out of the Water: or after *Josephus* and *Glycas*, *Moy*, a voice expressing Water, and *hises*, as much to say, as that which is drawn out of water, or thence taken. *Clemens Alexandrinus* was of opinion, that *Moses* was Circumcised, before he was put into the Ark of Reeds, and that *Amram*, his Father, had named him *Joachim*. In his youth he was carefully bred, by the care and at the charge of *Pharaoh*'s Daughter, and by Men of the most understanding taught and instructed: *quem regio more educavit, præfectis ei sapientibus Ægyptiorum Magistris, à quibus erudiretur*, saith Basil; *Unto whom she gave Princely education, appointing over him wise Masters of the* Ægyptians *for his Instructers.* Thereby (say *Josephus* and *Philo*) he became excellently learned in all the doctrine of the *Ægyptians*; which also the *Martyr Stephen* in the seventh of the *Acts* confirmeth. *And Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Ægyptians.* Which wisdom or sapience, such as it was, or at least so much thereof as *Six. Senensis* hath gathered, we have added, between the death of *Moses*, and the Reign of *Joshua*.

Exo. 5. 10.

Strom. l. 1.

Phil. de vita Mos.

§. IV.

Of Moses *his flying out of* Ægypt; *and the opinions of certain ancient Historians of his War in* Æthiopia; *and of his Marriage there*: Philo *his judgement of his Pastoral life*: *and that of* Pererius *of the Books of* Genesis *and* Job.

WHen *Moses* was grown to mans Estate, *Josephus* and *Eusebius*, out of *Artapanus*, tell us of ten years War that he made against the *Æthiopians*: of the besieging of *Saba*, afterward by *Cambyses* called *Meroe*; and how he recovered

covered that City by the favour of *Tharbis*, a Daughter of *Æthiopia*, whom he took to Wife. So hath *Commestor* a pretty tale of *Moses*, How after the end of that War, *Tharbis* resisting his return into *Ægypt*, *Moses*, most skilfull in *Astronomy*, caused two Images to be ingraven in two precious Stones: whereof the one encreased memory; the other caused forgetfulness. These he set in two Rings; whereof he gave the one, to wit, that of oblivion, to his Wife *Tharbis*, reserving the other of memory for himself: which Ring of forgetfulness, after she had a while worn, she began to neglect the love she bare her Husband: and so *Moses* without danger returned into *Ægypt*. But leaving these fancies to the Authors of them: It is true, that about the 40. year of *Moses* age, when he beheld an *Ægyptian* offering violence to one of the oppressed *Hebrews*, moved by compassion in respect of his brother, and stirred up by disdain against the other, in the contention he slew the *Ægyptian*. Soon after which act, finding a disposition in some of his own Nation to accuse him, for whose defence he had thus greatly endangered his own life: by the ordinance and advice of God, whose chosen servant he was, he fled into *Arabia Petræa*, the next bordering Country to *Ægypt*; where wandering all alone, as a Man left and forsaken, in a place unknown unto him, as among a Nation of barbarous strangers; and who in future times were the irreconcileable enemies of the *Hebrews*: it pleased God (working the greatest things by the weakest worldly means) to make the watering of a few sheep, and the assisting of the Daughters of *Raguel* the *Madianite*, an occasion whereby to provide him a Wife of one of those, and a Father-in-law, that fed him, and sustained him in a Country neerest *Ægypt*; fittest to return from: necessary to be known, because interjacent between *Ægypt* and *Judæa*, through which he was to lead the *Israelites*; and wherein God held him, till the occasion which God presented, best served. And lastly, where the glory of the World shined least, amidst mountainous Desarts, there the glory of God, which shineth most, covered him over, and appeared unto him, not finding him as a Kings Son, or an adopted Child of great *Pharaoh*'s Daughter, but as a meek and humble Shepherd, sitting at a Mountain foot; a keeper and commander of those poor Beasts only.

In that part of *Arabia*, near *Madian*, he consumed 40. years. And though (as *Philo* in the Story of *Moses* life observeth) he did not neglect the care of those flocks, committed to his charge, but that he excelled all others in that Pastoral knowledge; yet in that solitary Desart enjoyed himself: and being separated from the press of the World, and the troublesome affairs thereof, he gave himself to contemplation, and to make perfect in himself all those knowledges, whereof his younger years had gathered the grounds and principles: the same Author also judging, that his Pastoral life did excellently prepare him for the execution of the Principality, which he afterward obtained. *Est enim* (saith Philo) *ars Pastoralis, quasi præludium ad regnum, hoc est, ad regimen hominum, gregis mansuetissimi. Quemadmodum bellicosa ingenia præexercent se in venationibus, experientia in feris, quod postea in militia & bello perfectura sunt; brutis præbentibus materiam exercitii, tam belli quàm pacis tempore. At verò præfectura mansueti pecoris habet quaddam simile cum regno in subditis; idcoq; Reges cognominantur Pastores populorum, non contumelia sed honoris gratia; The art of keeping Sheep is, as it were, an introductory exercise unto a Kingdom, namely, the rule over men, the most gentle flock: Even as warlike natures do beforehand exercise themselves in hunting, practising on wild Beasts those things, which after they will accomplish in Warfare: those brute Beasts affording matter, wherein to train themselves, both in time of War and of Peace. But the government of gentle Cattel, hath a kind of resemblance unto a Kingly rule over Subjects; therefore, Kings are stiled Shepherds of the People, not in way of reproach, but for their honour.*

That *Moses*, in this time of his abode at *Madian*, wrote the Book of *Job*, as *Pererius* supposeth, I cannot judge of it, because it is thought, that *Job* was at that time living. Neither dare I subscribe to *Pererius*'s opinion, That *Moses*, while he lived in that part of *Arabia*, wrote the books of *Genesis*; although I cannot deny the reason of *Pererius*'s conjecture, That by the example of *Job*'s patience he might strengthen the oppressed *Hebrews*: and by the promises of God to *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, put them in assurance of their delivery from the *Ægyptian* slavery, and of the Land of rest, and plenty promised. *Perer. in 3. 6. Exod.*

Of his calling back into *Ægypt* by the Angel of God, and the marvels and wonders which he performed, thereby to perswade *Pharaoh*, that he was the messenger of the most High, the particulars are written in the first fourteen Chapters of *Exodus*; and therefore to treat of all the particulars therein contained, it were needless. But for the first, it is to be noted, that when *Moses* desired to be taught by God, by what name he should make him known, and by whom he was sent; he received from God so much, as Man could comprehend of his infinite and ever-being nature. Out of which he delivered him in the first part of his answer, a name to be considered of by the wisest: and in his second, to be understood by all. For there is nothing that is, or hath being of it self, but the Eternal: which truly is; which is above all; which is immutable. The bodies of Men are changed every moment: their substance wasteth, and is repaired by nutriment; never continuing at one stay, nor being the same so long, as while one may say Now. Likewise, whatsoever is consumed in the longest continuance of time, the same in every shortest piece of time suffereth decay; neither doth any thing abide in one state. *Exod. 6. 3. v. 12, 14, & 15.* *Una est Dei & sola natura, quæ verè est: id enim quod subsistit non habet aliundè, sed suum est. Cætera quæ creata sunt, etiamsi videntur esse, non sunt, quia aliquando non fuerunt, & potest rursum non esse, quod non fuit; It is the one and only nature of God, which truly is: for he hath his being of himself, and not from any thing without him. Other things that are created, although they seem to be, yet they are not; for sometimes they were not: and that which hath not been, may again want being.* *Hieron. ad Dam.*

And with this, in respect of the Divine nature, the saying of *Zeno Eleates* excellently agreeth: *Totu rerum natura umbra est, aut inanis, aut fallax; The whole nature of things is but a shadow, either empty or deceitful:* in comparison of whom (saith *Esay*) all Nations are as nothing, less than nothing, and vanity.

Of the ten plagues wherewith the *Ægyptians* were strucken, the first was by changing the Rivers into Blood: God punishing them by those waters, into which their Forefathers had thrown, and in which they had drowned, the innocent Children of the *Hebrews*. To which this place of the Revelation may be fitly applied: *And I heard the Angel of the waters say, Lord, thou art just, which art, and which wast: and holy, because thou hast judged these things; for they shed the blood of the Saints and Prophets, and therefore hast thou given them blood to drink.* *C. 4. v. 13.* *C. 16. v. 5.*

The

The rest of the Plagues by Frogs, Lice, Flies, or stinging Wasps; by the death of their Cattle; by leprous Scabs; by Hail and Fire; by Grashoppers; by darkness; after which *Pharaoh* forbad *Moses* his presence: moved the hardned heart of the unbelieving King no longer, than the pain and peril lasted, till such time as his own First-born, and the First-born of all his Nation perished. He then, while he feared his own life, (a time wherein we remember God perforce) stood upon no condition: whereas before, he first yielded but to the departure of the Men; then of the Men, Women, and Children, reserving their Bestial; but he was now content for the present, that the *Israelites* should not only depart with all their own, but with a part of the Silver, Gold, and Jewels of his own people: of which (the fear being past) he suddainly repented him, as his pursuit after them proved. For when every one of the *Hebrews* had (according to direction from *Moses* received) slain a Lamb, without spot or blemish, for the *Passover*, (a *Sacrament* of the most clean and unspotted Saviour) and with the Blood thereof coloured the Post and Lintern of the Doors; the Angel of God in the dead of the Night smote every first-born of *Ægypt*, from the Son of the King, to that of the Beggar and Slave: the Children of the *Israelites* excepted. At which terrible Judgment of God, *Pharaoh* being more than ever amazed, yielded, as before is said, to their departure. The *Ægyptians* (saith *Epiphanius*) did in after-times imitate this colouring with Blood, which the *Israelites* used after the *Passover*; ascribing an exceeding vertue to the red colour: and therefore they did not only mark their Sheep and Cattle, but their Trees bearing Fruit, to preserve them from Lightning and other harms.

Epiphan. lib. 1. cont. Hæres.

§. V.

Of Pharaoh's *pursuit of the* Israelites: *and of their passage towards the red Sea, so far as* Succoth.

NOW, when the People were removed, and on their way, (his heart being hardened by God) he bethought him as well of the honour lost, as of the shame remaining after so many Calamities and Plagues, in suffering them to depart with the spoils of his People, and in despight of himself. And having before this time great Companies of Soldiers in readiness, he consulted with himself, what way the *Israelites* were like to take. He knew that the shortest and faireſt passage was through the Country of the *Philistims*. But because these People were very strong, and a war like Nation, and in all probability of his Allies, he suspected that *Moses* meant to find some other outlet, to wit, through the Desart of *Etham*; and there, because the Country was exceeding mountainous, and of hard access, and that *Moses* was pestered with multitudes of Women, Children, and Cattle, he thought it impossible for the *Israelites* to escape him that way. In the mean while having gathered together all the Chariots of *Ægypt*, and 600. of his own, and Captains over them; he determined to set upon them in the Plains of *Gosen*, which way soever they turned themselves. For it was the ancient manner to fight in those Chariots, armed with broad and sharp Hooks on both sides, in fashion like the Mowers Scythe. Which kind of Fight in Chariots, but not hooked, the *Britains* used against the *Romans*, while they made the War for the Conquest of this Land. Of this Army of *Pharaoh*, *Josephus* affirmeth, that it consisted of 50000. Horse, and 20000. Foot; which, were it true, then it cannot be doubted, but that *Pharaoh* intended long before to assail the *Hebrews* at their departure, or to destroy them in *Gosen*; and refused them passage, till such time as he had prepared an Army, to set on them. For, as it is written in the first of *Exodus*, he doubted two things, either that the *Hebrews* might joyn themselves to his Enemies within the Land, or being so multiplied, as they were, might leave his service, and get themselves thence at their pleasure. But the Plagues which God grieved him withal, enforc'd him at this time to give an assent to their departure: perchance fore-running his intent. But were it otherwise, and *Josephus* partial in this affair, yet by the words of the Text it appeareth, that he gathered all the Chariots of *Ægypt*: which could not be done in hast. For *Moses* made but three days march, ere *Pharaoh* was at his Heels; and yet the last day he went on sixteen Miles: which, in so hot a Country, and to drive their Cattle and Sheep with them, pestered with a world of Women and Children, was a march witnessing the dread of a powerful Enemy at hand. Now, as *Moses* well knew, that he went out with a mighty Hand, and that God guided his Understanding in all his enterprises: so he lay not still in the ditch crying for help, but using the understanding which God had given him, he left nothing unperformed, becoming a natural wise Man, a valiant and a skilful Conducter; as by all his Actions and Counsels from this day to his death well appeared.

Exod. 14. v. 7.

Jos. Ant. l. 2. c. 6.

When *Moses* perceived that *Pharaoh* was enraged against him, and commanded him not to dare to come thenceforth into his presence: after he had warned *Israel* of the Passover, he appointed a general Assembly or Rendesvous of all the *Hebrews* at *Ramases*, in the Territory of *Gosen*; a City standing indifferent to receive from all other parts of the Country the dispersed *Hebrews*: and gave commandment, that every Family should bring with them such store as they had, of Dough and Paste, not staying to make it into Bread: knowing then that *Pharaoh* was on foot, and on his way towards them. Which done, and having considered the great strength of *Pharaoh*'s Horse-men and Chariots, of which kind of defence *Moses* was utterly unprovided (though as it is written, the *Israelites* went up armed) he marched from *Ramases* Eastward, towards the Desarts of *Etham*, and incamped at *Succoth*; which he performed on the fifteenth day of the Month *Abib*. Which Month from that time forward they were commanded to account, as the first Month of the year. Whether in former times they had been accustomed to begin their year in some other Month, following the manner of the *Ægyptians*, and were now recalled by *Moses* to the rule of their fore-fathers, it is uncertain. Certain it is, that they had, and retained, another beginning of their politick year, which was not now abrogated, but rather by some Solemnities thereunto annexed, was confirmed, and still continued in use. Wherefore in referring things done, or happening among them, unto the beginning, midst, or ending of the year; that distinction of the Sacred, and the Politick year is not to be neglected. Concerning the number of days in every Month, and the whole form of their year, like enough it is that *Moses* himself in forty years space, did sufficiently instruct the Priests, to whose care the ordering thereof (as common opinion holds) was given in trust: but that any rule of framing their Kalendar, was made publick, before the captivity of *Babylon*, I do not find. Now because time and motion begin together, it will not, I think,

The Territory of *Gosen* was afterward called *Itamoses*, *Gen.* 47. & *Numb.* 33. *Exod.* 12.

Exod. 23. *v.* 16. & 34. *v.* 22.

think, be any great breach of order, to ſhew here at their firſt ſetting forth, what was the form of the *Hebrew* year: with the difference between them and other Nations, in ordering the accompt of time.

§. VI.

Of the Solary and Lunary years: and how they are reconciled: with the form of the Hebrew year, and their manner of intercalation.

The *Hebrew* Months are thus named.

The firſt Month, *Niſan*, or *Abib*	1. *March.*
The ſecond, *Jar*, or *Tiar*, *Zia*, or *Zin*,	2. *April.*
The third, *Sivan*, or *Sinan*, or *Siban.*	3. *May.*
The forth, *Tamuz.*	4. *June.*
The fifth, *Ab.*	5. *July.*
The ſixth, *Elul.*	6. *Aug.*
The ſeventh, *Tyſri*, or *Ethaniu* or *Ethanim.*	7. *Septem.*
The eighth, *Marcheſuan*, or *Mechâſuan*, or *Bul*, or, with *Joſeph*, *Marſonane.*	8. *Octo.*
The ninth, *Cuſleu*, or *Caſleu.*	9. *Novem.*
The tenth, *Tebeth*, or *Thobeth.*	10. *Decem.*
The eleventh, *Sebeth*, or *Sabath.*	11. *Jann.*
The twelfth, *Adar*, and *Ve Adar.*	12. *Febru.*

1. Aut. c. 4.

Ve Adar was an intercalary Month, added, ſome years, unto the other twelve, to make the Solary and Lunary year agree; which (beſides the general inconvenience that would otherwiſe have riſen, by caſting the Months of Summer into the Winter Seaſon, to the great confuſion of all account) was more neceſſarily to be regarded of the *Hebrews*, becauſe of the divine precept. For God appointed eſpecial Feaſts to be celebrated Deut. 16. preciſely in ſuch a Month of the year, and withal on a ſet day, both of the Moon and of the Month; as, the Feaſt of the firſt-fruits; the new Moons, and the like: which could not have ſo been kept, if either the day of the Moon had fallen in ſome other part of the Month, or the Month it ſelf been found far diſtant from his place in the ſeaſon of the year.

Other Nations, the better to obſerve their ſolemnities in the due time, and to aſcertain all reckonings and remembrances, (which is the principal commodity of time, that is the meaſure of endurance) were driven in like manner to make their years unequal, by adding ſometimes, and ſometimes abating one or more days, as the error committed in foregoing years required. The error grew at firſt, by not knowing what number of days made up a compleat year. For though by the continual courſe of the Sun, cauſing Summer and Winter duly to ſucceed each other, it is plain enough even to the moſt ſavage of all People, when a year hath paſſed over them; yet the neceſſity of ordinary occurrences, that are to be numbred by a ſhorter Tally, makes this long meaſure of whole years inſufficient for the ſmaller ſort of more daily affairs. Therefore Men obſerved the Monthly conſpicuous revolution of the Moon, by which they divided the year into twelve parts, ſubdividing the 30 & 29. Month into 29. days and nights, and thoſe again into their quarters and hours. But as the marks of time are ſenſible and eaſily diſcerned: ſo the exact calculation of it is very intricate, and worketh much perplexity in the underſtanding. Twelve revolutions of the Moon, containing leſs time by eleven days or thereabout, than the yearly courſe of the Sun, through the Zodiack, in the ſpace of ſixteen years, every Month was found in the quite contrary part of the year, to that wherein it was placed at the firſt. This cauſed them to add ſome days to the year, making it to conſiſt of twelve Months, and as many days more, as they thought would make the courſes of the Sun and Moon to agree. But herein were committed many new errours. For neither did the Sun determine his yearly revolution by any ſet number of whole days; neither did the Moon change always at one hour; but the very minutes and leſſer fractions were to be obſerved by him, that would ſeek to reduce their motions (which motions alſo were not ſtill alike) into any certain rule. Here lay much wiſdom and deep art, which could not ſoon be brought to perfection. Yet as making an eſtimate at random, the *Athenians* held the year to contain 360. days, wherein moſt of the *Greeks* concurred with them. That 360. days filled up the *Grecian* year (beſid ſ many collateral proofs) it is manifeſt Plin. l. 34. by that which *Pliny* directly affirmeth, telling c. 6. of the *Statues*, erected in honour of *Demetrius Phalereus*, which were (ſaith he) 360. whilſt as yet the year exceeded not that number of days. By this account neither did any certain age of the Moon begin or end their Months; neither could their Months continue many years, in their own places: but muſt needs be ſhifted by little and little, from Winter to Summer, and from Summer to Winter, as the days forgotten, to be inſerted into the Almanack by Men, but not forgotten by the ſuperious bodies in their courſes, ſhould occupy their own rooms in their due turns. Now, becauſe the ſolemnity of the *Olympian* Games was to be held at the full Moon, and withal on the 13. day of the Month *Hecatombæon* (which anſwereth in a manner to our *June*) they were careful to take order, that this Month might ever begin with the new Moon; which they effected by adding ſome two days to the laſt Month of every year: thoſe Games being held once in four years. This intercalation ſufficed not to make the matter even; which cauſed them ſometimes to omit one day in the fourth year, which was the ſecond of the Month *Bædromian*; (agreeing nearly with our *Auguſt*) ſometimes not to omit it, or (which is all one) to inſert another for it into the fourth Lunary year, accounting by the Moon, after a manner that was not vulgar. All this notwithſtanding their Month of *June* would every year have grown colder and colder, had they not ſought to keep all upright, by intercalating in each other *Olympiad*, that is, each eight year one whole Month, which they called the ſecond *Poſideon*, or *December*; which was the device of *Harpalus*, who alſo taught them to make one Month of 29. days, another of 30. and ſo ſucceſſively through the whole year. Thus with much labour they kept their year as near as they could, unto the high way of the *Planets*; but theſe marks which they obſerved, were found at length to be deceitful Guides. For it was not poſſible ſo to faſhion this eighth years intercalation, that it ſhould not deceive them in 11. hours and 18. minutes at the leaſt, or ſome ways in 34. hours and 10. minutes, or 36. and 41. minutes; which differences would, in few ages, have bred much confuſion. The firſt that introduced a good method, likely to continue, was *Meton* the *Athenian*, who not regarding the *Olympiads*, and the eighth years intercalation, deviſed a *Cycle* of 19. years, wherein the Moon having 235. times run her circuit, met with the Sun in the ſame place, and on the ſame day of the year, as in the 19. year before paſt ſhe had done. This invention of *Meton* was entertained with great applauſe, and paſſing from *Greece* to *Rome*, was there inſerted into the Kalendar in golden letters, being called the golden number, which name it retaineth unto this day. Hereby were avoided the great and uncertain

intercalations that formerly had been used; for by the intercalation of 7. Months in the 19. years, all was so even, that no sensible difference could be found. Yet that errour which in one year could not be perceived, was very apparent in a few of those *Cycles*; the new Moons anticipating in one *Cycle* 7. hours, and some minutes of the precise rule. Therefore *Calippus* devised a new *Cycle* containing four of *Metons*, that is to say, 76. years; and afterwards *Hipparchus*, a noble *Astrologer*, framed another, containing four of *Calippus* his Periods, each of them finding some errour in the former observations, which they diligently corrected. The last reformation of the Kalendar was that which *Julius Cæsar* made, who by advice of the best *Mathematicians*, then to be found, examining the courses of those heavenly bodies, reduced the year unto the form which is now in use with us, containing 365. days and six hours, which hours, in four years make up one whole day, that is intercalated every fourth year, the 24. of *February*. The correction of the *Julian* year by *Pope Gregory* the 13. *Anno Domini* 1582. is not as yet entertained by general consent; it was indeed, but as a note added unto the work of *Cæsar*: yet a note of great importance. For whereas it was observed, that the Sun, which at the time of the *Nicene Council*, *Anno Dom.* 324. entred the *Æquinoctial* on the 21. day of *March*, was in the year 1582. ten days sooner found in that time, *Pope Gregory* struck out of the Kalendar ten days, following the fourth of *October*, so that in stead of the fifth day was written the fifteenth; by which means the moveable Feasts depending on the Suns entrance into *Aries*, were again celebrated in such time, as at the *Nicene Council* they had been. And the better to prevent the like alterations, it was by the *Council* of *Trent* ordained, that from thence forward in every hundredth year, the Leap-day should be omitted, excepting still the fourth hundred: because the Sun doth not in his yearly course take up full six hours above the 365. days; but faileth so many minutes, as in 400. years make about three whole days.

But the *Cycle* of 19. years, which the *Hebrews* used, was such as neither did need any nice curiosity of hours, minutes, and other lesser fractions to help it; neither did in summing up the days of the whole year, neglect the days of the Moon, confounding one Month with another. For with them it fell out so, that always the *Kalends* or first day of the Month was at the new Moon, and because that day was festival, they were very careful as well to observe the short year of the Moon, passing through all the 12. Signs in one Month, as that longer of the Sun, which is needfully regarded in greater accounts. First therefore they gave to *Nisan* their first Month, which is about our *March* or *April*, 30. days; to *Jar* their second Month 29. days; and so successively 30. to one, 29. to another. Hereby it came to pass, that every two Months of theirs contained somewhat evenly two revolutions of the Moon, allowing 29. days, 12 hours, and odd minutes, from change to change. The spare minutes were bestowed among the superfluous or Epact days, which made up 7. Months in 19. years; to 6. of which 7. were commonly given 30 days; to one of them 29. days, or otherwise as was found requisite. Their common year (as appeareth by the several days of each Month) contained 354. days, which fail of the year; wherein the Sun finisheth his course, 11. whole days, with some fractions of time. But these days, and other broken pieces, howsoever they were neglected in one year, yet in the *Cycle*, of 19. years were so disposed of by convenient intercalations, that still at the end of that *Cycle*, both the Sun and Moon were found on the same day of the year, Month and Week, yea commonly on the same hour of the day, where they had been at the beginning of the 19. years before.

Divers have diversly set down the form of the Hebrew year, with the manner of their intercalations. *Sigonius* tells us, that every second year they did add a Month of 22. days; every fourth year a Month of 23. in the regard of 11. days and a half wanting in 12. Moons to fulfil a year of the Sun. But herein *Sigonius* was very much deceived. For the Moon doth never finish her course in 22. or 23. days: and therefore to have added so many days to the end of the year, had been the way to change the fashion of all the Months in the years following, which could not have begun as they ought, with the new Moon. *Genebrard* saith, that every third year, or second year, as need required, they did intercalate one Month, adding it at the years end unto the other 12. This I believe to have been true; but in which of the years the intercalation was (if it be worthy of consideration) methinks they do not probably deliver, who keep all far from evenness until the very last of the 19. years. For (to omit such as err grosly) some there are who say, that after three years, when besides the days spent in 36. courses of the Moon, 33. days are left remaining, that is, 11. days of each year; then did the *Hebrews* add a Month of 30. days; keeping three days as it were in plusage unto the next account. The like, say they, was done at the end of the sixth year; at which time, besides the intercalary Month, remained six days, namely three surmounting that Month, and the Epact of three years, besides the three formerly reserved. Thus they go on to the 18. year; at which time they have 18. days in hand: all which with the Epact of the 19. year make up a Month of 29. days, that being intercalated at the end of the *Cycle* makes all even.

Sig. de rep. Hebr. l. 3. c. 1.

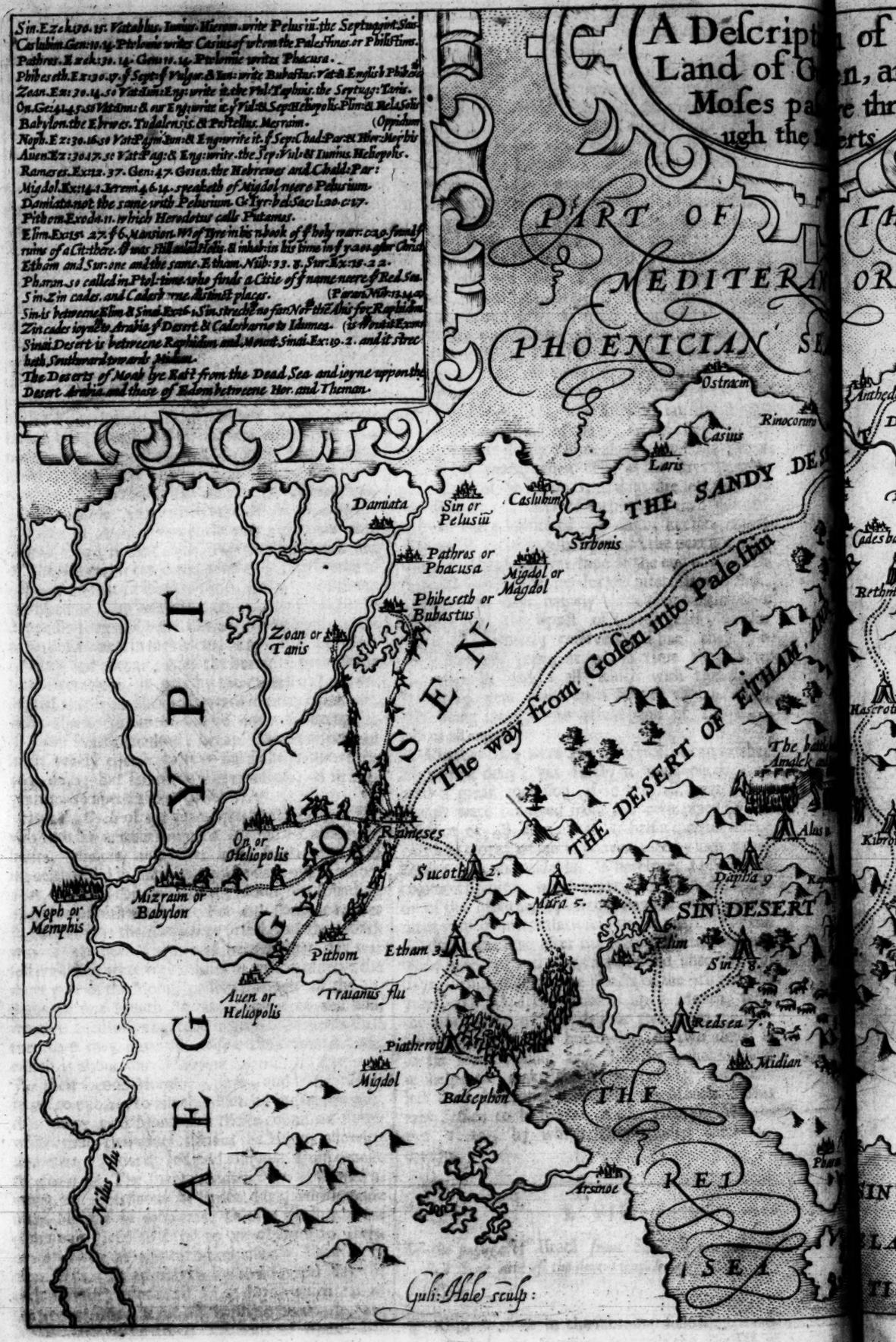
Genb. Chron. l. 2.

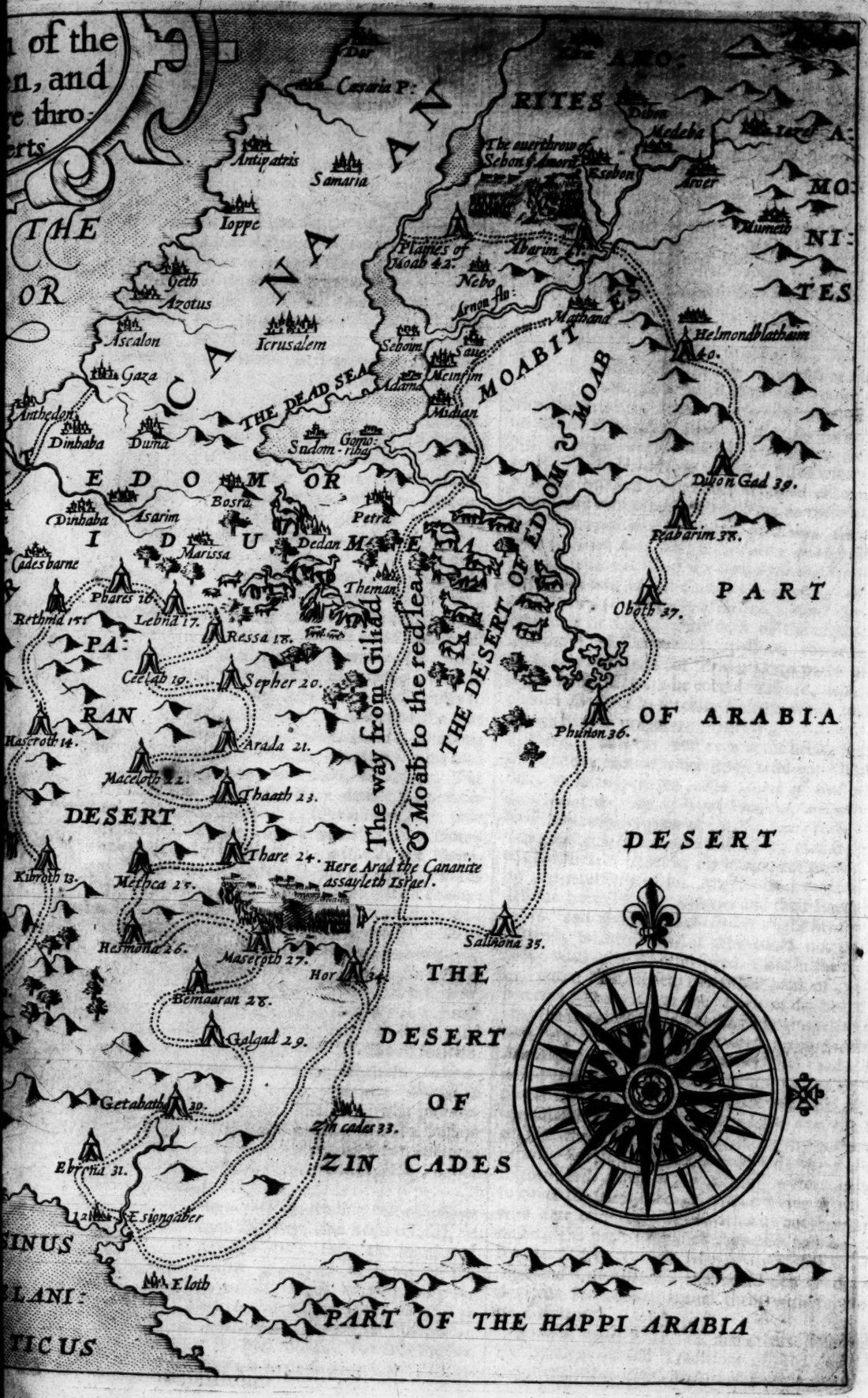
Whether this were the practice, I can neither affirm nor deny; yet surely it must needs have bred a great confusion, if in the 18. year every Month were removed from his own place by the distance of 48 days, that is, half a quarter of the year and more; which in convenience by such a reckoning was unavoidable. Wherefore, I prefer the common opinion, which preventeth such dislocation of the Months, by setting down a more convenient way of intercalation in the 8. year. For the 6. days remaining after the 2. former intercalations made in the 3d and 6th years, added unto the 22. days, arising out of the Epacts of the 7th and 8th years, do fitly serve to make up a Month, with the borrowing of one day or two from the year following; and this borrowing of two days is so far from causing any disorder, that indeed it helps to make the years ensuing vary the less from the proper season of every Month. This may suffice to be spoken of the Hebrew Months and Years, by which they guided their accompts.

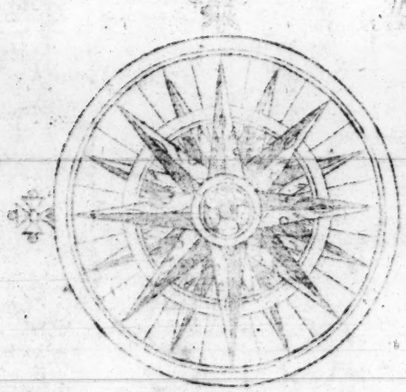
§. VII.

Of the passage of Israel *from* Succoth *towards the Red Sea: and of the divers ways leading out of* Ægypt.

FRom *Succoth* in the morning following, *Moses* led the *Israelites* towards the Desart of *Etham*, to recover the Mountain Foot, by the edge of that Wilderness, though he intended nothing less than to go out that way, of all other the nearest.


Sin. Ezech. 30. 15. Vatablus. Iunius. Mercrus. write Pelusium the Septuagint Sin
Caslubim. Gen. 10. 14. Ptolomie writes Casius of whom the Palestines or Philistims
Pathros. Ezech. 30. 14. Gen. 10. 14. Ptolomie writes Phacusa.
Phibeseth. Ez. 30. 17. & Sept. & Vulgar. & Iun: write Bubastus. Vat. & English Phibeseth
Zoan. Ez. 30. 14. 50 Vat. Iun. Eng: write it the Vul. Tremel. the Septuag: Tanis.
On. Ge. 41. 45. 50 Vatab. & our Eng: write it & Vul. & Sept. Heliopolis. Plin. & Rela. Sols
Babylon. the Ebrwes. Tudalensis. & Petellus. Mestraim. (Oppidum
Noph. Ez. 30. 16. 50 Vat. Pagnin. & Eng. write it. & Sept. Chald. Par. & Hier. Memphis
Auen. Ez. 30. 17. 50 Vat. Pag. & Eng: writ. the Sept. Vul. & Iunius. Heliopolis.
Rameses. Ex. 12. 37. Gen. 47. Gosen. the Hebrewes and Chald. Par:
Migdol. Ex. 14. Jerem. 46. 14. speaketh of Migdol neere Pelusium
Damiata. not the same with Pelusium. Ct. Tyr. bel. Sac. l. 20. c. 17.
Pithom. Exod. 1. 11. which Herodotus calls Patumos.
Elim. Ex. 15. 27. & 16. Mansion. 17. of Tyre in his 11. book of the holy warr. 220. found ruins of a Citie there. It was stil called Helim. & what in his time in 1200. after Christ
Etham and Sur. one and the same. Etham. Num. 33. 8. Sur. Ex. 15. 22.
Pharan. 50 called in Ptol. time. who finds a Citie of the name neere the Red Sea.
Sin. Zin cades. and Cadesbarne. distinct places. (Peraen. Num. 13. 27.
Sin is betweene Elim & Sinai. Exod. 16. Sin stretcheth no further North then Alus for Raphidim.
Zin cades ioyneth to Arabia & Desert & Cadesbarne to Idumea. (is Num. 20. Exod.
Sinai. Desert is betweene Raphidim and Mount Sinai. Ex. 19. 2. and it stretcheth Southward towards Pharan.
The Deserts of Moab lye East from the Dead Sea and ioyne upon the Desert Arabia and those of Edom betweene Hor. and Theman.
A Descript[ion] of
Land of G[oshen], a
Moses pa[ssage] thr
ugh the [Desarts]
PART OF
MEDITERA[NEAN] OR
PHOENICIAN SE[A]
THE SANDY DE[SERT]
Ostracin
Rinocorura
Casius
Laris
Damiata
Sin or Pelusium
Caslubim
Sirbonis
Pathros or Phacusa
Migdol or Magdol
Phibeseth or Bubastus
Zoan or Tanis
EGYPT
GOSEN
The way from Gosen into Palestin
THE DESERT OF ETHAM
Rameses
On or Heliopolis
Sucoth 2.
Noph or Memphis
Mizraim or Babylon
Pithom
Etham 3.
Auen or Heliopolis
Traianus flu
Piatheroth
Migdol
Balsephon
Mara 5.
SIN DESERT
Elim
Sin 8.
Dapha 9
Alus
Redsea 7.
Midian
THE
RED
SEA
Arsinoe
Nilus flu.
Guli: Hole sculp:


Dor
Cæsaria P:
RITES
Dibon
Medeba
Iazer
Antipatris
Samaria
The ouerthrow of Sehon & Amorit
Esebon
Aroer
Ioppe
Mumeth
Plaines of Moab 42.
Abarim 41.
Nebo
Arnon flu:
Geth
Azotus
Mathana
Helmondblathaim 40.
Ascalon
Icrusalem
Seboim
Saue
Gaza
Meinsim
Adama
Anthedon
Madian
Dinhaba
Duma
Sodom-Gomo-rrha
Dibon Gad 39.
Bosra
Petra
Dinhaba
Asarim
Almon Diblathaim 38.
Marissa
Dedan
Cades barne
Theman
Phares 16.
Rethma 15.
Lebna 17.
Ressa 18.
Oboth 37.
Ceelab 19.
Sepher 20.
Phunon 36.
Haseroth 14.
Arada 21.
Maceloth 22.
Thaath 23.
Thare 24.
Here Arad the Cananite assayleth Israel.
Kibroth 13.
Methca 25.
Hesmona 26.
Salmona 35.
Maseroth 27.
Hor 34.
Bemaaran 28.
Galgad 29.
Getabath 30.
Zin cades 33.
Ebrona 31.
Esiongaber
Eloth
The way from Gilead & Moab to the red sea.
THE DESERT OF EDOM & MOAB
THE DESERT OF ZIN CADES
DESERT
DESERT
THE
DESERT
OF
ZIN CADES
PART OF THE HAPPI ARABIA
THE
CANANAN
MOABITES
EDOM OR IDUMEA
PART OF ARABIA



neareſt. But being aſſured of the multitude of Horſemen and armed Chariots, that followed him, he kept himſelf from being incompaſſed, by keeping the rough and mountainous ground on his left hand. At *Etham* he reſted but one night, and then he reflected back from the entrance thereof, and marched away directly towards the South; the diſtance between it and *Succoth* being about eight miles. That he forbare to enter *Arabia* being then in ſight thereof, it ſeemeth to proceed from three reſpects; the firſt two natural; the third divine. For *Pharaoh* being then at hand, and having received intelligence of the way which *Moſes* took, perſwaded himſelf, that the numbers which *Moſes* led, conſiſting of above a Million, if not two Millions of Souls, (for as it is written *Exod.* the 12. *Great multitudes of ſundry ſorts of people went out with them*) could not poſſibly paſs over thoſe deſart and high Mountains with ſo great multitudes of Women, Children, and Cattel, but that at the very entrance of that faſtneſs he ſhould have over-taken them, and deſtroyed the greateſt numbers of them. For theſe his own words. *They are tangled in the Land, the Wilderneſs hath ſhut them in*, do ſhew his hopes and intents; which *Moſes* by turning another way did fruſtrate. Secondly, *Moſes* by offering to enter *Arabia* that way, drew *Pharaoh* towards the Eaſt ſide of the land of *Goſen*, or *Rameſes*: from whence (miſſing *Moſes* there) his purſuit after him with his Chariots was more difficult, by reaſon of the roughneſs of the way; and howſoever, yet while the *Hebrews* kept the Mountain foot on the left hand, they were better ſecured from the over-bearing violence both of the Horſe and Chariots. Thirdly, *Moſes*'s confidence in the all-powerful God was ſuch, by whoſe Spirit, only wiſe, he was directed, as he rather made choice to leave the glory of his deliverance and victory to almighty God, than either by an eſcape the next way, or by the ſtrength of his multitude, conſiſting of 600000. Men, to caſt the ſucceſs upon his own underſtanding, wiſe conduction, or valour. The third day he marched with a double pace from *Etham* towards the Valley of *Pihacheroth*, 16. mile diſtant; and ſate down between two Ledges of Mountains adjoyning to the *Red Sea*; to wit, the Mountains of *Etham* on the North, and *Balzephon* towards the South: the ſame which *Oſorius* calleth *Climax*: on the top whereof there ſtood a Temple dedicated to *Baal*. And as *Phagius* noteth, the word ſo compounded, is as much to ſay, as *Dominus ſpecula, ſive cuſtodia, Lord of the watch-tower*. For the *Ægyptians* believed, or at leaſt made their Slaves believe, that if any of them offered to eſcape that way into *Arabia*, this Idol would both arreſt them, and force them to return to their Lords and Maſters. For the *Ægyptians* had Gods for all turns. *Ægyptii Diis fœcundi*; *The Ægyptians were fruitful in Gods*, ſaith St. *Hierome*. But *Moſes* who incamped at the foot of this Mountain with a million of Souls, or as others conceive, with two millions, found this Lord of the watch-tower aſleep, or out of countenance.

It is probable that all thoſe Ægyptians & others brought by the Hebrews to the knowledg of the true God, followed *Moſes* at his departure.

Climax is rather ſo called in reſpect of a paſſage up and down, than that it is any proper name.

Now theſe two paſſages leading out of *Ægypt* into *Arabia* upon the firm land *Moſes* refuſed, as *Exod.* 13. *v.* 17. well that of *Peluſium* and *Caſtotis*, the faireſt and ſhorteſt of all other, in reſpect of *Judea*, as the other by *Etham*; from which he reflected, for the reaſons before remembred, and took the way by the valley of *Pihacheroth*, between the Mountains, which made a ſtraight entrance towards the Sea. After whom *Pharaoh* made ſo great ſpeed with his horſemen and chariots, as he gave the *Hebrews* no time at all to reſt them after ſo long a march; but gat ſight of them, and they of him, even at the very brink and waſh of the Sea: inſomuch as the *Hebrews* being terrified with *Pharaoh*'s ſudden approach, began to deſpair, and to mutine, at that time when it behoved them moſt to have taken courage for their own defence; laying it to *Moſes*'s charge, that themſelves foreſaw thoſe perils in which they were wrapped. And fear, *which*, ſaith the book of *Wiſdom*, *is the betraying of thoſe ſuccours which reaſon offereth*, made them both deſpair in Gods former promiſes, and to be forgetful of their own ſtrength and multitudes. *c.* 17. 11.

§. VIII.

Of their paſſage over the Red Sea: and of the Red Sea it ſelf.

BUt *Moſes* who feared nothing but God himſelf, perſwaded them to be confident in his goodneſs, who hath never abandoned thoſe, that aſſuredly truſt in him; uſing this comfortable and reſolved ſpeech: *Fear not, &c. for the Ægyptians whom you have ſeen this day, ye ſhall never ſee them again. The Lord ſhall fight for you.* After which *Moſes* called on God for ſuccour, received encouragement, and commandment to go on, in theſe *Words. Wherefore crieſt thou unto me? ſpeak unto the Children of Iſrael that they go forward; and lift thou up thy rod, and ſtretch out thy hand upon the Sea, and divide it, and let the Children of Iſrael go on dry ground through the midſt of the Sea.* *Moſes* obeying the voice of God, in the dark of the night finding the Sands uncovered, paſt on towards the other ſide and Coaſt of *Arabia*: two parts of the night being ſpent ere he entred the Ford, which it pleaſed God by a forcible Eaſtern wind, and by *Moſes*'s Rod to prepare. *Exod.* 14. *v.* 13. *Exod.* 14. *v.* 16.

Pharaoh followed him even at the heels, finding the ſame dry ground which *Moſes* trod on. Therefore, as it is written, *The Angel of God which went before the Hoſt of Iſrael, removed, and went behind them: alſo the pillar of the Cloud went from before them, and ſtood behind them*; which is, that it pleaſed God therein either by his immediate power, or by the miniſtery of his Angel, to interpoſe his defence between the *Hebrews* and their Enemies; to the end that the *Ægyptians* might hereby be blinded, in ſuch ſort, as they could not purſue *Iſrael* with any harmful ſpeed. But in the morning watch *Moſes* ſeiſed the other bank of *Arabia* ſide: and *Pharaoh* (as the dawn of day began to illighten the obſcure air) finding a beginning of the Seas return, haſted himſelf towards his own Coaſt: *But Moſes ſtretched forth his hand, and the Sea returned to his force*, that is; the Sea moved by the power of God, ran back towards the land with unreſiſtable fury and ſwiftneſs, and overwhelmed the whole Army of *Pharaoh*, ſo as not one eſcaped. For it is written, *that God took off their Chariot-wheels*, that is, when the waters began to cover the ſands, the *Ægyptians* being ſtrucken with fear of death, ran one athwart another, and miſſing the path by which they had paſt on after the *Hebrews*, their wheels ſtuck faſt in the Mud and Quick-ſands, and could not be drawn out: the Sea coming againſt them with ſupernatural violence. *Joſhua* 24. *v.* 7. *Exod.* 14. *v.* 27.

Lyranus upon *Exod.* 14. and others, following the opinions or old Traditions of the *Hebrews*, conceived, that after *Moſes* had by the power of God divided the *Red Sea*, and that the Children of *Iſrael* were fearful to enter it, *Aminadab* Prince or Leader of the *Tribe* of *Juda* firſt made the adven-

ture, and that therefore was that *Tribe* ever after honoured above the reſt, according to the prophecy of *Jacob*, *Gen.* 49. 8. *Thy fathers Sons ſhall bow down unto thee.* But *Hierome* upon the 11. of *Hoſea* condemns this opinion. And though it be true, that *Juda* had the firſt place in all their marches in the Deſart, and, as we now call it, led the Vanguard; (whereupon it may be inferred, that he alſo led the way through the *Red Sea*) yet that *Moſes* himſelf was the conducter of *Iſrael* at that time, it is generally received. For, as it is written in the 77. *Pſalm*: *Thou didſt lead thy people like Sheep by the hand of Moſes and Aaron.*

The *Hebrews* have alſo another fancy, that the *Red Sea* was divided into 12. parts, and that every *Tribe* paſt over in a path apart, becauſe it is written in the 135. *Pſalm*, according to the *Vulgar*, *Diviſit mare rubrum in diviſiones*; *He divided the Red Sea in diviſions.* Alſo that the bottom of the Sea became as a green Field or Paſture. But *Origen*, *Epiphanius*, *Abulenſis*, and *Genebrard*, favouring this conceit, had forgotten to conſider, that there were not 12. pillars nor 12. Armies of the *Ægyptians.* It is written in the 77. *Pſalm*; *v.* 16. *Thy way is in the Sea*; not *thy ways*; and in the laſt of the book of *Wiſdom*, *verſ.* 7. *In the Red Sea there was a way.*

Now this Sea, through which *Moſes* paſt, and in which *Pharaoh*, otherwiſe called *Chencres*, periſhed in the 16. year of his Raign, is commonly known by the name of the *Red Sea*; though the ſame differ nothing at all in natural colour from other waters. But as *Philoſtratus* in his third Book noteth, and our ſelves know by experience, it is of a bluiſh colour, as other Seas are. It entreth at a narrow ſtrait between *Arabia* the Happy and *Æthiopia*, or the land of the *Abyſſins*: the Mouth of the indraught from the *Cape*, which *Ptolomy* calleth *Poſodium*, to the other land of *Æthiopia*, hath not above ſix Leagues in breadth: and the ſame alſo filled every where with *Iſlands*, but afterwards it extendeth it ſelf 58. Leagues from Coaſt to Coaſt: and it runneth up between *Arabia* the Happy, and *Arabia Petræa*, on one ſide, and *Æthiopia*, and *Ægypt* on the other, as far as *Sues*, the uttermoſt end and indraught of that Sea: where the *Turk* now keepeth his Fleet of Gallies. The *Coſmographers* commonly give it the name of the *Arabian Gulf*: but the North part towards *Sues*, and where *Moſes* paſt, is called *Heropolites* of the City *Hero*, ſometime *Troy*: and of later times *Sues*.

Plin. l. 6. c. 29. *Pliny* calls it *Cambiſu*, by which name it was known, ſaith he, before it was called *Hero* many years. The *Arabians* call this Sea towards the North, *Apocopa*, *Eccant*, and *Eant*. *Artemidorus* writes it *Æleniticum*: King *Juba Læniticum*: others more

3. K. 9. properly *Elaniticum*, of the Port and City *Elana*: which the *Septuagint* call *Elath*: *Ptolomy Elana*:

Joſ. Ant. 8. c. 2. *Pliny Lana*: *Joſephus Ilana*, and *Marius Niger Aila*: there is alſo *Ilalah* in *Aſſyria*, to which *Salamanaſſer* carried the *Iſraelites* captive, 2 *Kings c.* 8. 11. which *Ilalah* in *Aſſyria*, the *Septuagint* call *Elaa*: and in the firſt of *Chron.* the 5. *Ala*. But as for this Red Sea or the parts thereof, thus diverſly named, the *Moors* and *Arabians* (Vaſſals to the *Turk*) know it by no other appellation, than the *Gulf* of *Meca*, after the name of *Mahomet's* Town *Mecca*. The *Greeks* write it the Sea *Erythræum*: of a King called *Erythras*, or *Erythræus*: and becauſe *Erythros* in the *Greek* ſignifieth red, hence it is, that, being denominated of this *Erythræus*, the Son of *Perſeus* and *Andromeda*, yet it took the name of the Red Sea, as

Arian. de geſt. Alex. mag. l. 8. Strabo. l. 6. *Quin. Curtius* conjecture th: which *Arianus* and *Strabo* confirm. But it ſeemeth to me by the view of a diſcovery of that Sea in the year 1544. performed by *Steven Gama*, *Viceroy* of the Eaſt *India* for the King of *Portugal*, that this Sea was ſo called from a reflection of redneſs, both from the Banks, Clifts, and Sands of many Iſlands, and part of the *Continent* bordering it. For I find by the report of *Caſtro*, a principal Commander under *Gama* (which diſcourſe I gave Mr. *Richard Hacluit* to publiſh) that there is an Iſland called *Dalaqua*, ſometime *Leques*, containing in length 25. Leagues, and 12. in breadth, the Earth, Sands, and Clifts, of which Iſland, being of a reddiſh colour, ſerve for a Foil to the waters about it; and make it ſeem altogether of the ſame colour. Secondly, the ſame *Caſtro* reporteth, that from 24. Degrees of *Septentrional* Latitude, to 27 (which make in length of coaſt 180. Mile, lying as it doth Northerly and Southerly) all the Clifts and Banks are of red earth, or ſtone, which by reflection of the Sun-beams, give a kind of reddiſh luſter to the waters. Thirdly, thoſe *Portugals* report, and we know it by many teſtimonies, that there are found in the bottom of this Sea towards the Shore, great abundance of Red Stones, on which the greateſt ſtore of Corral grows, which is carried into moſt parts of *Europe*, and elſewhere. There are alſo on the Iſlands of this Sea many red Trees, ſaith *Strabo*, and thoſe growing under water, may alſo be a cauſe of ſuch a colour. Of theſe appearances of redneſs by the ſhadows of theſe Stones, Sands, Earth, and Clifts, I ſuppoſe that it firſt took the name of the Red Sea, becauſe in ſo many places it ſeemeth to be ſuch: which *Johannes Barros* in his ſecond Decade, eight Book, and firſt Chapter, confirmeth.

The breadth of this Sea from *Elana*, or *Ezion Gaber* adjoyning, now *Toro*, called by the ancient *Coſmographers Sinus Elaniticus*, which waſheth the Banks of *Madian* or *Midian*, is for 16. or 17. Leagues together, along Northward towards *Sues*, ſome three Leagues or nine Engliſh M.le over, and from this Port of *Toro*, to *Sues*, and the end of this Sea, it is in length about 28. leagues, of which the firſt 26. have nine Mile breadth as aforeſaid, and afterward the lands both from *Ægypt* and *Arabia*, thruſt themſelves into the Sea, and ſtraiten it ſo faſt, as for ſix Miles together it is not above three Mile over; from thence upward the land on *Ægypt* ſide, falleth away, and makes a kind of *Bay* or *Cove* for ſome ten Miles together, after which the land grows upon the Sea again, and ſo binds it into the very end thereof, at four Miles breadth or thereabout, in which tract it was that *Moſes* paſt it over, though others would have it to be over againſt *Elana* or *Toro*; but without judgment: for from *Ramaſes* to *Pihacheroth* and *Balzephon*, there is not above 30. Miles interjacent, or 35. Miles at moſt, which *Moſes* paſt over in three days: and between the land of *Ægypt* oppoſite to *Elana* or *Toro*, the diſtance is above 80. Miles. For *Ramaſes* to which City *Moſes* came (being the *Metropolis* of *Goſen*) when he left *Pharaoh* at *Zoan*, and took his laſt leave, ſtandeth in 30. Degrees five Minutes of *Septentrional Latitude*: and *Migdol*, or the Valley of *Pihacheroth*, at the foot of the Mountain *Climax*, or *Baalſephon*, in nine and twenty and a half, which made a difference of five and thirty Engliſh Mile: the way lying in effect North and South.

§. IX.

§. IX.

That the passage through the red Sea was miraculous, and not at a low Ebb.

THE *Ægyptians*, and of them the *Memphites*, and other Heathen Writers, who in hatred of the *Hebrews* have objected that *Moses* past over the red Sea at a low Ebb, upon a great spring-tide, and that *Pharaoh* conducted more by fury than discretion, pursued him so far, as before he could recover the Coast of *Ægypt*, he was overtaken by the Flood, and therein perished, did not well consider the nature of this place with other circumstances. For not to borrow strength from that part of the Scriptures, which makes it plain, that the Waters were divided, and that God wrought this Miracle by an Easterly Wind, and by the Hand and Rod of *Moses* (which Authority to Men that believe not therein perswadeth nothing) I say that by the same natural reason unto which they fasten themselves, it is made manifest, that had there been no other working power from above, or assistance given from God himself to *Moses*, and the Children of *Israel* than ordinary and casual, then could not *Pharaoh* and all his Army have perished in that pursuit.

For whersoever there is any ebbing of the Sea in any gulf, or indraught, there do the Waters fall away from the Land: and run downward towards the Ocean: leaving all that part towards the Land as far as the Sea can ebb, or fall off, to be dry Land. Now *Moses* entring the Sea at *Migdol* under *Baalzephon* (if he had taken the advantage and opportunity of the Tide) must have left all that end of the red Sea towards *Sues*, on his left Hand dry and uncovered. For if a passage were made by falling away of the Water, ten or twelve Mile farther into the Sea than *Sues*, much more was it made at *Sues*, and between it and where *Moses* past: who entred the same so far below it, and towards the body of the same Sea. It followeth then, that if all that part of the Sleeve or Strait, had been by the Ebb of a spring-tide discovered, when *Pharaoh* found the Flood increasing, he needed not to have returned by the same way toward *Ægypt* side, but might have gone on in his return before the Tide, on his right Hand: and so taken ground again at the end of that Sea, at *Sues* it self, or elsewhere. But the Scriptures do truly witness the contrary, that is, That the Sea did not fall away from the Land, as naturally it doth; but that *Moses* past on between two Seas; and that the Waters were divided. Otherwise, *Pharaoh* by any return of Waters could not have perished, as he did: and therefore the effects of that great Armies destruction, prove the cause to have been a power above nature, and the miraculous work of God himself. Again, those words of the Scriptures, that *God caused the Sea to run back by a strong east-wind*, do rather prove the Miracle, than that thereby was caused an Ebb more than ordinary: for that Sea doth not lie East and West, but, in effect, North and South. And it must have been a West and North-west Wind, that must have driven those Waters away through their proper Channels, and to the South-east into the Sea. But the East-wind blew athwart the Sea, and cut it asunder: so as one part fell back towards the South, and main body thereof: the other part remained towards *Sues*, and the North. Which being unknown to *Pharaoh*; while he was checkt by that Sea, which used in all times before to ebb away: the Flood prest him and overwhelmed him. Thirdly, seeing *Josephus* avoweth, that *Moses* was not only of excellent Judgment generally, but also so great a Captain, as he overthrew the *Æthiopians* in many Battles, being imployed by *Pharaoh*, and won divers Cities seeming impregnable: it were barbarous to condemn him of this grosness, and distraction: that rather than he would have endured the hardness of a mountainous passage at hand, (had not God commanded him to take that way, and foretold him of the honour which he would there win upon *Pharaoh*) he would have trusted to the advantage of an ebbing Water. For he knew not the contrary, but that *Pharaoh* might have found him, and prest him, as well when it flowed as when it ebbed, as it seemeth he did. For the People, beholding *Pharaoh*'s approach, cried out against *Moses*, and despaired altogether of their safety: and when *Moses* prayed unto God for help, he was answered by God: *Wherefore cryest thou unto me? speak unto the children of Israel that they go forward and lift thou up thy rod, and stretch out thy hand upon the Sea, and divide it*: which proves that there was not at the time of *Pharaoh*'s approach any Ebb at all; but that God did disperse and cut through the weight of Waters, by a strong East-wind, whereby the Sands discovered themselves between the Sea on the left hand toward *Sues*, from whence the Waters moved not, and the Sea which was towards the South on the right hand, *so that the waters were a wall unto them on the right hand, and on the left hand*, that is, the Waters so defended them on both sides, as the *Ægyptians* could only follow them in the same path; not that the Waters stood upright as Walls do, as some of the Schoolmen have fansied. For had *Pharaoh* and the *Ægyptians* perceived any such buildings in the Sea, they would soon have quitted the chace and pursuit of *Israel*. Furthermore, there is no Man of Judgment, that can think, that *Pharaoh* and the *Ægyptians*, who then excelled all Nations in the observations of Heavenly motions, could be ignorant of the fluxes, and refluxes of the Sea, in his own Country, on his own Coast, and in his own most traded and frequented Ports and Havens, and wherein, his People having had so many hundreds of years experience of the Tides, he could not be caught, as he was, through ignorance, nor by any foreknown or natural accident, but by Gods powerful Hand only; which then falleth most heavily on all Men, when looking through no other Spectacle but their own prosperity, they least discern it coming, and least fear it. Lastly, if the Army of the *Ægyptians* had been overtaken by the ordinary return of the Flood, before they could recover their own Coast; their bodies drowned would have been carried with the Flood which runneth up to *Sues*, and to the end of that Sea, and not have been cast ashore on that Coast of *Arabia* where *Moses* landed, to wit, upon the Sea-bank over against *Baalzephon*, on *Arabia* side: where it was that the *Israelites* saw their dead Bodies; and not at the end of the red Sea, to which place the ordinary Flood would have carried them: which Flood doth not any where cross the Channel, and run athwart it, as it must have done from *Ægypt* side to *Arabia*, to have cast the *Ægyptians* Bodies there; but it keeps the natural course towards the end of that Sea: and to which their Carcases should have been carried, if the work had not been supernatural and miraculous. *Apollonius* in the Lives of the Fathers affirmeth, that those of the *Ægyptians* which staied in the Country, and did not follow *Pharaoh* in the pursuit of *Israel*, did ever after honour those Beasts, Birds, Plants, or other Creatures, about which they were busied at the time of

C. 14. v. 22.

Pharaoh's

Pharaoh's destruction: as he that was then labouring in his Garden made a God of that Plant or Root, about which he was occupied: and so of the rest. But how those Multitudes of Gods were erected among them, a more probable reason shall be given elsewhere. *Orosius* in his first Book and tenth Chapter against the *Pagans* tells us, that in his time, who lived some 400. years after Christ, the prints of *Pharaoh*'s Chariot Wheels were to be seen at a low Water on the *Ægyptian* Sands: and though they were some time defaced by Wind and Weather, yet soon after they appeared again. But hereof I leave every Man to his own belief.

CHAP. IV.

Of the journying of the Israelites *from the Red Sea, to the place where the Law was given them: with a Discourse of Laws.*

§. I.

A Transition, by way of recapitulation of some things touching Chronologie: with a continuance of the Story, until the Amalekites *met with the* Israelites.

BUT to go on with the Story of *Israel*, in this sort I collect the times. *Moses* was born in the year of the World 2434. *Saphrus* then governing *Assyria*; *Orthopolis Sycionia*, or *Peloponnesus*; *Crisosus* the *Argives*; *Orus Ægypt*; and *Deucalion Thessalie*. He fled into *Midian* when he had lived 40. years, in the year of the World 2474, and two years after was *Caleb* born. He returned by the Commandment and Ordinance of God into *Ægypt*, and wrought his Miracles in the Fields of *Zoan*, in the year 2514. in the last Month of that year. On the 14. day of the first *Hebrew* Month *Abib*, or the 15. of that Month, beginning the day (as they) at Sun setting, in the year of the World 2514. was the Celebration of the Passover: and in the dead of the Night of the same Day were all the first-born slain through *Ægypt*, or in all those parts where the *Hebrews* inhabited not. The 15. Day of the first Month, of the *Hebrews* called *Abib*, being about the beginning of the year of the World 2514. *Moses* with the Children of *Israel* removed from the general Assembly at *Ramases*, and marched to *Succoth*.

Acts 7. *Josua* 14. 2474. 2514. Pag. 254. *Exod.* 12. *Num.* 33.

And departing thence they made their third Station at *Etham*: and journying from *Etham* they incamped in the valley of *Pihacheroth*, or *Migdol*, under the Mountain *Baalzephon*; and in the same Night after mid-night, they past the red Sea: *Pharaoh* and his Army perishing in their return, about the first dawn of the Day. *Moses* having recovered the Banks of *Arabia*, gave Thanks unto God, for the delivery of *Israel*; and making no stay on that Coast, entred the Desarts of *Arabia Petræa*, called *Sur*. But finding no Water in that passage, he incamped at *Marah*, in the Desart of *Etham*, which in *Exod.* 15. *v.* 22. is also called *Sur*, 25. Miles from the Sea: where the Children of *Israel* prest with extreme Thirst, murmured against *Moses* the second time; first at *Pharaoh*'s approach in *Pihacheroth*, and now in *Arabia*. But *Moses* taking the Branches of a Tree, growing near a Lake of bitter Water, and casting the same thereinto, made the same sweet: a plain Type and Figure of our Saviour; who upon the Tree of the Cross changed the bitterness of everlasting Death into the sweetness of eternal Life. *Pliny* remembers these bitter Fountains in his sixth Book and 29. Chapter. From whence to *Delta* in *Ægypt*, *Sesostris* first, *Darius* after him, and lastly *Ptolomy* the second, began to cut an Artificial River, thereby by Boats and small Shipping to Trade and Navigate the red Sea, from the great Cities upon *Nilus*. From *Marah* he removed to *Elim*, the sixth Mansion, a march of eight Miles: where finding twelve Fountains of sweet Water, and 70. Palm-trees, he rested divers days.

Exod. 13. *Num.* 33. *Exod.* 14. *Num.* 33. *Exod.* 14. *Num.* 33. *Exod.* 15. *Num.* 33. *Exod.* 15. *Num.* 33.

Whether this *Helim* were the name of a Town or City in *Moses*'s time, I cannot affirm. And yet the scarcity of Waters in that Region was such, as *Helim*, which had twelve Fountains, could hardly be left unpeopled. *William*, *Archbishop* of *Tyre*, in his History of the *Holy War*, found at *Helim* the ruins of a great and ancient City. And at such time as *Baldwin* the first past that way into *Ægypt*, *Ingressus* (saith he) *Helim, Civitatem antiquissimam populo Israelitico aliquando familiarem; ad quam cum pervenisset, loci illius incolæ, Regis adventu præcognito, naviculam ingredientes in mare vicinum se contulerunt; Entring* Helim *a very ancient City, well known sometime to the People of* Israel; *whither, when he came, the Inhabitants, fore-warned of the Kings approach, took Boat, and shifted themselves into the Sea, lying near them.* From *Elim* he returned again towards the South, and sate down by the Banks of the red Sea: the seventh Mansion. For it seemeth that he had knowledge of *Amalech*, who prepared to resist his passage through that part of *Arabia*. And *Moses* who had not as yet trained those of the *Hebrews*, appointed to bear Arms: nor assured the minds of the rest, who encountring with the least misery, were more apt to return to their quiet slavery, than either to endure the wants and perils which every where accompanied them in that passage, or at this time to undertake or sustain so dangerous an Enemy: he therefore made stay at this Mansion, until the fifteenth of the second Month called *Zim*, or *Ijar*: and made the eight Mansion in the Desart of *Zin*; where the Children of *Israel* mutinied against *Moses* the third time, having want of Food. In the sixteenth Chapter of *Exodus*, *Moses* omitteth this retreat from *Elim* to the red Sea, but in the Collection of every several incamping, in the 33. of *Numbers*, it is set down.

Will. Tyr. l. 11. *cap.* 19. *Exod.* 17. *Exod.* 16.

Here it pleased God to send so many flights of *Quails*, as all the Country about their incamping was covered with them. The Morning following it also rained Manna, being the sixteenth of their Month, which served them instead of Bread. For now was the store consumed which the People carried with them out of *Ægypt*. And though they had great numbers of Cattle and Sheep among them, yet it seemeth that they durst not feed themselves with many of those: but reserved them both for the Milk to relieve the Children withal, and for breed to store themselves when they came to the Land promised. *Exod.* 16.

From hence towards *Raphidim* they made two removes of twenty Mile: the one to *Daphea*, the other to *Alus*, distant from *Raphidim* six Miles. Here being

being again preſt with want of Water they murmured the fourth time, and repented them of their departure from *Egypt*, where they rather contented themſelves to be fed and beaten after the manner of Beaſts, than to ſuffer a caſual and ſometime neceſſary want, and to undergo the hazzards and travels which every manly mind ſeeketh after, for the love of God and their own freedoms. But *Moſes* with the ſame Rod which he divided the Sea withal, in the ſight of the Elders of *Iſrael*, brought Waters out of the Rock, wherewith the whole Multitude were ſatisfied. Exod. 17.

§. II.

Of the Amalekites, Madianites, *and* Kenites, *upon occaſion of the Battle with the* Amalekites, *and* Jethro *coming: who being a* Kenite, *was Prieſt of* Madian.

AND while *Moſes* incamped in this place, the *Amalekites* who had knowledge of his approach, and gueſſed that he meant to lead the Children of *Iſrael* through their Country (which being barren of it ſelf, would be utterly waſted by ſo great a Multitude of People and Cattle) thought it moſt for their advantage to ſet upon them at *Raphidim*: where the want of Water, and all other things needful for the life of Man infeebled them. On the other ſide *Moſes* perceiving their reſolutions, Exod. 17. gave charge to *Joſhua*, to draw out a ſufficient number of the ableſt *Hebrews*, to incounter *Amalech*. Between whom and *Iſrael*, the Victory remained doubtful, for the moſt part of the day: the *Hebrews* and *Amalekites* contending with equal hopes and repulſes for many hours. And had not the ſtrength of *Moſes*'s Prayers to God been of far greater force, and more prevalent, than all reſiſtance and attempt made by the Bodies of Men, that valiant and warlike Nation had greatly indangered the whole enterpriſe. For thoſe Bodies which are unacquainted with ſcarcity of Food, and thoſe minds whom a ſervile education hath dulled, being beaten, and deſpaired in their firſt attempts, will hardly, or never be brought again to hazzard themſelves.

After this Victory *Jethro* repaired to *Moſes*, bringing with him *Moſes* his Wife, and his two Sons, which either *Jethro* forbare to conduct, or *Moſes* to receive, till he had by this overthrow of *Amalech* the better aſſured himſelf of that part of *Arabia*. For it is written in the 18. of *Exodus*, *v.* 1. *When Jethro the Prieſt of Midian, Moſes's Father in law, heard all that God had done for Moſes*, &c. of which, the laſt deed, to wit, the overthrow of *Amalech*, gave *Jethro* courage and aſſurance, he then repaired to his Son-in-law *Moſes*, at *Sinai*; where amongſt other things, he adviſed *Moſes* to appoint Judges, and other Officers, over *Iſrael*; being himſelf unable to give order in all Cauſes and Controverſies, among ſo many thouſands of People, full of diſcontentment and private controverſie.

This *Jethro*, although he dwelt amongſt the *Midianites*, yet he was by Nation a *Kenite*, as in the fourth of *Judges*, *v.* 11. & 17. it is made manifeſt; where it is written. *Now Heber the Kenite, which was of the children of Hobab, to wit, the Son of Jethro, the father-in-law of Moſes, was departed from the Kenites, and pitched his tents unto the plain of Zaanaim, which is by Kedeſh.* Likewiſe in the firſt of *Samuel*, *Saul* commanded the *Kenites* to depart from among the *Amalekites*, leſt he ſhould deſtroy them with the *Amalekites*. For the *Kenites* inhabited the Mountains of *Sin Kadeſh*: and the *Amalekites* dwelt in the Plains, according to the ſaying of *Balaam*, ſpeaking of the *Kenites*. *Strong is thy dwelling-place, and thou haſt put thy neſt in the Rock.* And that *Saul* ſpared this Nation, he giveth for cauſe, that they ſhewed mercy to all the Children of *Iſrael*, when they came up from *Egypt*. For theſe *Kenites* were a Nation of the *Madianites*, and the *Madianites* were of the iſſues of *Madian*, one of the ſix Sons which *Abraham* begat on *Ketura*; and might alſo take that name of *Kenites* from *Ketura*, of whom they deſcended by the Mother, who as it ſeemeth kept the knowledge of the True God among them, which they received from their Parent *Abraham*. For *Moſes*, when he fled out of *Egypt* into *Midian*, and married the Daughter of *Jethro*, would not (had he found them Idolaters) have made *Jethro*'s Daughter the Mother of his Children. And although the *Kenites* are named amongſt thoſe Nations, which God promiſed, that the Seed of *Abraham* ſhould root out, and inherit their Lands; yet it cannot be meant by theſe, who are deſcended from *Abraham* himſelf: but by ſome other Nation, bearing the ſame name, and in all likelihood of the Race of *Cain*. For in the fifteenth of *Gen. ver.* nineteenth, theſe *Kenites* or *Chuſites* are liſted with the *Hittites* and *Perizites*, with the *Amorites*, *Canaanites*, *Gergeſites*, and *Jebuſites*, which were indeed afterwards rooted out. But theſe *Kenites*, deſcended from *Abraham*, had Gen. 15. ſeparated themſelves from among the reſt, which were altogether Idolatrous. For, as is before remembred, *Heber* the *Kenite*, which was of the Children of *Hobab*, was departed from the *Kenites*, that is to ſay, from thoſe *Kenites* of *Canaan*, and inhabited in *Zaanaim*, which is by *Kedeſh* or *Kadeſh*. Again, *Moſes* nameth that Nation of the *Kenites*, before *Midian*, or any of *Abraham*'s other Sons were born: which he did (referring my ſelf to better Judgment) rather, becauſe they were more ancient, than by anticipation. Judg. 4.

And as of the *Kenites*, ſo we may conſider of the *Madianites*, parted by *Moſes* into five Tribes. For ſome of them were corrupted, and Heathens; as thoſe of *Madian* by the River *Zared*, afterwards deſtroyed by *Moſes*. But the *Madianites* near the Banks of the red Sea, where *Moſes* married his Wife *Zippora*, and with whom he left her and his Children, till after the overthrow of *Amalech*, ſeem likewiſe not to have been corrupted. For theſe *Madianites* with the *Kenites* aſſiſted *Iſrael*, and guided them in the Deſarts. But the *Madianites* in *Moab*, and to the North of the *Metropolis* of *Arabia*, called *Petræa*, were by *Iſrael* rooted out, when thoſe adjoyning to the red Sea were not touched. Gen. 25. 4.

And though it may be doubted, whether thoſe of *Madian*, of whom *Jethro* was Prieſt, and the other Cities in *Moab* were the ſame, yet the contrary is more probable. For *Moſes* would not have ſent 12000. *Iſraelites*, as far back as the red Sea, from the Plains of *Moab*, to have deſtroyed that *Madian*, where his Wives Kindred inhabited: ſeeing himſelf coming with 600000. able Men, was encountred by *Amalech*, in that paſſage. Neither could *Moſes* forget the length of the way through thoſe diſcomfortable Deſarts, wherein himſelf and *Iſrael* had wandred 40. year.

That *Jethro* or *Jothor*, *Raguel* or *Revel*, and *Hobab*, were but one Perſon, the Scriptures teach us. For the *Vulgar* and *Septuagint*, which call him *Raguel*; and our *Engliſh Revel*; *Exod.* 2, 18. calls him *Jethro*, or *Jothor*, *Exod.* 3. & *v.* 1. *c.* 4. *v.* 18. & *c.* 18. 1. & 6. 9, 10, & 12. and in *Numbers c.* 10. *v.* 29. *Hobab*. Others take *Jethro* and *Hobab* to be the ſame, but not *Raguel*.

§. III.

Of the time when the Law was given: with divers commendations of the invention of Laws.

THE reſt of the months of this year 2515. were ſpent in the Deſart of *Sinai*, near the Mountain of *Sinai* or *Horeb*, the twelfth Manſion. *Euſebius* thought that *Sinai* or *Horeb* were diſtinct Mountains: *Hieromes* to be but one, of a double name. And ſo it appeareth by many Scriptures. For in *Exod.* 3. *v.* 1. it is called *Horeb*: and in *Exod.* 24. *v.* 16. it is written *Sinai*. In the 100. *Pſalm*, *v.* 19. *Horeb*: in *Exod.* 19. 11. *Sinai*. And ſo it is called *Galatians* 4. 24. and again, *Deut.* 4. 10. & 15. & *Deut.* 5. 2. *Horeb*. And ſo is it in the firſt of *Kings* 8. 6. and the 2d. of *Chron.* 5. 10. and in *Malachie* 4. 4. Finally, in *Eccleſiaſticus* the 48. 7. they are named as one. *Which heardſt* (ſaith *Eccleſiaſticus*) *the rebuke of the Lord in Sinai, and in Horeb the judgment of the vengeance.* Somewhat they are diſjoyned at the top by the report of *Peter Belonius*: who in the year 1588. paſt out of *Ægypt* into *Arabia*, with *Monſieur de Fumes* of *France*, and travelled to the top both of *Sinai* and *Horeb*: *Sinai* being by far the higher Hill. From the ſide of *Horeb* (ſaith he) there falleth a very fair Spring of Water into the Vally adjoyning: where he found two Monaſteries of Chriſtian *Marronites*, containing ſome 100. Religious Perſons of divers Nations, who had pleaſant Gardens, delicate Fruits, and excellent Wine. Theſe (ſaith the ſame Author) give entertainment to all Strangers, which paſs that way.

Pet. Bel. lib. 2. c. 62.

Now, that there was ſome ſuch Torrent of Water near *Sinai* in *Moſes*'s time, it is very probable: Firſt, becauſe he incamped thereabout almoſt a year, and drew no Water, as in other places, by Miracle: Secondly, becauſe it is written *Exod.* 32. 20. that when *Moſes* had broken the Golden Calf to Powder, which *Aaron* ſet up in his abſence, he caſt the Powder thereof into the Water, and made the Children of *Iſrael* to drink thereof.

On this Mountain, the Law by the Angel of God was given to *Moſes*, where he ſtaid a whole year, wanting ſome ten or twelve days: for he removed not till the 20. day of the ſecond month of the ſecond year; and he arrived about the 45. day after the egreſſion: the Law being given the 50 day.

At this Manſion all was done, which is written from the beginning of the 29. Chapter of *Exodus*, to the end of that Book; all in *Leviticus*; and all in *Numbers*, to the 10. Chapter. Whereof (becauſe there is no ſtory nor other paſſage) I will omit the repetition, and in place thereof ſpeak ſomewhat of the Law, and the kinds and uſe thereof: whereby, if the Reader find the ſtory any way diſjoyned, he may turn over a few Leaves, and, omitting this, find the continuation thereof. We muſt firſt conſider, that as there can be neither Foundation, Building, nor continuance of any Common-wealth, without the Rule, Level, and Square of Laws: ſo it pleaſed God to give thereby unto *Moſes* the powerfulleſt mean (his miraculous Grace excepted) to govern that Multitude which he conducted; to make them victorious in their Paſſage, and to eſtabliſh them aſſuredly in their Conqueſt. For as the North-Star is the moſt fixed director of the Sea-man to his deſired Port: ſo is the Law of God the Guide and Conductor of all in general, to the Haven of Eternal Life: the Law of Nature, from God his Eternal Law deduced, the Rule of all his Creatures: the Law Humane, depending on both theſe, the Guard of Kings, Magiſtrates, and vertuous Men; yea, the very Spirit, and the very Sinews, of every Eſtate in the World, by which they live and move. The Law, to wit, a juſt Law, being reſembled to an Heart without Affection, to an Eye without Luſt, and to a Mind without Paſſion; a Treaſurer, which keepeth for every Man what he hath, and diſtributeth to every Man what he ought to have.

This benefit the Ancient, though barbarous, eſteemed ſo highly, that among them, thoſe, which were taken for the firſt makers of Laws, were honoured as Gods, or as the Sons of Gods: and the reſt, that made either additions or corrections, were commended to all Poſterity for Men of no leſs vertue, and no leſs liberally beneficial to their Countries, than the greateſt and moſt proſperous Conquerors that ever governed them. The *Iſraelites*, the *Lacedæmonians*, and the *Athenians*, received their Laws from one: as the *Iſraelites* from *Moſes*; the *Lacedæmonians* from *Lycurgus*; the *Athenians* from *Solon*; the *Romans* ſometime from their firſt Kings, from their *Decemviri*, from their Senators, from their Lawyers, and from the People themſelves: others from the Prince, Nobility, and People; as in *England*, *France*, and in other Chriſtian Monarchies and Eſtates.

§. IV.

Of the name and meaning of the words, Law, *and* Right

THE word *Lex*, or *Law*, is not always taken alike, but is diverſly, and in an indifferent ſenſe uſed. For if we conſider it at large, it may be underſtood for any rule preſcribing a neceſſary mean, order, and method, for the attaining of an end. And ſo the rules of *Grammar*, or other Arts, are called Laws. Or it is taken for any private ordinance of Superiors to Inferiors: for the commandments of Tyrants, which they cauſe to be obſerved by force, for their Decrees do alſo uſurp that Title, according to the general acceptation of the word *Law*: of which *Iſaiah*, *Wo unto them that decree wicked decrees, and write grievous things.* Likewiſe, the word is uſed for the tumultuary reſolutions of the People. For ſuch conſtitutions doth *Ariſtotle* alſo call Laws, though evil and unſufficient. *Mala lex eſt, qua tumultuarie poſita eſt*; *It is an ill Law that is made tumultuouſly.* So as all Ordinances, good or evil, are called by the name of Laws.

Iſaiah 10.

Ethic. l. 4. c. 1.

The word *Law* is alſo taken for the moral habit of our mind, which doth (as it were) command our thoughts, words, and actions: framing and faſhioning them according to it ſelf, as to their Pattern and Platform. And thus the Law of the Fleſh which the Divines call *legem fomitis*, is to be underſtood. For every Law is a kind of Pattern of that which is done according unto it: in which ſenſe as † elſewhere, this moral habit or diſpoſition of the Heart is called the Frame or *Figmentum* of the Heart: ſo in S. *Paul* to the *Romans* it is called a *Law*. *But I ſee another Law in my members, rebelling againſt the law of my mind, and leading me captive unto the law of ſin.* Again, the nature and inclinations of all Creatures are ſometime called **Laws*, ſo far as they agree with the reaſon of the Law Eternal; as the Law of a *Lyon*, to be fierce or valiant.

† *Gen.* 6. 5. *Item* 8. 2.

* So *Virgil*, *continua has leges æternaque fœdera certis Impoſuit natura locis*; Where alſo it is to be noted that he joins *leges* & *fœdera* together: as in the Scripture the Law is ſometimes called the Covenant.

Alſo private Contracts among Merchants and other Tradeſmen, do often put on the name of Laws. But Law commonly and properly is taken, for a right rule, preſcribing a neceſſary mean, for the good of a Common-wealth, or Civil Community. The reſt, to wit, the commandments of Tyrants, *&c.* which have not the common good for

for their end, but being *leges iniquæ*, are by *Thomas* called *violentia magis quàm leges*; *rather compulsions than laws*: And whatsoever is not just, St *Augustine* doth not allow for Laws, howsoever established: for he calls them *iniquum hominum constituta, quæ nec jura dicenda, nec putanda sunt*; *The unjust constitutions of Men which are neither to be termed nor thought Laws.* For, saith *Aristotle*, *Legalia justa sunt factiva, & conservativa felicitatis*; *Just Laws are the workers and preservers of happiness*: because by them we are directed *ad vitam quietam, to a quiet life*, according to *Cicero*: Yea, *to life everlasting*, according to the Scriptures. For the end of the Law, saith *Plato*, is God and his worship. *Finis Legis Deus & cultus ejus.*

Arist. Ethic. 5. cap. 1.

Plato in Dial. 1. de Leg.

Lex, or the Law is so called by the *Latines à legendo*, or *à ligando*, *of reading* or *binding*: *Leges quia lectæ & ad populum latæ*, saith *Varro*; For after Laws were written and published, all Men might read them, and behold in them whereto they were bound. The other *Etymology*, *à ligando*, is no less agreeable with the nature of a Law: whence in the Scripture it is called also a yoke, and a band: as *confregerunt jugum, diruperunt vincula*; they have broken the yoke, they have broken the bands.

Numm. 5. 9.

Psal. 2.

And in the second *Psalm*, *dirumpamus vincula eorum, & projiciamus à nobis funes ipsorum*; *Let us break their bands in sunder, and cast away their cords from us.*

The *Covenant* it is called, because of the conditional promises of God: and because of Gods peoples voluntary submission of themselves unto it: for which word the *Septuagint*, & the *Epistle* to the *Hebrews*, use the word *Διαθήκη*, *a Testament or last Will*: which name it hath, because it is not otherwise effectual for our Salvation, but in respect of the death of the Testator, for without the death of the Testator, the Testament is of no force: as *Heb. 9. 17.* it is said, *Testamentum in mortuis ratum est.*

The *Hebrews* call the law *Thorah* of teaching, because every Man is thereby taught his duty, both to God and Men. The *Greeks* call it *Nomos* of distributing, because it distributeth to every Man his own due; the power of the Law is the power of God: Justice being an attribute proper unto God himself. *Imperium legis imperium Dei est*; *The raign of the Law, is the raign of God.*

Law in general is thus defined by the *Philosophers*: *Lex est vitæ regula, præcipiens quæ sunt sequenda, & quæ fugienda*; *Law is the rule of life, commanding what to follow and what to shun*, or, *Lex est omnium divinarum & humanarum rerum Regina*; *Law is the Queen* or *Princess of things both humane and Divine.* But this description is grounded upon the opinion of inevitable fate. Law is the very wisdom of Nature: the Reason and understanding of the prudent: and the rule of Right and Wrong. For as a right line is called *Index sui & curvi*, the demonstrance of it self, and of the crooked: so is the Law, the Judge and measure of Right and Wrong.

Mr. *Hooker* calls the Law a directive rule to goodness of operation: and though Law as touching the substance and essence, consist in understanding: *Concludit tamen actum voluntatis*; *Yet it comprehends the act of our will.* The word *Jus* is also diversly taken, as sometime for the matter of the Law and for common Right: sometime for the Law it self: as *Jus Civile*, or *Jus Gentium*. *Isidore* distinguisheth the two general words *Jus* and *Fas*: whereof *Jus*, saith he, hath reference to Men, *Fas* to God. *Fas lex divina, Jus lex humana.* To go over another mans field, is permitted by Gods Law, not by Man's: and therefore in a thing out of controversie, *Virgil* used both those words: as *Fas & jura sinunt*: God and Men permit

Isid. Etym. l.

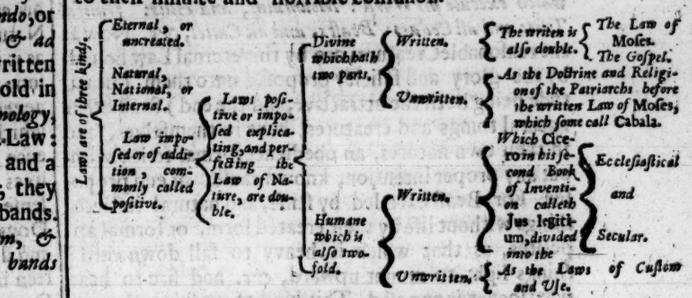
The word *Jus* or Right, is derived or taken from the old substantive Noun *jussus*, a bidding or commandment: or perhaps from the *Greek* Ζεύς, which is the name of *Jupiter*: or of the *Latine* genitive case *Jovis*: because as the Scripture speaks, *the judgement is Gods* For as it is certain that *jusjurandum* came of *Jovisjurandum* (for so we find it written in *Nonius* out of the ancient, in which sense the Scripture calls it *juramentum Jehovæ*) so also we may say, that *Jus* came of *Jovis*, *quia Jovis est*: because as God is the Author, and Pattern, and Maintainer of right, so also in his *Vicegerents* the *Magistrates*, he is the pronuncer and executor of right. Of this *Jus* the just are denominated, *justus à jure*, and *justitia à justo*; *The right gives name to the righteous*: and *justice takes her name from the just.*

Deut. 1. 17. 2 Chron. 19. 6. Exod. 22. 11. 1 Reg. 2. 43.

§. V.

Of the definition of Laws, and of the Law Eternal.

But because Laws are manifold, and that every kind hath a proper and peculiar definition, it agreeth with order, first to divide and distinguish them. I mean those sorts of Laws, from whence all other particulars are drawn: leaving the individuals of humane Laws to their infinite and horrible confusion.



The Law eternal is thus defined by *Thomas*: *Lex æterna est æternus divinæ sapientiæ conceptus, secundum quod ordinatur ad gubernationem rerum ab ipso præcognitarum*; *The eternal Law is the eternal conceipt of Gods wisdom, as it is referred to the government of things foreknown by himself.* Or *Lex æterna est summa atq; æterna ratio divinæ sapientiæ: quatenus res omnes ad destinatos fines ita dirigit, ut illis juxta conditionem ipsarum modum aliquem necessitatis adferat*; *It is the high and eternal reason of divine sapience: as it directeth all things in such sort to their proper ends, imposing a kind of necessity according to their several natures*, or conditions. Now the difference lyeth in this: That as the same Divine understanding directeth all these to their proper ends; so it is called providence: but as it imposeth a necessity according to the natures of all things which it directeth, so it is called a Law.

P. 2. q. 9. art. 1.

Th. q. 93. art. 1.

Of this eternal Law *Cicero* took knowledge, when in his Book of Laws, he wrote in this manner: *Erat ratio perfecta, rerum natura, & ad recte faciendum impellens & à delicto avocans: quæ non tum incipit lex esse cum scripta est: sed tum cum orta est. Orta autem simul est cum mente divina: quamobrem lex vera atque princeps, apta ad jubendum & ad vetandum, ratio est recta summi Jovis*; *That perfect reason and nature of things incouraging or impelling to rightful actions, and calling us back from evil, did not* (saith he) *then begin to be a Law when it was written: but when it had being. Being and beginning it had together with Divine understanding, and therefore a true Law and a fit Princess to command and forbid is the right reason of the most high God.* This Eternal Law, (if we consider it in God, or as God,) is always one and the same; the nature of God being most simple: but as it is referred to divers objects, so the reason of Man finds it divers and manifold. It also seemeth one Law in respect of things necessary, as the motions of the Heavens, stability of the Earth, &c. but it appeareth otherwise to things contingent: another Law to Men: another to other creatures having life, and to all those that be inanimate.

By this eternal law all things are directed, as by the counsel and providence of God: from this Law all Laws are derived, as from the rule universal: and thereto referred, as the operation of the second to the first.

The eternal, and the divine Law, differ only in consideration; the eternal directing more largely, as well every creature, to their proper and natural ends, as it doth Man to his supernatural: but the Divine Law to a supernatural end only: the Natural Law thence derived, is but an effect of the eternal: as it were a stream from this fountain.

Tho. & Aug.

The Law humane or temporal is also thence drawn: in that it hath the form of right reason: from which if it differ, it is then *impositio iniqua, a wicked imposition*: and only borroweth the name of a Law.

To this eternal Law all things are subjected: as well *Angels* and *Men*, as all other creatures, or things created; whether necessary or contingent, natural, or moral, and humane. For the Law eternal runneth through all the universal, and therefore it is the Law also of things which are simple, natural, and inanimate.

Hence it is, that all things created are commanded to praise God their Creatour and Director: as, *Praise him all ye his Angels: praise ye him Sun and Moon, all bright Stars: Heavens of Heavens, for he hath established them for ever and ever. He hath made an ordinance which shall not pass: Praise ye the Lord from the Earth ye Dragons and all depths: Fire, and Hail, Snow, and Vapours, stormy Winds, which execute his Word: Mountains, and Hills: fruitful Trees and all Cedars: Beasts, and all Cattel, &c.* Now as the reasonable Creatures are by this eternal Law bound, by the glory and felicity proposed unto them (beatitude being both the attractive, and the end) so all other natural things and creatures, have in themselves, and in their own natures, an obedience formal to it: without any proper intention, known cause, or end proposed. For Beasts are led by sense, and natural instinct: things without life by their created form, or formal appetites, as that which is heavy to fall downward: things light to mount upward, *&c.* and fire to heat whatsoever is apposed. This kind of working the *Aristotelians* ascribe to common Nature: others to fate; a difference used in terms only; it being no other than Gods general providence: for as it is truly said of God, that he is *omnia super omnia*: so are all things which appear in themselves, thence derived: there-under subjected: thence-from by his eternal Law and providence directed, even from the greatest to the least of his creatures, in Heaven and in Earth

Psal. 148.

The *Schoolmen* are very curious and ample in the consideration of these Laws: and in discourse of the profit, and of the matter, and object of the eternal Law. But as the profit is manifest in the good of all creatures, who have thence-from, either reason, sense, vegetation, or appetition, to conduct them: so is the object and matter of the Law, the whole creature. For according to *St. Augustine*, *Lex æterna est, qua justum est ut omnia sint ordinatissima; The law eternal is that, whereby it is just, that all things should be disposed in the best and goodliest order.*

L. 1. de lib. arb. cap. 6.

Lastly, it is disputed, whether the eternal Law be immutable, yea or no? But the resolution is, that it changeth not; for which St. *Augustine* useth a sufficient argument in his first Book of *Free-Will*, the sixth Chapter. For the Law of *Moses* which had a time prefixed, was eternally by God ordained to last until the time of the *Padagogia* of Gods people, or introduction to Christ should be expired: which time of expiration some think our Saviour noted to be come, when on the Cross he said, *Consummatum est.* But I rather think these words of our Saviour to have no other signification. than that now the Prophecy of their giving him Vineger to drink was fulfilled. For so S. *John* expounds it, when he saith *v.* 28. *That Christ seeing all (*other*) things to be fulfilled, Ut consummaretur Scriptura, That the Scripture* in this also *might be fulfilled*, said, *I thirst:* though I deny not, but at the same time also the date of the Law was expired, to wit, of the Law ceremonial, and of so much of the judicial, as appertained peculiarly to the *Jews*, and agreeth not with the Law of the New *Testament* and Gospel of Christ. For the immutable Law of God, though prescribing things mutable, is not therefore changed in it self: but the things prescribed change according to this eternal ordinance; of which the *Wisdom* of *Salomon: And being one she can do all things, and remaining in her self reneweth all.*

John 18. 30. Psal. 69. 22.

§. VI.
of the Law of Nature.

Of the Law of Nature as it is taken in general, I find no definition among the *Schoolmen*: only as it is considered in Man, it is called *the impression of divine light, and a participation of the eternal Law in the reasonable creature. Lex naturalis est impressio divini luminis in nobis, & participatio legis æternæ in rationali creatura.* Ulpian defines the *natural Law to be the same which Nature hath taught all living creatures; Jus naturale est quod Natura omnia animalia docuit:* and he afterward addeth, *Jus istud non humani generis proprium, sed omnium animalium quæ terra mariq; nascuntur, avium quoque commune est; The law of nature is not proper to Man alone, but the same is common to all living creatures: as well to Birds, as to those which the Land and Sea produceth.* But this definition is not general, but of the natural Law in things of life.

Aug. in Epist ad Hil. 89. & in Evang. Joh. tract. 49.

Ulp. in Justin. Jure, l. 1. tit. 1.

The Law of Nature in general, I take to be that disposition, instinct, and formal quality, which God in his eternal providence hath given and imprinted in the Nature of every creature, animate, and inanimate. And as it is *divinum lumen* in Men, inlightning our formal reason: so is it more than sense in Beasts: and more than vegetation in Plants. For it is not sense alone in Beasts, which teacheth them at first sight, and without experience or instruction, to fly from the enemies of their lives: seeing that Bulls and Horses appear unto the sense more fearful and terrible, than the least kind of Dogs: and yet the Hare and Deer feedeth by the one, and flyeth from the other, yea though by them never seen before, and that as soon as they fall from their Dams. Neither is it sense which hath taught other Beasts to provide for Winter, Birds to build their Nests, high or low, according to the tempestuous or quiet seasons: or the Birds of *India* to make their Nests on the smallest Twigs which hang over Rivers, and not on any other part of the Tree, or elsewhere: to save their Eggs and young ones from the Monkies, and other Beasts, whose weight such a Twig will not bear: and which would fear to fall into the water. The instances in this kind are exceeding many which may be given. Neither is it out of the vegetable or growing Nature of Plants, that some Trees, as the female of the *Palmitto*, will not bear any Fruit except the male grow in sight. But this they do by that Law which the infinite and unsearchable wisdom of God, had in all eternity provided for them, and for every nature created. In Man this Law is double, corrupt, and incorrupt; corrupt where the Reason of Man hath made it self subject, and a Vassal to passions, and affections brutal: and where time and custom hath bred in Men a new Nature, which also, as is aforesaid, is a kind of Law. For it was not by the Law of Nature incorrupt, which St. *Augustine* calleth the Law of reason, but by a Nature blinded and corrupted, that the *Germans* did anciently allow of theft: and that other Nations were by Law constrained to become Idolaters; that by the Laws of *Lycurgus*, it was permitted to Men to use one anothers Wife, and to the Women to choose them others besides their Husbands, to beget them with Child: which Law in those parts hath lasted long, and is not forgotten to this day.

Supra §. 4. ex loco ad Rom. 7. 23.

Theod. l. 9. de curandis affect: Græcarum. Acosta.

The *Scythians*, and the People of both *Indies*, hold it lawful to bury with them the best beloved Wives: as also they have many other customs remembred by *G. Valentia*, against Nature and right reason.

And I know not from what authority it is that these Laws some Men avow to be natural: except it be of this corrupt Nature, as (among others) to pay guile with guile: to become faithless among the faithless: to provide for our selves by another mans destruction: that injury is not done to him that is willing: to destroy those whom we fear: and the like. For taking the definition of Natural Laws either out of St. *Augustine* or *Aquinas*, (the one calling it *the impression of divine light*; the other, *the dictate* or sentence *of practick reason*) the same can teach us, or incline us to no other thing, than to the exercise of Justice and Uprightness: and not to offer or perform any thing toward others, save that which we would be content should be offered or performed toward our selves. For such is the Law of Nature to the mind, as the eye is to the body; and that which according to *David* sheweth us good, that is, the observation of those things which lead us thereby to our last end;

Gen.

Job

Nemo Jure naturæ cum alterius detrimento locupletior fieri debet.

Psalm. 4.

end; which is eternal life: though of themſelves not ſufficient without Faith and Grace.

Now, that which is truly and properly the Law of Nature, where the corruption is not taken for the Law, is, as aforeſaid, the impreſſion of Gods divine light in men, and a participation of the law increated and eternal. For without any law written, the right Reaſon and underſtanding which God hath given us, are abilities within our ſelves, ſufficient to give us knowledge of the good and evil, which by our gratitude to God, and diſtribution of right to men, or by the contrary, we prepare and purchaſe for our ſelves. *For when the Gentiles* (ſaith S. *Paul*) *which have not the law, do by nature thoſe things contained in the law: they having not the law, are a law unto themſelves,* Now, to love God by whom we are, and to do the ſame right to all men, which we deſire ſhould be done unto us, is an effect of the pureſt reaſon: in whoſe higheſt Turrets, the quiet of conſcience hath made her reſting place, and habitation. *In arce altiſſima rationis quies habitat*; Therefore, the *Gentiles* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *which ſhew the effects of the law written in their hearts, have their conſciences for witneſſes of thoſe effects: and the reprobate their thoughts to accuſe them.*

Rom. 2. ver. 14.

Rom. 2. ver. 15.

And it is moſt true, that whoſoever is not a law unto himſelf (while he hopeth to abuſe the World by the advantage of hypocriſie) worketh nothing elſe, but the betraying of his own Soul, by crafty unrighteouſneſs, purchaſing eternal perdition. For it helpeth us not to hide our corrupt hearts from the Worlds eye, ſeeing from him, who is an infinite eye, we cannot hide them: ſome Garlands we may gather in this May-game of the World, *Sed flos ille, dum loquimur, areſcit*; *Thoſe flowers wither while we diſcourſe of their colours, or are in gathering them.* That we we ſhould therefore inhabit and dwell within our ſelves, and become fearful witneſſes of our ſecreteſt evils, did that reverend *Philoſopher Pythagoras* teach in this golden precept. *Nil turpe committas, neque coram aliis, neque tecum, maxime omnium verere teipſum*; *Commit nothing foul or diſhoneſt*, ſaith he, *neither to be known to others, nor to thine own heart: but above all men reverence thine own conſcience.* And this may be a precept of nature and right reaſon: by which law, Men, and all creatures, and bodies, are inclined to thoſe operations, which are anſwerable to their own form; as Fire to give heat. Now, as the reaſonable mind is the form of Man, ſo is he aptly moved to thoſe things which his proper form preſenteth unto him; to wit, to that which right reaſon offereth; and the acts of right reaſon, are the acts of vertue: and in the breach of the rules of this reaſon, is Man leaſt excuſable: as being a reaſonable creature. For all elſe, both ſenſitive, growing, and inanimate, obey the law which God impoſed on them at their firſt creation.

The Earth performeth her office, according to the Law of God in nature: for it bringeth forth the Bud of the Herb which ſeedeth ſeed, *&c.* and the Beaſt, which liveth thereon. He gave a Law to the Seas, and commanded them to keep their bounds: which they obey. He made a decree for the rain, and a way for the lightning of the Thunders. He cauſed the Sun to move, and to give light, and to ſerve for Signs and for Seaſons. Were theſe as rebellious as Man, for whoſe ſake they were created, or did they once break the law of their natures and forms, the whole World would then periſh, and all return to the firſt *Chaos*, Darkneſs, and Confuſion.

Gen. 1.

Job 6. 28.

By this natural Law, or Law of humane reaſon, did *Cain* perceive his own wickedneſs, and offence, in the murther of *Abel*: for he not only feared the diſpleaſure of God, but the revenge of Men: it being witten in his reaſon, that whatſoever he performed towards others, the ſame by others might be done unto him again. And that this judgment of well and evil doing, was put into our natures by God, and his eternal law, before the law written: *Moſes* in the perſon of God witneſſeth, *Gen.* the fourth. *If thou do well, ſhalt thou not be accepted? and if thou do not well, ſin lyeth at thy door.*

The *Schoolemen* are large alſo in this queſtion of the natural Law: the ſame being opened amply by *Reinerius*, *Antoninus*, and *Valentia*. But it is not my purpoſe to write a volume of this Subject.

But this law which *Thomas Aquinas* calleth *an act of reaſon taken properly*, and not a habit, as it is an evident natural judgment of practick reaſon: they divide into indemonſtrable, or needing no demonſtration (as that good is to be followed, and evil eſchewed) and demonſtrable, which is evidently proved, out of higher and more univerſal propoſitions. Again, as it anſwereth the natural appetite, preſcribing things to be deſired as good, or to be avoided as evil (as of the firſt to deſire to live, and to ſatisfy hunger, *&c.* and of the ſecond, to eſchew pains, ſorrow, and death) in this conſideration they divide it, according to the divers kinds of appetites that are in us. For in every Man there are three ſorts of appetites, which anſwer the three degrees of natural Law. The firſt is, to be that which we are; in which is comprehended the deſire, both to live, and to preſerve our being and life, alſo the deſire of iſſue, with care to provide for them: for the Father after his death lives in his Children; and therefore the deſire of life comprehends the deſire of Children. And to theſe appetites are referred the firſt indemonſtrable laws of nature, for the moſt part. For it needs no proof, that all creatures ſhould deſire to be, to live, and to be defended, and to live in their iſſue, when they cannot in themſelves. And as Man is a being, *Ens* or *Res*: ſo he doth deſire good, and ſhun evil. For it is common to all things, to deſire things agreeable to their own natures, which is, to deſire their own good. And ſo is Good defined by *Ariſtotle*, to be that which all deſire. Which definition *Baſil* upon the 44. *Pſalm* approveth: *Recte quidem Bonum definierunt, quod omnia expetunt, Rightly have ſome Men defined Good, or Goodneſs, to be that which all things deſire.*

Tho. q. 94. art. 2.

Ethic. l. 1 c. 1.

The ſecond kind of appetite is of thoſe things which appertain to us, as we have ſenſe. Whence by the law of Nature, we deſire the delights of every ſenſe; but with ſuch moderation, as may neither glut us with ſatiety, nor hurt us with exceſs. For as Senſe it ſelf is for the preſervation of life and being: ſo is it meet, even by the law of nature, that the ſenſitive appetite ſhould not carry us to the deſtruction, either of our life or being. And although (ſeeing both theſe kinds of appetites are in Beaſts) we may well ſay, that Nature hath given divers laws unto them: In which ſenſe the *Civilians* define *Natural right*, or *Jus naturale*, to be the ſame which Nature hath taught all living creatures; Yet the *Schoolmen* admit not, that the inſtincts of beaſts can be properly called a Law, but only a *Jus*, or *Right*, which is the matter, and aim of every Law. For ſo they diſtinguiſh it; where *Ulpian* affirmeth, that *Jus naturale* is that, which Nature hath taught all living creatures. In this place (ſaith *Valentia*) *Jus* is not to be taken for a Law, but for the matter of the Law. And yet where *Ulpian* alſo diſtinguiſheth the right belonging to living creatures in general, from the right belonging to Men; calling the one *Jus naturæ*, the other *Jus gentium*: the Di-

vines understand the Law of Nature more largely, that is for all evident dictates, precepts, or biddings of divine reason: both in Beasts and Men; and restrain the Law of Nations to a kind of humane right.

The third appetite is of those things which appertain properly to Man, as he is a living creature reasonable: as well with relation to God, and to our Neighbour, as for our selves: and the Laws of this appetite are the Commandments of our Religion.

Now although there are many other branches and divisions of this Law of Nature answering the division of Matter, which it prescribeth, and as manifold, as the moral actions are which it commandeth or forbiddeth: yet is the Law of Nature but one law, according to *Aquinas*: first, because it hath one fountain or root in the natural or motive faculty, which is but one, stirring up to good, and declining the contrary; secondly, because all is contained in that general natural precept, That good is to be followed, and ill avoided: and thirdly, because all the parts are reduced to one and the same last end.

That this Law of Nature bindeth all creatures, it is manifest: and chiefly Man; because he is indued with reason; in whom as reason groweth, so this band of observing the Law of Nature increaseth,

Basil. *Postquam ratio ad perfectum venit, tunc fit quod scriptum est, Adveniente mandato peccatum revixit*; *When reason grew to perfection, then it came to pass, which was written by* S. Paul, *When the Commandment came, sin revived.* Neither is it a small warrant for this Law of Nature, when those which break the same, are said by *S. Paul*, *To be delivered over*

Rom. 1. 28. *into a reprobate sense* (or mind) *to do those things which are not convenient*: and again, *that their*

Rom. 2. 15. *consciences bear witness, and their thoughts accuse them.* For, though this Law of Nature stretch not to every particular: as to command fasting and the like: yet, it commandeth in general all good, and whatsoever is agreeable to right reason. And therefore said *Damascene*; *Homines facti sunt mali, declinando in id quod contra naturam est*; *Men* (saith

L. 2. Fid. ort. c. 30. he) *are made evil, by declining unto that which is contrary to nature*: and S. *Augustine*, *Omne vitium naturæ nocet, ac per hoc contra naturam est*; *Every vice doth wrong to nature, and is therefore contrary unto it.*

Neither yet are the rules of this Law of Nature so streight, but that they suffer exceptions in some particulars. For whereas by this Law all Men are born Lords of the earth, yet it well alloweth inequality of Portions, according to unequal merit: by taking from the evil, and giving to the good: and by permitting and commanding that all Men shall enjoy the Fruits of their labours to themselves: according to the rules of Justice and Equity.

And though the Law of Nature command, that all things be restored which are left in trust, yet in some causes this her law she suffereth to be broken: as to deny a mad Man his weapons, and the like, which he left in keeping while he was sober. But the universal principles can no more be changed, than the decrees of God are alterable: who according

2 Tim. 2. ing to St. *Paul, abideth faithful, and cannot deny himself.*

§. VII.

Of the written Law of God.

After the eternal, and natural, the Law *Positive* or imposed is the next in order, which Law, being nothing but an addition, or rather explication of the former, hath two kinds: Divine, and Humane. Again, the divine positive Law is double; the old and new: The old was given unto *Moses* in Mount *Sinai* or *Horeb*, at such time as the World had stood 2513. whole years: and in the 67. day of this year when as *Ascatades* or *Ascades* governed the *Assyrians*, *Marathus* the *Sycionians*, *Triopus* the *Argives*, *Cecrops Attica*, and *Acherres Ægypt*: to wit, after the promise to *Abraham* 430. years. And this, it seems, was the first written Law which the World received. For the very word *Nomos*, signifying a Law, was not then, nor long after invented by the *Gracians*: no not in *Homer's* time: who lived after the fall of *Troy* 80. years at least: and *Troy* it self was cast down 335. years, after *Moses* led *Israel* out of *Ægypt*. This Law, it pleased God to ingrave in stone, that it might remain a lasting Book of his expresst will in the Church; and that the Priests and people might have, whereof to meditate, till the coming of *Christ*: and that so these Children of *Israel*, though bred among an Idolatrous people in *Ægypt*, might be without excuse: the slight defences of ignorance being taken from them.

Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. 1.

The reason known to us why this Law was not written before, is, that when the people were few, and their Lives long, the *Elders* of families might easily without any written Law instruct their own Children: and yet as they increased, so doubtless they had besides the Law of Nature many precepts from God, before the Law written. But now at length, forasmuch as the Law of Nature did not define all kinds of good, and evil; nor condemn every sin in particular: nor sufficiently terrify the Consciences of Offenders: nor expound divine worship, as for those after-ages was required, who gave every day less authority than other to the natural Law; In these respects it was necessary, that the Law should be written, and set before the eyes of all Men: which before, they might, but would not read, in their own consciences. The *Schoolmen*, and the Fathers before them, inlarge the causes and necessity, why the Law was written, whereof these are the chiefest.

The first, for restraining of Sin, directly grounded upon this place of *David*, *The Law of the Lord is undefiled, converting Souls: The testimonies of the Lord are faithful, giving wisdom to Children.* For the humane Law, saith St. *Augustine*, meeteth not with all offences, either by way of prohibition or punishment; seeing thereby it might take away something seeming necessary, and hinder common profit: but the Divine Law written, forbiddeth every evil, and therefore by *David* it is called undefiled.

Secondly, it serveth for the direction of our minds. For the Laws of Men, can only take knowledge of outward actions, but not of internal motions, or of our disposition and will: and yet it is required, that we be no less clean in the one, than in the other. And therefore were the words *converting our Souls*, added by *David*: wherein are all our outward acts first generated, according to the *Cabalists*. *Actiones hominum nullæ essent, nisi prius in mente dicerentur*; *The actions of Men* (say they) *would be none at all, were they not first conceived in the Mind.*

Thirdly, it leadeth us to the knowledge of truth, which by reason of diversity of opinion, and difference of peculiar Laws among sundry Nations, we cannot be assured of; but the Law of God bindeth all Men, and is without errour: and therefore also said *David*, *That the Testimony of the Law of God is faithful: giving wisdom to Children.*

§. VIII.

Of the unwritten Law of God, given to the Patriarchs *by Tradition.*

NOW, that in all this long tract of time, between the Creation and the written Law, the World and People of God were left altogether to the Law of Reason and Nature, it doth not appear. For the *Patriarchs* of the first Age received many Precepts from God himself, and whatsoever was first imposed by *Adam*, the same was observed by *Seth*, who instructed *Enos*: from whom it descended to *Noah*, *Sem*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, *Joseph*, and *Moses*. Yea many particular Commandments afterward written, were formerly imposed and delivered over by Tradition; which kind of teaching the *Jews* afterward called *Cabala*, or *Receptio*: Precepts received from the Mouth of their Priests and Elders: to which the *Jews* after the Law written, added the interpretation of secret Mysteries, reserved in the Bosoms of their Priests, and unlawful to be uttered to the People. But the true *Cabala* was not to be concealed from any; as being indeed the Divine Law revealed to the *Patriarchs*, and from them delivered to the Posterity, when as yet it was unwritten. The Commandments which God gave unto *Adam* in the beginning, were, that he should impose names to all Beasts, according to their natures; to whose perfection of understanding they were sufficiently known. For finding the reason of his own name *Adam* of *Adamah*, Earth, or red Clay, he gave other names significant, not only to Beasts, but to his Children and Nephews, which afterward his issues imitated; as the name of *Seth* signifieth, as some take it, one that was laid for the Ground or Foundation of the Church, or rather, one given in recompence for *Abel* that was slain: and *Enosh* signifieth Man or Miserable, *&c.* Further, God commanded *Adam* to till the Ground, and to live by the labour thereof: God also gave him the choice of all Fruits, but the forbidden, and in *Adam* also was Marriage first instituted: all Men thence-after being commanded to cohabit with their Wives, rather than with their Father and Mother.

† The common reading is *cum terra*: but God did not destroy the Earth; and why may not this preposition in this place have the same force which it hath according to *Junius*, *Gen.* 4. 1. *Item* 44. 4. And *Deut.* 34. 1. especially, seeing these words are but a repetition of that which is said, *v.* 7. *Delebo hominem de superficie terræ. Gen.* 9. *v.* 6.

That murther and cruelty was also forbidden, both before the Law written, and before the Flood it self, it is manifest. God himself making it appear, that it was one of the greatest causes of the destruction of Mankind by the general Flood. For God said unto *Noah*, *An end of all flesh is come before me: for the earth is filled with cruelty through them: and behold I will destroy them* † *from the earth.* That offence therefore, for which all perished, could not be unknown to all that perished: Gods Mercy and Justice interposing between the untaught, and revenge. This commandment God repeated to *Noah*, after the Waters were dried up from the Earth. *Who so sheddeth mans blood, by man shall his blood be shed: for in the Image of God hath he made man.*

Also the Law of honouring and reverencing our Parents, was observed among the Faithful, and the contrary punished by the Fathers Curse: as, *Gen.* 9. 25. *Cursed be Canaan, a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.* Again, we find that the unnatural sin of the *Sodomites* was punished in the highest degree; as with fire from Heaven. The sin of Adultery and Ravishment, was before the Law no less detested than the rest, as appeareth by that *Gen.* 34. 25. revenge, taken for *Dina*'s forcing: and by the *Gen.* 38. 24. judgment which *Juda* gave against *Tamar*, That she should be burnt: and by the repentance of *Pharaoh* and *Abimelech*, against whom this sentence was pronounced, *Thou art but dead, because of the Woman which thou hast taken: for she is a mans Wife.* To these we may add the Ordinance of Sacrifice, of distinction of clean and unclean Beasts, of Circumcision, of the Brother to raise up Seed to his Brother that left a Widow childless, and divers other constitutions, partly Moral, and partly Ceremonial, which being delivered before the written Law, were after by it confirmed. So that this *Divine Law imposed*, of which the Law of *Moses* containeth that which is called *The Old Testament*, may be said, not only to have been written in the hearts of Men, before it was ingraven in Stone, but also in substance to have been given in Precept to the *Patriarchs*. For as S. *Paul* witnesseth of himself, *I knew not sin, but by the law*: so ever the Law naturally preceded, and went before offences, though written after offences committed.

It is true, that all the Creatures of God were directed by some kind of unwritten Law; the Angels intuitively; Men by Reason; Beasts by Sense and Instinct, without Discourse; Plants by their vegetative powers; and things inanimate by their necessary motions, without sense or perception.

§. IX.

Of the Moral, Judicial, and Ceremonial Law, with a note prefixed, How the Scripture speaketh not alway in one sense, when it nameth the Law of Moses.

NOW as the word [*Law*] in general, as is aforesaid, hath divers significations, and is taken for all Doctrine which doth prescribe and restrain: so this Law, called the *Law of Moses* in particular, is taken by S. *Paul* diversly; as sometime for all the *Old Testament*, as, *Now we know what soever the law saith, it saith to them which are under the law.* *Rom.* 3. *v.* 19.

When it is opposed, or differenced from the Prophets, and *Psalms*, it is there taken for the five Books of *Moses*. For so S. *Luke* hath distinguished them; as *All must be fulfilled which are written of me in the Law, in the Prophets, and in the Psalms.* *Luk.* 24. 44.

When it is opposed to the Gospel, then it is taken for the Law Moral, Ceremonial, and Judicial; as, *Therefore we conclude, that a man is justified by faith without the works of the Law.* *Rom.* 3. 28.

When it is opposed to Grace, it signifieth the declaration of Gods wrath, and our guilt of condemnation; or the extremity of Law, and *summum jus*: as, *For ye are not under the law, but under grace.* *Rom.* 6. 4. *Gal.* 3. 18.

When it is opposed to the Truth, namely, where the ceremonies or signs are taken for the things signified; as the Sacrifice for Christ, and the like: then it signifieth but Shadows and Figures; as, *The law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ.* *John* 1. 17.

Lastly, when it is opposed to the time of Christs coming, it signifieth the whole Policy of the *Jews* Commonweal; as, *Before faith came, we were kept under the Law*, &c. or the Law of the Order and Institution of the *Aaronical Priesthood*; as, *All the Prophets, and the Law*, or the Priests, *propheſied unto John.* And if the Priesthood be changed, the Law also, to wit, of the Priesthood, must needs be changed. *Gal.* 3. 23. *Luk.* 16. 6. *Heb.* 7. 12. & 10. 1.

The word [*Law*] is sometime also taken by the Figure *Metonymia*, for Interest, Authority, and Empire, or for constraining force; as, *The law of the Spirit of life, the law or the force of sin and death, the enforcements of concupiscence*, &c. *Rom.* 8. 2. *Rom.* 7. 23.

But

But the *written Law of Moſes*, or the Law of the Old Teſtament, of which we now ſpeak, is thus defined: The Law is a Doctrine, which was firſt put into the minds of Men by God, and afterwards written by *Moſes*, or by him repeated, commanding Holineſs and Juſtice, promiſing Eternal Life conditionally, that is, to the obſervers of the Law, and threatning death to thoſe which break the Law in the leaſt. For according to Saint *James*, *Whoſoever ſhall keep the whole, and faileth in one point, is guilty of all.* The definition uſed by the *Schoolmen*, in which both the Old and New Law are comprehended, is thus given, *Lex divina eſt divinum decretum, hominibus præſcribens modum neceſſarium ut apte pervenire poſſint ad ſupernaturalem beatitudinem, quæ eſt ultimus humanæ vitæ finis*; *The divine Law* (ſay they) *is the decree of God, preſcribing unto Men a neceſſary mean, whereby they may aptly attain ſupernatural beatitude, which is the laſt end of Mans life.*

James 2. 10.

The Law of *Moſes* hath three parts: Moral, Ceremonial, and Judicial. The Moral part commandeth this or that good to be done, and this or that evil to be avoided, in particular; as alſo it declareth, for whoſe ſake it is to be done; as *do this for I am the Lord*, whereas the Law of Nature commands it but in general. Again, the Moral Law entreateth of vertue and goodneſs; the Ceremonial of Divine Service, and of Holineſs; (for external worſhip, and the order of hallowing our ſelves unto God is called Ceremony) and the Judicial teacheth the particular government, fit for the Commonwealth of the *Jews*, and preſcribeth orders for Juſtice and Equity. And therefore was it ſaid of Saint *Paul*, *The commandment is juſt, holy and good:* Juſt, or Juſtice being referred to the Judicial; Holy, or Holineſs to the Ceremonial; good, or honeſt to the Moral. The Judicial part is touching the Government of the Commonwealth of the *Jews*, in which many things muſt needs be proper to that Eſtate, as ſuch as were inſtituted either in reſpect of Place or Perſons.

Rom. 7.12.

The Ceremonial is divided into four parts, according to the four kinds of things, of which it ſpeaketh, to wit, Sacrifice, Holy things, Sacraments, and Obſervances. To Sacrifices belong Beaſts, and the Fruits of the Earth; to Holy things the Tabernacle, Temple, Veſſels, Altars, and the like; to Sacraments Circumciſion, the Paſsover, and ſuch like. For the Obſervances, they conſiſted either in prohibition of certain Meats, as not to eat the Blood and Fat of Beaſts: or in ſome other outward things, as in Waſhings, Purifyings, Anointings, and Attire, as not to wear mixt Garments of Linnen and Woollen; as alſo it prohibiteth other unnatural and unproper commixtions, as *thou ſhalt not yoke together in a plough an Ox and an Aſs*, or caſt mingled Seed in one Field. It alſo exhorteth natural compaſſion, and forbiddeth cruelty even to Beaſts, Birds, and Plants, whereby the Creatures of God might be deſtroyed without any profit to Man. For ſo ſome refer theſe Precepts, *Thou ſhalt not kill the bird ſitting on her neſt, nor beat down the firſt buds of the tree, nor muzzle the labouring Ox*, and the like, to the Ceremonial Law.

Neither is there any of theſe three parts of the Law of *Moſes*, but it hath as yet in ſome reſpects, the ſame power which it had before the coming of Chriſt. For the Moral liveth ſtill, and is not abrogated or taken away: ſaving in the ability of juſtifying or condemning; for therein are we commanded to love and worſhip God; and to uſe Charity one towards another: which for ever ſhall be required at our hands. Therein alſo are we in particular directed, how this ought to be done: which power of directing by ſpecial Rules and Precepts of Life, it retaineth ſtill. For theſe things alſo are commanded in both Teſtaments to be obſerved: though principally for the fear of God in the one, and for the love of God in the other.

The Ceremonial alſo liveth in the things which it ſore-ſignified. For the Shadow is not deſtroyed, but perfected, when the Body it ſelf is repreſented to us. Beſides, it ſtill liveth, in that it giveth both inſtruction and teſtimony of Chriſt, and in that it giveth direction to the Church for ſome Ceremonies and Types of Holy ſignification, which are ſtill expedient; though in a far fewer number than before Chriſts coming, and in a far leſs degree of neceſſity.

Laſtly, the Judicial liveth in ſubſtance, and concerning the end, and the natural and univerſal equity thereof.

But the Moral faileth in the point of Juſtification, the Ceremonial as touching the uſe and external obſervation (becauſe Chriſt himſelf is come, of whom the Ceremonies were Signs and Shadows) and the Judicial is taken away, as far forth as it was peculiar to the *Jews* Commonweal, and Policy.

Gal. 4

Heb. 9

Gal. 2

§. X.

A Propoſal of nine other points to be conſidered, with a touch of the five firſt.

AS for that which remaineth in the general conſideration of the Divine written Law, it may in effect be reduced into theſe nine points.

1. The dignity and worth of the Law.
2. The Majeſty of the Law-giver.
3. The property and peculiarity of the People receiving it.
4. The conveniency of the time in which it was given.
5. The efficacy and power thereof.
6. The difference and agreement of the Old and New Teſtament.
7. The end and uſe of the Law.
8. The ſenſe and underſtanding of the Law.
9. The durance and continuance thereof.

1. The Dignity of the Law is ſufficiently proved by S. *Paul* in theſe words, *Wherefore the Law is holy, and the Commandment is holy, and juſt, and good*: which three Attributes are referred, as aforelaid, to the Moral, Ceremonial, and Judicial.

Heb. v. 13

2. The Majeſty of the Law-giver is approved in all his Creatures: who as he hath given all things their Lives, and beings, ſo he only gave the Law, who could only give the end and reward promiſed, to wit, the Salvation of Mankind: but he gave it not to *Moſes* immediately, but by the Miniſtry of Angels, as it is ſaid. *And the law was ordained by Angels, in the hand of a Mediator:* and in the *Acts*, *He gave the law by the ordinance of Angels.*

Gal. 3. v. 19.

3. The propriety and peculiarity of the People, receiving this Law, is in three reſpects. Firſt, in that they were prepared: Secondly, in that they were a Nation apart and diſſevered: Thirdly, in that they were the Children of the Promiſe made to *Abraham*. Prepared they were, becauſe they had the knowledge of one God, when all other Nations were Idolaters. A Nation apart and ſevered they were, becauſe of Gods Choice and Election. Children of the Promiſe they were, for the Promiſe was made by God unto *Abraham*, and his Seed: not unto his Seeds, as to *Eſau* and *Jacob*, but

Gal. 3. 16.

but to his Seed, as to *Jacob*, or *Israel* singularly, of whom *Christ*. *Now to Abraham and his Seed were the promises made: he saith not to the Seeds, as speaking of many, but to thy Seed, as of one, which is Christ.*

4. The conveniency of the time, in which it was given, is noted by S. *Augustine*: that it was about the middle time, between the Law of Nature, and Grace: The Law of Nature continued from *Adam* to *Moses*: the Law written in the Commandments, received by *Moses* in the Worlds year 2514. continued to the Baptism of *John*: From which time begun the Law of Grace, which shall continue to the Worlds end. Other reasons for the conveniency are formerly given.

5. The fifth consideration is of the efficacy of this Law, the same being a disposition to, or sign of our justification: but not by it self sufficient, but as a figure of *Christ* in Ceremonies, and a preparation to righteousness in Moral Precepts. For through the passion of *Christ* were sins forgiven, who taketh away the sins of the World: And therefore S. *Paul* calleth the rudiments of the Law *beggerly and weak*, beggerly as containing no grace, weak as not able to forgive and justifie. The blood of Goats and Bulls, and the ashes of an Heifer could only cleanse the Body; but they were figures of *Christ*'s Blood, which doth cleanse the inward Soul. *For if the Law could justifie, then Christ died in vain.*

Gal. 4.
Heb. 9.
Gal. 2.

§. XI.

Of the sixth point, to wit, of the difference and agreement of the Old and New Testament.

THE Old and New Testament differ in name, and in the mean and way proposed for attaining to Salvation; as the Old by Works, the New by Grace: But in the thing it self, or object and remote end, they agree: which is, Mans Happiness and Salvation.

The Old Testament, or Law, or Letter, or the Witness of Gods will, was called the Old, because it preceded the New Testament; which is an explication of the Old: From which the New taketh witness. Yet the New of more excellency, in that it doth more lively express, and openly and directly delineate the ways of our Redemption. It is also called the Old, to shew that in part it was to be abrogated: *In that he saith the New Testament, he hath abrogated the Old.* For the Old Law, though greatly extolled by the *Prophets*, and delivered with wonderful Miracles, yet was it constituted in a policy perishable: but the New was given in a promise of an everlasting Kingdom, and therefore called in the *Apocalypse*, a Testament and Gospel for ever during.

Heb. c. 8. v. 13.

The Old Testament is called the Law, because the first and chief part is the Law of *Moses*, of which the *Prophets* and *Psalms* are Commentaries, explicating that Law.

The New Testament is called the Gospel, because the first and chief part thereof is the glad tidings of our redemption: The other Books, as the Epistles or Letters of the *Apostles*, and the Acts or story of the *Apostles*, are plentiful Interpreters thereof: The word *Evangelion* signifying a joyful, happy, and prosperous message, or (as *Homer* used it) the reward given to the Messenger, bringing joyful news. It is also sometime taken for a sacrifice, offered after victory, or other pleasing success, as by *Xenophon*. In the Scriptures it hath three significations. First, for glad tidings in general, as in *Esay* the 52. *v.* 7. concerning peace: Secondly, by an excellency it is restrained to signifie that most joyful message of Salvation, as in *Luk.* 2. 10. whence also by figure it is taken for the History of *Christ*: and so we understand the four Gospels.

Act. 1.

Lastly, For the preaching and divulging the doctrine of *Christ*, as 1 *Cor.* 9. *v.* 14. and 2 *Cor.* 8. *v.* 18.

The agreement of both Testaments (taken, I think, as they are divided in Volumes) is by *Danaus* comprised in these four.

In their Author.
In the substance of the Covenant, or things promised.
In the foundation, to wit, *Christ*.
In the effects, that is, in Righteousness and Justification.

In the Author they agree, because both are of God, and therefore both one Testament and will of God in substance of Doctrine. For as there was ever one Church; so was there one Covenant, one Adoption, and one Doctrine. As the old Law doth point at Christ, so doth the new Law teach *Christ*: the old proposing him as to come, the new as already come; one and the same thing being promised in both; both tending to one, and the same end: Even the Salvation of our Souls; Which according to S. *Peter* is the end of our Faith. For although it be said, that *Moses* did promise by observing the Law an earthly Kingdom, a Land flowing with Milk and Hony, the propagation of children, and other worldly blessings: yet all these were but figures to teach, and pledges to assure the Fathers of those spiritual blessings by *Christ*; for by the earthly he raised their minds to the hope of heavenly. And the Fathers notwithstanding these worldly goods, did yet acknowledge themselves Strangers, and Pilgrims, expecting the heavenly *Jerusalem*: According to this place of the *Hebrews*: *All these died in Faith, and received not the promises, but saw them afar off, and believed them: confessing that they were Strangers and Pilgrims on the Earth.* To which purpose also S. *Augustine*: *Omnino pauci veterem legem intelligunt, non attendentes per promissa terrena aterna promitti. Few* (saith he) *do understand the old Law: not attending that by things earthly eternal are promised.* And S. *Hierom*: *Noluit Deus pascere Judæos more pecorum corporalibus donis opibusque, ut Judæi somniant: God would not feed the* Jews *as Beasts with corporal gifts and riches as themselves dream.* And this may be gathered out of Gods own words, *Ego sum Deus tuus, & ero vobis in Deum; I am thy God and I will be your God.* For the words, *I will be your God*, prove that it was not for the present, or for perishable things, that God gave them this promise; but in respect of the future: to wit the safety of their Souls. For as God created both Body and Soul, so hath he of his goodness, not left the better part uncared for, which liveth ever.

Heb. c. 11. v. 13.
Lib. de Civit. Dei, 18. c. 15.
In Sophon. c. 3. v. 9.

The agreement between the Old and New Testament in substance, inferrs also the agreement in foundation. For *Christ* is called the foundation of the Law, laid both by the *Apostles* and *Prophets*: in whom all the promises of God in the Old and New, are assured: The Fathers having eaten the same spiritual food, which we eat in our Sacraments.

The agreement in effects is, in that the knowledge of our sin and misery, which is taught us by the Law, maketh way, and as it were, serveth in subordination to the Gospel, the proper effects whereof are Mercy and Salvation: to which the Law serving as an introduction (for to those which acknowledge their sin and misery, God sheweth his Mercy and Salvation) may be said to agree with the

the Gospel in the effect. For otherwise if we sever the Law from subordination to the Gospel, the effects are very different: the one sheweth the way of Righteousness by Works, the other by Faith; the Law woundeth, the Gospel healeth: the Law terrifieth, the Gospel allureth; *Moses* accuseth, Christ defendeth: *Moses* condemneth, Christ pardoneth. The old restraineth the hand, the new the mind. *Data est lex quæ non sanaret* (saith S. *Augustine*) *sed quæ ægrotantes probaret; The Law was* Homil. ad Rom. *given not to help but to discover sickness:* and S. *Chrysostom*, *Data est lex, ut se homo inveniret, non ut morbus sanaretur, sed ut medicus quæreretur; The Law was given that Man might find and know his own imperfection: not that his disease was thereby holpen: but that he might then seek out the Physician.* For Christ came to save the World, which the Law had condemned. And as *Moses* was but a Servant, and Christ a Son, so the greatest benefit was reserved to be brought, as by the *worthiest person*, saith *Cyril*: for this Law made nothing perfect, but was an introduction of a better hope. Heb. 7.

§. XII.

Of the rest of the points proposed.

THe seventh consideration is of the end & use of the Law: which is to bring us to *Christ*: for finding no righteousness in our own works, we must seek it in some other. But this is the last, and remote, and utmost end: the next and proper end of the Law, is to prescribe righteousness, and to exact absolute and perfect obedience to God. *Cursed is he which continueth not in all the things of this law.* Levit. 18. 5.

The second end of the Law, is to render us inexcusable before God: who knowing so perfect a Law, do not keep it: the Law requiring a perfect and intire, not a broken or half obedience: but both inward and outward Righteousness, and performance of duty to God and Men.

The third and chief end of the Law is, as hath been said, to send us to *Christ*, and his Grace, being in our selves condemned and lost. For the Law was delivered with Thunder, and with a most violent and fearful tempest, threatning Eternal Death.

The fourth end of the Law was to design, and preserve, the place of the Church and true people of God: and to hold them in one Discipline, and awe, till the coming of *Christ*: after whom the Church was to be dispersed over the whole World.

These be the ends of the Moral Law. The end and use of the Ceremonial Law, is to confirm the truth of *Christ*, and the new Testament. The use of the Judicial, to teach us natural Equity, and Right, whereto we must conform our selves.

The sense and understanding of the Law is double, literal and spiritual: by the literal we are taught the worship and service of God: by the spiritual the figures and mystical fore-speakings of *Christ*.

Lastly, for the durance or continuance of the Law, the same had being until the passion of *Christ*: before which time, and while *Christ* taught in the World, both the old and the new were in force. But after that the true sacrifice was offered upon the Altar of the Cross, then the *Jewish* Sacrifices and Ceremonies, which were *Types* and figures of *Christ* (*Christ* being the body of those shadows) ceased to bind the consciences any longer: the mystery of our redemption being now by *Christ* and in him finished. In token whereof the Veil of the Temple rent asunder; noting that the ceremonial Veils and Shadows were now to be removed, not that the Moral Law of the Commandments was hereby

Gen. 49. 10. The Scepter shall not depart from *Juda*, nor a Lawgiver from between his Feet, until *Shilo* come.

abolished, or weakened at all; otherwise than that it had not power to condemn according to the *Jewish* Doctrine, as aforesaid. For the observing of the Law was by Christ himself severely commanded: our love towards God being thereby to be witnessed. And herein *David* so much rejoyced, as he preferred the observation of the Law, before all that the World could yield. *In via testimoniorum tuorum delectatus sum, sicut in omnibus divitiis; I have been delighted in thy Law as in all manner of riches*: And again, *The law of thy mouth is good for me above thousands of gold and silver. This is the love of God* (saith S. *John*) *that we keep his Commandment.* 1 John 5. And that there is no excuse for the neglect of the things commanded in the Law, God himself in *Deuteronomy* witnesseth. *This Commandment* (saith he) *which I command thee this day is not hid from thee, neither is it far off. It is not in Heaven that thou shouldest say who shall go up for us to Heaven, and bring it us, and cause us to hear it that we may do it? neither is it beyond the Sea, that thou shouldest say, who shall go over the Sea for us, and bring it us? &c. but the word is very near unto thee, even in thy Mouth and in thy heart for to do it. Behold* (saith *Moses*) *I have set before thee this day life and death, good and evil, in that I command thee this day to love the Lord thy God, to walk in his ways, and to keep his Commandments, and his Ordinances, and his Laws, that thou mayest live, &c.* Neither is it said in vain in S. *Matthew*, *Si vis ad vitam ingredi, serva mandata*; *If thou wilt enter into life, keep the Commandments*: and in S. *John*: *Scio quia mandatum ejus vita æterna est*; *I know that his Commandment is life everlasting.* And if this be the charity of God, or of Men towards God, as S. *John* hath taught, to wit, that we keep his Commandments: certainly he is but a lyer, that professeth to love God, and neglecteth to observe the Word of his Will, with all his power. And though I confess it is not in Mans ability, without the special grace of God, to fulfil the Law (Christ only as Man excepted) yet if we rightly consider the merciful care which God had of his People in those his Commandments, we shall find in our selves, how we borrow liberty, and rather let slip our affections, and voluntarily loosen them, from the Chains of obedience, to which the Word of God and Divine Reason hath fastened them, than that we are excusable by those difficulties and impossibilities, which our mind (greedy of liberty) proposeth to it self. *For this is the love of God, that we keep his Commandments, and his Commandments are not grievous*, 1 *John* 3. *vers.* 12. and if we examine every Precept apart, and then weigh them each after other, in the Ballance of our Consciences; it is not hard for any Man to judge, by what easie perswasions, we steal away from our own power, as unwilling to use it against our pleasing desires.

Deut. 30. 11, 12, 13, & 14. Rom. 10. v. 6, 7, 8. Cap. 5. n. 1. C. 12. n. 9.

§. XIII.

Of the several Commandments of the Decalogue: *and that the difficulty is not in respect of the Commandments, but by our default.*

FOR by the first we are commanded to acknowledge, serve, and love one God. Now, whereby are we inticed to the breach of this Precept? seeing every reasonable Man may conceive and know, that infinite power cannot be divided into many infinites: and that it is of necessity that by this Almighty Unity, all things have been caused, and are continued. And if brute Beasts had this knowledge of their Creator, and how in his

his providence he hath alſo provided for every of them, *which giveth to Beaſts their food, &c.* there is no doubt but that they would alſo ſerve and love him only.

Pſal. 147. v. 9.

The ſecond precept is the forbidding of Idolatry, and worſhip of Images: the making whereof, out of doubt, was not the invention of an ill intent in the beginning, ſeeing this is generally true: *Omnia mala exempla bonis initiis orta ſunt; All ill examples did ſpring and ariſe from good beginnings.* For their firſt erection was to keep the memory of Men famous for their Vertue; until (ſaith *Lactantius*) the Devil crept into them, and (having blotted out the firſt intent) working in weak and ignorant Souls, changed the Nature of the one, and the Reaſon of the other, to ſerve himſelf thereby. For what reaſonable Man, if he be not forſaken of God, will call on thoſe blind, deaf, dumb, and dead Stocks, more worthleſs than the moſt worthleſs of thoſe, that having Life and Reaſon, implore their help, which have neither: Yea, of more vile prize and baſer, than the baſeſt of Beaſts, who have ſenſe and eſtimation? for what do we thereby (ſaith the Wiſdom of *Salomon*) *but call to the weak for help, pray to the Dead for Life, require aid of him that hath no experience, aſſiſtance in our journies of him that cannot go, and ſucceſs in our affairs of him that hath no power?* And whether the Idolater, or the block, to which he prayeth, be more ſenſeleſs: *David* maketh a doubt. *For* (ſaith he) *they that make them are like unto them, and ſo are all the reſt that truſt in them.*

Gloſ. in verb. Ca-lum.

Wiſd. 13. 17.

Pſal. 35. 18.

The breach of the third Commandment is neither perſwaded by worldly pleaſure, nor worldly profit: The two greateſt inchanters of mortal Men. No, we are no way allured to this horrible diſdain of God, unleſs the hate of good Men, and Gods curſe, be accounted an advantage. For as our corrupteſt nature gives us nothing towards it, ſo can it ſatisfie no one appetite, except everlaſting ſorrow, and Hell dwell in our deſire. And therefore this ſtrange cuſtom hath the Devil brought up among Men, without all ſubtlety of argument, or cunning perſwaſion, taking thereby the greateſt and moſt ſcornful advantage over us. For ſlaughter ſatisfieth hatred, Theft gives ſatisfaction to need, Adultery to Luſt, Oppreſſion to covetouſneſs: but this contemptuous offence of Blaſphemy, and the irreverent abuſe of Gods Name, as it giveth no help to any of our worldly affections, ſo the moſt Salvage Nations of the World do not uſe it.

The fourth Commandment, to keep the *Sabbath* day holy, hath neither pain, burthen, nor inconvenience. For it giveth reſt to the Labourer, and conſolation to their Maſters. And that this Law was impoſed on Man for his benefit, *Moſes* teacheth in the reaſon of the Law: as in *Exod.* 23. 12. *And in the ſeventh day thou ſhalt reſt, that thine Oxe and thine Aſs may reſt, and the Son of thy Maid, and the Stranger may be refreſhed.*

The firſt of the ſecond Table to honour our Parents, with whom we are one and the ſame, is a gratitude which nature it ſelf hath taught us towards them, who after God gave us life and being, have begotten us, and born us, cheriſhed us in our weak and helpleſs infancy, and beſtowed on us the harveſt and profit of their labours and cares. Therefore in the temporal and judicial Ordinances, curſing of Parents, or the offering them violence, was made death.

The next is, that thou ſhalt not Murther, that is, thou ſhalt not do the acts following the affections of hatred. For the Law of God, and after it our own Laws, and in effect the Law of all Nations, have made difference between ſlaughter caſual, and furious. *Affectio enim tua* (ſaith *Bracton*) *imponit nomen operi tuo; It is the affection and will that makes the work ſuch as it is.* And certainly whoſoever cannot forbear to commit murther, hath neither the grace of God, nor any uſe of his own will.

The third of the ſecond Table, commands us from Adultery. Now, if the preſervation of Virginity have been poſſible, for thouſands of Men and Women, who in all ages have maſtered their fleſhly deſires, and have returned chaſt to the grave: It cannot be accounted a burthen, to forbear the diſhonour and injury, which we offer to others by ſuch a violation, ſeeing Marriage is permitted by the Laws of God, and Men, to all that affect it. And there is no Man living whom the deſire of Beauty and form hath ſo conſtrained, but he might with eaſe forbear the proſecution of this ill: did not himſelf give ſuck to this Infant, and nouriſh warmth till it grow to ſtrong heat, heat till it turn to fire, and fire to Flame.

Nuptiæ replent terram, Virginitas Paradiſum.

The fourth of the ſecond Table, is, that we ſhall not ſteal. And if that kind of violent Robbery had been uſed in *Moſes*'s time, which many Ruffians practiſe now a-days in *England*, and to the diſhonour of our Nation more in *England*, than in any Region of the World among *Chriſtians*, out of doubt he would have cenſured them by death, and not by reſtitution, though quadruple. For I ſpeak not of the poor and miſerable Souls, whom hunger and extream neceſſity inforceth, but of thoſe deteſted Thieves, who to maintain themſelves Lord-like, aſſault, rob, and wound the Merchant, Artificer, and Labouring-man, or break by violence into other Mens Houſes, and ſpend in Bravery, Drunkenneſs, and upon Harlots, in one day, what other Men ſometime have laboured for all their lives: impoveriſhing whole Families: And taking the Bread and Food from the mouths of their Children. And that this Commandment might eaſily be obſerved, it would ſoon appear, if Princes would reſolve, but for a few years to pardon none. For it is the hope of life, and the argument of ſparing the firſt offence, that incourageth theſe Hell-hounds. And if every Man may preſume to be pardoned once, there is no State or Commonwealth, but theſe Men would in a ſhort time impoveriſh or deſtroy it.

The fifth Commandment of this ſecond Table, is, the prohibition of falſe Witneſs: From which if Men could not forbear, all ſurety of Eſtate, and Life, were taken away. And ſo much did God deteſt a falſe Witneſs, and a falſe Accuſer, eſpecially in matters Criminal, that the Law ordained him to ſuffer the ſame Death or Puniſhment, which he ſought by falſhood to lay on his Brother.

The laſt of the ten Commandments forbiddeth us to covet any thing, which belongeth to another Man, either the bodies of their Wives for Concupiſcence, or their Goods for deſire of Gain. And this precept ſeemeth the hardeſt for Men to obſerve; ſo eſteemed by reaſon of our frail affections: and yet if we judge hereof rightly, it may be doubted whether it extend to all our inconſiderate fancies and vain thoughts. For although it be not eaſie to maſter all our ſuddain paſſions, yet we may reſtrain and hinder their growing, and farther increaſe, if we pleaſe to intend our ſtrength, and ſeek for grace. How the word *Coveting* reacheth to all thoſe, it is to be conſidered. For *Concupiſcentia*, according to ſome, *eſt effrenatus habendi appetitus; An unbridled, or unreſtrained appetite of having*: And as touching ſuch an appetite, we cannot excuſe our ſelves by any our natural frailty, or unadviſed error; But, as I ſuppoſe, the word *Concupiſcence* is more largely taken, either for a determinate and unbridled evil intent, or for ſome urging inclination thereunto. All the queſtion is of the latter ſort: which is, *Actus imperfectus, id eſt,*

non deliberatus ratione quæ eſt principium proprium actus boni aut vitioſi; Such paſſions or inclinations are unperfect acts, that is, not deliberated upon by reaſon, which is the proper principle of a good or vitious action. And ſure, it may ſeem, that ſo long as we reſiſt ſuch motions, they harm us not; as they ſay, *Quamdiu refragamur nihil nocent: nocent autem cum eas dominari permittimus; As long as we give no aſſent unto them, it is thought by ſome that they hurt us not: and that then only they hurt when we ſuffer them to bear ſway.* But theſe Men, as it ſeems, make nothing forbidden in this tenth precept, but what hath been forbidden in the other: for in every Commandment, not only the outward act, but alſo the inward aſſent unto evil, though it break not out into Act, is forbidden: therefore, that we may know the difference between this Commandment and the reſt, the diſtinction of deſires is to be held: that ſome are with aſſent, and unbridled; others bridled, and without aſſent. For ſo even the Moral *Philoſopher* can tell us, that the Continent Man hath evil deſires, but without aſſent (for they are bridled by the ſtrength of right reaſon) as on the other ſide the Incontinent hath good deſires, but reſtrained and ſuppreſſed by contrary Paſſions. The evil deſires when they are accompanied with aſſent, are in every Commandment forbidden, together with the outward act: And therefore if we will have any thing proper to this Commandment, we muſt needs ſay, that the evil deſires of the Continent Man (that is, even thoſe which we reſiſt and bridle) are here forbidden. For though he that bridleth his evil deſires, be much better than he that yieldeth unto them: Yet ſuch a Man, even according to the Heathen *Philoſopher*, is not worthy the name of a vertuous Man. For *Ariſtotle* himſelf makes *Continentia*, not to be vertue, but only a degree unto it: confeſſing that though the Continent Man do well in bridling his evil Affections, yet he doth not all, ſeeing he ought not ſo much as to have them at all. Neither is it much more, that true Divinity delivereth touching this matter. For, as he ſaith, that in the Continent Man the having of theſe evil deſires, though he reſiſt them, is the cauſe that he cannot be called a vertuous Man: ſo we, that the having of them is a ſin. Only in this we excell him here: that we are able out of Divinity to give the true reaſon of this Doctrine: which is, that every one ſinneth, that doth not love God with his whole heart and affection: Whence it followeth that the evil deſires of the Continent Man, that is, of him which bridleth them, muſt needs be ſin: ſeeing ſuch deſires, though bridled, are a pulling away of a part of our heart and affection from God.

Seeing therefore it hath pleaſed God, to make us know, that by our faithful endeavours to keep his Commandments, we witneſs our love toward himſelf: We may not ſafely give liberty to our vanities, by caſting back upon God (who is juſtice it ſelf) that he hath given us precepts altogether beyond our power, and Commandments impoſſible for us to keep. For as he is accurſed (ſaith S. *Hierom*) that avows that the Law is in all things poſſible to be obſerved: ſo he hath made this addition. *Maledictus qui dicit impoſſibilia Deum præcepiſſe; Accurſed is he that ſaith that God hath commanded things* (in themſelves, and not through our fault) *impoſſible.* Now, as the places are many which command us to keep the Law: ſo is our weakneſs alſo in the Scriptures laid before us, and therefore it is thus ſafely to be underſtood, that we ſhould without evaſion, or without betraying of our ſelves, do our faithful endeavours to obſerve them: which if we do unfeignedly, no doubt, but God will accept our deſires therein. For that there is no Man juſt, *David* witneſſeth. *Enter not into judgment with thy Servant, for in thy ſight no fleſh that liveth ſhall be juſtified.* And in the firſt of *Kings*, *There is Man that ſinneth not*: And again, *Who can ſay I have made my heart clean?* But ſeeing there is no ſin grievous without deliberation; let every Mans Conſcience judge him, whether he give way willingly, or reſtrain himſelf in all that he can; yea, or no? For when a King gives to his Subject a Commandment upon pain of loſs of his love, to perform ſome ſervice: if the Subject neglecting the ſame, ſeek to ſatisfie his *Soveraign* with ſhifting excuſes, out of doubt ſuch a Prince will take himſelf to be derided therein.

Pſal. 143. 2. C. 8. v. 46. Pro. 20. 9.

§. XIV.

If there were not any Religion nor Judgment to come, yet the Decalogue *were moſt neceſſary to be obſerved.*

AND if we conſider adviſedly, and ſoberly, of the Moral Law, or ten Commandments, which God by the hand of *Moſes* gave unto his people, it will appear that ſuch was his merciful providence in the choice of them, as were there neither pain, nor profit adjoyned to the obſerving, or not obſerving of them, were there no Divine power at all, nor any Religion amongſt men, yet if we did not for our own ſakes ſtrive to obſerve theſe Laws: all ſociety of Men, and all endeavours, all happineſs and contentment in this Life would be taken away: And every State and Common-weal in the World fall to the Ground and diſſolve. Therefore, theſe Laws were not impoſed as a burthen, but as a bleſſing: to the end that the innocent might be defended, that every Man might enjoy the fruits of his own Travel, that right might be done to all Men from all Men: That by Juſtice, Order, and Peace, we might live the lives of reaſonable Men, and not of Beaſts; of Free-men, and not of Slaves; of Civil Men, and not of Salvages. And hereof making our humane reaſon only Judge, Let us ſee the inconveniences in this Life which would follow by the breach and neglect of theſe Laws.

As firſt, what would the iſſue be if we acknowledged many Gods? would not a far greater Hatred, War, and Blood-ſhed follow, than that which the difference of ceremony, and diverſity of interpretation, hath already brought into the World, even among thoſe Nations which acknowledge one God, and one *Chriſt*?

And what could it profit Mankind to pray to Idols, and Images of Gold, Metal, dead Stones, and rotten Wood, whence nothing can be hoped, but the loſs of time, and an impoſſibility to receive thence-from, either help or comfort.

The breach of the third Commandment bringeth therewith this diſadvantage, and ill to Man, that whoſoever taketh the name of God in vain, ſhall not at any time benefit himſelf by calling God to witneſs for him, when he may juſtly uſe his holy Name.

The obſerving the *Sabbath* holy, giveth reſt to Men and Beaſts, and Nature her ſelf requireth intermiſſion of Labour.

If we deſpiſe our Parents, who have given us being, we thereby teach our own Children to ſcorn and neglect us, when our aged years require comfort and help at their hands.

If murther were not forbidden, and ſeverely puniſhed, the Races of Mankind would be extinguiſhed: and whoſoever would take the liberty to deſtroy others, giveth liberty to others to deſtroy himſelf.

If

If Adultery were lawful and permitted, no Man could ſay unto himſelf, This is my Son: there could be no inheritance proper, no honour deſcend to poſterity, no indeavour by vertue and undertaking to raiſe families: murthers and poiſonings between Man and Wife would be daily committed: and every Man ſubject to moſt filthy and unclean diſeaſes.

If Stealth and violent rapine were ſuffered, all mankind would ſhortly after periſh, or live as the ſalvages, by roots and acorns. For no Man laboureth but to enjoy the Fruits thereof. And ſuch is the miſchief of robbery, as where *Moſes* for leſſer crimes appointed reſtitution four-fold, policy of State and neceſſity hath made it death.

To permit falſe Witneſſes, is to take all mens lives and eſtates from them by corruption: the wicked would ſwear againſt the vertuous: the waſter againſt the wealthy: the Idle Begger and loiterer, againſt the careful and painful labourer: all trial of right were taken away, and juſtice thereby baniſhed out of the World.

The coveting of that which belongs to other Men, bringeth no other profit than a diſtraction of Mind with an inward vexation: for while we covet what appertains to others, we neglect our own: our appetites are therein fed with vain and fruitleſs hopes, ſo long as we do but covet; and if we do attain to the deſire of the one, or the other, to wit, the Wives or goods of our Neighbours, we can look for no other, but that our ſelves ſhall alſo, either by theft or by ſtrong hand, be deprived of our own.

Wherein then appeareth the burthen of Gods Commandments, if there be nothing in them, but rules and directions for the general and particular good of all living? Surely, for our own good, and not in reſpect of himſelf, did the moſt merciful and provident God ordain them; without the obſervation of which, the vertues of heavenly bodies, the fertility of the Earth, with all the bleſſings given us in this life, would be unto us altogether unprofitable, and of no uſe. For we ſhould remain but in the ſtate of brute Beaſts, if not in a far more unhappy condition.

§. XV.

Of humane Law, written and unwritten.

HUmane Law, of which now it followeth to ſpeak, is firſt divided into two, *viz.* Written, and Unwritten. The unwritten conſiſts of uſage, approved by time: which *Iſidore* calls *Mores*: and he defines *Mores* to be *Conſuetudines vetuſtate probatæ*, to be *cuſtoms approved by antiquity or unwritten Laws*. Now cuſtom differeth from uſe, as the cauſe from the effect: in that Cuſtom is by uſe and continuance eſtabliſhed into a Law: but yet there where the Law is defective, ſaith *Iſidore*.

And of Cuſtoms there are two general Natures, containing innumerable particulars, the firſt are written Cuſtoms, received and exerciſed by Nations, as the Cuſtoms of *Burgundy*, and *Normandy*: the ancient general Cuſtom of *England*, and the Cuſtoms of *Caſtil*, and other *Provinces*.

The ſecond are theſe petty Cuſtoms, uſed in particular Places, Cities, Hundreds, and Mannors. The general or National Cuſtoms are ſome written, others unwritten.

The particular or petty Cuſtoms are ſeldom written, but witneſſed by teſtimony of the inhabitants. The Cuſtoms of the *Dutchy* of *Cornwal* comprehending alſo the *Stannery* of *Devon*, as touching *Tin*, and *Tin* cauſes, are Written in *Devon*, but not in *Cornwal*. But howſoever uſe and time hath made theſe Cuſtoms as Laws, yet ought every Cuſtom to be *rationabilis*, as well as *præſcripta*. *Non firmatur tractu temporis quod de jure ab initio non ſubſiſtit*; *That which at firſt was not grounded upon good right, is not made good by continuance of time.* And (ſaith *Ulpian*) *quod ab initio vitioſum eſt, non poteſt tractu temporis convaleſcere*; *Courſe of time amends not that which was naught from the firſt beginning.* For theſe two defences are neceſſary in all Laws of Cuſtom; the one, that it be not repugnant to the Law Divine, and Natural: the other, that the Cauſe and reaſon be ſtrong, proving a right birth, and neceſſary continuance: it being manifeſt that every Cuſtom, which is againſt the Law, had his beginning from evil deeds, and therefore not without the former conſiderations to be allowed. And it is true, that all Cuſtoms of this Nature were but tolerated for a time, by the Lawmakers, though they have been ſince continued, becauſe poſterity is not bound to examine by what cauſe their Anceſtors were thereto moved. For *non ſufficit ſimplex toleratio*: And it is in this ſort over-ruled in the Law; *Per populum conſuetudo contra legem induci non poteſt, niſi de voluntate illius qui novam legem, & novam conſtitutionem ſtatuere poteſt, qui ſolus princeps eſt*; *The people cannot bring in a New Cuſtom, againſt Law: ſave by his will, who hath power to make a New Law and Ordinance, which is only the Prince.*

In Reg. Juriſ. v. 2. q. 117. art. 1. Ulp. l. 29.

Humane Law generally taken, to wit, humane Law written, is by ſome defined to be the decree or doom of practick reaſon: by which humane actions are ruled and directed. *Papinian* calls the Law a common precept, the adviſement of Wiſemen, and the reſtraint of offences committed, either willingly or ignorantly. *Iſidore* calls the Law a Conſtitution written, agreeing with Religion, fitteſt for Government and common profit: And more largely, *Omne id quod ratione conſiſtit*; *All that ſtands with reaſon.*

Laſtly, and more preciſely it is thus defined. Humane Law is a righteous decree, agreeing with the Law natural, and eternal: made by the rational diſcourſe of thoſe, that exerciſe publick authority: preſcribing neceſſary obſervances to the ſubject. That every Law ought to be a righteous decree, S. *Auguſtine* teacheth, ſaying: *Mihi lex eſſe non videtur, quæ juſta non fuerit*; *It ſeems to be no Law at all to me, which is not juſt*: and juſt it cannot be, except it agree with the Law natural and eternal. For there is no Law juſt and legitimate (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*) which the Law-makers have not derived from the eternal. *Nihil juſtum atque legitimum eſt, quod non ab æterna lege ſibi homines derivaverint.*

Greg. de Val. ex Tho. q. 91. art. 3. & q. 94. art. 2.

L. 1. de lib. Arb. cap. 6.

Secondly, it ought to be conſtituted by diſcourſe of reaſon, whereby it is diſtinguiſhed from the Law natural, to wit, the natural, indemonſtrable, or needing no demonſtration from whence the Law humane is taken and deduced.

Thirdly, that it ought to be made by an authoriſed Magiſtracy, it cannot be doubted, be the Government of what kind ſoever. For it falleth otherwiſe under the Title of thoſe decrees called *Violentiæ*, or *iniquæ conſtitutiones*; *Violences*, or *wicked conſtitutions.*

Of humane Law there are four properties, eſpecially anſwering theſe four conditions in the former definition. Firſt, as it is drawn out of the Law of Nature: ſo every particular of the Humane Law may be reſolved into ſome principle or rule of the Natural.

4. Parts.

Tho. q. 9. 5. art. 2.

Secondly, it is to be conſidered as it is referred unto, and doth reſpect the common good.

Thirdly, it is to be made by publick authority.

Fourthly, concerning the matter of the Law it prescribeth, and directeth, all humane actions. And so is the Law as large and divers, as all humane actions are divers, which may fall under it. For according to *Thomas*, *Alia lex Julia de Adulteriis, alia Cornelia de Sicariis*; *The Law of* Julian *against Adultery is one, the* Cornelian *against Ruffians, is another.* Now the humane Law, generally taken, is in respect of the first of these considerations, divided into the Law of Nations, and the Civil.

The Law of Nations is taken less or more properly; less properly for every Law which is not of it self, but from other higher principles deduced: and so it seemeth that *Ulpian* understands it: for he defineth *Jus gentium*, or *the Law of Nations*, to be that which is only common amongst Men, as Religion, and the worship of God: which is not in the very Nature of this Law of Nations: but from the principles of the Scriptures, and other Divine Revelations. But the Law of Nations properly taken, is that *dictate*, or *sentence*, which is drawn from a very probable, though not from an evident principle, yet so probable that all Nations do assent unto the conclusion, as that the free passage of *Ambassadours* be granted between enemies, *&c.* which National Law according to divers acceptions, and divers considerations had of the Humane Law, may be sometime taken for a *Species* of the Natural, sometime of the Humane.

Jus Civile, or the Civil Law, is not the same in all Common-wealths, but in divers estates it is also divers and peculiar, and this Law is not so immediately derived from the Law of Nature, as the Law of Nations is: For it is partly deduced out of such principles as all Nations do not agree in, or easily assent unto; because they depend on particular circumstances, which are divers, and do not fit all estates. Hereof *Ulpian*, *Jus civile, neque in totum à naturali & gentium recedit, neque per omnia ei servit: itaq; cum aliquid addimus vel detrahimus Juri communi, Jus proprium, id est, Civile efficimus*; *The Civil Law* (saith he) *doth neither wholly differ from the Law of Nature, and Nations, nor yet in all points obey it: therefore, when we add ought to, or take from the Law that is common, we make a Law proper, that is, the Civil Law.*

In Leg. 6. ta. ff. de Justitia Jure.

The Law now commonly called the Civil Law, had its birth in *Rome*: and was first written by the *Decemviri*, 303. years after the foundation of the City. It was compounded as well out of the *Athenian*, and other *Grecian* Laws, as out of the ancient *Roman* customs and Laws *Regal*. The Regal Laws were devised by the first Kings, and called *Leges Regiæ*, or *Papyrianæ*, because they were gathered by *Papyrius*, *Tarquin* then raigning. For though so many of the former Laws as maintained Kingly authority were abolished, with the name: yet those of *Servius Tullius*, for Commerce and Contracts, and all that appertained to Religion, and common utility, were continued, and were a part of the Laws of the twelve Tables. To these Laws of the twelve Tables were added (as the times gave occasion) those made by the *Senate*, called *Senatus-consulta*: those of the common people, called *Plebiscita*: those of the Lawyers, called *responsa prudentum*: and the Edicts of the *Annual Magistrate*: which Edicts being first gathered and interpreted by *Julian*, and presented to *Adrian* the Emperour, they were by him confirmed and made perpetual Laws: and the *Volume* stiled *Edictum perpetuum*: as those and the like Collections of *Justinian* afterward were.

Dion. Hal.

C. Sigon. l. 1. out of Pomponius.

The difference anciently between Laws and Edicts, which the *French* call *Reglements*, consisted in this, that Laws are the Constitutions made or confirmed by soveraign authority (be the soveraignty in the people, in a few, or in one) and are withal general and permanent: but an Edict (which is but *Jussum Magistratus*, unless by authority it be made a Law) hath end with the *Officer*, who made the same, saith *Varro*. *Qui plurimum Edicto tribuunt, legem annuam esse dicunt*; *They who ascribe the most unto an Edict, say that it is a Law for one year.* Though *Isidore* doth also express by the word *Constitutions* or *Edicts*, those Ordinances called *Acts of Prerogatives*: as *Constitutio vel Edictum est quod Rex, vel Imperator constituit, vel edicit*; *An Ordinance or Edict is that which a King or Emperour doth ordain or proclaim.*

Lastly, the *Humane Law* is divided into the *Secular*, and into the *Ecclesiastical*, or *Canon*. The *Secular* commanding temporal good, to wit, the peace and tranquillity of the Commonwealth: the *Ecclesiastical* the spiritual good, and right Government of the *Ecclesiastical Commonwealth*, or *Church*, *illud naturæ legem, hoc divinam spectat*; *That respecteth the Law of Nature, this the Law of God* And so may *Jus Civile* be taken two ways: first, as distinguished from the Law of Nations, as in the first division: Secondly, as it is the same with the *Secular*, and divers from the *Ecclesiastical*. But this division of the *Schoolmen* is obscure. For although the *Civil* be the same with the *Secular*, as the *Civil* is a Law, yet the *Secular* is more general, and comprehendeth both the *Civil*, and all other Laws not *Ecclesiastical*. For of *Secular* Laws, in use among *Christian* Princes, and in *Christian* Commonweals, there are three kinds; the *Civil* which hath everywhere a voice: and is in all *Christian* estates (*England* excepted) most powerful; the Laws of *England* called Common, and the Laws of custom or *Provincial*. In *Spain* besides the Law *Civil*, they have the customs of *Castil*, and other Provinces. In *France* besides the *Civil*, the customs of *Burgundy*, *Bloys*, *Berry*, *Nivernois*, and *Lodunois*, *&c.* *Tous lieux situez & assis en Lodunois, seront gouvernez selon les coustumes du dit Pays*; *All places lying within the precincts of* Lodunois, *shall be governed according to the customs of that place.* There are also in *France* the Customs of *Normandy*, and these of two kinds: General, and Local; and all purged and reformed by divers Acts of the three Estates. The *Charters* of confirmation of these ancient Customs, before and since their reformation have these words. *Nos autem, registrum prædictum, usus laudabiles, & consuetudines antiquas, &c. laudamus, approbamus & authoritate Regia confirmamus*; *The Register aforesaid, laudable use, and ancient Customs, we praise, approve, and by our Kingly authority confirm.* The common Law of *England* is also compounded of the ancient Customs of the same, and of certain *Maximes* by those Customs of the Realm approved. Upon which Customs also are grounded those Courts of *Record*, of the *Chancery*, *Kings Bench*, *Common Pleas*, and *Exchequer*, with other small Courts.

Art. 3. tit. 5. C. 13.

These ancient Customs of *England* have been approved by the Kings thereof, from age to age: as that Custom by which no Man shall be taken, imprisoned, disseised, nor otherwise destroyed, but he must first be put to answer by the Law of the Land, was confirmed by the *Statute* of *Magna Charta*. It is by the ancient Custom of *England* that the eldest Son should inherit without partition: In *Germany*, *France*, and elsewhere otherwise, and by partition. In *Ireland* it is the Custom for all Lands (that have not been resigned into the Kings hands) that

that the eldeſt of the Houſe ſhall enjoy the inheritance during his own life: and ſo the ſecond and third eldeſt (if there be ſo many Brothers) before the Heir in lineal deſcent: this is called the Cuſtom of *Taniſtry*. For example, if a Lord of Land have four Sons, and the eldeſt of thoſe four have alſo a Son, the three Brothers of the eldeſt Son ſhall after the death of their Brother, enjoy their Fathers Lands before the Grand-child: the Cuſtom being grounded upon the reaſon of neceſſity. For the *Iriſh* in former times having always lived in a ſubdivided *Civil* War, not only the greateſt againſt the greateſt, but every *Baron* and *Gentleman* one againſt another, were inforc'd to leave ſucceſſors of age and ability to defend their own *Territories*. Now as in *Normandy*, *Burgundy*, and other Provinces of *France*, there are certain peculiar, and petty Cuſtoms, beſides the great and general Cuſtom of the Land, ſo are there in *England*, and in every part thereof. But the greateſt bulk of our Laws, as I take it, are the *Acts of Parliament*: Laws propounded and approved by the three Eſtates of the Realm, and confirmed by the King, to the obedience of which all Men are therefore bound, becauſe they are *Acts* of choice, and ſelf deſire. *Leges nulla alia cauſa nos tenent quam quod judicio populi receptæ ſunt*; *The Laws do therefore bind the ſubjects, becauſe they are received by the judgment of the ſubject.* *Tum demum humanæ leges habent vim ſuam, cum fuerint non modo inſtitutæ, ſed etiam firmatæ approbatione communitatis*; *It is then that humane Laws have their ſtrength, when they ſhall not only be deviſed, but by the approbation of the People confirmed.*

ulp. ff. de Lg. Lag. 32.

Aug. de vera relig. cap. 31. Gratian. in dec. diſt. 4. Cum in iſtis.

Iſidore faſteneth theſe properties to every *Chriſtian* Law, that the ſame be honeſt, that it be poſſible, that it be according to Nature, and according to the Cuſtom of the Country; alſo for the time and place convenient, profitable, and manifeſt, and without reſpect of private profit, that it be written for the general good. He alſo gives four effects of the Law, which *Modoſtinus* comprehends in two: to wit, obligation, and inſtigation: the former binds us by fear, to avoid vice: the later incourageth with hope, to follow vertue. For according to *Cicero*, *Legem oportet eſſe vitiorum emendatricem, commendatricemq; virtutum*; *It behoveth the Law to be a mender of vices, and a commender of vertues.* The part obligatory or binding us to the obſervation of things commanded or forbidden, is an effect common to all Laws: and it is two-fold, the one conſtraineth us by fear of our conſciences, the other by fear of external puniſhment. Theſe two effects the Law performeth, by the exerciſe of thoſe two powers, to wit, *Coactive*, and *Directive*.

The ſecond of theſe two effects remembred by *Modeſtinus*, is *Inſtigation*, or incouragement to vertue, as *Ariſtotle* makes it the end of the Law, to make Men vertuous. For Laws being ſuch as they ought to be, do both by preſcribing and forbidding, urge us to well-doing: laying before us the good and the evil, by the one and the other purchaſed. And this power affirmative commanding good, and power negative forbidding evil, are thoſe into which the Law is divided, as touching the matter: and in which *David* comprehendeth the whole body and ſubſtance thereof: ſaying, *Declina à malo, & fac bonum*; *Decline from evil, and do good.*

Pſal. 36.

§. XVI.

That only the Prince is exempt from humane Laws, and in what ſort.

NOW whether the power of the humane Law be without exception of any perſon, it is doubtfully diſputed among thoſe that have written of this ſubject, as well *Divines* as *Lawyers*: and namely, whether Soveraign Princes be compellable; yea, or no? But whereas there are two powers of the Law, as aforeſaid, the one *Directive*, the other *Coactive*: to the power *Directive*, they ought to be ſubject, but not to that which conſtraineth. For as touching violence or puniſhments, no Man is bound to give a prejudical judgment againſt himſelf: and if equals have not any power over each other, much leſs have inferiours over their ſuperiours, from whom they receive their authority and ſtrength.

And ſpeaking of the ſupreme power of Laws, ſimply then is the Prince ſo much above the Laws, as the Soul and body united, is above a dead and ſenſeleſs carcaſs. For the King is truly called, *Jus vivum & lex animata*; *An animate and living Law.* But this is true, that by giving authority to Laws, Princes both add greatneſs to themſelves, and conſerve it, and therefore was it ſaid of *Bracton* out of *Juſtinian*. *Meritò debet Rex tribuere legi, quod lex attribuit ei: nam lex facit ut ipſe ſit Rex*; *Rightfully ought the King to attribute that to the Law, which the Law firſt attributeth to the King, for it is the Law that doth make Kings.*

But whereas *Bracton* aſcribeth this power to the humane Law, he is therein miſtaken. For Kings are made by God, and Laws divine: and by humane Laws only declared to be Kings. As for the places remembred by the Divines and Lawyers, which infer a kind of obligation of Princes, they teach no other thing therein, than the bond of conſcience, and profit ariſing from the examples of vertuous Princes, who are to give an accompt of their actions to God only.

Bract. l. 2.

Tibi Soli peccavi, ſaith *David*; *Againſt thee only have I ſinned*: therefore the Prince cannot be ſaid to be ſubject to the Law. *Princeps non ſubiicitur legi*; For ſeeing according to the *Schoolmen*, the Law humane is but *quoddam organum & inſtrumentum poteſtatis gubernativæ*: *non videtur poſſe ejus obligatio ad eum ſe extendere, ad quem ipſa vis poteſtatis humanæ non pertinet*: *ſed vis poteſtatis humanæ non ſe extendit ad gubernatorem, in quo illa reſidet. Ergo neq; lex condita per talem poteſtatem obligare poteſt ipſum conditorem. Omnis enim potentia activa, eſt principium tranſmutandi aliud*; *Seeing humane Law* (ſay they) *is but a kind of organ, or inſtrument, of the power that governeth, it ſeems that it cannot extend it ſelf to bind any one whom no humane power can control, or lay hold off: but the governour himſelf, in whom the governing power doth reſide, is a perſon that cannot by himſelf, or by his own power be controlled. And therefore the Law which is made by ſuch a power, cannot bind the Law-maker himſelf: for every active ability is a cauſe or principle of alteration in another body*, not in the body in which it ſelf reſides. And ſeeing Princes have power to deliver others from the obligation of the Law: *Ergo etiam poteſt ipſemet Princeps ſive legiſlator ſua ſe voluntate pro libito ab obligatione legis liberare*; *Therefore alſo may a Prince or Law-maker at his own will and pleaſure deliver himſelf from the bond of the Law.* Therefore in the rules of the Law it is thus concluded. *Subditi tenentur leges obſervare neceſſitate coactionis, Princeps verò ſola voluntate ſua, & intuitu boni communis*; *The ſubjects*

Pſal. 50. ff. de Legi

Greg. de Valentia de Leg.

jects are bound to fulfil the Law by neceſſity of compulſion, but the Prince only by his own will, and regard of the common good.

Now concerning the politick Laws, given by *Moſes* to the Nation of the *Iſraelites*, whether they ought to be a Precedent, from which no Civil Inſtitutions of other People ſhould preſume to digreſs, I will not preſume to determine, but leave it as a queſtion for ſuch Men to decide, whoſe Profeſſions give them greater ability. Thus much I may be bold to affirm, that we ought not to ſeem wiſer than *God* himſelf, who hath told us that there are no Laws ſo righteous, as thoſe which it pleaſed him to give to his Elect People to be governed by. True it is, that all Nations have their ſeveral qualities, wherein they differ, even from their next Borderers, no leſs than in their peculiar Languages, which diſagreeable Conditions to govern aptly, one and the ſame Law very hardly were able. The *Roman* Civil Laws did indeed contain in order, a great part of the then known World, without any notable inconvenience, after ſuch time as once it was received and become familiar: yet was not the adminiſtration of it alike in all parts, but yielded much unto the natural Cuſtoms of the ſundry People, which it governed. For whether it be through a long continued perſwaſion; or (as *Aſtrologers* more willingly grant) ſome influence of the Heavens; or peradventure ſome temper of the Soil and Climate, affording matter of provocation to Vice (as Plenty made the *Sybarites* luxurious; Want and Opportunity to ſteal, makes the *Arabians* to be Thieves) very hard it were to forbid by Law, an Offence ſo common, with any People, as it wanted a Name, whereby to be diſtinguiſhed from Juſt and Honeſt. By ſuch rigour was the Kingdom of *Congo* unhappily divertted from the Chriſtian Religion, which it willingly at the firſt embraced, but after with great fury rejected, becauſe plurality of Wives was denied unto them, I know not how neceſſarily, but more contentiouſly than ſeaſonably. In ſuch caſes, methinks, it were not amiſs to conſider, that the high *God* himſelf permitted ſome things to the *Iſraelites*, rather in regard of their natural diſpoſition (for they were hard-hearted) than becauſe they were conſonant unto the ancient Rules of the firſt perfection. So, where even the general nature of Man doth condemn (as many things it doth) for wicked and unjuſt; there may the Law, given by *Moſes*, worthily be deemed the moſt exact reformer of the evil, which forceth Man, as near as may be, to the will and pleaſure of his Maker. But where Nature or Cuſtom hath entertained, a vicious, yet not intolerable Habit, with ſo long and ſo publick approbation, that the Vertue oppoſing it, would ſeem as uncouth, as it were to walk naked in *England*, or to wear the *Engliſh* Faſhion of Apparel in *Turkie*: there may a wiſe and upright Law-giver, without preſumption, omit ſomewhat that the rigour of *Moſes* his Law required; even as the good King *Hezekiah* did, in a matter meerly *Eccleſiaſtical*, and therefore the leſs capable of diſpenſation, praying for the People; The good Lord be merciful unto him, that prepareth his whole Heart to ſeek the Lord God, the *God of his Fathers*, though he be not cleanſed according to the purification of the Sanctuary: which Prayer the Lord heard and granted.

2 Chron. cap. 30. v. 18, 19.

To this effect it is well obſerved by Maſter Doctor *Willet*, that the moral Judicials of *Moſes* do partly bind, and partly are let free. They do not hold affirmatively that we are tied to the ſame ſeverity of puniſhment now, which was inflicted then; but negatively they do hold, that now the puniſhment of Death ſhould not be adjudged, where ſentence of Death is not given by *Moſes*: Chriſtian Magiſtrates ruling under *Chriſt* the Prince of Peace, that is, of Clemency and *Iſay 9.* Mercy, may abate of the ſeverity of *Moſes*'s Law, and mitigate the puniſhment of Death, but they cannot add unto it to make the burden more heavy: for to ſhew more rigour than *Moſes*, becometh not the Goſpel.

But I will not wander in this copious Argument, which hath been the Subject of many learned Diſcourſes, neither will I take upon me, to ſpeak any thing definitively in a Caſe which dependeth ſtill in ſome Controverſie among worthy Divines Thus much (as in honour of the Judicial Law, or rather of him that gave it) I may well and truly ſay, that the defence of it hath always been very plauſible. And ſurely, howſoever they be not accepted (neither were it expedient) as a general and only Law; yet ſhall we hardly find any other ground, whereon the Conſcience of a Judge may reſt, with equal ſatisfaction, in making Interpretation, or giving Sentence upon Doubts, ariſing out of any Law beſides it. Hereof, perhaps, that Judge could have been Witneſs, of whom *Forteſcue* that notable Bulwark of our Laws doth ſpeak, complaining of a Judgment given againſt a Gentlewoman at *Saliſbury*, who being accuſed by her own Man, without any other Proof, for murdering her Husband, was thereupon condemned, and burnt to aſhes: the Man who accuſed her, within a Year after being Convict for the ſame Offence, confeſt that his Miſtris was altogether innocent of that cruel Fact, whoſe terrible Death he then (though over-late) grievouſly lamented: but this Judge, ſaith the ſame Author, *Sæpius ipſe mihi faſſus eſt, quod nunquam* Ca. 3. *in vita ſua animum ejus de hoc facto ipſe purgaret*; *He himſelf often confeſſed unto me, that he ſhould never during his Life, be able to clear his Conſcience of that Fact.* Wherefore that acknowledgment which other *Sciences* yield unto the *Metaphyſicks*, that from thence are drawn Propoſitions, able to prove the Principles of Sciences, which out of the Sciences themſelves cannot be proved, may juſtly be granted by all other politick Inſtitutions, to that of *Moſes*; and ſo much the more juſtly, by how much the Subject of the *Metaphyſicks*, which is, *Ens quatenus Ens*; *Being as it is being*, is infinitely inferiour to the *Ens Entium*, *The Being of beings*, the only Good, the fountain of Truth, whoſe fear is the beginning of Wiſdom. To which purpoſe well ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*: *Conditor legum temporalium ſi vir bonus eſt & ſapiens, illam ipſam conſulit æternam, de qua nulli animæ judicare datum eſt*; *The Author of temporal Laws if he be good and wiſe, doth therein conſult the Law eternal, to determine of which there is no power given to any Soul.* And as well Prince *Edward*, in *Forteſcue* his Diſcourſe, *Nemo poteſt melius aut aliud fundamentum ponere, quam poſuit Dominus*; *No man can lay a better or another foundation, than the Lord hath laid.*

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The Story of the Iſraelites *from the receiving of the Law, to the death of* Moſes.

§. I.

Of the numbring and diſpoſing of the Hoſt of Iſrael, *for their marches through the Wilderneſs: with a note of the reverence given to the worſhip of God, in this ordering of their Troops.*

WHEN *Moſes* had received the Law from God, and publiſhed it among the People, and finiſhed the Tabernacle of the Ark and Sanctuary; he muſtered all the Tribes and Families of *Iſrael*: and having ſeen what numbers of Men, fit to bear Arms, were found in every Tribe, from 20. years of Age upwards; he appointed unto them, by direction from the Lord, ſuch Princes and Leaders, as in worth and reputation were in every Tribe moſt eminent. The number of the whole Army was 603550 able Men for the Wars, beſides Women and Children; alſo, beſides the Strangers which followed them out of *Ægypt*. This great Army was divided by *Moſes* into four groſs and mighty Battalions, each of which contained the ſtrength of three whole Tribes.

The firſt of theſe containing 186400. able Men, conſiſted of three Regiments, which may well, in reſpect of their numbers, he called Armies; as containing the three whole Tribes of *Judah*, *Iſſachar*, and *Zabulon*. In the Tribe of *Judah* were 74600. fighting Men, led by *Naaſon*: in *Iſſachar* 54400. led by *Nathanael*: in *Zabulon* 57400. led by *Eliab*. All theſe marched under the Standard of the Tribe of *Judah*, who held the Vantguard, and was the firſt that moved and marched, being lodged and quartered at their general incamping on the Eaſt-ſide of the Army; which was held the firſt Place, and of greateſt Dignity.

The ſecond Battalion or Army, called in the Scriptures the Hoſt of *Reuben*, had joyned unto it *Simeon* and *Gad*, in number 151450. All which marched under the Standard of *Reuben*. In the Tribe of *Reuben* were 46500. under *Elizur*: in *Simeon* 59300. under *Shelumiel*: in *Gad* 45650. under *Eliaſaph*. Theſe had the ſecond place, and incamped on the South-ſide of the Tabernacle.

The third Army marched under the Standard of *Ephraim*, to whom were joyned the Regiments of *Manaſſe* and *Benjamin*; who joyned together, made in number 108100. able Men. Theſe marched in the third Place, incamping on the Weſt-quarter of the Tabernacle. *Ephraim* had 40500. under *Eliſhama*: *Manaſſe* 32200. under *Gamliel*: *Benjamin* 35400. under *Abidam*.

The fourth and laſt Army, or Squadron, of the general Army, containing 157600. able Men, marched under the Standard of *Dan*; to whom were joyned the two Tribes of *Nephtali* and *Aſher*. And theſe had the Rereward, and moved laſt, incamping on the North-ſide. *Dan* had 62700. under *Ahiezer*: *Aſher* 41500. under *Pagiel*: *Nephtali* 53400. under *Ahira*.

Beſides theſe Princes of the ſeveral Tribes, there were ordained Captains over Thouſands, over Hundreds, over Fifties, and over Tens; as it may appear by that mutiny and inſurrection againſt *Moſes*, *Numb.* 16. *v.* 1. & 2. For there aroſe up againſt *Moſes* 250. Captains of the *Aſſembly*, *famous in the Congregation, and men of renown*: of which number were *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*. Which three principal Mutiners, with thoſe 250. Captains that followed them, were not any of the twelve Princes of the Tribes, or General Colonels before ſpoken of, as by their names *Num.* 1. is made manifeſt.

The bleſſing which *Iſrael* gave to his Children, took place not only in the diviſion of the Land of Promiſe, and other things of more conſequence, long after following; but even in ſorting them under their ſeveral Standards in the Wilderneſs it was obſerved. For *Judah* had the precedency and the greateſt Army, which alſo was wholly compounded of the Sons of *Lea*, *Jacob*'s Wife. *Reuben* having loſt his birth-right, followed in the ſecond place, accompanied with his Brother *Simeon*, who had undergone his Fathers curſe; and with *Gad*, the Son of his Mothers Hand-maid. *Joſeph*, who in Temporal bleſſings had the Prerogative of the firſt-born a double portion, was accounted as two Tribes, and divided into two Regiments: the younger (according to *Jacob*'s Prophecy) taking place before the Elder. He was aſſiſted by *Benjamin*, his beſt beloved Brother, the other Son of *Rachel*. To *Dan*, the eldeſt Son of *Jacob*'s Concubines, was given the leading of the fourth Army, according to *Jacob's* Prophecy. He had with him under his Standard none of the Children of *Lea*, or *Rachel*, but only the Sons of the Hand-maids.

In the middle of theſe four Armies, was the Tabernacle, or portable Temple of the Congregation carried, ſurrounded by the *Levites*. Near unto which, as the Heathens and *Pagans* could not approach, by reaſon of theſe four powerful Armies, which guarded the ſame: ſo was it death for any of the Children of *Iſrael* to come near it, who were not of the *Levites*, to whom the charge was committed. So Sacred was the movable Temple of God, and with ſuch reverence guarded and tranſported, as 22000. Perſons were dedicated to the ſervice and attendance thereof: of which 8580. had the peculiar charge, according to their ſeveral Offices and Functions; the particulars whereof are written in the third and fourth of *Numbers*. And as the Armies of the People obſerved the former order in their incampings: ſo did the *Levites* quarter themſelves, as in an inner ſquare, on every ſide of the Tabernacle; The *Geſhurites* on the Weſt, within the Army, and Standard of *Ephraim*, over whom *Eliaſaph* commanded, in number 7500. The Family of *Cohath* on the South-ſide, guided by *Elizaphan*, within the Army of *Reuben*, and between him and the Tabernacle, in number 8600. The third Company were of the Family of *Merari*, over whom *Zuriel* commanded, in number 6200. and theſe were lodged on the North ſide within the Army of *Dan*; On the Eaſt-ſide, and next within thoſe Tribes and Forces which *Judah* led, did *Moſes* and *Aaron* lodge, and their Children,

dren, who were the first and immediate Commanders, both of the Ceremonies, and of the People; under whom, as the chief of all the other *Levitical* Families, was *Eleazar* the Son of *Aaron*, his successor in the high Priesthood.

This was the order of the Army of *Israel*, and of their incamping and marching: the Tabernacle of God being alway set in the middle and center thereof. The reverend care, which *Moses* the Prophet and chosen servant of God, had in all that belonged even to the outward and least parts of the Tabernacle, Ark and Sanctuary, witnessed well the inward and most humble zeal born towards God himself. The industry used in the framing thereof, and every, and the least part thereof; the curious workmanship thereon bestowed; the exceeding charge and expence in the provisions; the dutiful observance in the laying up and preserving the holy Vessels; the solemn removing thereof; the vigilant attendance thereon, and the provident defence of the same, which all Ages have in some degree imitated, is now so forgotten and cast away in this super-fine Age, by those of the Family, by the *Anabaptist*, *Browniſt*, and other Sectaries, as all cost and care bestowed and had of the Church, wherein God is to be served and worshipped, is accounted a kind of Popery, and as proceeding from an idolatrous dispostion: insomuch as Time would soon bring to pass (if it were not resisted) that God would be turned out of Churches into Barns, and from thence again into the Fields and Mountains, and under the Hedges; and the Offices of the Ministery (robbed of all dignity and respect) be as contemptible as these places; all Order, Discipline, and Church-Government, left to newness of opinion and Mens fancies: yea, and soon after, as many kinds of Religions would spring up, as there are Parish-Churches within *England*: every contentious and ignorant Person clothing his fancy with *the Spirit of God*, and his imagination with *the gift of Revelation*; insomuch as when the Truth, which is but one, shall appear to the simple Multitude, no less variable than contrary to it self, the Faith of Men will soon after die away by degrees, and all Religion be held in scorn and contempt. Which distraction gave a great Prince of *Germany* cause of this answer to those that perswaded him to become a *Lutheran*, *Si me adjungo vobis, tunc condemnor ab aliis; si me aliis adjungo, à vobis condemnor; Quid fugiam video, sed quid sequar, non habeo; If I adjoyn my self to you, I am condemned by others; if I joyn with others, I am condemned by you; What I should avoid I see, but I know not what I should follow.*

§. II.

The Offerings of the twelve Princes: The Passover of the second year: The departing of Jethro.

NOW when *Moses* had taken order for all things necessary, provided for the service of God, written the Laws, numbred his Army, and divided them into the Battels and Troops before-remembred, and appointed them Leaders of all sorts: The twelve Princes or Commanders of the
Num. 6. Tribes, brought their Offerings before the Lord, to wit, six covered Chariots, and twelve Oxen to draw them, therein to transport, as they marched, the parts of the Tabernacle, with all that belonged thereunto: the Sanctuary excepted; which for reverence was carried upon the Shoulders of the Sons of *Korah*, to whom the charge was committed; and the Chariots in which were conveyed the other parts of the Tabernacles and Vessels thereto belonging, were delivered to the *Levites* for that service, namely to the Sons of *Gershan* and *Merari*.

Besides these Chariots each of these Commanders, Princes, or Heads of Tribes, offered unto God, and for his service in the Temple, a Charger of fine Silver, weighing 130. Shekles: a Silver Boll of 70. Shekles: after the Shekle of the Sanctuary: and an Incense-Cup of Gold of ten Shekles: which they performed at the same time when the Altar was dedicated unto God by *Aaron*: and before they marched from *Sinai* towards their Conquest: besides the Beasts which they offered for Sacrifice, according to the Law Ceremonial, the weight of all the twelve Silver Chargers, and twelve Silver Bolls, amounted unto 2400. Shekles of Silver: and the weight of Gold in the Incense-Cups, to 120. Shekles of Gold: which makes of Shekles of Silver 1200. every Shekle of Gold valuing ten of Silver, so that the whole of Gold and Silver which they offered at this time, was about four hundred and twenty pound Sterling. This done, *Moses*, as in all the rest by the Spirit of God conducted, gave order for the celebrating of the Passover: which they performed on the fourteenth day of the second month of the second year: and on the 20. day of the same the Cloud was lifted up from above the Tabernacle, as a sign of going forward; *Moses* beginning his march with this invocation to God, *Rise up, Lord, and let thine enemies be scattered, and let them that hate thee, fly before thee.* Then all the People of *Israel* removed from their incamping at the foot of the Mountain *Sinai*, towards *Paran* the Army, or great Squadron of *Juda*, led by *Naasshon*, taking the Vantguard, followed by *Nethaneel*, and *Eliab*, Leaders of the Tribes of *Issachar* and *Zabulon*: after whom the rest marched, as in the figure expreſt. And because the passage through so many Desarts and Mountains, was exceeding difficult: *Moses* leaving nothing unforethought which might serve for the advancement of his enterprize, he instantly intreated his Father-in Law, whom in the tenth of *Numbers* he calleth *Hobab*, to accompany them in their journy towards *Canaan*: promising him such part and profit of the enterprize, as God should bestow on them: for this Man as he was of great understanding and judgment (as appeared by the Counsel he gave to *Moses* for the appointing of Judges over the People) so was he a perfect guide in all those parts, himself inhabiting on the frontier thereof, at *Midian* or *Madian*: and (as it seemeth) a Man of great years and experience, for he was then the Priest or Prince of *Madian*, when *Moses* fled first out of *Ægypt*, and married his Daughter: which was 42. years before this request made. And though *Moses* himself had lived 40. years in these parts of *Arabia*, through which he was now to travel: yet the better to assure his passage, and so great a Multitude of Souls, which could not be so few as a Million: it was necessary to use many guides and many Conductors. To this request of *Moses* it may seem by the places, *Exod.* 18. 27. and *Num.* 10. 30. that *Jethro*, otherwise called *Hobab*, yielded not: for it is evident that he went back from *Moses* into his own Country. But because it appeareth by other places of Scripture, that the Posterity of this *Hobab* was mingled with the *Israelites*: it is most likely that this his return to his own Country was rather to fetch away his Family: and to take his leave of his own Country, by setting things in order, than to abide there.

The *Hebrew Gerah* weigheth sixteen Grains: so a *Gerah* of Silver is about three half pence Sterling: the *Sicle* of the Sanctuary (as it is expounded *Exod.* 30. 13.) containeth 20. *Gerahs*, so a Sanctuary *Sicle* of Silver is about 7. Groats: the common *Sicle* is but half so much, to wit, ten *Gerahs*: as it is usually expounded: though *Villalpandus* labours to prove that the common and the Sanctuary *Sicle* were all one.

Num. 9. v. 5. *Num.* 10. 11. *Exod.* ult. 34. | *Num.* 9. 17.

Judic. 1. 16. & 4. 11. Also 1 *Sam.* 15. 6. And 2 *Reg.* 10. 15. 1 *Chron.* 2. 55. *Jer.* 35.

§. III.

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The voyage from Horeb *to* Kades: *the mutinies by the way: and the cause of their turning back to the Red Sea.*

AFter this dismission of *Hobab*, *Israel* began to march towards the *Desarts of Paran*: and after three days wandring, they sate down at the *Sepulchers* of Lust, afterward called *Tabeera*, or *Incensio*: by reason that God consumed with fire those Mutiners and Murmurers, which rose up in this remove, which happened about the 23. day of the same Month. And from this 23. day of the second month, of the second year, they rested and fed themselves with Quails (which it pleased God by a Sea-wind to cast upon them) to the 24. day of the third Month, to wit, all the Month of *Sivan* or *June*: whereof surfeiting there died great numbers: from whence in the following Month, called *Thamus*, answering to our *July*, they went on to *Hazeroth*: where *Miriam* the Sister of *Moses* was stricken with the leprosie, which continued upon her seven days, after whose recovery *Israel* removed toward the border of *Idumæa*: and incamped at *Rithma*, near *Kades Barnea*, from whence *Moses* sent the twelve discoverers into the Territory of *Canaan*: both to inform themselves of the fertility and strength of the Country: as also to take knowledge of the Ways, Passages, Rivers, Fords and Mountains. For *Arad* King of the *Canaanites* surprised divers companies of the *Israelites*, by lying in ambush near those ways: through which the discoverers and searchers of the Land had formerly past. Now after the return of the discoverers of *Cades*, the wrath of God was turned against *Israel*; whose ingratitude and rebellion after his so many benefits, so many remissions, so many miracles wrought, was such, as they esteemed their deliverance from the *Ægyptian* slavery, his feeding them, and conducting them through that great and terrible *Wilderness* (for so *Moses* calleth it) with the victory which he gave them against the powerful *Amalekites*, to be no other than the effects of his hatred, thinking that he led them on and preserved them, but to bring them, their Wives, and Children to be slaughtered, and given for a prey and spoil to the *Amorites* or *Canaanites*. For it was reported unto them, by the searchers of the Land, That the Cities of their enemies were walled and defended with many strong Towers and Castles: that many of the people were *Giant-like* (for they confest that they saw the Sons of *Anac* there) who were Men of fearful stature, and so far overtopped the *Israelites*, as they appeared to them, and to themselves, but as Grashoppers in their respect. Now as this mutiny exceeded all the rest, wherein they both accused God, and consulted to choose them a Captain (or as they call it now-a-days, an *Electo*) to carry them back again into *Ægypt*: so did God punish the same in a greater measure, than any of the former. For he extinguished every Soul of the whole multitude (*Joshua* and *Caleb* excepted) who being confident in Gods promises, perswaded the people to enter *Canaan*, being then near it, and at the Mountain foot of *Idumæa*: which is but narrow, laying before them the fertility thereof: and assuring them of victory. But as Men, whom the passion of fear had bereaved both of reason and common sense: they threatned to stone these encouragers to death: accounting them as men either desperate in themselves, or betrayers of the lives, goods, and Children of all their brethren, to their enemies; but God resisted these wicked purposes, and interposing the fear of his bright glory between the unadvised fury of the multitude, and the innocency and constancy of his Servants, preserved them thereby from their violence: threatning an intire destruction of the whole Nation, by sending among them a consuming and mercileſs pestilence. For this was the tenth insurrection and rebellion, which they had made, since God delivered them from the slavery of the *Ægyptians*. But *Moses* (the mildest or meekest of all Men) prayed unto God to remember his infinite mercies: alledging that this so severe a judgment, how deservedly soever inflicted, would increase the pride of the Heathen Nations: and give them occasion to vaunt that the God of *Israel* failing in power to perform his promises, suffered them to perish in these barren and fruitless Desarts. Yet as God is no less just than merciful, as God is slow to anger, so is his wrath a consuming fire: the same being once kindled by the violent breath of mans ingratitude: and therefore, as with a hand less heavy than hoped for, he scourged this iniquity, so by the measure of his glory (evermore jealous of neglect and derision) he suffered not the wicked to pass unpunished; reserving his compassion for the innocent: whom because they participated not with the offences of their Fathers, he was pleased to preserve, and in them to perform his promises, which have never been frustrate.

Num. 11. & 33. Num. 12.

Num. 21.

Deut. 1. v. 19.

Deut. 1. v. 27.

Num. 14. 10.

Num. 14. v. 22.

Num. 12. v. 3.

§. IV.

Of their unwillingness to return: with the punishment thereof, and of divers accidents in the return.

NOW when *Moses* had revealed the purposes of God to the people: and made them know his heavy displeasure towards them: they began to bewail themselves, though over-late: the times of grace and mens repentance, having also their appointment. And then when God had left them to themselves, and was no more among them, after they had so often plaid and dallied with his merciful sufferings; They would needs amend their former disobedience by a second contempt: and make offer to enter the Land contrary again to the advice of *Moses*: who assured them; that God was not now among them: and that the Ark of his Covenant should not move, but by his direction, who could not err: and that the enemies sword which God had hitherto bended and rebated, was now left no less sharp than death: and in the Hands of the *Amalekites*, and *Canaanites* no less cruel. But as Men from whom God hath with-drawn his grace, do always follow those counsels which carry them to their own destructions: so the *Hebrews* after they had forsaken the opportunity by God and their Conductors offered: and might then have entred *Judæa* before their enemies were prepared and joyned: did afterward, contrary to Gods commandment, undertake the enterprise of themselves: and ran headlong and without advice into the Mountains of *Idumæa*. There the *Canaanites* and the *Amalekites* being joyned and attending their advantage; set on them,

brake them: and of their numbers ſlaughtered the greateſt part: and following their victory and purſuit, conſumed them all the way of their flight even unto *Hormah*: the *Amalekites* in revenge of their former loſs, and overthrow at *Raphidim*: the *Canaanites* to prevent their diſplantation and deſtruction threatned. Of which powerful aſſembly of thoſe two Nations (aſſiſted in all likelihood with the neighbour Kings joyned together for their common ſafety) it pleaſed God to forewarn *Moſes*, and to direct him another way, than that formerly intended. For he commanded him to return by thoſe painful paſſages of the Deſarts, through which they had formerly travelled, till they found the banks of the red Sea again: in which retreat before they came back to paſs over *Jordan* there were conſumed 38. years: and the whole number of the ſix hundredth and odd thouſand, which came out of *Ægypt* (*Moſes*, *Joſhua* and *Caleb* excepted) were dead in the Wilderneſs, the ſtubborn and careleſs generations were wholly worn out, and the promiſed Land beſtowed on their Children: which were increaſed to 600000. and more. For beſides the double fault both of refuſing to enter the Land upon the return of the diſcoverers, and the preſumption then to attempt it, when they were countermanded: it ſeemeth that they had committed that horrible Idolatry of worſhipping *Moloch*, and the Hoſt of Heaven. For although *Moſes* doth not mention it, yet *Amos* doth, and ſo doth the Martyr *Stephen*, as alſo that the *Iſraelites* worſhipped the Sun and Moon in after-times it is proved out of ſundry other places.

Amos c. 5. v. 25. Act. c. 7. v. 42. 2. Kings c. 17. v. 16. & cap. 21. v. 3. & c. 23. v. 4 5, 11. 2. Chro. c. 33. v. 3. Hierem. c. 19. v. 13. &c.

Now after the broken companies were returned to the Camp at *Cades*, *Moſes*, according to the commandment received from God, departed towards the South from whence he came, to recover the ſhoars of the *Red Sea*. And ſo from *Cades* or *Rithma* he removed to *Remmonparez*, ſo called of abundance of Pomegranates there found and divided among them. From thence he went on to *Libnah*, taking that name of the frankincenſe there found. From *Libnah* he croſt the valley, and ſate down at *Reſſa* near the foot of the mountain. And after he had reſted there, he bended towards the Weſt, and incamped at *Ceelata*: where one of the *Hebrews*, for gathering broken Wood on the *Sabbath*, was ſtoned to death. After which, *Moſes* always keeping the valley, between two great ledges of Mountains (thoſe which bound the Deſart of *Sin*, and thoſe of *Pharan*) croſt the ſame from *Ceelata*; and marched Eaſtward to the Mountain of *Sapher*, or *Sepher*: this making the Twentieth manſion. From thence he paſſed on to *Harada*; then to *Maceloth*; and then to *Thahah*; and ſo to *Thara* or *Thare*: the four and twentieth manſion. Where while *Moſes* reſted, the people began that inſolent and dangerous mutiny, of *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*: who for their contempt of God and his Miniſters were ſome of them ſwallowed up alive, and by the earth opening her Mouth devoured, others even two hundred and fifty which offered incenſe with *Korah* were conſumed with fire from Heaven; and 14700. of their party, which murmured againſt *Moſes*, ſtricken dead with a ſudden peſtilence: one of the greateſt marvails and judgements of God, that hath been ſhewed in all the time of *Moſes* his government, or before. For among ſo great a multitude, thoſe lay-Men who would have uſurped Eccleſiaſtical authority, were ſuddenly ſwallowed up alive into the earth with their families and goods; even while they ſought to overthrow the Order, Diſcipline, and power of the Church, and to make all Men alike therein, rebelliouſly contending againſt the *High Prieſt and Magiſtrate*, to whom God had committed the government both of his Church and Common-weal of his people. And the better to aſſure the people, and out of his great mercy to confirm them, it pleaſed him in this place alſo to approve by miracle the former election of his Servant *Aaron*, by the twelve rods given in by the Heads of the twelve Tribes; of which *Moſes* received one of every Head and Prince of his Tribe: which being all withered and dry Wands, and on every rod the name of the Prince of the Tribe written, and *Aaron*'s on that of *Levi*; it pleaſed God, that the rod of *Aaron* received by his power a vegetable Spirit, and having lain in the Tabernacle of the Congregation before the *Ark* one night, had on it both Buds, Bloſſoms, and ripe Almonds.

Num. 33.

From *Tharah* the whole Army removed to *Methra*; and thence to *Eſmona*; and thence to *Moſeroth*, (or *Maſurit* after S. *Hierome*) and from *Moſeroth* to *Benejacan*: and ſo to *Gadgad*, which *Hierome* calleth *Gadgada*; thence to *Jetabata*, the thirtieth Manſion; where from certain fountains of water gathered in one, *Adrichomius* maketh a River, which falleth into the *Red Sea*, between *Madian* and *Aſion-gaber*.

Now although it be very probable, that at *Aſion-gaber*, where *Salomon* furniſhed his Fleets for the Eaſt *India*, there was ſtore of freſh water; and though *Herodotus* maketh mention of a great River, in *Arabia the Stony*, which he calleth *Corys*, from whence (ſaith he) the Inhabitants conveigh water in pipes of leather to other places, by which device the King of *Arabia* relieved the Army of *Cambyſes*: yet is *Adrichomius* greatly deceived, as many times he is, in finding theſe Springs at *Gadgad*, or *Jetabata*; being the nine and twentieth or thirtieth Manſion. For it was at *Punon*; that thoſe Springs are ſpoken of, which in *Deut.* the 10. *v.* 7. is alſo called *Jetabata*, or *Jotbath*, a Land of running waters, and which by all probability fall into the River *Zared*, the next adjoyning. And that theſe Springs ſhould fall into the *Red Sea* at *Aſion-gaber*, or *Eloth*, I cannot believe, for the way is very long. And this I find in *Belonius*, that there are divers Torrents of freſh water in thoſe ſandy parts of *Arabia*: which though they continue their courſe for a few miles, yet they are drunk up by the hot and thirſty ſand, before they can recover the banks of the *Red Sea*.

Her. l. 3.

From *Jetabata*, *Moſes* directed his journey towards the *Red Sea*, and incamped at *Hebrona*; and from thence to *Eſion-gaber*: which City in *Joſephus*'s time had the name of *Berenice*; and in *Hierome*'s, *Eſſia*. From thence keeping the Sea, and *Eloth* on his right hand, he turned towards the North, as he was by God commanded: *Eſion-gaber* being the fartheſt place towards the South-eaſt, that *Moſes* travailed in that paſſage.

Deut. 2.

It ſeemeth that *Eſion-gaber* or *Aſion-gaber*, *Eoloth* and *Madian* were not at this time in the poſſeſſion of the Kings of *Edom*. For it is ſaid, *That the Lord ſpake unto Moſes and Aaron in the Mount Hor, near the Coaſt of the Land of Edom*; ſo as the Mount *Hor* was at this time in the South border of *Idumæa*. And if *Eſion-gaber*, and the other places near the *Red Sea*, had at this preſent been ſubject to the *Idumæans*, *Moſes* would alſo have demanded a free paſſage through them. It is true, that in the future the *Idumæans* obtained thoſe places: for it is ſaid, *And they*

Num. c. 20. v. 23.

they arose out of Midian, and came to Paran; and took men with them; which were those companies that followed young *Adad* of *Idumæa* into *Ægypt*, when he fled from *Joab*. Likewise it is said of *Salomon*, that he made a Navy of Ships in *Esion-gaber* besides *Eloth*, in the Land of *Edom*. 1 Kings 11. 18.

§. V.

Of Moses's *arrival at* Zin Kades: *and the accidents while they abode there.*

FRom *Esion-gaber* he turned again towards the North, and pitched in the *Wilderness* of *Zin*, which is *Kadesh*: or in *Beroth*, of the Children of *Jacan*; where they sate down in the first Month of the fortieth year after they left *Ægypt*. For at the next Mansion *Aaron* died in the first day of the fifth Month of the fortieth year: the nine and thirtieth year taking end at *Esion-gaber*. And at this City of *Cades* (for so it was thought to be) or near it, died *Miriam*, or *Mary*, *Moses*'s Sister, whose Sepulcher was to be seen in Saint *Hierome*'s time, as himself avoweth. From hence ere they departed to the Mountain *Hor*, all the people murmured most violently against *Moses*, by reason of the scarcity of Water. For neither the punishments by Fire from Heaven; by being devoured and swallowed up by the Earth; by the suddain Pestilence which often seised them; nor any miracle formerly shewing, either the love or wrath of God, could prevail with this Nation any longer, than while they were full fed and satisfied in every of their appetites: but in stead of seeking for help and relief at Gods hands, when they suffered hunger, thirst, or any other want, they murmured, repined, and rebelled, repenting them of their changed estates, and casting ungratefully on *Moses* all their misadventures; yea though they well knew that their own Fathers had left their bodies in the Deserts, and that they were now entred into the fortieth year, wherein all their miseries were to take end. And being, as it were, in sight of the Land promised, they again as obstinately tempted God as in former times, and neither trusted his promises, nor feared his indignation. But as the will and purposes of God are without beginning; so his mercies being without end, he commanded *Moses* to strike a Rock adjoyning with his rod; and the waters issued out in a great abundance, with which both themselves and their cattle were satisfied. Nevertheless, because God perceived a kind of diffidence both in *Moses* and *Aaron*, at this place: therefore he permitted neither of them to enter the Land promised; whereto perchance their Worldly desires might invite them. But it pleased him to end the travails of *Aaron* at the Mountain *Hor*, being the next, and four and thirtieth Station. At which Mountain of *Hor*, *Aaron* was despoiled of the Garments of his Priest-hood, and the same put on *Eleazar* his Son, as God had commanded. Which done, *Moses* and *Eleazar* descended the Mountain; but God received *Aaron* on the top thereof, and he was no more seen. Num. 20. 1. Num. 20. 3. Num. 20. 9. 2553.

Of this Mountain called *Hor*, otherwise *Mosera*, as in *Deuter.* 10. *vers.* 6. those *Horites* took name, which the *Idumæans* had formerly vanquished. Some there are which make *Mosera*, which was the seven and twentieth Mansion; and *Mosera* which they write *Moseroth* for difference, which was the four and thirtieth Mansion, and is also called *Hor*, to be two distinct places; because *Moses* in passing from *Cadesbarne* towards *Esion-gaber*, incamped at *Mosera*, after he departed from *Hesmona*, and before he came to *Benjaacan*. And this *Mosera*, which is also called *Hor*, he came unto after he left *Cades*, where *Miriam*, *Moses*'s Sister died; the first being the seven and twentieth, and the second being the four and thirtieth Mansion. But for *Hor*, which is also called *Mosera*, it should have been written, *Hor juxta Mosera*; *Hor near Mosera*: for it is but one root of a Mountain, divided into divers tops, as *Sinai* and *Horeb* are: whereof the West part *Moses* calleth *Mosera*, and the East part *Horeb*. By the West part *Moses* incamped, as he past towards the *Red Sea*, on his left hand; by the East part, as he went back again North-wards towards *Moab*: as in the description of *Moses* his passage through *Arabia*, the Reader may perceive. Num. 33.

Now it was from *Cades*, before they came to *Hor*, because *Hor* belonged to *Edom*, that *Moses* sent Messengers to the Prince of *Idumæa*, praying him that he might pass with the people of *Israel* through his Territory into the Land of *Canaan*, which bordered it. For it was the neerest way of all other from the City of *Kadesh*, where *Moses* then incamped; whereas otherwise taking his journey by the Rivers of *Zared*, *Arnon*, and *Jordan*, he might have run into many hazards in the passage of those Rivers, the far way about, and through many powerful Kings, which commanded in those Regions. Now the better to perswade the Prince of *Idumæa* hereunto, *Moses* remembred him, that he was of the same race and family with *Israel*: calling him by the name of Brother, because both the *Edomites* and *Israelites* were the Sons of one Father, to wit, *Isaac*; inferring thereby, that he had more reason to favour and respect them, than he had to assist the *Canaanites*; against whom *Esau* his Ancestor had made War, and driven out the *Horites* (who were of their ancient races descended of *Cham*) out of the Region of *Seir*, calling it by his own name *Edom*, or *Edumea*. He also making a short repetition of Gods blessings bestowed on them, and of his purposes and promises; assured *Edom*, or the King thereof, that he would no way offend his people, or wast his Country, but that he would restrain his Army within the bounds of the Common, and Kings high ways, paying money for whatsoever he used, yea even for the water, which themselves or their Cattle should drink. For *Moses* was commanded by God not to provoke the Children of *Esau*. But the King of *Edumæa* knowing the strength of his own Country, the same being near *Canaan*, rampard with high and sharp mountains: and with all suspecting, as a natural wise Man, that 600000. strangers being once entred his Country, it would rest in their wills to give him Law, resolvedly refused them passage, and delivered this answer to the Messengers: That, if they attempted to enter that way, he would take them for enemies, and resist them by all possible means. And not knowing whether such a denial might satisfy or exasperate, he gathered the strength of his country together, and shewed himself prepared to defend their passage. For as it is written: *Then Edom came out against him* (to wit, *Moses*) *with much people, and with a mighty power.* Whereupon *Moses* considering, that the end of his enterprise was not the conquest of *Seir* or *Edumæa*, and that the Land promised was that of *Canaan*: like unto himself, who was of a natural understanding the greatest of any Man, and the skilfullest Man of Deut. 2. 4. Num. 20. 20. & 21. Num. 20.

War that the World had, he refuſed to adventure the Army of *Iſrael* againſt a Nation, which being overcome, gave but a paſſage to invade others; and which by reaſon of the ſeat of their mountainous Country, could not but have endangered, or (at leaſt greatly enfeebled the ſtrength of *Iſrael*, and rendred them leſs able, if not altogether powerleſs, to have conquered the reſt.

§. VI.

Of their compaſſing Idumæa *and travailing to* Arnon, *the border of* Moab.

HE therefore leaving the way of *Idumæa*, turned himſelf towards the Eaſt, and marched towards the Deſarts of *Moab*. Which when *Arad* King of the *Canaanites* underſtood, and that *Moſes* had blanched the way of *Edumæa*; and knowing that it was *Canaan*, and not *Edom* which *Iſrael* aimed at, he thought it ſafeſt, rather to find his enemies in his neighbours Country, than to be found by them in his own: which he might have done with a far greater hope of victory, had *Moſes* been enforc'd firſt to have made his way by the ſword through *Idumæa*, and thereby, though victorious, greatly have leſſened his numbers. But though it fell out otherwiſe than *Arad* hoped for, yet being reſolved to make trial, what courage the *Iſraelites* brought with them out of *Ægypt*, before they came nearer his own home, leading the ſtrength of his Nation to the edge of the Deſart, he ſet upon ſome part of the Army; which, for the multitude, occupied a great ſpace, and for the many herds of Cattle that they drave with them, could not incamp ſo near together, but that ſome quarter or other was ever-more ſubject to ſurpriſe. By which advantage, and in that his attempts were then perchance unexpected, he ſlew ſome few of the *Iſraelites*, and carried with him many priſoners.

Now it is very probable, that it was this *Canaanite*, or his Predeceſſour, which joyned his forces with the *Amalekites*, and gave an overthrow to thoſe mutinous *Iſraelites*, which without direction from God by *Moſes* would have entred *Canaan* from *Cadesbarne*. For it ſeemeth that the greateſt number of that Army were of the *Canaanites*, becauſe in the firſt of *Deuter.* 44. the *Amorites* are named alone without the *Amalekites*, and are ſaid to have beaten the *Iſraelites* at that time. And this *Arad*, if he were the ſame that had a victory over *Iſrael* near *Cadesbarne*, or if it were his Predeceſſour that then prevailed, this Man finding that *Moſes* was returned from the *Red Sea*, and in his way towards *Canaan*, and that the South part of *Canaan* was firſt to be invaded, and in danger of being conquered, not knowing of *Moſes*'s purpoſe to compaſs *Moab*, determined while he was yet in the Deſart to try the quarrel. And whereas it followeth in the third verſe of the twelfth chapter of *Numbers*, that the *Iſraelites* utterly deſtroyed the *Canaanites* and their Cities, they are much miſtaken that think, that this deſtruction was preſently performed by the *Iſraelites*. But it is to be underſtood, to have been done in the future, to wit, in the time of *Joſhua*. For had *Moſes* at this time entred *Canaan* in the purſuit of *Arad*, he would not have fallen back again into the Deſarts of *Zin* and *Moab*, and have fetcht a wearisome and needleſs compaſs, by the Rivers of *Zared* and *Arnon*.

Num. 14. 45.

Neither is their conjecture to be valued at any thing, which affirm, that *Arad* did not inhabit any part of *Canaan* it ſelf, but that his Territory lay without it, and near the Mountain *Hor*. For *Hor* and *Zin Cades* were the South borders of *Edom*, and not of *Canaan*. And it was in the South of the Land of *Canaan*, that *Arad* dwelt: which South part of *Canaan* was the North part of *Edom*. *Num.* 33. 40.

Again, *Horma* (for ſo far the *Iſraelites* after their victory purſued the *Canaanites*) is ſeated in the South of *Judæa*. There is alſo a City of that name in *Simeon*. But there is no ſuch place to the South of *Edom*. And were there no other argument, but the Mutiny which followed preſently after the repetition of this victory, it were enough to prove, that the ſame was obtained in the future, and in *Joſhua* his time, and not at the inſtant of *Arad*'s aſſault. For had the *Iſraelites* at this time ſackt the Cities of *Arad*, they would not the next day have complained for want of Water and Bread. For where there are great Cities, there is alſo Water, and Bread. But it was in the time of *Joſhua*, that the *Iſraelites* took their revenge, and after they had paſt *Jordan*: *Joſhua* then governing them; who in the twelfth Chapter and fourteenth Verſe, nameth this *Arad* by the name of his City ſo called; and with him the King of *Horma*: to which place the *Iſraelites* purſued the *Canaanites*. And he nameth them amongſt thoſe Kings, which he vanquiſhed and put to death.

Now after this aſſault and ſurpriſe by *Arad*, *Moſes* finding that all entrance on that ſide was defended, he led the people Eaſtward to compaſs *Idumæa* and the *Dead Sea*, and to make his entrance by *Arnon* and the Plains of *Moab*, at that time in the poſſeſſion of the *Amorites*. But the *Iſraelites*, to whom the very name of a Deſart was terrible, began again to rebel againſt their Leader; till God by a multitude of fiery Serpents, (that is, by the biting of Serpents, whoſe venome inflamed them, and burnt them as fire) made them know their errour, and afterward, according to his plentiful grace cured them again by their beholding an artificial Serpent, by his Commandment ſet up.

From the Mount *Hor*, *Moſes* leaving the ordinary way which lieth between the *Red Sea*, and *Cœleſyria*, incamped at *Zalmona*: and thence he removed to *Phunon*, where he erected the Braſen Serpent; making theſe journies by the edge of *Edumæa*, but without it. For *Phunon* was ſometime a principal City of the *Edomites* Now where it is written in *Numbers* 21. *Verſ.* 4. *That From Mount Hor they departed by the way of the Red Sea, which grieved the People*, it was not thereby meant that the *Iſraelites* turned back towards the *Red Sea*; neither did they march (according to *Fonſeca*) *per viam, qua habet à latere mare rubrum*; *By the way that ſided the Red Sea*, but indeed they croſt, and went athwart the common way from *Galaad*, *Trachonitis*, and the Countries of *Moab*, to the *Red Sea*, that is, to *Eſion-gaber*; *Eloth*, and *Midian*: which way, as it lay North and South, ſo *Iſrael* to ſhun the Border of *Edom*, and to take the utmoſt Eaſt part of *Moab*, croſt the common way towards the Eaſt, and then they turned again towards the North, as before.

From *Phunon* he went to *Oboth*; where they entred the Territory of *Moab*, adjoyning to the Land of *Suph*, a country bordering on the *Dead Sea*; and from

from thence to *Abarim*, the eight and thirtieth Mansion, that is, where the Mountains so called take beginning, and are as yet but small Mountures of Hills, on the East Border of *Moab*; From whence they recovered *Dibon Gad*, or the River of *Zared*, which riseth in the Mountains of *Arabia*, and runneth towards the *Dead Sea*, not far from *Petra* the *Metropolis* thereof, being the nine and thirtieth Station. And having past that River, they lodged at *Dibon Gad*, and from thence they kept the way to *Diblathaim*, one of the Cities of *Moab*; which *Jeremy* the Prophet *Chap.* 48. *Vers.* 22. calleth the *House of Diblathaim*, the same which afterward was destroyed among the rest by *Nabuchadnezzar*. From thence they came to the River of *Arnon*, and incamped in the Mountains of *Abarim*: though in the 22. of *Numbers*, *Moses* doth not remember *Helmondiblathaim*, but speaketh of his remove from the River of *Zared*, immediately to the other side of *Arnon*; calling *Arnon* the Border of *Moab*, between them and the *Amorites*: speaking, as he found the state of the Country at that time. For *Arnon* was not anciently the Border of *Moab*, but was lately conquered from the *Moabites*, by *Sehon*, King of the *Amorites*: even from the Predecessour of *Balac Peor* then reigning. From *Diblathaim*, *Moses* sent Messengers to *Sehon*, King of the *Amorites*, to desire a Passage through his Country: which though he knew would be denied him, yet he desired to give a Reason to the Neighbour Nations, of the War he undertook. And though *Edom* had refused him as *Sehon* did, yet he had no Warrant from God to enforce him. *Moses* also in sending Messengers to *Sehon* observed the same Precept, which he left to his Posterity, and Successours, for a Law of the War, namely in *Deut.* 20. *Vers.* 10. in these words, *When thou comest near unto a City to fight against it, thou shalt offer it Peace, which if it do accept of and open unto thee, then let all the People found therein be Tributaries unto thee, and serve thee, but if it refuse, &c. thou shalt smite all the Males thereof with the edge of the Sword.* Which Ordinance all Commanders of Armies have observed to this day, or ought to have done.

§. VII.

Of the Book of the Battels of the Lord, mentioned in this Story, and of other Books mentioned in Scripture which are lost.

Num. c. 21. vers. 14. NOW concerning the War between *Israel* and *Sehon*, *Moses* seemeth to refer a great part of this Story to that *Book* entituled, *Liber bellorum Domini*; *The Book of Goa's Battels*; and therefore passeth over many Encounters; and other things memorable, with greater brevity in this place. His words after the *Geneva* Translation are these: *Wherefore it shall be spoken in the Book of the Battels of the Lord, what things he did in the Red Sea, and in the Rivers of Arnon.* The *Vulgar* Copy differeth not in sense from this: But the *Greek Septuagint* vary. For the *Greek* writes it to this effect, *For thus it is said in the Book: the War of the Lord hath burnt (or inflamed) Zoob, and the Brooks of Arnon.* *Junius* for the *Red Sea*, which is in the *Genevan* and *Vulgar Edition*, names the Region of * *Suph*, a Country bordering the *Dead Sea* towards the East, as he conjectureth. The Text he readeth thus. *Idcirco dici solet in recensione bellorum Jehovæ, contra Vahebum in Regione Suph: & contra flumina, flumina Arnonis*; *Therefore is it spoken in repeating of the Battels of* Jehovah; *against* Vaheb *in the Country of* Suph: *and against the Rivers, the Rivers of* Arnon. In which words he understands, that amongst the Wars which the Lord disposed for the good of the *Israelites*, there was in those times a famous Memory in the mouth of most Men, concerning the War of *Sehon* against *Vaheb* the King of the *Moabites*, and of his winning the Country near *Arnon*, out of the possession of the *Moabites*. For this *Vaheb* was the immediate Predecessor of *Balac*, who lived with *Moses*: though it be written that this *Balac* was the Son of *Zippor*, and not of *Vaheb*. For it seems (as it is plain in the Succession of the *Edomites*) that these Kingdoms were Elective and not Successive. And as *Junius* in this Translation understandeth no special Book of the Battels of the Lord: so others, as *Vatablus* in his Annotations, doubt whether in this place any special Book be meant; and if any; whether it be not a Prediction of Wars in future Ages, to be waged in these places, and to be written in the Book of *Judges*. *Siracides* cap. 46. tells us plainly, that those Battels of the Lord were fought by *Joshua*. *Who was there* (saith he) *before him like to him? for he fought the Battels of the Lord.* But seeing the Histories of the Scripture elsewhere often pass over matters of great weight in few words, referring the Reader to other Books, written of the same matter at large: therefore it seemeth probable, that such a Book as this there was; wherein the several Victories by *Israel* obtained, and also Victories of other Kings, making way for the good of the *Israelites*, were particularly and largely written. And that the same should now be wanting, it is not strange, seeing so many other Volumes, filled with Divine Discourse, have perished in the long race of time, or have been destroyed by the ignorant and malicious Heathen Magistrate. For the Books of *Henoch*, howsoever they have been in later Ages corrupted, and therefore now suspected, are remembred in an Epistle of *Thaddæus*, and cited by *Origen* περὶ ἀρχῶν, and by *Tertullian*.

Num. 21. 26.

1 *Chron.* Cap. 1.

That Work also of the Patriarch *Abraham*, *of Formation*, which others bestow on *Rabbi Achiba*, is no where found. The Books remembred by *Joshua*, *chap.* 10. *vers.* 13. and in the second of *Samuel*, *chap.* 1. *vers.* 18. called the *Book of Jasher*, or *Justorum*, is also lost; wherein the stay of the Sun and Moon in the middest of the Heavens is recorded, and how they stood still, till *Israel* had avenged themselves of their Enemies: out of which also *David* took the Precept of teaching the Children of *Juda*, to exercise their Bows against their Enemies.

Some think this to be the Book of eternal Predestination, in which the just are written, according to the 69. *Psalm*, *vers.* 28. where it is said, *Let them be put out of the Book of Life, neither let them be written with the Righteous.* *Hierom* thinks, that *David* by this Book understood those of *Samuel*; *Rabbi Salomon*, that the Books of the Law are thereby meant, in which the acts of the just *Abraham*, of *Isaac*, *Jacob*, and *Moses*, are written; others, that it was the Book of *Exodus*; others, as *Theodoretus*, that it was a Commentary upon *Joshua* by an unknown Author.

Hieron. in quæst. super lib. Regum.

The Book of *Chozai*, concerning *Manasse*, remembred in the second of *Chron.* 33. *vers.* 18, & 19. Of this Book, also lost, *Hierom* conceives that the Prophet *Isay* was the Author.

Heron. in annot. in Paralip.

The same mischance came as well to the Story of *Salomon*, written by *Ahia Silonites*, who met with *Jeroboam*, and foretold him of his obtaining the Kingdom of *Israel* from the Son of *Salomon*:

Num. 21. * Of the Country of *Suph* see more Chap. 10. §. 4. †. 2. and of the force of the word *Suph*, also Chap. 18. §. 3.

mon: as to the Books of *Nathan* the Prophet, and to those of *Jeedo* the *Seer*, remembred in the second of *Chron. c.* 9. *v.* 29. with these have the Books of *Shemaiah* and of *Iddo*, remembred in the second of *Chron. c.* 12. *v.* 15. perished: and that of *Jehu* the Son of *Hanani*, of the acts of *Jehoshaphat*, cited in the second of *Chron. c.* 20. *v.* 34. Also that Book of *Salomon*'s which the *Hebrews* write *Hasirim*, of 5000. verses, of which that part called *Canticum Canticorum* only remaineth, 1 *Kings* 4. 32. and with this divers other of *Salomon*'s works have perished, as his Book of the Natures of Trees, Plants, Beasts, Fishes, *&c.* 1 *Kings* 4. 33. with the rest remembred by *Origen*, *Josephus*, *Hierom*, *Cedrenus*, *Cicius Asculanus*, *Picus Mirandula*, and others.

Of these and other Books many were consumed with the same fire, wherewith *Nebuchadnezzar* burnt the Temple of *Jerusalem*. But let us return thither where we left.

§. VIII.

Of Moses *his sparing the Issue of* Lot: *and of the Giants in those parts: And of* Sehon *and* Og.

WHen *Moses* had past *Arnon*, he incamped on the other side thereof at *Abarim*, opposite to the City of *Nebo*, leaving the City of *Midian* on his left hand, and attempting nothing upon the *Moabites* on that side. For *Moab* did at this time inhabit on the South side of *Arnon*, having lost all his ancient and best Territory, which was now in the possession of *Sehon* the *Amorite*. For *Moses* was commanded by God not to molest *Moab*, neither to provoke them to Battel, God having given that Land to the Children of *Lot*; The same which was anciently possest by the *Emims*, who were Men of great Stature, and comparable to those Giants called *Anakims*, or the Sons of *Anac*.

Deut. 2. *v.* 9. & 10. 11. & 12.

God also commanded *Moses* to spare the *Ammonites*, because they likewise were descended of *Lot*: Who had expelled from thence those Giants, which the *Ammonites* called *Zamzummims*. For it seemeth that all that part, especially to the East of *Jordan*, even to the Desart of *Arabia*, as well on the West, as on the East side of the Mountains of *Gilead*, were inhabited by Giants. And in the plantation of the Land promised, the *Israelites* did not at any time pass those Mountains to the East of *Basan*, but left their Country to them, as in the Description following is made manifest. We find also, that as there were many Giants both before and after the Flood: So these Nations, which anciently inhabited both the Border of *Canaan*, and the Land it self, had among them many Families of Giant-like men. For the *Anakims* dwelt in *Hebron*, which sometimes was called the City of *Arbah*, which *Arbah* in *Joshua* is called the Father of the *Anakims*; and the greatest Man of the *Anakims*. There had also been Giants in the Land of the *Moabites*, called *Emims*: And their chief City was *Aroer* or *Ar*, near the River of *Arnon*. To the Giants of the *Rephaims*, the *Ammonites* gave the name of *Zamzummims*; which were of the same ancient *Canaanites*: And their chief City was *Rabba*, afterward *Philadelphia*. They were also called *Zuzims*, which is as much to say, as *Viri robusti, horrendique Gigantes*; *Strong Men, and fearful Giants*, who inhabited other Cities of *Ham*, or *Hom*, in the same Province, and not far to the North of *Aroer*.

Josh. 15. *v.* 13. *c.* 14. *v.* 15.

Now *Moses* having past *Arnon*, and being incamped at *Abarim*; and having (as before) sent to *Sehon*, as he had done to *Edom*, to pray a passage through his Country, was denied it. For *Sehon* being made proud by his former Conquest upon *Vaheb* the *Moabite*, which Nation the *Amorites* esteemed but as Strangers and Usurpers, (themselves being of the Sons of *Canaan*, and the *Moabites* of *Lot*) refused to grant *Israel* any entrance that way; and withal prepared to encounter *Moses* with as much speed as he could, because *Moses* incamped in the Country of his new Conquests, to wit, the Plains of *Moab*; the two and fortieth and last Mansion: Which *Moses* wasted with the multitude of his People and Cattle. Towards him therefore hasting himself, they encountred each other at *Jahaz*: Where *Sehon* with his Children and People were broken and discomfited: And the Victory so pursued by *Moses*, as few or none of the *Amorites* escaped. He also slaughtered all the Women and Children of the *Amorites*, which he found in *Essebon*, and all the other Cities, Villages, or Fields; they being of the Race of *Canaan*, as those of *Basan* also were: and descended of *Emoreus* or *Amoreus*: For *Moses* calleth the *Basanites* also *Amorites*. And although *Israel* might now have taken a ready way and passage into *Judea*: being at this time, and after this Victory at the Banks of *Jordan*: yet knew it to be perilous to leave so great a part of that Nation of the *Amorites* on his Back, as inhabited all the Region of *Basan* or *Traconitis*: and therefore he led on his Army to invade *Og*: a person of exceeding strength and Stature: and the only Man of mark remaining of the ancient Giants of those parts, and who at that time had 60. Cities walled and defenced: lying between the Mountain of *Hermon* (which Mountain saith *Moses*, the *Sidonians* call *Shirion*, and the *Amorites Shenir*) and the River of *Jordan*. And it befell unto the King of *Basan* (who attended *Moses*'s coming at *Edrei*) as it did unto *Sihon*; for he and his Sons perished, and all his Cities were taken and possest. After this *Moses* with-drawing himself back again to the Mountains of *Abarim*, left the prosecution of that War unto *Jair* the Son of *Manasse*: who conquering the East parts of *Basan*, to wit, the Kingdom of *Argob*, even unto the Nations of the *Gessuri* and *Machati*, 60. walled Cities: called the same after his own name *Havoth Jair*: of all which Conquests afterward the half Tribe of *Manasse* possest the North part as far as *Edrei*, but the East part that belonged to *Sihon* the *Amorite*, with the Mountains of *Gilead* adjoyning, was given to *Ruben* and *Gad*.

Deut. 1. *v.* 8.

§. IX.

Of the troubles about the Madianites, *and of* Moses *his death.*

AFter these Victories, and while *Israel* sojourned in the Valley of *Moab*, the *Madianites* and *Moabites* (over both which Nations it seemeth that *Balac* King of the *Moabites* then commanded in chief) sought, according to the advice of *Balaam*, both by alluring the *Hebrews* to the love of their Daughters, and by perswading them to honour and serve their Idols, to divide them both in Love and Religion among themselves: thereby the better both to defend their own interest against them, as also to beat them out of *Moab*, and the Countries adjoyning. The *Israelites* as they had ever been inclined, so were they now easily perswaded to these evil courses, and thereby drew on themselves the plague of Pestilence, whereof there perished 24000. persons: besides which punishment of God the most of the the Offenders among the *Hebrews*, were by his com-

Num. 25. *v.* 9.

commandment put to the Sword, or other violent deaths: after this, when that *Phineas* the Son of *Eleazar* had pierced the bodies of *Zimri*, a Prince of the *Simeonites*, together with *Cosbi* a Daughter of one of the chief of the *Midanites*, the Plague ceased, and Gods Wrath was appeased. For such was the love and kindness of his all-powerfulness, respecting the ardent zeal of *Phineas* in prosecuting of *Zimri* (who being a chief among the *Hebrews* became an Idolater) as he forgave the rest of *Israel*, and staied his hand for his sake.

Num. 26. v. 51. In this Valley it was that *Moses* caused the people to be numbred the third time: and there remained of able Men fit to bear Arms, 601730. of which as his last enterprise, he appointed 12000. to be chosen out, to invade the Cities of *Midian*, who together with the *Moabites* practised with *Balaam* to curse *Israel*: and after that sought to allure them (as before remembred) from the worship of the true God, to the service of *Beth-Peor*: and to the rest of their barbarous Idolatry. Over which Companies of 12000 *Moses* gave the charge to *Phineas*, the Son of *Eleazar* the high Priest: *Num. 31. v. 8.* who slew the five Princes of the *Midianites*, which were, or had lately been, the Vassals of *Sehon*, as *Jos. 13. v. 21.* appeareth by *Joshua*. These five Princes of the *Midianites* slain by *Eleazar* were at this time but the *Cap. 13. 21* Vassals of *Sehon* the *Amorite*, to wit, *Evi*, *Rekem*, *Zur*, *Hur*, and *Reba* the Dukes of *Sehon*, saith *Joshua*. He slew also all the Men, Male-children, and Women; saving such as had not yet used the company of Men, but those they saved and dispersed them among the Children of *Israel* to serve them.

Deut. 31. v. 2. And *Moses* having now lived 120. years, making both his own weakness of Body known to the People, and his unability to travel: And also that he was forewarned of his end by the spirit of God: from whom he received a new Commandment to ascend the Mountains of *Abarim*, and thereon to render up his Life: He hastned to settle the Government in *Joshua*: whom he perswaded with most lively arguments to prosecute the Conquest begun, assuring him of Gods favour and assistance therein. And so having spent these his latter days after the Conquest of *Og* and *Sehon*, King of the *Amorites*, in the repetition and exposition of the Law (or an iteration of the Law, according to S. *Augustin*) using both arguments, prayers, and *Aug. l. 4. de Mirab. sacr Script.* threats unto the people: which he often repeated unto them; thereby to confirm them in knowledge, Love, Fear, and Service, of the all-powerful God: *Deut. 33.* He blessed the twelve Tribes, that of *Simeon* excepted, with several and most comfortable Blessings: Praising the Greatness and Goodness of him, unto whom in his Prayers he commended them: He also commanded the Priests to lay up the Book of the Law, by the side of the *Ark* of God: The *Deut. 32. v. 6.* last that he indited was that Prophetical Song, beginning: *Hearken ye Heavens and I will speak, and let the Earth hear the word of my mouth:* and being called by God from the labours and sorrows of this Life, unto that rest which never afterward hath disquiet, *Deut. 34. v. 6.* he was buried in the Land of *Moab*, over against *Beth-peor*: but no Man knoweth of his Sepulcher to this day, which happened in the year of the World 2554.

§. X.

Observations out of the Story of Moses, *how God disposeth both the smallest occasions, and the greatest resistances, to the effecting of his purpose.*

NOW let us a little, for instruction, look back to the occasions of sundry of the great events, which have been mentioned in this Story of the life of *Moses*, for (excepting Gods miracles, his promise, and fore choice of this People) he wrought in all things else by the *medium* of Mens affections, and natural appetites. And so we shall find that the fear which *Pharaoh* had of the increase of the *Hebrews*, multiplied by God to exceeding great numbers, was the next natural cause of the sorrows and loss, which befel himself, and the *Ægyptian* Nation: which numbers when he sought by cruel and ungodly policies to cut off and lessen, as when he commanded all the Male-children of the *Hebrews* to be slain, God (whose providence cannot be resisted, nor his purposes prevented by all the foolish and salvage craft of mortal Men) moved compassion in the heart of *Pharaoh's* own Daughter, to preserve that Child, which afterward became the most wise, and of all Men the most gentle and mild, the most excellently Learned in all Divine and Humane knowledge, to be the Conductor and deliverer of his oppressed Brethren, and the overthrow of *Pharaoh*, and all the flower of his Nation; even then, when he sought by the strength of his Men of War, of his Horse and Chariots, to tread them under and bury them in the dust. The grief which *Moses* conceived of the injuries, and of the violence offered to one of the *Hebrews* in his own presence, moved him to take revenge of the *Ægyptian* that offered it: the ingratitude of one of his own Nation, by threatning him to discover the slaughter of the *Ægyptian*, moved him to fly into *Midian*: the contention between the Shepherds of that place, and *Jethro's* Daughters, made him known to their Father: who not only entertained him, but married him to one of those Sisters: and in that solitary life of keeping of his Father-in-laws Sheep, far from the press of the World, contenting himself (though bred as a Kings Son) with the lot of a poor Herds-man, God found him out in that Desart, wherein he first suffered him to live many years, the better to know the ways and passages through which he purposed that he should conduct his people, toward the Land promised: and therein appearing unto him, he made him know his Will and Divine Pleasure for his return into *Ægypt*. The like may be said of all things else, which *Moses* afterward by Gods direction performed in the Story of *Israel* before remembred. There is not therefore the smallest accident, which may seem unto Men as falling out by chance, and of no consequence: but that the same is caused by God to effect somewhat else by: yea, and oftentimes to effect things of the greatest worldly importance, either presently, or in many years after, when the occasions are either not considered, or forgotten.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Nations with whom the Israelites *had dealing after their coming out of* Ægypt; *and of the Men of renown in other Nations, about the times of* Moses *and* Joshua, *with the summ of the History of* Joshua.

§. I.

How the Nations with whom the Israelites *were to have War, were divers ways, as it were, prepared to be their Enemies.*

IN like manner if we look to the quality of the Nations, with whom the *Israelites*, after their coming out of *Ægypt*, had to do, either in the *Wilderness*, or afterward: we shall find them long before hand, by the disposing providence of God, as it were prepared for enmity: partly in respect that they were most of them of the Issue of *Canaan*, or at least of *Ham*: and the rest (as the *Edomites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and *Ismaelites*) were mingled with them by mutual Marriages: whereas the *Israelites* still continued Strangers, and separate from them: and so partly in this respect, and partly by ancient injuries or enmities, and partly by reason of diversity in Religion, were these Nations, as it were prepared to be enemies to the *Israelites*: and so to serve for such purposes as God had reserved them for. To make these things more manifest, we must understand that this part of *Syria*, bounded by the Mountains of *Libanus*, and *Zidon* on the North, by the same Mountains continued as far as the Springs of *Arnon* on the East; by the way of *Ægypt*, and the *Red Sea* on the South: and by the *Mediterran* Sea on the West: was inhabited and peopled by two Nations, the one springing from the Sons of *Cham*, the other from *Sem*: But those of *Sem*, were but as Strangers therein for a long time, and came thither in effect but with * one Family, to wit, that of *Abraham*, and a few of his kindred. The other for the greatest part were the *Canaanites*, the ancient Lords and Possessors of those Territories: By process of time divided into several Families and Names: whereof some of them were of eminent Stature and Strength, as the *Anakims*, *Zamzummims*, or *Zuzei*, *Emims*, *Horites*, and others. These (as Men most valiant and able commonly do) did inhabit the utter Borders and Mountains of their Countries: the rest were the *Zidonians*, *Jebusites*, *Amorites*, *Hevites*, *Hetites*, and others, who took name after the Sons of *Canaan*, and after whom the Country in general was still called.

As for the *Hebrews* which descended of *Shem* by *Abraham*, they were of another Family, and Strangers in that Country: especially the *Israelites*, and this was some cause that the *Canaanites* did not affect them, or indure them: no more than the *Philistims* did, who descended also of *Cham* by *Mizraim*. For though *Abraham* himself being a Stranger was highly esteemed and honoured among them: especially by the *Amorites* inhabiting the West part of *Jordan*: yet now even they which descending from *Abraham*, or from his Kindred, abode and multiplied in those parts, were alienated in affections from the *Israelites*: as holding them Strangers and Intruders: making more account of their alliance with the *Canaanites*, and the rest of the Issue of *Cham*, with whom they daily contracted affinity: than of their old pedigree from *Abraham*.

True it is that these Nations descended of *Abraham*, or of his Kindred, who had linked themselves and matched with the *Canaanites* and others, had so far possest themselves of the borders of those Regions, as they began to be equal in strength to the bordering *Canaanites*, if not superiour. For of *Lot* came those two great families of the *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*: of *Esau* the *Idumæans*: of *Madian* the *Madianites*: of *Ismael*, the eldest Son of *Abraham* came the *Ismaelites*, with whom are joyned as of the same Nation, the *Amalekites*, whom though the more common opinion thinketh to have been a tribe of *Edom*, because *Esau* had a Grand-child of that name, yet manifest reason convinceth it to have been otherwise. For the *Israelites* were forbidden to provoke the *Edomites*, or do them any wrong, whereas contrariwise *Amalek* was cursed, and endless War decreed against him: but hereof more elsewhere. Chap. 8. §. 3. Of *Ismael's* eldest Son *Naboth* sprung the *Arabians* of *Petræa*, called *Nabathei*. Now even as *Abraham* besought God to bless *Ismael*, so it pleased him both to promise and perform it. For of him those twelve Princes came, which inhabited, in effect, all that Tract of Land between *Havilah* upon *Tigris*, and *Sur* which is the West part of the *Desart* of *Arabia Petræa*. Yet howsoever the strength of these later named Nations, which descended from *Abraham*, were great: yet it is not unlikely but that some reason which moved them not to favour the entrance of the *Israelites* into *Canaan*, was in respect of fear: because all Princes and States do not willingly permit any Stranger or powerful Nation to enter their Territories. Wherefore, though all these Families before named, were not so united, in and among themselves, but that they had their jealousies of each other, and contended for Dominion: yet fearing a third more strong than themselves, whether they stood a-part or united, they were taught by the care of their own preservation, to joyn themselves together against *Israel*: though they did it nothing so malitiously and resolvedly as the *Canaanites* did. For the *Edumæans* only denyed the *Hebrews* a passage: which the *Moabites* durst not deny: because their Country lay more open; and because themselves had lately been beaten out of the richest part of their Dominions, by the *Amorites*: and as for the *Ammonites* their Country lay altogether out of the way, and the strength of *Sehon* and *Og* Kings of the *Amorites*, was interjacent: and besides that, the border of the *Ammonites* was strong by reason of the Mountains which divided it from *Basan*. Again, that which moved the *Moabites* in their own reason not much to interrupt *Israel*, in the Conquest of *Sehon* the *Amorite*, and of *Og* his Confederate: was that the *Moabites* might hope after such time as the *Amorites* were beaten by *Moses*, that themselves might recover again their own inheritance: to wit, the Vallies and Plains lying between the Mountains of *Arabia* and *Jordan*: But as soon as *Sehon* was slain,

Deut. c. 11. v. 5.

Deut. c. 11. v. 5.

Exod. c. 17. v. 16.

Gen. 17.

Numb. c. 21. v. 24.

* It seemeth also that *Hus*, the Son of *Nachor*, and *Buz* his Brother, planted themselves in the East-side of *Jordan* about *Basan*: where they find the Land of *Hus*: in which both *Job* dwelt, as one of the Issue of *Hus* the Son of *Nachor*, and *Elihu*, his friend, which is called a *Buzite*. See hereafter Chap. 10. §. 7.

slain, and that the King of *Moab*, *Balac*, perceived that *Moses* allotted that Valley to the Tribes of *Gad* and *Reuben*, he began to practise with *Balaam* against *Israel*, and by the Daughters of *Midian*, as aforesaid, to allure them to Idolatry. And thus at length the Moabites by special occasion were more and more stirred up to enmity against *Israel*. And as for divers of the rest that were descended from *Abraham*'s Kindred, we may note, how in the beginning, between the Authors of their Pedigrees, God permitted some enmity to be as it were presages of future Quarrels, which in the Posterity might be the easier incensed by the memory of old Grudges: and withall by some disdain from the elder in Nature to the younger. For the Ishmaelites being descended from the eldest Son of *Abraham*, and the Edomites from the eldest Son of *Isaac*, *Jacob* being but a second Son of a second Brother, those Princes which were descended of the elder Houses being natural Men, might scorn to give place, much less to subject themselves to their Inferiours, as they took it; and for a more aggravation, the Issues of *Esau*, Princes of *Idumea*, might keep in Record that their Parent
Gen. 25. was bought out of his Birthright by *Jacob*'s taking
Gen. 27. his advantage, and that he was deceived of his Father's Blessing also by him; and that *Jacob* after Reconciliation came not unto him, as he pro-
Gen. 33. 14. mised, unto *Seir*, or *Idumea*.

So also in the Posterity of *Ishmael*, it might remain as a seed, or pretence of enmity, that their forefather was by the instigation of *Sarah*, cast out into the Desert, with his Mother *Hagar*; and had therein perished, but that it pleased God by his Angel to relieve them. *Ishmael* also had an Egyptian both to his Mother and to his Wife: and *Amalek* was also an Horite by his Mother; which Horites were of the ancient Canaanites. The Edumeans also, or Edomites, were by their maternal line descended of the Canaanites. For *Esau* took two Wives of that Nation: one of them was *Adah* the Daughter of *Elon* the Hittite, and the other *Aholibamah* the Grandchild of *Zi-*
Gen. 36. *beon* the Hevite, Lord of *Seir*, before the same was conquered by *Esau*, and called after his name *Edom*, or *Idumea*.

Lastly; It appears that all those Families of the Ishmaelites, Amalekites, Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, &c. were in process of time corrupted, and drawn from the Knowledg and Worship of God, and became Idolaters, infected and seduced by the conversation of those People among whom they dwelt, and by those Wives of the Canaanites which they had married; only a few of the Kenites, and those Midianites which inhabited on the edge of the Red Sea, whereof *Jethro* was Priest, or Prince, or both, worshipped the true and ever-living God.

§ II.

Of the Kings of the Canaanites and Midianites, mentioned in the ancient Wars of the Israelites.

OF the Kings of the Canaanites, descended of *Cham*, (for *Melchizedeck* may be thought to be of a better Pedegree) we find four named by *Moses*; and thirty one remembred by *Joshua*, tho few of these named, otherwise than by the Cities over which they commanded; to which each of them had a small Territory adjoyning, and no other Dominion. These *Canaanites* in a general consideration are to be understood for all those Nations, descended of *Cham* by *Canaan*, as the *Hittites*, *Jebusites*, *Amorites*, *Gergesites*, *Hevites*, &c. and so here we understand this Name in speaking of the Kings of the *Canaanites*: and so also we call the Country of their Habitation, the holy Land, or the Land of Promise: for God hath appointed that the seven principal Families should be rooted out: and that his own People should inherit their Lands and Cities. But if we consider of the Name and Nation in particular, then is their proper Habitation bounded by *Jordan* on the East, and by the *Mediterranean* Sea on the West: in which narrow Country, and in the choicest places thereof, those *Canaanites* which held their Paternal Name, chiefly inhabited.

The first King of these Nations, named in the Scriptures, was *Hamor*, or *Hemor*, of the *Hevites*, Gen. 34. whom *Simeon* and *Levi* slew, together with his Son *Sichem*, in revenge of their Sister's Ravishment.

Arad was the second King which the Scriptures have remembred, who had that part of *Canaan* towards the South, neighbouring *Edom* and the dead Sea; the same which surprized *Israel*, as they incamped in the *Wilderness* in the edge of *Edumea*. Num. 21. 1.

The third named, was *Sehon*, King of *Essebon*, who before *Moses*'s arrival had beaten the *Moabites* out of the West part of *Arabia Petræa*, or *Nabathea*, and thrust them over *Arnon* into the *Deserts*, the same whom *Moses* overthrew in the Num. 21. 24. Plains of *Moab*; at which time he took *Essebon*, and all the Cities of the *Amorites*.

Presently after which Victory, *Og* was also slain Jos. 9. Joseph. ant. by *Israel*, who commanded the North part of that lib. 2. c. 5. Valley between the Mountains *Traconi*, or *Gulaad*, and *Jordan*, who was also a King of the *Amorites*. Nu. 21. 35.

The fifth was *Adonizedek*, King of the *Jebusites*, and of *Hierusalem*, with whom *Joshua* nameth four other Kings.

Hoham, King of *Hebrom*.
Piram, King of *Jarmuth*.
Japia, King of *Lachis*: and
Deber, King of *Eglon*: who were all *Amorites*, Josh. 10. overthrown in Battel, and hanged by *Joshua*. Af- Joseph. ant. ter this overthrow, *Joshua* nameth *Jabin*, King of lib. 5. c. 2. *Hazor*, and

Jobab, King of *Madon*; whom he also slaughtered, and took his Cities: and this *Jabin* seemed to have some Dominion over the rest, for it is said in the Text, *For* Hazor *before times was the* Josh. 11. *Head of all those Kingdoms*. 10.

After these *Adonibezek* that notorious Tyrant is named; who confest that he had cut off the thumbs of the hands, and feet of 70 Kings, inforcing them to gather crumbs under his Table: who after *Juda* and *Simeon* had used the same ex- Jud. 1. ecution upon himself, acknowledged it to be a Joseph. lib. just revenge of God: This King was carried to 5. cap. 2. *Hierusalem*, where he died.

The last King named is *Jabin* the second, who as it seemeth had rebuilt *Hazor*, burnt by *Joshua*. For at such time as he imployed *Sisara* against *Israel*, whom he oppresst twenty years, after the death of *Ehud*, he inhabited *Hazor*. This *Jabin*, Jud. 4. *Barac* (incouraged by *Debora*) overthrew; and his Captain *Sisara* had by *Jael*, the Wife of *He-* Jud. 4. *ber* the *Kenite*, a Nail driven into his head while Psal. 83. he slept in her Tent; *Jabin* himself perishing afterwards in that War.

The *Madianites* had also their Kings at times, but commonly mixt with the *Moabites*; and they Josiph. l. 5. held a corner of Land in *Nabathea*, to the South- c. 6. East of the Dead Sea. They descended from *Madian*, *Abraham*'s Son by *Cethura*. *Reguel*, surnamed *Gethegleus* or *Jethreus*, saith *Josephus*, called *Jethro* in *Exodus*, *Kenis* in the first of *Judges*, the Son of *Dathan*, the Grand-Child of *Jucanu*, or Exod. 3.

Jokſham, the great Grand-Child of *Abraham* by *Cethura*, was Prieſt or Prince of the *Madianites* by the Red Sea, whoſe Daughter or Neece *Moſes* married; and of whom I have ſpoken elſewhere more at large. This *Jethro*, if he were not the ſame with *Hobab*, muſt be his Father: and this *Hobab* had ſeven Daughters. He guided *Moſes* in the *Wilderneſs*, and became one of the *Iſraelites*: of him deſcended the *Kenites*, ſo called of his Father *Raguels* ſurname, of which *Kenites* was *Heber*, which had Peace with *Jabin* the ſecond, even now remembred.

Cedren. pag. 34.

Jud. 1.

At ſuch time as *Saul* invaded the *Amalekites*, he knowing the good Affection of the *Kenites* to *Iſrael*, gave them warning to ſeparate themſelves: and yet the *Kenites* had ſtrong Seats, and lived in the Mountains of the *Deſarts*.

1 *Sam.* 15. 6.

The Kings of the *Canaanites*, and *Madianites*, and the *Amalekites*, as many as I find named were theſe.

1. *Hemor* the *Hevite* of *Sichem*.
2. *Arad* of the South parts.
3. *Sehon* of *Eſſebon*.
4. *Og* of *Baſon*.
5. *Adonizedek* the *Jebuſite*, King of *Hieruſalem*.
6. *Hoham* of *Hebron*.

Joſ. 10.

7. *Piram* of *Jarmuth*.
8. *Japin* of *Lachis*.
9. *Debir* of *Eglon*.
10. *Jabin* of *Hazor*.

Joſ. 11.

11. *Jobab* of *Modon*.
12. *Adonibezek* of *Bezek*, and
13. *Jabin* the ſecond King of *Hazor*.

Of the *MADIANITES* theſe.

* *Evi*, or *Evis*.

* Theſe five firſt were all at one time Kings of ſeveral portions of the Madianites: ſlain by *Phinehas*, and the 12000 which he led againſt them. *Num.* 31. 8.

Rekam or *Recem*, who built *Petra*, the *Metropolis* of *Petræa*, ſo called by the *Greeks*: and by *Eſay* cap. 16. ver. 1. and *Selah*, which is as much as *Petra*: and ſo alſo it is called 2 *Reg.* 14. 7. where it is alſo called *Jokthеel*.

Zur.

Hur, and

Reba.

¶ *Oreb*.

Zeb.

Zebah.

Salmunna.

¶ Theſe four laſt were likewiſe at one time, ſlain in the purſuit of *Gedeon's* Victory. *Jud.* 7. 25. & *cap.* 8. *ver.* 12.

After the Death of *Barac*, *Judg of Iſrael*, the four laſt named of theſe *Madianite* Kings, vexed *Iſrael* ſeven Years: till they being put to flight by *Gideon*, two of them, to wit, *Oreb* and *Zeb*, were taken and ſlain by the *Ephraimites*, at the paſſage of *Jordan*, as in the 6th, 7th, and 8th of *Judges* it is written at large. Afterwards in the purſuit of the reſt, *Gideon* himſelf laid hands upon *Zebah* and *Salmana*, or *Salmunna*, and executed them, being Priſoners; in which expedition of *Gedeon* there periſhed 120000 of the *Madianites*, and their Confederates. Of the *Idumeans*, *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*, I will ſpeak hereafter in the deſcription of their Territories.

§. III.

Of the Amalekites *and* Iſhmaelits.

OF the Kings of the *Amalekites*, and *Iſhmaelites*, I find few that are named; and tho of the *Iſhmaelites* there were not more in number than of the reſt (for they were multiplied into a greater Nation, according to the Promiſe of God made unto *Abraham*) yet the *Amalekites*, who together with the *Midianites*, were numbred among them, were more renowned in *Moſes's* time than the reſt of the *Iſhmaelites*. So alſo were they when *Saul* governed *Iſrael*. For *Saul* purſued them from *Sur* unto *Havilah*, to wit, over a great part of *Arabia Petræa*, and the *Deſart*. The reaſon to me ſeemeth to be this: That the twelve Princes which came of *Iſhmael*, were content to leave thoſe barren *Deſarts* of *Arabia Petræa*, called *Shur*, *Paran*, and *Sin*, to the Iſſue of *Abraham* by *Cetura*, that joyned with them (for ſo ſeem the *Amalekites* to have been, and ſo were the *Madianites*:) themſelves taking poſſeſſion of a better Soil in *Arabia* the happy, and about the Mountains of *Galaad* in *Arabia Petræa*. For *Nabaioth*, the eldeſt of thoſe twelve Princes, planted that part of *Arabia Petræa*, which was very fruitful, though adjoyning to the *Deſart*, in which *Moſes* wandred, afterward called *Nabathea*: the ſame which neighboureth *Judea* on the Eaſt ſide. They alſo peopled a Province in *Arabia* the happy, whereof the People were in after-times called *Napathei*, (*b*) changed into (*p*).

Gen. 17. 20.

Jud. c. 7.

Kedar, the ſecond of *Iſhmael's* Sons, gave his own Name to the Eaſt part of *Baſan*, or *Batanea*, which was afterwards poſſeſt by *Manaſſeh*, ſo much thereof as lay within the Mountains *Traconh*, or *Gilead*. Which Nation *Lampridius* calleth *Kedarens*, and *Pliny Cedreans*.

Adbeel ſat down in the *Deſart Arabia*, near the Mountains which divided it from the Happy; and gave Name to the *Adubens*, which *Ptolomy* calleth *Agubens*.

Mibſam was the Parent of the *Maſamanenſes*, near the Mountain *Zamath*, in the ſame *Arabia* the Happy.

The *Raabens* were of *Miſhma*: who joyned to the *Orchens*, near the *Arabian* Gulf, where *Ptolomy* ſetteth *Zagmais*.

Of *Duma* were the *Dumæans*, between the *Adubens* and *Raabens*: where the City *Dumeth* ſometimes ſtood.

Of *Maſſa* the *Maſſani*; and of *Hadar*, or *Chadar*, the *Athritæ*, who bordered the *Napathеans* in the ſame Happy *Arabia*.

Thema begat the *Themaneans*, among the *Arabian* Mountains, where alſo the City of *Thema* is ſeated.

Of *Jetur* the *Ituræans*, or *Chamathens*; of whom *Tobu* was King in *David's* time.

Of *Naphri*, the *Nubeian Arabians*; inhabiting *Syria Zoba*: over whom *Adadezer* commanded, whild *David* ruled *Iſrael*.

Plin. l. 6. *c.* 28.

Cadma, the laſt and twelfth of *Iſhmael's* Sons, was the Anceſtor of the *Cadmoneans*; who were afterwads called *Aſitæ*, becauſe they worſhipped the Fire with the *Babylonians*.

Joſeph.

The *Amalekites* gave their Kings the Name of *Agag*, as the *Egyptians* the Name of *Pharaoh* to theirs, and the ancient *Syrians*, *Adad* to theirs, and the *Arabian*, *Nabatheans*, *Aretas*, as Names of Honour.

The *Amalekites* were the firſt that fought with *Moſes*, after he paſt the Red Sea; when of all times they flouriſhed moſt, and yet were vanquiſhed.

Exod. 17.

Afterward they joyned with the *Canaanites*, and beat the *Iſraelites* near *Cades-barne*. After the Government of *Othoniel*, they joyned them with the *Moabites*; after *Barac* with the *Madianites*, and invaded *Iſrael*. God commanded that as ſoon as *Iſrael* had Reſt, they ſhould root out the Name of the *Amalekites*; which *Saul* executed

Numb. 14.

cuted in part, when he wasted them from the border of *Egypt*, to the border of *Chaldea*: from *Havilah* to *Shur*.

1 *Sam.* 30. 2 *Sam.* 8. 12. In *David*'s time they took *Ziklag* in *Simeon*: but *David* followed them, and surprized them, recovering his Prisoners and Spoils. And yet, after *David* became King, they again vexed him, but to their own loss.

1 *Chron.* 4. In *Hezekiah* time as many of them as joyned to *Edumæa*, were wasted and displanted by the Children of *Simeon*.

§. IV.

Of the Instauration of Civility in Europe *about these times, and of* Prometheus *and* Atlas.

THere lived at this time, and in the same Age together with *Moses*, many Men exceeding famous, as well in bodily Strength, as in all sorts of Learning. And as the World was but even now enriched with the written Law of the living God, so did Art and Civility (bred and fostered far off in the East, and in *Egypt*) begin at this time to discover a Passage into *Europe*, and into those parts of *Greece*, neighbouring *Asia* and *Judea*. For if *Pelasgus*, besides his bodily strength, was chosen King of *Arcadia*, because he taught those People to erect them simple Cottages, to defend them from Rain and Storm: and learned them withal to make a kind of Meal, and Bread of Acorns, who before lived for the most part, by Herbs and Roots: we may thereby judg how poor and wretched those times were, and how falsly those Nations have vaunted of that their Antiquities, accompanied not only with civil Learning, but with all other kinds of Knowledg. And it was in this Age of the World, as both *Aug. l. 18. c. 8. de Civit. Dei.* *Eusebius* and St. *Augustine* have observed, that *Prometheus* flourished: *Quem propterea ferunt de luto formasse homines, quia optimus sapientiæ Doctor fuisse perhibetur*; *Of whom it is reported that he formed Men out of Clay, because he was an excellent Teacher of Wisdom*: and so *Theophrastus* expounded the invention of Fire ascribed to *Prometheus*, *Æschyl. in Prom. vinct. Aug. l. 18. c. 8. de Civit. Dei.* *Ad inventa spientiæ pertinere*; *To have reference to wise Inventions*: and *Æschylus* affirmeth, That by the stealing of *Jupiter*'s Fire was meant, that the Knowledg of *Prometheus* reached to the Stars, and other Celestial Bodies. Again, it is written of him, that he had the Art so to use this Fire, as thereby he gave Life to Images of Wood, Stone, and Clay: meaning that before his Birth and Being, those People among whom he lived had nothing else worthy of Men, but external form and figure. By that Fiction of *Prometheus*, being bound on the top of the Hill *Caucasus*, his Entrails the while devoured by an *Engle*, was meant the inward Care and restless Desire he had to investigate the Natures, Motions, and Influences of Heavenly Bodies, for so it is said: *Ideò altissimum ascendisse Caucasum, ut sereno Cælo quàm longissimè astra, signorum obitus & ortus spectaret*: *That he ascended Caucasus, to the end, that he might in a clear Skie discern a far off, the settings and risings of the Stars*: though *Diodorus Siculus* expounds it otherwise, and others diversly. *L. Vives ex Hes.*

Of this Man's Knowledg Æschylus *gives this Testimony.*

Æschyl. in Prom. vinct.

Ast agebant omnia
Ut fors ferebat: donec ipse reperi
Signorum obitus, ortusq; qui mortalibus
Sunt utiles: & multitudinem artium
His reperi: componere inde literas;
Matremq; Musarum auxi ego memoriam
Perutilem cunctis, &c.

But Fortune govern'd all their Works, till when
I first found out how Stars did set and rise:
A profitable Art to mortal Men:
And others of like use I did devise;
As Letters to compose in learned wise
I first did teach: and first did amplify
The Mother of the *Muses Memory*.

Africanus makes *Prometheus* far more ancient, and but 94 Years after *Ogyges*. *Porphyrius* says, that he lived at once with *Inachus*, who lived with *Isaac*. *Aug. lib. 18. c. 3. de Civit. Dei.*

There lived also at once with *Moses*, that famous *Atlas*, Brother to *Prometheus*, both being the Sons of *Japetus*, of whom though it be said, that they were born before *Moses*'s days, and therefore are by others esteemed of a more antient date: yet the advantage of their long Lives gave them a part of other Ages among Men, which came into the World long after them. Besides these Sons of *Japetus*; *Æschylus* finds two other, to wit, *Oceanus*, and *Hesperus*, who being famous in the West, gave name to the Evening, and so to the Evening-Star. Also besides this *Atlas* of *Lybia* or *Mauritania*, there were others, which bare the same Name: but of the *Lybian*, and the Brother of *Prometheus*, it was that those Mountains which cross *Africa*, to the South of *Morocco*, *Sus*, and *Hea*, with the Sea adjoyning took name, which Memory *Plato* in *Critias* bestows on *Atlas*, the Son of *Neptune*.

Cicero in the fifth of his *Tusculan* Questions, affirmeth, that all things written of *Prometheus* and *Atlas*, were but by those names to express Divine Knowledg. *Nec verò* Atlas *sustinere Cœlum, nec* Prometheus *affixus Caucaso, nec stellatus* Cepheus *cum Uxore traderetur, nisi divina cognitio nomen eorum ad errorem fabulæ traduxisset*; *Neither should* Atlas *be said to bear up Heaven, nor* Prometheus *to be fastened to Caucasus, nor* Cepheus *with his Wife to be stellified, unless their divine Knowledg had raised upon their Names these erroneous Fables.*

Orpheus sometime expresst *Time* by *Prometheus*; sometime he took him for *Saturn*; as *Rheæ conjux alme Prometheu*. But that the Story of *Prometheus* was not altogether a Fiction; and that he lived about this time, the most approved Historians and Antiquaries, and among them *Eusebius* and St. *Augustine* have not doubted. For the great Judgment which *Atlas* had in *Astronomy*, saith St. *Augustine*, were his Daughters called by the Names of Constellations, *Pleiades* and *Hyades*: Others attribute unto him the finding out of the Moon's Course, of which *Archas* the Son of *Orchomenus* challengeth the Invention. Of this *Archas*, *Arcadia* in *Peloponesus* took Name, and therefore did the *Arcadians* vaunt that they were more ancient than the Moon. *Et Luna gens prior illa fuit*: which is to be understood, saith *Natalis Comes*, before there had been any observation of the Moon's Course; or of her working in inferiour Bodies. And though there be that bestow the finding out thereof upon *Endymion*: others (as *Xenagoras*) on *Typhon*: yet *Isacius Tzetzes*, a curious searcher of Antiquities, gave it *Atlas* of *Lybia*: who, besides his gifts of Mind, was a Man of unequalled and incomparable Strength: *Lib. 18. cap. 8. de Civit. Dei.* *Ovid. de fast. l. 1.*

from whom *Thales* the *Milesian*, as it is said, had the ground of his *Philosophy*.

§. V.

Of Deucalion *and* Phaeton.

AND in this Age of the World, and while *Moses* yet lived, *Deucalion* reigned in *Thessaly*, *Crotopus* then ruling the *Argives*. This *Deucalion* was the Son of *Prometheus*, saith *Herodotus*, *Apollonius*, *Hesiodus*, and *Strabo*. *Hesiodus* gave him *Pandora* for Mother, the rest *Clymene*: *Homer* in the fifteenth of his *Odysses* makes *Deucalion* the Son of *Minos*: but he must needs have meant some other *Deucalion*; for else either *Ulysses* was mistaken, or *Homer*, who put the Tale into his Mouth. For *Ulysses* after his return from *Troy* feigned himself to be the Brother of *Idumeneus*, who was Son to this later *Deucalion*, the Son of *Minos*: but this *Minos* lived but one Age before *Troy* was taken: (for *Idumeneus* served in that War) and this *Deucalion* the Son of *Prometheus*, who lived at once with *Moses*, was long before. In the first *Deucalion*'s time happened that great Inundation in *Thessaly*: by which in effect, every Soul in those parts perished, but *Deucalion*, *Pyrrha* his Wife, and some few others. It is affirmed, that at the time of this Flood in *Thessaly*, those People exceeded in all kind of Wickedness and Villany: and as the Impiety of Men is the forcible attractive of God's Vengeance, so did all that Nation, for their foul Sins, perish by Waters: as in the time of *Noah*, the Corruption and Cruelty of all Mankind drew on them that general Destruction by the Flood Universal. Only *Deucalion* and *Pyrrha* his Wife, whom God spared, were both of them esteemed to be Lovers of Vertue, of Justice, and of Religion. Of whom *Ovid*;

Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 1. & Strabo. lib. 9.

Non ille melior quisquam, nec amantior aqui
Vir fuit: aut illa reverentia ulla Dearum.

No Man was better, nor more just than he:
Nor any Woman godlier than she.

It is also affirmed that *Prometheus* foretold his Son *Deucalion* of this overflowing, and advised him to provide for his own Safety; who hereupon prepared himself a kind of Vessel, which *Lucian* in his *Dialogue* of *Timon* calls *Cibotium*; and others *Larnax*. And because to these Circumstances, they afterwards add the sending out of the Dove, to discover the Waters fall and decrease, I should verily think that this Story had been but an imitation of *Noah*'s Flood devised by the *Greeks*, did not the Times so much differ, and S. *Augustine*, with others of the Fathers, and Reverend Writers approve this Story of *Deucalion*. Among other his Children, *Deucalion* had these two of note, *Hellen*, of whom *Greece* had first the Name of *Hellas*; and *Melantho*, on whom *Neptune* is said to have begot *Delphus*, which gave name to *Delphos*, so renowned among the Heathen, for the *Oracle* of *Apollo* therein founded.

August. de Civit. Dei, l. 18. c. 10. ex Eusebio & Hieronimo.

And that which was no less strange and marvellous than this Flood, was that great burning and Conflagration which about this time also happened under *Phaeton*; not only in *Æthiopia*, but in *Istria*, a Region in *Italy*, and about *Cumæ*, and the Mountains of *Vesuvius*: of both which the *Greeks*, after their manner, have invented many strange Fables.

§. VI.

Of Hermes Trismegistus.

BUT of all other which this Age brought forth among the Heathen, *Mercurius* was the most famous, and renowned: the same which was also called *Trismegistus*, or *Ter maximus*: and of the Greeks *Hermes*.

Many there were of this Name: and how to distinguish, and set them in their own Times, both *S. Augustin* and *Lactantius* find it difficult. For that *Mercury* which was esteemed the God of Thieves, the God of Wrestlers, of Merchants, and Seamen, and the God of Eloquence, (though all by one Name confounded) was not the same with that *Mercury*, of whose many Works some Fragments are now extant.

Cicero, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Arnobius*, and certain of the Greeks reckon five *Mercuries*: Of which, two were famous in *Egypt*, and there worshipped; one, the Son of *Nilus*, whose Name the Egyptians feared to utter, as the Jews did their *Tetragrammaton*; the other, that *Mercury* which slew *Argos* in Greece, and flying into *Egypt*, is said to have delivered Literature to the Egyptians, and to have given them Laws. But *Diodorus* affirms, that *Orpheus*, and others after him, brought Learning and Letters out of *Egypt* into *Greece*: which *Plato* also confirmeth, saying, That Letters were not found out by that *Mercury* which slew *Argus*, but by that ancient *Mercury*, otherwise *Theut*; whom *Philo Biblius* writeth *Taautus*; the Egyptians *Thoyth*; the Alexandrians *Thot*; and the Greeks (as before) *Hermes*. And to this *Taautus*, *Sanconiatho*, who lived about the War of *Troy*, gives the invention of Letters. But *S. Augustine* making two *Mercuries*, which were both Egyptians, calls neither of them the Son of *Nilus*, nor acknowledgeth either of them to have slain *Argus*. For he finds this *Mercury*, the slayer of *Argus*, to be the Grandchild of that *Atlas* which lived whilst *Moses* was yet young. And yet *Lod. Vives* upon *S. Augustine* seems to understand them to be the same with those, whom *Cicero*, *Alexandrinus*, and the rest have remembred. But that Conjecture of theirs, that any Grecian *Mercury* brought Letters into *Egypt*, hath no ground. For it is manifest, (if there be any truth in prophane Antiquity) that all the Knowledge which the Greeks had, was transported out of *Egypt*, or *Phœnicia*; and not out of *Greece*, nor by any Grecian, into *Egypt*. For they all confess that *Cadmus* brought Letters first into *Bœotia*, either out of *Egypt*, or out of *Phœnicia*: it being true, that between *Mercurius* that lived at once with *Moses*, and *Cadmus*, there were these descents cast; *Crotopus* King of the *Argives*, with whom *Moses* lived, and in whose time about his tenth Year *Moses* died; after *Crotopus*, *Sthenelus* who reigned eleven Years; after him *Danaus* fifty Years; after him *Lynceus*; in whose time, and after him in the time of *Minos* King of *Crete*, this *Cadmus* arrived in *Bœotia*. And therefore it cannot be true, that any *Mercurius* about *Moses* his time, flying out of *Greece* for the slaughter of *Argus*, brought Literature out of *Greece* into *Egypt*. Neither did either of those two *Mercuries* of *Egypt*, whom *St. Augustine* remembreth, the one the Grandfather, the other the Nephew or Grandchild, come out of *Greece*. *Eupolemus* and *Artapanus* note, that *Moses* found out Letters,

Lud. Vives out of Cicero, in Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 8. c. 26.

Euseb. l. 1. c. 6. de Prep. Evang.

Letters, and taught the use of them to the *Jews*; of whom the *Phœnicians* their Neighbours received them; and the *Greeks* of the *Phœnicians* by *Cadmus*. But this Invention was also ascribed to *Moses*, for the reason before remembred; that is, because the *Jews* and the *Phœnicians* had them first from him. For every Nation gave unto those Men the honour of first Inventors, from whom they received the Profit. *Ficinus* makes that *Mercury*, upon part of whose Works he commenteth, to have been four Descents after *Moses*; which he hath out of *Virgil*, who calls *Atlas*, that lived with *Moses*, the maternal Grandfather of the first famous *Mercury*, whom others, as *Diodorus*, call the Counsellor and Instructer of that renowned *Isis*, Wife of *Osiris*. But *Ficinus* giveth no reason for his Opinion herein. But that the elder *Mercury* instructed *Isis*, *Diodorus Siculus* affirmeth, and that such an Inscription was found on a Pillar erected on the Tomb of *Isis*. *Lud. Vives* upon the six and twentieth Chapter of the eighth Book of S. *Augstine de Civitate Dei*, conceiveth that this *Mercury*, whose Works are extant, was not the first which was entituled, *Ter Maximus*, but his Nephew or Grand-Child. * *Sanchoniaton*, an ancient *Phœnician*, who lived shortly after *Moses*, hath other fancies of this *Mercury*; affirming that he was the *Scribe* of *Saturn*, and called by the *Phœnicians*, *Taautus*; and by the *Egyptians Thooth*, or *Thoyt*. It may be, that the many Years which he is said to have lived, to wit, three hundred Years, gave occasion to some Writers to find him in one time, and to others in other times. But by those which have collected the grounds of the *Egyptian* Philosophy and Divinity, he is found more ancient than *Moses*: because the Inventor of the *Egyptian Wisdom*, wherein it is said, that *Moses* was excellently learned.

Virgil. lib. 4. Æneid. Ficin. in Præfat. Pœmand. Mercurii Trismegisti.

** Or Sanchoniatho. See Euseb. de præp. Evang. lib. 1. c. 6. & 7. Vives in lib. 8. c. 26. Aug. de Civit. Dei.*

It is true, that although this *Mercury*, or *Hermes*, doth in his Divinity differ in many particulars from the Scriptures, especially in the approving of Images, which *Moses* of all things most detested; yet whosoever shall read him with an even Judgement, will rather resolve that these Works which are now extant, where by the Greeks and Egyptian Priests corrupted, and those Fooleries inserted, than that ever they were by the hand of *Hermes* written, or by his Heart and Spirit devised. For there is no Man of understanding, and Master of his own Wits, that hath affirmed in one and the same Tract, those things which are directly contrary in Doctrine and in Nature. For out of doubt (*Moses* excepted) there was never any Man of those elder Times that hath attributed more, and in a stile more reverend and divine, unto Almighty God than he hath done. And therefore if those his two Treatises, now among us; the one converted by *Apuleius*, the other by that learned *Ficinus*, had been found in all things like themselves; I think it had not been perilous to have thought with *Eupolemus*, that this *Hermes* was *Moses* himself; and that the Egyptian *Theologie* hereafter written, was devised by the first, and more ancient *Mercury*, which others have thought to have been *Joseph* the Son of *Jacob*; whom, after the exposition of *Pharoah*'s Dreams, they called *Saphanet Phane*, which is as much as to say, as *Abscondicorum Repertor*, A finder out of hidden things. But these are over-venturous Opinions. For what this Man was, it is known to God. Envy and aged Time hath partly defaced, and partly worn out the certain knowledge of him: of whom, whosoever he were, *Lactantius* writeth in this sort: *Hic scripsit libros, & quidem multos, ad cognitionem divinarum rerum pertinentes, in quibus majestatem summi ac singularis Dei asserit, iisdemque nominibus appellat, quibus nos, Deum & Patrem; He hath written many Books belonging to, or expressing the knowledg of divine things, in which he affirmeth the Majesty of the most High and one God, calling him by the same names of God, and Father, which we do.* The same Father also feareth not to number him among the *Sybils* and *Prophets*. And so contrary are these his Acknowledgments to those Idolatrous Fictions of the Egyptians and Grecians, as for my self I am perswaded, that whatsoever is found in him contrary thereunto, was by Corruption inserted. For thus much himself confesseth: *Deus omnium Dominus, & Pater, Fons & Vita, Potentia & Lux, & Mens, & Spiritus; & omnia in ipso, & sub ipso sunt. Verbum enim ex ejus esse prodiens, perfectissimum existens, & Generator & Opifex*, &c. *God* (saith he) *the Lord and Father of all things, the Fountain, and Life, and Power, and Light, and Mind, and Spirit: and all things are in him and under him. For his Word out of himself proceeding being most perfect, and generative, and operative, falling upon fruitful Nature, made it also fruitful and producing.* And he was therefore (saith *Suidas*) called *Ter maximus, quia de Trinitate loquutus est: in Trinitate unum esse Deum asserens*; *Because he spake of the Trinity, affirming that there is one God in Trinity. Hic ruinam* (saith *Ficinus*) *prævidit priscæ Religionis, hic ortum novæ fidei, hic adventum Christi, hic futurum Judicium, Resurrectionem seculi, beatorum Gloriam, supplicia peccatorum.* This Mercury *foresaw the Ruin of the old or superstitious Religion, and the Birth of the new Faith; and of the coming of Christ, the future Judgment, the Resurrection, the Glory of the Blessed, and the Torment or Affliction of the wicked or damned.*

Masius.

L. 1. c. 6. fol. 4.

In Præf. Mercu. Trismeg.

To this I will only add his two last Speeches reported by *Calcidius* the *Platonist*, and by *Volateran* out of *Suidas*. *Hactenus fili pulsus à patria, vixi perigrinus & exul, nunc incolumis repeto cumq; post paulum à vobis corporeis vinculis absolutus discessero, videtote ne me quasi mortuum lugeatis: Nam ad illam optimam beatamq; Civitatem regredior; ad quam universi Cives mortis conditione venturi sunt. Ibi namq; solus Deus est summus Princeps: qui Cives suos replet suavitate mirifica; ad quam hæc, quam multi vitam existimant, mors est potius dicenda quam vita. Hitherto, O Son, being driven from my Country, I have lived a Stranger and banished Man; but now I am repairing home-ward again in safety. And when I shall after a few days (or in a short time) by being loosed from these Bonds of Flesh and Blood depart from you, see that you do not bewail me as a Man dead, for I do but return to that best and blessed City, to which all her Citizens (by the condition of Death) shall repair. Therein is the only God, the most high and chief Prince, who filleth or feedeth his Citizens with a sweetness more than marvellous; in regard whereof this being, which others call a Life, is rather to be accounted a Death, than a Life.* The other, and that which seemeth to be his last, is thus converted by others, agreeing in sense, but not in words with *Suydas*. *O Cœlum magni Dei sapiens opus, teq; O vox patris quam ille primam emisit, quando universum constituit mundum, adjuro per unigenitum ejus verbum & Spiritum cuncta comprehendentem, miseremini mei; I adjure thee O Heaven, thou wise Work of the great God, and thee O Voice of the Father, which he first uttered, when he framed the whole World, by his only begotten Word and Spirit, comprehending all things, have Mercy upon me.*

But *Suydas* hath his Invocation in these words. *Obtestor te Cœlum magni Dei sapiens opus, obtestor te vocem*

vocem Patris quam loquutus est primum, cum ommem mundum firmavit, obtestor te per unigenitum Sermonem omnia continentem, propitius, propitius esto. I beseech thee O Heaven, wise Work of the great God, I beseech thee, O Voice of the Father, which he spake first when he established all the World, I beseech thee by the only begotten Word, containing all things, be favourable, be favourable.

§. VII.

Of Jannes *and* Jambres, *and some other that lived about those times.*

THere were also in this Age both *Æsculapius*, which after his Death became the God of Physicians, being the Brother of *Mercurius*, as *Vives* thinks in his Commentary upon *Agustine*, *de Civitate Dei*, *lib.* 8. and also those two notorious Sorcerers, *Jannes* and *Jambres*, who in that impious Art excelled all that ever have been heard of to this day: and yet *Moses* himself doth not charge them with any Familiarity with Devils, or ill Spirits; words indeed that seldom came out of his Mouth; however by the *Septuagint* they are called *Sophistæ* or *Venefici* and *Incantatores*, Sophist Poisoners, and Inchanters: By *Hierome*, *sapientes & malefici*, wise Men, and Evildoers: and so by *Vatablus*, who also useth the word *Magi*. The Greek it self seems to attribute somewhat of what they did to natural *Magick*; calling them φαρμακους, workers by Drugs. The *Genevan*, *Sorcerers and Inchanters*; Junius *Sapientes*, *Præstigiatores & Magi*. Magicians and Wise-Men here by him are taken in one sense; and Præstigiators are such as dazel Mens Eyes, and make them seem to see what they see not; as false Colours, and false Shapes. But as some Vertues and some Vices are so nicely distinguished, and so resembling each other, as they are often confounded, and the one taken for the other: (Religion and Superstition having one Face and Countenance) so did the Works and Workings of *Moses*, and of *Pharaoh's Sorcerers* appear in outward shew, and to the beholders of common Capacities, to be one and the same Art and Gift of Knowledg. For the Devil changeth himself into an *Angel* of Light: and imitateth in all he can the ways and workings of the most High. And yet on the contrary, every work which surmounteth the Wisdom of most Men, is not to be condemned as performed by the Help or Ministry of ill Spirits. For the Properties and Powers which God hath given to natural things, as such as where he also bestoweth the Knowledg to understand their hidden and best Vertues, many things by them are brought to pass, which seem altogether impossible, and above Nature or Art: Which two Speculations of Works of Nature, and of Miracle, the *Cabalists* distinguished by these Names; *Opus de Beresith, & opus de mercana:* the one they call *Sapientiam Naturæ*, *The Wisdom of Nature:* The other *Sapientiam Divinitatis*; *The Wisdom of Divinity:* The one *Jacob* practised in the breeding the pied Lambs in *Mesopotamia*; the other *Moses* exercised in his Miracles wrought in *Egypt*; having received from God the Knowledg of the one in the highest Perfection, to wit, the Knowledg of Nature: of the other so far as it pleased God to proportion him, both which he used to his Glory that gave them; assuming to himself nothing at all, either in the least or most. Also S. *Augustine* noteth that from the time that *Moses* left *Egypt*, to the death of *Josua*, divers other famous Men lived in the World, who after their Deaths, for their eminent Vertues and Inventions, were numbred among the Gods: as *Dionysius*, otherwise *Liber Pater*, who taught the *Græcians* the use of the Vine in *Attica:* at which time also there were instituted Musical Plays to *Apollo Delphicus*; thereby to regain his Favour, who brought Barrenness and Scarcity upon that part of *Greece*, because they resisted not the Attempts of *Danaus*, who spoiled his Temple and set it on fire: So did *Ericthonius* institute the like Games to *Minerva*; wherein the Victor was rewarded with a present of *Oil*, in memory of her that first prest it out of the Olive.

L. Vives in lib. 8. August. de Civit. Dei. c. 26.

Exod. 9. 11.

In this Age also *Xanthus* ravished *Europa*, and begat on her *Radamanthus*, *Sarpedon*, and *Minos*, which three are also given to *Jupiter* by other Historians. To these Saint *Augustine* addeth *Hercules*; the same to whom the twelve Labours are ascribed, Native of *Tyrinthia* a City of *Peloponnesus:* (or, as others say, only nursed and brought up there) who came into *Italy*, and destroyed many Monsters there; being neither that *Hercules*, which *Eusebius* surnameth *Delphin*, famous in *Phœnicia*; nor that *Hercules*, according no *Philostratus*, which came to *Gades*, whom he calleth an *Egyptian:* *Manifestum sit, non Thebanum* Herculem, *sed Ægyptium ad Gades pervenisse, & ibi finem statuisse Terræ* (saith *Philostratus:*) *It is manifest that it was the Egyptian* Hercules, *and not the Theban, which travelled as far as the Streights of Gades, and there determined the Bounds of the Earth.* In this time also, while *Moses* wandred in the Deserts, *Dardanus* built *Dardania*.

Lib. De Ci. vit. Dei, cap. 12.

Philost. l. 2.

But whosoever they were, or how worthy soever they were that lived in the Days and Age of *Moses*, there was never any Man, that was no more than Man, by whom it pleased God to work greater things, whom he favoured more; to whom (according to the appearing of an Infinite God) he so often appeared; never any Man more familiar and conversant with Angels; never any more learned both in Divine and Humane Knowledg; never a greater Prophet in *Israel*. He was the first that received and delivered the Law of God entire; the first that left to Posterity by Letters, the Truth and Power of one Infinite God, his creating out of nothing the World Universal, and all the Creatures therein; that taught the detestation of Idolatry, and the Punishment, Vengeance, and Eradication which followed it.

Syracides calleth *Moses* the Beloved of God and Men, whose Remembrance is blessed. He *made him* (saith the same Author) *like to the glorious Saints, and magnified him by the fear of his Enemies, made him glorious in the sight of Kings, shewed him his Glory, caused him to hear his Voice, sanctified him with Faithfulness and* Meekness, *and chose him out of all* Men.

Syrac. 45. 1, 2, 3.

He is remembred among prophane Authors; as by *Clearchus* the *Peripatetick*; by *Megastenes* and *Numenius* the *Pythagorian*. The long Lives which the *Patriarchs* enjoyed before the Flood, remembred by *Moses*, *Estieus*, *Hieronymus*, *Ægyptius*, *Hecataus*, *Elanicus*, *Acusilaus*, *Ephorus*, and *Alexander* the Historian, confirm. The Universal Flood which God revealed unto *Moses*, *Berosus*, *Nicolaus Damascenus*, and others have testified. The building of the Tower of *Babel*, and confusion of Tongues, *Abydenus*, *Estieus*, and *Sybilla* have approved. *Berosus* also honoureth *Abraham*. *Hecataus* wrote a Book of him. *Damascenus*, before cited, speaketh of *Abraham's* passage from

from *Damascus* into *Canaan*, agreeing with the Books of *Moses*. *Eupolemon* writeth the very same of *Abraham* which *Moses* did. For, beginning with the building of *Babel*, and the overthrow thereof by Divine Power, he saith that *Abraham*, born in the tenth Generation, in the City called *Camerina*, or *Urien*, excelled all Men in Wisdom; and by whom the *Astrology* of the *Chaldeans* was invented. *Is justitia pietate, sua* (saith *Eusebius* out of the same Author) *sic Deo gratus fuit, ut Divino Præcepto in Phœnicem venerit, ibiq; habitaverit: For his Justice and Piety he was so pleasing unto God, as by his Commandment he came into* Phœnicia, *and dwelt there.* Likewise *Diodorus Siculus* in his second Book and fifth Chapter speaketh reverently of *Moses*. There are many other among prophane Authors, which confirm the Books of *Moses*, as *Eusebius* hath gathered in the ninth of his *Preparation to the Gospel*, Chapter the third and fourth, to whom I refer the Reader. Lastly, I cannot but for some things in it commend this notable Testimony of *Strabo*, who writeth of *Moses* in these words. Moses *enim affirmabat, docebatque, Ægyptios non rectè sentire, qui bestiarum & pecorum imagines Deo tribuerunt: itemq; Afros & Græcos, qui Dijs hominum figuram affixerunt: id verò solum esse Deum, quod nos & Terram & Mare continet, quod Cœlum & Mundum, & rerum omnium naturam appellamus: cujus profectò imaginem, nemo sanæ mentis, alicujus earum rerum, quæ penes nos sunt, similem audeat effingere. Proinde (omni simulachrorum effictione repudiata) dignum ei Templum ac Delubrum constituendum, ac sine ullius figura colendum.* Moses *affirmed and taught, that the Egyptians thought amiss, which attributed unto God the Images of Beasts and Cattel: Also that the Africans and Greeks greatly erred in giving unto their Gods the shape of Men; whereas that only is God indeed, which containeth both Us, the Earth and Sea, which we call Heaven, the World, and the nature of all things, whose Image doubtless, no wise Man will dare to fashion out unto the likeness of those things which are amongst us; That therefore (all devising of Idols cast aside) a worthy Temple and place of Prayer was to be erected unto him, and he to be worshipped without any figure at all therein.* *Strab. l. 16.*

Now concerning the *Egyptian* Wisdom, for which the Martyr *Stephen* commended *Moses*, saying, *That* Moses *was learned in all the Wisdom of the Egyptians, and was mighty in Works and Words*; *Act. 7. 22.* the same is collected (how truly I know not) by *Diodorus*, *Diogenes Laertius*, *Iamblicus*, *Philo Judæus*, and *Eusebius Cæsariensis*, and divided into four parts, *viz.* Mathematical, Natural, Divine, and Moral.

In the Mathematical part, which is distinguished into *Geometry*, *Astronomy*, *Arithmetick*, and *Musick*, the ancient *Egyptians* excelled all others. For *Geometry*, which is by interpretation, measuring of Grounds, was useful unto them, because it consisting of infallible Principles, directed them certainly in bounding out their proper Lands and Territories, when their Fields and Limits, by the Inundations of *Nilus*, were yearly overflown and confounded, so as no Man could know what in right belonged unto him.

For the second part, to wit, *Astronomy*, the site of the Country being a level and spatious Plain, free and clear from Clouds, yeilded them delight with Ease, in observing and contemplating the risings, fallings, and motions of the Stars.

Arithmetick also, which is the knowledg of Numbers, they studied, because without it, in *Geometry* and *Astronomy*, nothing can be demonstrated or concluded. But of *Musick* they made no other account, nor desired farther knowledg, than seemed to them sufficient to serve and magnify their Gods, their Kings, and good Men.

The natural part of this Wisdom, which handleth the Principles, Causes, Elements, and Operations of natural things, differs little from *Peripatetical Philosophy*; teaching that *materia prima* is the beginning of all things; that of it all mixt Bodies and living Creatures have their Being; that Heaven is round like a Globe; that all Stars have a certain fovent Heat, and temperate Influences, whereby all things grow and are produced; that Rains proceed and be from mutations in the Air; that the Planets have their proper Souls, *&c.*

The Divine part of this Wisdom, which is called *Theology*, teacheth and believeth that the World had a beginning, and shall perish; that Men had their first Original in *Egypt*, partly by means of the temperateness of that Counrtry, where neither Winter with Cold, nor Summer with Heat, are offensive; and partly through the Fertility that *Nilus* giveth in those places: That the Soul is immortal, and hath Transmigration from Body to Body: That God is one, the Father and Prince of all Gods; and that from this God, other Gods are, as the Sun and Moon, whom they worshipped by the names of *Osiris* and *Isis*, and erected to them Temples, Statues, and divers Images, because the true similitudes of the Gods is not known; That many of the Gods have been in the estate of Mortal Men, and after Death, for their Vertues, and benefits bestowed on Mankind, have been deified. That those Beasts, whose Images and Forms the Kings did carry in their Arms when they obtained Victory, were adored for Gods; because under those Ensigns they prevailed over their Enemies. Moreover, the Egyptian Divines had a peculiar kind of writing, mystical and secret, wherein the highest points of their Religion and Worship of God, which was to be concealed from the vulgar sort, were obscured.

Clemens distributeth the whole sum of this latter Egyptian Learning into three several sorts, *viz. Epistolar*, which is used in writing common Epistles; *Sacerdotal*, which is peculiar to their Priests; and *Sacred*, which Sacred containeth Scripture of two kinds; the one proper, which is expressed by Letters alphabetical in obscure and figurative Words; as for Example, where it is written, The *Ibis* by the Beetle participateth the Beauty of the Hawk; which is read thus: The Moon doth by the Sun borrow part of the Light of God; because Light is an Image of Divine Beauty. The other symbolical, or by Signatures, which is threefold, *viz.* Imitative, Tropical, and Anygmatical; Imitative, which designeth things by Characters, like to the things signified; as by a Circle, the Sun; and by the Horns of the Moon, the Moon it self: Tropical or Transferent, which applies the divers forms and figures of Natural Bodies or Creatures, to signify the Dignities, Fortunes, Conditions, Vertues, Vices, Affections, and Actions of their Gods and Men. So with the Egytian Divines, the Image of an Hawk signifieth God; the figure of the Beetle signifieth the Sun; the picture of the Bird *Ibis* signifieth the Moon: by the form of a Man, Prudence and Skilfulness: by a Lion, Fortitude: by a Horse, Liberty; by a Crocodile, Impudency; by a Fish, Hatred is to be understood. Anygmatical, is a composition or mixture of Images or Similitudes; in which sense, the monstrous Image *Clem. Strom. l. 5.*

of

of a Lions Body having a Man's Head, was graven on their Temples and Altars, to signify, that to Men all divine things are Ænygmatical and obscure. So the Image of the Sun set on the head of a Crocodile (which liveth as well in the Waters, as on Land) expresseth, that the Sun nourisheth Meteors in the Air, as well from the Waters as from the Earth. So a Scepter, at the top whereof is made an Eye, and an Ear, signifieth God, hearing, seeing, and governing all things. The *Scythians* are thought to have been delighted with this kind of writing. For *Pherecides Syrius* reporteth, That when *Darius* sending Letters, threatned *Idanthura*, King of the *Scythians*, with ruin and destruction of his Kingdom, unless he would acknowledg Subjection: *Idanthura* returned to him a Mouse, a Frog, a Bird, a Dart, and a Plough-share; which *Orontopagas*, Tribune of the Souldiers, interpreted to signify, that by the Mouse, their Dwellings; by the Frog, their Waters; by the Bird, their Air; by the Dart, their Weapons; by the Plough, their Lands; were signified to be ready to be delivered to *Darius*, as their Soveraign Lord. But *Xyphodres* made another Construction, *viz.* that the King meant, That except *Darius* with his Men did hasten away, as a Bird through the Air, or creep into holes as a Mouse, or run into the Waters which they had passed as a Frog, they should not escape his Arms, but either be slain, or (being made Captives) till his Grounds. The same History is with little difference reported by *Herodotus*. *Herod. l. 4.*

The fourth and last part, which is moral and politique, doth contain especially the Laws, which (according to *Laertius*) *Mercurius Trismegistus*, or *Ter maximus* divised; who in his Books or Dialogues of *Pimander* and *Asclepius*, hath written so many things of God worthy of admiration; as well (saith *Sixtus Senensis*) of the *Trinity*, and of the coming of Christ, as of the last and fearful day of Judgment: that (as saith the same Author, the Opinion being also ancient) he is not only to be accounted a Philosopher, but a Prophet of things to come.

Iamblicus in his Book of Mysteries of the *Egyptians*, taking two very ancient Historians for his Authors, to wit, *Seleucus* and *Menatus*, affirmeth, that this *Mercury* was not only the Inventor of the Egyptian Philosophy, but of all other Learning, called the *Wisdom of the Egyptians*, before remembred: And that he wrote of that subject 36525 Books, or Pages. Of which there were numbred of fiery Spirits, one hundred Books; of aerial Spirits as many; and of Spirits Celestial a thousand: which because they were out of the Egyptian Language converted by certain learned Philosophers into the natural Greek, they seemed to have been first written in that Tongue. *Clemens Alexandrinus* writeth, that among the Books of *Hermes*, to wit, of the *Wisdom of the Egyptians*, there were extant in his time 36; of *Physick* six Books; of the orders of *Priests* ten; and of *Astrology* four. *Clem. Strom. l. 6.*

§. VII.

A Brief of the History of Joshua; *and of the space between him and* Othoniel; *and of the remainders of the Canaanites; with a note of some Contemporaries to* Joshua; *and of the breach of Faith.*

After the Death of *Moses*, and in the one and fortieth Year of the Egression, in the first Month called *Nisan*, or *March*, *Joshua* the Son of *Nun*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, being filled with the Spirit of Wisdom, took on him the Government of *Israel*; God giving him Comfort, and encouraging him to pass the River of *Jordan*, and to possess, and divide among the *Israelites* the Land promised.

The beginning of *Joshua*'s Rule, St. *Augustine* dates with the Reign of *Amintas*, the eighteenth King in *Assyria*; with *Corax* the sixteenth King in *Sicyonia*; when *Danaus* governed the *Argives*; and *Erichthonius Athens*. *Lib. 18. de Civit. Dei, c. 11.*

Joshua, imitating in all things his Predecessor, sent over *Jordan* certain Discoverers to view the Seat and Strength of *Jerico*, the next City unto him on the other side of the River, which he was to pass over. Which Discoverers, being saved and sent back by *Rahab*, a Woman of ill Fame, because she kept a Tavern or Victualing-house, made *Joshua* know, that the Inhabitants of *Jericho*, and those of the Country about it, hearing of the approach of *Israel*, had lost their Courage. Whereupon the day after the return of the Spies, which was the sixth day of the one and fortieth year after the Egression, *Joshua* removed from *Shittim* in the Plains of *Moab*, and drew down his Army to the Banks of the River *Jordan*, and gave them Commandment to put themselves in order to follow the Ark of God, when the *Levites* took it up, and moved towards the River; giving them withal this forcible Encouragement, That they should thereby assure themselves of his favour and presence, who is Lord of all the World, when the River of *Jordan* should be cut off, and divided, and the Waters coming from above should stand still on a heap; whereby those below towards the *Dead-Sea* wanting supply, they might pass over into the Land of *Canaan* with dry feet. *Josh. 2. 1.* *Josh. 2. 11.* *Josh. 3. 1.* *Josh. 3. 3.* *Josh. 3. 13.*

He also commanded *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the half Tribe of *Manasseh*, to prepare themselves (according to their Covenant made with *Moses*) to march in the Head of the rest, and (as we call it in this Age) to lead in the Vanguard, which through all the Desarts of *Arabia*, from the Mount *Sinai* to this place, those of the Tribe of *Judah* had performed. For these Tribes being already provided of their Habitations, and the Country and Cities of the *Amorites*, by the help of the rest, conquered for them: It agreed with Justice and Equity, that *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the half of *Manasseh* should also assist their Brethren in the obtaining of their parts, as yet in their Enemies possession. *Josh. 1. 12.*

On the Banks of *Jordan* they rested themselves from the sixth day to the ninth; and on the tenth day of the first Month *Nisan*, or *March*, they pass over to the other side, taking with them twelve Stones from the dry ground in the midst of the River: which, for a memory of that Miracle by God wrought, they set up at *Gilgal*, on the East-side of the City of *Jerico*, where they encamped the first Night. At which place *Joshua* gave Commandment, that all born in the last fortieth Year in the Deserts, should be circumcised; which Ceremony to that day had been omitted. Of the neglect whereof St. *Augustine* giveth for cause, The Peoples contempt of their Superiours. *Thomas* excuseth it in this sort; That the *Israelites* knew not the certain time of their removing from one place to another; *Damascen*, That it was not needful by Circumcision to distinguish them from other Nations, at such time as they lived by themselves and apart from all Nations. *Josh. 4. 19.* *Josh. 5. 2.* *Aug. q. 3. in Josh.* *Thom. part 3. quæst. 70. art. 4. ad 3.*

On the fourteenth day of the same Month, the Children of *Israel* celebrated the *Passover* now the third time; first, at their leaving *Egypt*; secondly, at Mount *Sinai*; and now at *Gilgal*. *Josh. 5. 10.*

After

After which being desirous to taste of the Fruits of the Country, and having, as it were, surfeited on Manna, they parched of the Corn of the Land, being not yet fully ripe, and eat thereof.

And as *Moses* began to distribute those Regions beyond *Jordan*, to wit, the Land of the *Amorites*, which *Og* of *Basan*, and *Sihon* held, so did *Joshua* perform the rest; and after a view and partition made of the Territories, he gave to each Tribe his Portion by Lot. But this Partition and Distribution was not done at once, but at three several times; First, by *Moses* to *Gad*, *Reuben*, and the half Tribe of *Manasseh*, of the Lands over *Jordan*; Secondly, by *Joshua*, to the Tribe of *Judah*, *Ephraim*, and the other half Tribe of *Manasseh*, about the fifth Year of his Government; proved in the 14th of *Joshua*, v. 10. and a third division was made to the other seven Tribes at *Shilo*, where *Joshua* seated the *Tabernacle of the Congregation*.

Josh. 14. 3.

Josh. 18.

The Victories of *Joshua* against the Kings of the *Canaanites*, are so particularly set down in his own Books, as I shall not need to lengthen this part by their Repetition. In whose Story I chiefly note these Particulars.

First; How in the beginning of the War, those little Kings, or *Reguli* of the *Canaanites*, had not so much understanding, as to unite themselves together against the *Israelits*; but according to the custom of those Estates, from whose Governours God hath taken away all Wisdom and Fore-sight, they left those of their own Nation, which were next the Invaders, to themselves and to their own Defences; hoping that the Fire kindled somewhat far off, might again have been quenched ere it could spread it self so far as their own Territories and Cities. But after such time as *Jericho* and *Ai* were entred, and the Kings, People, and Cities consumed, five of those 31 Kings (all which at length perished in that War) joyned themselves together, first attempting the *Gibeonites*, who had rendred themselves to *Joshua*. Only five (the rest looking on to see the success) namely the King of the *Jebusites*, in *Jebus*, or *Hierusalem*, the Kings of *Hebron*, *Jarmuth*, *Lachis*, and *Eglon*, addrest themselves for Resistance: whose Army being by *Joshua* surprised and broken, themselves despairing to scape by flight, and hopeless of Mercy by Submission, creeping into a Cave under ground, were thence by *Joshua* drawn forth and hanged. In the prosecution of which Victory he also took *Makkedah*, and *Libnah*, and *Lachis*. To the Relief whereof *Horam* King of *Gezar* hastened, and perished. After which *Joshua* possest himself of *Eglon*, *Hebron*, and *Debir*, destroying these Cities with their Princes.

Josh. 10.

Josh. 10.

In the end, and when the South Countries were possest, the Cities thereof conquered, and their Kings and People made Dust: The rest of the *Canaanites*, guided by the over-late Counsels of necessity, united themselves, to make one gross strength and body of an Army; which *Jabin*, King of *Hazor*, practised and gathered together, being at that time of all the *Canaanite* Kings the most powerful; which Army being by *Joshua* discovered, as the same rested near the Lake of *Merom*, he used such Diligence, as he came on them unawares; and obtaining an absolute Victory over them, he prosecuted the same to the utmost effect. And, besides the slaughter of the Defendants, he entred their Cities, of which he burnt *Hazor* only, reserving the rest for *Israel* to inhabit and enjoy.

Secondly; I note, that *Joshua* shewed himself a skilful Man of War, for that in those ancient times he used the Stratagem of an Ambush in taking of *Ai*; and in that he broke the Armies of the first five Kings of the *Amorites*, which attempted *Gibeon* by surprise: For he marched all night from his Camp at *Gilgal*, and set on them early the next day, when they suspected no Enemy at hand; as he did also at *Merom*, when he overthrew *Jabin*, and his Confederates. After which, making the best profit of his Victory, he assaulted the great City of *Hazor*.

Josh. 10. 9.

Thirdly; The Miracles which God wrought during this War, were exceeding admirable; as the stay of the River of *Jordan* at the Springs, so as the Army of *Israel* past it with a dry foot; the fall of *Jericho* by the sound of Rams Horns; the showers of Hail-stones which fell upon the *Amorites* in their flight from *Gibeon*, whereby more of them perished, than by the Sword of *Israel*. Again, the arrest of the Sun in the Firmament, whereby the day was so much the more lengthened as the *Israelites* had time to execute all those which fled after the overthrow: a wonder of wonders, and a work only proper to the All-powerful God.

Josh. 3. 13.

Chap. 10. *vers.* 11.

Fourthly; Out of the passage between *Joshua* and the *Gibeonites*, the Doctrine of keeping Faith is so plainly and excellently taught, as it taketh away all Evasion, it admitteth no Distinction, nor leaveth open any hole or out-let at all to that cunning perfidiousness, and horrible deceit of this latter Age, called *Equivocation*. For, notwithstanding that these *Gibeonites* were a People of the *Hevites*, expressly and by Name, by the Commandment of God to be rooted out, and notwithstanding that they were Liars, and Deceivers, and Counterfeits, and that they did overreach, and as it were, deride *Joshua*, and the Princes of *Israel*, by faining to be sent as Embassadours from a far Country, in which Travel their Cloaths were worn, their Bread mouldy, which they avowed to have been warm for newness when they first set out; their Barrels and Bottles of Wine broken, their Shoes patcht, and their Sacks rent and ragged: Yet *Joshua* having sworn unto them by the Lord God of *Israel*, he durst not, though urged by the murmur of the People, to lay violent Hands on them; but he spared both their Lives, and the Cities of their Inheritance.

Josh. 9. 7.

Josh. 9. from the 5th to the 13th *Verse*.

Now if ever Man had warrant to break Faith, and to retract his Promise made, *Joshua* had it. For first; The Commandment which he received from God to root out this Nation among the rest, preceded by far the Peace which he had granted them. Secondly, He might justly have put these Men to the Sword, and have sackt their Cities; if there be any Evasion from a Promise made, whereof the Living God is called to witness. For it was not to the *Gibeonites* that he gave Peace, because he knew them to be a People hated of God. He told them, that if they were of the *Hevites*, it was not in his power to make a League with them. But it was to a strange People that he gave Faith, and to a Nation which came from far, who hearing of the Wonders which the God of *Israel* had done in *Egypt* and over *Jordan*, sought for Peace and Protection from his People. Thirdly, The Accord which *Israel* made with these crafty *Canaanits*, was without warrant. For it is written in the same place, That the *Israelites* accepted their Tale; that is, believed what they had said, *and counselled not with the Mouth of the Lord*. Fourthly, these Men who were known Idolaters, and served those Puppets of the Heathen, Men of an Apish Religion, as

Josh. 9. 7.

Josh. 9. 14.

all Worſhippers of Images are, could not challenge the witneſs of the true God, in whom they believed not. I ſay therefore, that if every Man might have ſerved himſelf by any Evaſion or Diſtinction, *Joſhua* might juſtly have done it. For he needed not in this caſe the help of *Equivocation*, or *Mental Reſervation*. For what he ſware, he ſware in good Faith; but he ſware nothing, nor made any Promiſe at all to the *Gibeonites*. And yet, to the end that the faithleſs Subtility of Man ſhould borrow nothing in the future from his Example, who knowing well, that the Promiſes he made in the name of God, were made to the living God, and not to the dying Man, he held them firm and inviolable, notwithſtanding that they to whom he had ſworn it, were Worſhippers of the Devil.

For it is not as faithleſs Men take it, that he which ſwareth to a Man, to a Society, to a State, or to a King, and ſwareth by the Name of the living Lord, and in his Preſence, That this Promiſe (if it be broken) is broken to a Man, to a Society, to a State, or to a Prince; but the Promiſe in the Name of God made, is broken to God. It is God that we therein neglect; we therein profeſs that we fear him not, and that we ſet him at naught and defie him. If he that without Reſervation of Honour giveth a Lie in the preſence of the King, or of his Superiour, doth in point of Honour give the Lie to the King himſelf, or to his Superiour; how much more doth he break Faith with God, that giveth Faith in the preſence of God, promiſeth in his Name, and makes him a Witneſs of the Covenant made?

Out of doubt, it is a fearful thing for a Son to break the Promiſe, Will, or Deed of the Father; for a State, or Kingdom, to break thoſe Contracts which have been made in former times, and confirmed by publick Faith. For though it were 400 Years after *Joſhua*, that *Saul*, even out of Devotion, ſlaughtered ſome of thoſe People deſcended of the *Gibeonites*: yet God who forgat not what the Predeceſſors and Fore-fathers of *Saul* and the *Iſraelites* had ſworn in his Name, afflicted the whole Nation with a conſuming Famine; and could not be appeaſed, till ſeven of *Saul*'s Sons were delivered to the *Gibeonites* grieved, and by them hanged up.

And certainly, if it be permitted by the help of a ridiculous Diſtinction, or by a God-mocking Equivocation, to ſware one thing by the Name of the living God, and to reſerve in ſilence a contrary Intent: The Life of Man, the Eſtates of Men, the Faith of Subjects to Kings, of Servants to their Maſters, of Vaſſals to their Lords, of Wives to their Husbands, and of Children to their Parents, and all Trials of Right, will not only be made uncertain, but all the Chains whereby Freemen are tied in the World, be torn aſunder. It is by Oath (when Kings and Armies cannot paſs) that we enter into the Cities of our Enemies, and into their Armies. It is by Oath that Wars take end, which Weapons cannot end. And what is it or ought it to be, that makes an Oath thus powerful, but this: That he that ſweareth by the Name of God, doth aſſure others that his Words are true, as the Lord of all the World is true, whom he calleth for a Witneſs, and in whoſe Preſence he that taketh the Oath hath promiſed? I am not ignorant of their poor Evaſions, which play with the Severity of God's Commandments in this kind: But this indeed is the beſt Anſwer, That he breaks no Faith, that hath none to break. For whoſoever hath Faith and the Fear of God, dares not do it.

The *Chriſtians* in the *Holy Land* when they were at the greateſt, and had brought the *Caliph* of *Egypt* to pay them Tribute, did not only loſe it again, but were ſoon after beaten out of the *Holy Land* it ſelf: by reaſon (ſaith *William* of *Tyre*, a Reverend Biſhop which wrote that Story) that *Almerick* the fifth King after *Godfrey* brake Faith with the *Caliph Elhadech*, and his *Vicegerent*, the *Soldan Samar*; who being ſuddenly invaded by *Almerick*, drew in the *Turk Syracon* to their Aid; whoſe Nephew *Seladine*, after he had made *Egypt* his own, beat the Chriſtians out of the *Holy Land*; neither would the woodden Croſs (the very Croſs ſay they, that Chriſt died on) give them Victory over *Seladine*, when they brought it into the Field as their laſt Refuge; ſeeing they had forſworn themſelves in his Name, that was crucified thereon. And if it be a direction from the Holy Ghoſt, *That he that ſpeaketh Lies, ſhall be deſtroyed*, and that *the Mouth which uttereth them, ſlayeth the Soul*: How much more perilous is it (if any Peril be greater than to deſtroy the Soul) to ſwear a Lie? It was *Eugenius* the Pope that perſwaded, or rather commanded the King of *Hungary* after his great Victory over *Amurah* the *Turk*, and when the ſaid King had compelled him to Peace, the moſt advantagious that ever was made for the Chriſtians, to break his Faith, and to provoke the *Turk* to renew the War. And though the ſaid King was far ſtronger in the Field than ever; yet he loſt the Battel with 30000 Chriſtians, and his own Life. But I will ſtay my hand: For this firſt Volumn will not hold the repetition of God's Judgments upon Faith-breakers; be it againſt Infidels, Turks, or Chriſtians of divers Religions. Lamentable it is, that the taking of Oaths now-a-days, is rather made a matter of Cuſtom than of Conſcience. *Pſal. 5.6. Wiſd. 1.11.*

It is alſo very remarkable; That it pleaſed God to leave ſo many Cities of the *Canaanites* unconquered by *Iſrael*, to ſcourge and afflict them, by fore-ſeeing their Idolatry, and as it is ſaid in the Scripture, *To be Thorns in their Eyes to prove them, and to teach them to make War.* For theſe Cities hereafter named, did not only remain in the *Canaanites* poſſeſſion all the time of *Joſhua*; but ſoon after his Death, the Children of *Dan* were beaten out of the plain Countries, and enforc'd to inhabit the Mountains, and places of hardeſt Acceſs. And thoſe of *Judah* were not able to be Maſters of their own Vallies; becauſe, as it is written in the *Judges*, *The Canaanites had Chariots of Iron.* And thoſe principal Cities which ſtood on the Sea-ſide, adjoyning unto *Juda*, were ſtill held by the remainder of *Anakims*, or *Philiſtims*; as *Azzah*, *Gath*, *Aſdod*, out of one of which Cities came *Goliath*, remembred in *Samuel*. *Joſh. 23. Judg. 1. 2. Judg. 3. 2. Judg. 1. 34. Jud. 1. 19. Joſ. 11. 19. 1 Sam. 17. 4.*

Neither did the Children of *Manaſſeh* over *Jordan* expel the *Geſhurites*, nor the *Maachathites*; which inhabited the North parts of *Baſan*, afterward *Traconitis*.

Nor the *Nephthalims* poſſeſs themſelves of *Bethſhemiſh*, nor of *Bethanah*; but they inforc'd thoſe *Canaanites* to pay them Tribute. Neither did *Aſher* expel the *Zidonians*, nor thoſe of *Acho*, or *Acon*, *Athlab*, *Achzib*, *Heblah*, *Aphike*, and *Rehob*, nor inforce them to a Tribute. *Joſ. 13. 13. Jud. 1. 31.*

No more could *Zabulon* enjoy *Kitron*, and *Nahalol*, but received Tribute from them. Alſo the *Canaanites* dwelt in *Gezer* among the *Ephraims*; and among the Children of *Manaſſeh*, on the Weſt of *Jordan*, the *Canaanites* held *Bethſhean*, *Taanach*, *Dor*, *Ibleam*, and *Meggido*; yea, *Hieruſalem* it ſelf *Joſ. 16. 10. Jud. 1. 27.*

self did the *Jebusites* defend above four hundred Years, even till *David*'s time.

Now *Joshua* lived one hundred and ten Years, eighteen of which he governed *Israel*, and then changed this Life for a better. The time of his Rule is not expressed in the Scriptures, which causeth divers to conjecture diversly of the Continuance. *Josephus* gives him five and twenty Years; *Seder Ollam Rabbi*, the Author of the *Hebrew Chronology*, eight and twenty; and *Massius* six and twenty; *Maimonius*, cited by *Massius*, fourteen; *Joannes Lucidus*, seventeen; *Cusanus* ten; *Eusebius* giveth him seven and twenty; and so doth St. *Augustine*; *Melanthon* two and thirty; *Codoman* five and twenty. But whereas there passed 480 Years from the deliverance of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, unto the building of the Temple, it is necessary that we allow to *Joshua* only eighteen of them, as finding the rest supplied otherwise, which to me seems the most likely, and as I think, a well approved Opinion.

The same necessity of retaining precisely 480 Years from the departure out of *Egypt* unto the building of the Temple, convinceth of Error such as have inserted Years between *Joshua* and *Othoniel*, of whom *Eusebius* finds eight Years, to which *Arius Montanus* adhereth; and for which he giveth his reason in his four and twentieth and last Chapters upon *Joshua*: *Bunting* reckons it nine Years, *Bucholzer* and *Reusner* but one, *Codoman* twenty, and *Nicephorus* no less than three and thirty; whereas following the sure direction of these 480 Years, there can be no void Years found between *Joshua* and *Othoniel*, unless they be taken out of those eighteen ascribed unto *Joshua* by the Account already specified. The Praises and Acts of *Joshua* are briefly written in the six and fortieth Chapter of *Ecclesiasticus*, where, among many other things, it is said of him, *Who was there before him like to him, for he fought the Battels of the Lord?*

Euseb. Prep Evang.

That he wrote the Book called by this name, it was the Opinion of *Arius Montanus*, because it it said in the last Chapter *vers.* 26. *And* Joshua *wrote these words in the Book of the Law of God*; which seemeth rather to have been meant by the Covenant which *Joshua* made with *Israel* in *Sichem*, where they all promised to serve and obey the Lord; which Promise *Joshua* caused to be written in the Book of the Law; and of this Opinion were *Cajetan* and *Abulensis*: *Theodoret* doth likewise conceive that the Book of *Joshua* was collected out of an ancient Volumn, intituled *Liber Justorum*; remembred by *Joshua* himself; *Josh.* 1. 13. and others, that it was the work of *Samuel*; for whereas *Montanus* groundeth his Opinion upon these words of the 26th Verse, *And* Joshua *wrote these words*, &c. this place hath nothing in it to prove it; for when the People had answered *Joshua*, *The Lord our God will we serve, and his Voice will we obey*; it followeth that *Joshua* made a Covenant with the People, and wrote the same in the Book of the Law of God. 5. last *ver.* 24. *v.* 26.

There lived at once with *Joshua*, *Erichthonius* in *Attica*, who taught that Nation to yoke Beasts together, thereby to till the Ground with more ease and speed: And about the same time the fifty Daughters of *Danaus* (as it is said) slew the fifty Sons of *Egyptus*, all but *Lynceus* who succeeded *Danaus*, if the Tale be true. There lived also with *Joshua*, *Phœnix* and *Cadmus*, and near the end of *Joshua*'s Life, *Jupiter* is said to have ravished *Europa* the Daughter of *Phœnix*, (afterwards married to *Asterius* King of *Creta*) and begat on her *Minos*, *Radamanthus*, and *Sarpedon*. But St. *Augustine* reports this Ravishment to be committed by *Xanthus*, and yet they are more commonly taken for the Sons of *Jupiter*. But it may be doubted whether *Minos* was Father to *Deucalion*, and *Deucalion* to *Idomeneus*, who was an old Man at the War of *Troy*, and *Sarpedan* was in Person a young or strong Man at the same *Trojan* War. And so doth *Nestor* reckon up in the Counsel of the *Greeks*, *Theseus* and *Perithous* for Men of Antiquity, and of Ages past: *Minos* being yet more ancient than any of these. But hereof elsewhere.

lib. 18. *c.* 12. *De Civit. Dei.*

Homer Odiss. 8. *ad.*

Hom. Iliad. 1.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Tribes of Israel, *that were planted in the Borders of* Phœnicia, *with sundry Stories depending upon those places.*

§. I.

The Proem to the Description of the whole Land of Canaan, *with an Exposition of the Name of* Syria.

THE Story of the *Judges* ought to follow that of *Joshua*, after whom the Common-wealth of the Jews was governed by Kings, of which so many of them as ruled the ten Tribes, shall be remembred when we come to the Description of *Samaria*: But because the Land of *Canaan*, and the borders thereof, were the Stages and Theaters, whereon the greatest part of the Story past, with that which followeth hath been acted, I think it very pertinent (for the better understanding of both) to make a *Geographical* description of those Regions; that all things therein performed by the places known, may the better be understood and conceived. To which purpose (besides the addition of the Neighbour Countries) I have bestowed on every Tribe his proper Portion; and do shew what Cities and places of strength were by the Jews obtained; and what numbers it pleased God to leave unconquered; by whom he might correct and scourge them, when ungrateful for his many Graces; they at sundry times forgat or neglected the Lord of all Power; and adored those deaf and dead Idols of the Heathen. *Divina Bonitas* (saith S. *Augustine*) *ideo maximè irascitur in hoc seculo, ne irascatur in futuro; & misericorditer temporalem adhibet severitatem, ne æternam justè inferat ultionem*: The Divine Goodness is especially therefore angry

angry in this World, that it may not be angry in the World to come; and doth mercifully use Temporal Severity, that it may not justly bring upon us eternal Vengeance.

To the Cities herein described, I have added a short Story of the beginnings and ends of divers Kingdoms and Common-wealths; and to help my self herein, I have perused divers of the best Authors upon this Subject; among whom, because I find so great disagreement in many particulars, I have rather in such cases adventured to follow mine own Reason, than to borrow any one of their old Patterns.

And because *Canaan*, with *Palestina* of the *Philistims*, and the Land of *Og* and *Sihon* Kings of *Basan*, and the *Arabian Amorites*, were but small Provinces of *Syria*; it shall be necessary, first to divide and bound the general, and so descend to this particular, now called the Holy Land.

Ptol. Asiæ. tab. 4. *Syria*, now *Soria*, according to the largest Description, as it was anciently taken, imbraced all those Regions from the *Euxine* Sea to the Red Sea; and therefore were the *Cappadocians*, which look into *Pontus*, called *Leucosyrians*, or white *Syrians*. *Ptol. 5.* But taking it shorter, and from the Coast of *Cilicia*, which is the North border, unto *Idumæa* towards the South, *Tigris* towards the Sun-rising, and the *Mediterranean* Sea Westward: it then containeth, besides *Babylonia*, *Chaldæa*, *Arabia* the *Desart*, and *Arabia Petræa*, that Region also which the Greeks calls *Mesopotamia*; the Hebrews *Syria*, of the two Rivers, to wit, *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, for so *Aram-Naharaijm* is expounded; also *Padan Aram*; that is, *Jugum Syriæ*, because the two Rivers go along in it as it were in a Yoke.

Trogallus. *Edessa*, sometimes *Rages*, now *Rage*, was the *Metropolis* of this Region of *Syria*. In *Syria*, taken largely, there were many small Provinces, as *Cœlosyria*, which the Latines call *Syria Cava*, because it lay in that fruitful Valley between the Mountains of *Lybanus* and *Anti-lybanus*, in which the famous Cities of *Antioch*, *Laodicea*, *Apamea*, with many others were seated. Then *Damascena*, or *Syria Lybanica*, taking name of the City *Damascus*, and the Mountains of *Lybanus*, the Regal Seat of the *Adades*, the first Kings of *Syria*. Adjoyning to it was the Province of *Sophene*, or *Syria Soba*, *Choba*, or *Zobal*; over which *Adadezer* commanded in *Soloman*'s time. *1 King. 11.* Then *Phœnicia* and the People of *Syraphœnices*: and lastly, *Syria Palestina* bordering *Egypt*; of which *Ptolomy* maketh *Judea* also a part; and to that Province which *Moses* calleth *Seir* and *Edom*, *Pomponius Mela* giveth the name of *Syria Judæa*. *Herod. in Polym. Dion. l. 27.* *Ptol. Asiæ. tab. 4.*

§. II.

Of the Bounds of the Land of Canaan, *and of the Promises touching this Land.*

BUT that Land which was anciently *Canaan*, taketh a part of *Phœnicia*, and stretcheth from behind *Lybanus* to the great *Deserts* between *Idumæa* and *Egypt*; bounded by the Midland Sea on the West, and the Mountains of *Hermon*, *Galaad* and *Arnon* towards the East, the same Hills which *Strabo* calleth *Traconi* or *Traconitæ*, and *Ptolomy Hippus*. *Strab. l. 10.* The name of *Canaan* it had from *Canaan* the Son of *Cham*, *& Lingua appellata fuit* Canaan; *The Language was also called* Canaan, saith *Mornæus*, and after *Hebræa* of the *Hebrews*, who took name from *Heber*, the Son of *Sale*, according to St. *Augustine*. *Caleb. f. 62.* But *Arias Montanus* not so well allowing of this derivation, makes it a common name to all those of *Noah*'s Sons, which past over *Euphrates* towards the West Sea. For the word *Heber*, saith he, is as much as *transiens*, or *transmittens*, of going or passing over. And because the Children of *Abraham* had for a long time no certain abiding; therefore, as he thinks, they were by the *Egyptians* called *Hebrei*, as it were passengers, which is also the Opinion of *C. Sigonius*, and of *Eusebius* long before them both. *Euseb. Præp. Evangel. 7. c. 3.* It had also the name of *Judea* from *Juda*; and then afterwards intituled the Holy Land, because therein our Saviour Christ was born, and buried. Now this part of *Syria* was again divided into four, namely, into *Edom*, (otherwise *Seir*, or *Edumea*) *Galilee*, *Samaria*, and *Judea*. *Galilee* is double, the *Superior*, called *Gentium*, and the *Inferior*; and that *Galilee* and *Judea* are distinguished, it is plain in the *Evangelists*, though both of them belong to *Phœnicia*. *Mat. 2. Luke 2. John 4.*

Now besides these Provinces of *Phœnicia*, and *Palestina* (both which the River of *Jordan* boundeth; saving that *Phœnicia* stretcheth a little more Easterly towards *Damascus*) that part also to the East of *Jordan*, and within the Mountains of *Hermon*, *Gilead*, and *Arnon*, otherwise *Traconi*, fell to the possession of half *Manasseh*, *Gad*, and *Reuben*, and therefore are accounted a part of *Canaan* also; as well because anciently possest by the *Amorites*, as for that they were conquered and enjoyed by the *Israelites*; which Eastmost parts are again divided into *Basan*, or *Batanea*, into *Gilead*, *Moab*, *Midian*, *Ammon*, and the Territories of the *Machati*, *Gessuri*, *Argobe*, *Hus*. They are known to the later Cosmographers by the name of *Arabia* in general, and by the names of *Traconitis*, *Pieria*, *Batanea*, &c. of which I will speak in their proper places.

But where *Moses* describeth the Land of *Canaan* in the tenth of *Genesis*, he maketh no mention of the later Provinces, which fell to *Manasseh*, *Gad*, and *Reuben*, for these be his words. *Then the border of the* Canaanites *was from* Zidon, *as thou comest to* Gerar *until* Azzah (which is *Gaza*) and this was the length of the Country North and South; then it followeth in the Text. *And as thou goest unto* Sodom *and* Gomorah, *and* Admah, *and* Seboim, *even unto* Lasha; by which words *Moses* setteth down the breadth, to wit, from the *Dead Sea* to the *Mediterranean*. But in *Deuteronomy* it seemeth to be far more large: For it is therein written: *All the places whereon the sole of your Feet shall tread shall be yours: your Coast shall be from the Wilderness, and from* Lebanon, *and from the River* Perah, *unto the uttermost Sea.* Now for the length of the Country North and South, this Description agreeth with the former; only *Lebanon* is put for *Zidon*: and the *Wilderness* for *Gerar* and *Azzah*, which make no difference: but for the breadth and extent East and West, if *Perah* be taken for *Euphrates*; then the Land promised stretcheth it self both over *Arabia Petræa*, and the *Desart*, as far as the border of *Babylon*, which the *Israelites* never possest, nor at any time did so much as invade or attempt. And therefore *Vadianus* doth conceive that by the River *Perah*, was meant *Jordan*, and not *Euphrates*; taking light from this place of *Josua*: *Behold I have divided unto you by lot these Nations, that remain to be an Inheritance according to your Tribes; from* Jordan *with all the Nations that I have destroyed, even unto the great Sea Westward.* *Deut. 11. 24.* *C. 23. v. 4.*

And tho it be true, that *David* greatly enlarged the Territory of the Holy Land, even as *Vadianus* well noteth, if *Perah* in the former place be *Vadian. Epitom. trium terræ partium. cap. Palestina.*

be taken for *Euphrates*: then was it but *per genus in amicitiam receptas*. For *David* did not at any time enter so far to the East as *Assyria*, or *Babylonia*. Neither doth the not possessing of all these Countries give advantage to those that would make any irreligious Cavil, as touching the Promise of God to the *Israelites* unperformed: For when both their Kings, Magistrates, and People, fell from his Worship and service, it pleased him, not only to inclose them within that Territory, which was for so many People exceeding narrow; but therein, and elsewhere, to subject them unto those Idolatrous Nations, whose false and foolish Gods themselves also served and obeyed. And sure, the Promise by which the *Hebrews* claimed the Inheritance of *Canaan*, and the lasting injoying thereof, to wit, *as long as the Heavens were above the Earth*, was tied to those Conditions, both in the Verses preceding, and subsequent; which the *Israelites* never performed. And therefore they could not hope for other, than all Mankind could or can expect; who know, that all sorts of Comforts, from the merciful Goodness of God looked for, as well in this Life as after it, are no longer to be attended, than while we persevere in his Love, Service, and Obedience. So, in the 8th Verse of the 11th of *Deuteronomy*, the keeping of God's Commandments, was a Condition joined to the Prosperity of *Israel*. For therein it is written; *Therefore shall ye keep all the Commandments which I command you this day: that ye may be strong, and go in, and possess the Land, whither ye go to possess it. Also that you may prolong your days in the Land which the Lord sware unto your Fathers*, &c.

Deut. 11. 21.

Deut. 11.

The like condition was also annexed to the enjoying of the Land conquered, and the possession thereof, so long as the Heavens are above the Earth. *For if ye keep diligently*, saith he, *all these Commandments, which I command you to do, that is, to love the Lord your God*, &c. *then will the Lord cast out all these Nations before you, and ye shall possess great Nations, and mightier than you.* And here, tho it be manifest, that by reason of the breach of God's Commandments, and their falling away from the Worship of his All-powerful Majesty, to the Idolatry of the Heathen, the conditional Promises of God were absolutely void, as depending upon Obedience unperformed: Yet I cannot mislike that Exposition of *Melanthon*; *For*, saith he, *ostendit promissionem præcipuam non esse de hoc Politico Regno*; *He sheweth that his chief Promise is not of a Civil Kingdom.* To which agrees that Answer, which S. *Hierom* made to a certain Heretick, in his Epistle *ad Dardanum*, who accused S. *Hierom*, that he overthrew the Reputation of the *Jews* Story, and brought the Truth thereof in question, by drawing it altogether into an *Allegory*, and *ad illam dumtaxat spiritualem terram quæ in Cœlis est*, (that is) *Only to that Land of the Living which is in Heaven. Quoniam tota Judæorum Regio adeo angusta sit ambitu, ut vix longitudinem habeat 160 milliarium, latitudinem verò 40, & in his etiam regionibus loca verbes & oppida sunt plurima, nunquam à Judæis occupata, sed tantum divinæ pollicitatione promissa*; *Because the whole Country of the Jews is so narrow in compass, that it scarce hath* 160 *miles in length, and* 40 *miles in breadth*; *and in these are Countries, Places, Cities, and many Towns, which the Jews never possest, but were only granted by Divine Promise.* In like manner the same Father speaketh upon *Esay*, touching the Blessings promised unto *Hierusalem*; where he hath these words; *De quo discimus Hierusalem nequaquam in Palæstina Regione petendam; quæ totius Provinciæ deterrima est, & saxosis Montibus asperatur; & penuriam patitur sitis: ita ut cœlestibus utatur pluviis, & raritatem Fontium Cisternarum extructione soletur: sed in Deimanibus ad quam dicitur festinaverunt structores tui*; *From whence*, saith he, *we learn, that Hierusalem is not to be sought in that Region of Palæstina, which is the worst of the whole Province, and ragged with craggy Mountains: and suffereth the penury of Thirst: so as it preserveth rain Water, and supplieth the scarcity of Wells, by building Cisterns: but this Hierusalem is in God's hands; to which it is said, Thy Builders have hastned*: so far S. *Hierom*. Cap. 49. 14.

Where also, to prevent mistaking, he thus expoundeth himself; *Neque hoc dico in suggillationem terræ Judææ, ut Hereticus Sycophanta mentitur: aut quo auferam historiæ veritatem: quæ fundamentum est intelligentiæ spiritualis, sed ut decutiam supercilium Judæorum: qui Synagogæ angustias latitudini Ecclesiæ præferunt. Si enim occidentem tantum sequuntur literam, & non spiritum vivificantem: ostendant terram promissionis lacte & melle manantem*: Neither (saith he) *say I this to disgrace the Land of Judea, (as the Heretical Sycophant doth belie me) or to take away the truth of the History, which is the Foundation of Spiritual Understanding, but to beat down the pride of the Jews; which enlarge the Straits of the Synagogue, farther than the breadth of the Church: for if they follow only the killing Letter, and not the quickning Spirit, let them shew the Land of Promise, flowing with Milk and Hony.*

By this it may also be gathered, howsoever it be unlikely (seeing the West bound in the place, *Deut.* 11. 24. had his truth in the literal sense) that *Euphrates* or *Perath*, which is made the East bound, should be taken only in a spiritual sense; yet nevertheless that *Hierom*'s Opinion inclineth to this, as if this *Perath* were not to be understood for *Euphrates*: and that the Promise it self was never so large, much less the Plantation and Conquest of *Israel*.

And now for a more particular description of this Holy Land, because *Asher*, *Nephtalim*, and *Zabulon*, held the Northermost part, and were seated in *Phœnicia*, I will begin with these three, taking *Asher* for the first: of which Tribe, yet before I speak, I must admonish the Reader touching the Names of Places in this, and the other Tribes to be mentioned, that he remember that many Names, by reason of the divers Fancies of Translators, are diversly expressed; so that to the unskilful they may seem divers, when they are one and the same: the reason of this diversity (as by those learned in the *Hebrew* I am taught) is, partly, because the ancient Editions of the *Hebrew* want Vowels, the old Translators imagined other Vowels than now the *Hebrew* Editions have; and partly, because the Ancient expressed or omitted divers Consonants, otherwise than the latter think fit.

§. III.

§. III.

The Tribe of Asher.

¶. I.

The Bounds of the Tribe of Asher.

THE *Asherites* descended of *Asher*, the Son of *Jacob* by *Zelpha*, the Hand-maid of *Lea*, were increased while they abode in *Ægypt*, to the number of 41500, and odd Persons, all Men above twenty Years of Age, and able to bear Arms at the time, when they were mustered by *Moses* at Mount *Sinai*: All which number perishing in the Desarts, there remained of their Issues, besides Women and Children, 53400 Bodies fit for the Wars: which past the River of *Arnon*, into the Plains of *Moab*; and after the Conquest of *Canaan*, had for their Portion that part of *Phœnicia*, from *Zidon*, and the Fields of *Libanus*, unto *Ptolomais Acon* alongst the Sea-coast, containing thirty English miles, or thereabouts; and from the Midland Sea to the East Border, some twelve miles; though *Antonius* makes it somewhat larger. This part of *Canaan* was very fruitful, abounding in Wine, Oil, and Wheat, besides the *Balsamum*, with other pleasant and profitable Commodities; according to that Prophesy, Asser *pinguis panis*; concerning *Asser*, his Bread shall be fat; *And he shall give pleasures for a King.*

Ant. Itin.

Gen. 49.

¶. II.

Of Zidon.

THe first City seated on the North border of the Territory of *Asser*, was *Zidon*, which *Joshua* calleth the Great *Zidon*, both for strength and magnitude. The Greeks, and *Q. Curtius*, make *Agenor* the Founder thereof: and *Justin* derives the Name from the abundance of Fish found on those Shores; whereof it hath been called *Zidona*. But that it was far more ancient, *Moses*, *Joshua*, and *Josephus* witness, the same being founded by *Zidon*, the eldest of *Canaan*'s Sons: and so strong it was in *Joshua*'s Time, as neither did himself attempt it, neither could the *Asserites*, or any of their Successors, master it: but it continued all the time of the Judges and Kings, even unto the coming of Christ, a City interchangeably governed, by their own Princes, or other Magistrates: though, according to the Warnings and Threats of the Prophets *Esay*, *Jeremy*, *Ezekiel*, and *Zachary*; it was often afflicted, both by the Enemies Sword, and by the Pestilence.

Justin. l. 18

Gen. 10. *Joseph.*

Esay 23. *Jer.* 47. *Ezek.* 28. & 32. *Zach.* 9.

Zidon is seated on the very wash of the *Phœnician* Sea, which is a part of the *Mediterran*, or Midland Sea. It hath to the North, the City of *Berythus*, and the River *Leontis*; and to the South, *Sarepta*, or *Sarphat*, which standeth between it and *Tyre*; the distance between which two great and famous Cities, to wit, *Zidon* and *Tyre*, is fourteen thousand paces, saith *Seiglerus*: but *Vadianus* makes it two hundred furlongs, and so doth *Weissinbury*, in his Description of the Holy Land, and both from *Strabo*: which two hundred furlongs make five and twenty miles. This difference of distance, as well between these two known Cities, as all the rest, make it over-difficult to devise any new Scale to the Map and Description of the Holy Land.

Palæst. Seig. f. 19. *Vadian. Pben. f.* 278. *Strab. l.* 16.

What Kings it had till *Agenor*'s Time, there is no memory. The Story which *Zeno* the Philosopher, who was a *Zidonian*, wrote thereof, being by Time consumed and lost. It seemeth to be more ancient than *Tyre*; which was also built by the *Zidonians*. For as *Strabo* noteth, *Homer* speaking of *Zidon*, neglecteth the memory of *Tyre*; because it was but a Member of *Zidon*, and a City subject to the Kings thereof: though it be true, that in after-times it contended with *Zidon* for Primacy, and became far more renowned, opulent, and strong. From *Zidon* had *Solomon* and *Zorobabel*, their principal Workmen, both in Timber and Stone, for the building of the Temple. For as it flourished in all sorts of Learning, so did it in all other Mechanical Arts and Trades: the Prophet *Zachary* calling them, the Wise *Zidonians*. The City was, both by Nature and Art, exceeding strong, having a Castle or Citadel on the North side, standing upon an unaccessible Rock, and compassed by the Sea; which after the Citizens became Christians, was held and defended by the Knights of the Dutch Order: and another Castle it hath on the South side, by the Port of *Ægypt*, which the *Templers* guarded. It also sent many other *Colonies* besides that of *Tyre*, into places remote; as unto *Thebes*, and *Sephyra*, Cities of *Bœotia* in *Greece*.

Strab. l. 16.

Zach. 9. 2.

Herod. l. 5. *Plin.* l. 5. c. 9.

Strabo and *Pliny* give the *Zidonians* the Invention of * Glass, which they used to make of those Sands which are taken out of the River *Belus*, falling into the *Mediterranean* Sea, near *Ptolomais* or *Acon*; and from whence the *Venetians* fetch the Matter of those clear Glasses which they make at *Murana*; of which S. *Hierom* and *Pliny*. Zidon *insignis artifex vitri*: Zidon *vitrariis officinis Nobilis*; Zidon *a famous Glass-maker, or a skilful worker in Glass-houses.*

* It seems that even in *Joshua*'s time they practised Glass-making; whence *Junius* for *Mistrephthmaim*, which *ad verbum*, is as much as *combustiones aquarum*, reads *fornaces vitrariæ*. *Jos.* 11. 8. as it seems, because these Furnaces were where there was store of Water, either for the moving the Bellows by the force of the Water, or for other necessitry uses. But there are others that take them for Salt-pits, and others again for Hot-baths.

They were in Religion Idolaters, (as the rest of the *Canaanites*) worshippers of *Baal* and *Astaroth*: Which Idols, tho common to the other of the Issue of *Canaan*, (as *Pineda* gathers out of 1 *Sam.* 31. 10. and *Judges* 10. 6.) yet especially and peculiarly, were accounted the Gods of the *Zidonians*; as appears 1 *Kings* 11. 5. in the story of *Solomon*'s Idolatry, where *Asteroth* is called the God of the *Zidonians*: and 1 *Reg.* 16. 33. in the story of *Achab*, the chief worshipper of *Baal*, where it is said, that he marrying *Jezebel*, the Daughter of the King of the *Zidonians*, worshipped their *Baal*. Divers *Baals*, and divers *Astaroths*, in their Idolatries, they acknowledged; as it appears by the plural Names of *Baalim* and *Astaroth*, 1 Sam. 12. 10. and elsewhere: for even the Name *Astaroth*, as I am informed by a skilful Hebrician, is plural; the singular being *Astoreth*: whence *Jud.* 2. 13. the *Septuagint* read ἐλάτρευσαν ταῖς ἀστάρταις; *They worshipped the Astarties.* The occasion of this their multiplying of their *Baals*, and *Astoreths*, may be diversly understood; either in respect of the diversity of the Forms of the Images, or of the Worship in divers places, or of the Stories depending upon them; which (as Fables use to be) were doubtless in divers Cities divers. *Augustine* *Quæst.* 16. *in Judg.* thinks *Baal* and *Astarte* to be *Jupiter* and *Juno*. For the *Carthaginians* (which were *Tyrians*) call *Juno* by some such name as *Astarte*,

The form of *Astaroth* (or *Astarte*) seemeth to have been a Sheep; for, *Deut.* 7. 13. the word, in the plural number, signifieth Sheep; and this may confirm *Augustin*'s Opinion, that *Astarte* was *Juno*: for the form of her Husband *Jupiter Hammon* was a Ram. Καλείται γαλὸν Ἄδωνιν.

Astarte, *Tully*, *lib.* 3. *de Nat. Deorum*, making divers Goddesses of the name of *Venus*, expounds the fourth to be *Astarte*; whom he makes to be born of *Tyrus* and *Syria*, and to have been the Wife of *Adonis*. As also *Macrob.* 2. *Saturn. cap.* 21. says, that *Adonis* was with great veneration commonly worshipped of the *Assyrians*. And *Hierom*, upon *Ezek.* 8. 44. notes, that *Thammuz* (whom there the Idolatrous Women are noted to bewail) is the name of *Adonis* among the *Syrians*. So that it may seem, that in the Worship of *Astarte*, or *Venus*, they did bewail her Husband *Adonis*. As also the *Grecians* did in their Songs of *Adonis*, *Mourner* Adonis *the Fair*; *Dead is* Adonis *the Fair*. Howbeit, others in that place of *Ezekiel*, not without good probability, expound the mourning for *Thammuz*, to be the mourning for *Osiris* in the Sacrifices of *Isis*: whose loss of her Husband *Osiris*, was as famous in the *Ægyptian* Idolatry, as with the *Grecians*, *Venus*'s loss of *Adonis*. And to this agreeth that which *Plutarch* hath, *de Iside & Osiride*; that *Osiris*, with the *Ægyptians*, is called *Ammuz*: which word may seem to be the same with *Ezekiel*'s *Thammuz*. But howsoever these *Zidonians* were thus anciently fostered with the Milk of Idolatry: yet they were more apt to receive the Doctrine and Gospel of *Christ* after his Ascension, than the *Jews*: who had been taught by *Moses*, and the *Prophets*, so many Years, whereof our Saviour, in *Matthew* and *Luke*; *Wo be to thee* Chorazin, *&c. For if the great Works which were done in thee, had been done in* Tyrus, *and* Zidon, *they had repented long agone*, &c. *But I say unto you, it shall be easier for* Tyrus, *and* Zidon, *at the Day of Judgment, than for you.*

Matth. 11. *v.* 20.

It received a Christian Bishop with the first; who was afterward of the Diocess of *Tyre*. But in the Year of our Redemption, 636, it fell into the hands of the *Saracens*; and continued in their Possession till *Baldwinus* the first, then King of *Hierusalem*, in the Year 1111, by the help of the *Danes* and *Norways*, who came with a Fleet to visit the Holy Land, and took Port at *Joppa*; it was again recovered, the Commandment thereof being given to *Eustace Gremer*, a Noble-Man of that Country. And again, in the Year 1250, it was reedified and strengthned by *Lodowick* the French King; while he spent four Years in the War of the Holy Land. Lastly, In the Year 1289, it was reconquered by the *Saracens*; and is now in possession of the *Turks*, and hath the name of *Zai*.

Tyr. 11 *Bull. Sacr.* 14. *Vitriac. c.* 27.

Nigr Postillus.

¶. III.

Of Sarepta, *with a brief History of* Tyre *in the same Coast.*

Sarepta, or after the Hebrew, *Sarphath*, is the next City Southward from *Zidon*, between it and the River called *Naar*, or *Fons hortorum Libani* (of which more hereafter) standing in the way towards *Tyre*, a City very famous for the excellent Wine growing near it: Of which *Sidonius*;

Vina mihi non sunt Gazetica, Chia, Falerna,
Quæq; Sareptano palmite missa bibas.

I have no Wine of *Gaza*, nor *Falerna* Wine,
Nor any for thy drinking of *Serepta*'s Vine.

This City had also a Bishop of the Diocess of *Tyre*: after it came to the *Saracens* and *Turks*, as the rest, and is now called *Saphet*, saith *Postellus*.

Not far from *Sarepta*, was situate that sometime famous City of *Tyre*, whose Fleets of Ships commanded, and gave the Law over all the *Mediterranean* Sea, and the Borders thereof; during which time of Greatness and Power, the *Tyrians* erected *Utica*, *Leptis*, and *Carthage* in *Africa*; of which *Virgil*; *Urbs antiqua fuit Tyrii tenuere Coloni Carthago.* And *Carthage* was therefore called *Punica quasi Phœnicum*, a Colony of the *Phœnicians*. In *Spain* they founded *Gades*, now *Cales*. In *Italy*, *Nola*. In *Asia* the Less, *Dromos Achillis*, which City the *Scholiast* of *Apollonius* placeth near the River *Phyllis*, in *Bithynia*.

Virgil. l.

Plin. l. 5. *c.* 19. *Mercelin. l.* 22.

It had anciently the name of *Zor*, or *Tzor*; and so it is written in *Joshua* 19. taking its name from the scituation, because built on a high Rock, sharp at one end. The *Latins*, as it seems, knew it by the name of *Sarra*; for *Virgil* calleth the Purple of *Tyre*, *Ostrum Syrranum*, by which name *Juvenal* and *Silius* remember it. The *Zidonians* built it upon a high Hill, whereof many ruins remain to this day, the place being still known by the name of the Ancient *Tyre*: And because it was a Colony of the *Zidonians*, the Prophet *Esay* calleth it the Daughter of *Zidon*: which *Trogus* also confirmeth, though *Berosus*, by affinity of name, makes *Thiras* the Son of *Japhet*, to be the Parent thereof: and though, no doubt, it was very ancient, (for so much the Prophet *Esay* also witnesseth, *Is not this your glorious City, whose antiquity is of ancient days?*) yet, that *Thiras* the Son of *Japhet*, set himself in the Bosom of the *Canaanites*, who built *Zidon*, and peopled all that Region: I see nothing to perswade me.

Gellius. l. 4. *c.* 6.

Cap. 23.

Cap. 23.

But that new *Tyre*, in after-times, so renowned, seemeth to be the Work of *Agenor*: and of this Opinion was *Curtius*, and *Josephus*. And *Eusebius* makes this City elder than *Solomon*'s Temple 240 Years: *Cedrenus* 361, who also addeth that *Tyrus* the Wife of *Agenor*, gave it her name: but of *Agenor*, I will speak more at large in the story of their Kings.

Justin. l. 18 *Curt. l.* 4. *Euseb. in Chron. Joseph. ant. l.* 8. *c.* 2. *Cedren. p.* 17.

For Strength, and for the Commodity of the Harbour, and the better to receive Trade from all places, it was in this new erection founded in an Island, 700 paces from the Continent; and therefore *Ezekiel* placeth it in the midst of the Sea, as some read; or as others, in the innermost part of the Sea; whence he calleth it, *situate at the entrance of the Sea*; as also the same Prophet calleth it, *the Mart of the People for many Isles*: and *Esay*, *a Mart of the Nations*. And so Proud, Wealthy, and Magnificent was this City, as the Prophet *Esay* calleth the Merchants thereof *Princes*, and their Chapmen, *the Nobles of the World*.

Ezek. 28. 2. 27. *v.* 3. *Esay* 23. 3. —— 27. 8.

It excelled, both in Learning, & in Manufacture; especially in the making and dying of Purple, and Scarlet Cloth: Which, saith *Julius Pollux*, was first found out by *Hercules* Dog, who passing along the Sea-coast, and eating of the Fish *Conchilis* or *Purpura*, the Hair of his Lips became of that colour. It worshipped the same Idols that *Zidon* did; saving that *Hercules* became their Patron in after-times. For *Alexander Macedon*, when the *Tyrians* presented him with a Crown of Gold, and other Gifts, desiring to remain his Friends and Allies, answered them, That he had vowed a Sacrifice to *Hercules*, the Defender of their City, and the Ancestor of the *Macedonians* Kings, and must therefore enter it. Whereupon they sent him word, that *Hercules* his Temple was in the Mountain of old *Tyre*, where he might perform that Ceremony. But this availed not, for *Alexander* was not so superstitious, as ambitious; he desired to enter the Town, which being denied, he, as one whom no peril

Peril could fear, nor Labour weary, gather together as many Ships as he could, and brought from *Libanus* so great a number of Cedars, and so many weighty Stones from the old City of *Tyre* adjoyning, as notwithstanding that his Materials were often washt away with the strength of the Sea, and the Tides, yet he never rested, till he had made a foot passage from the Continent to the Island: and having once approached their Walls, he over-topt them with Turrets of Wood, and other Frames; from whence (having filled the body of force with the violent moving Spirit of Resolution) he became Lord thereof, putting all to the Sword that resisted; after which, he caused 2000 more to be hung up in a rank all along the Sea-shore; which Execution upon cold Blood he perfotmed (as some Authors affirm) upon the issues of those Slaves which had formerly slain all their Masters, taking their Wives, Children, Riches, and power of Government to themselves. This Victory of *Alexander* over the *Tyrians*, *Josephus* remembreth; and how *Sanballet* revolted from *Darius*, and came to *Alexander* with 8000 Souldiers; who was the last *Satrapa*, or Provincial Governour, which *Darius* seated in *Samaria*; the same who having married his Daughter to *Manasseh*, Brother to *Jaddus* the High Priest of *Hierusalem*, obtained of *Alexander* that a Temple might be built on the Mountain *Garizim*, over *Samaria*; that the Forces of the Jews being divided, *Alexander* might the better hold them in Obedience. The Honour of which Priesthood he bestowed on his Son-in-Law *Manasseh*, whom the Jews oppugned, for that he had married out of their Tribes, and with a *Gentile*: but while *Alexander* besieged *Gaza*, *Sanaballat*, whom *Guil. Tyrius* calleth *Sanabula*, died.

Joseph. ant. Judæ. l. 11. c. 8.

De bell. sacr. l. 13. c. 4.

Long before this desolation of *Tyre*, by the Cruelty of *Alexander*, it was attempted by *Salmanasser* the *Assyrian* King; when the growing Pride of the *Assyrians*, after that they had conquered the ten Tribes, with the rest of *Syria*, became envious of the Beauty, Riches, and Power of that City. He besieged it both on the Land side, and with threescore Ships of War held the Port; to the end that neither any Victuals nor any supply of Men might enter it: but the *Tyrians* with twelve Sail scattered that Fleet, and took 500 Prisoners of the *Assyrians*; notwithstanding, the *Assyrian* continued his Resolution and lay before it by his Lieutenants five Years, but with ill success. And this Siege *Menander Ephesius*, cited by *Josephus*, made report of in his *Chronicles*, as he found the Story among the *Annals* of the *Tyrians* (which the said *Menander* converted into Greek) adding that *Elulæus*, whom *Tyrius* calleth *Helisæus*, was then King of *Tyre*, having governed the same six and twenty Years. Soon after this repulse of *Salmanasser*, and about 200 Years before the Victory of *Alexander*, *Nebuchodonosor* at such time as he destroyed *Jerusalem* with the Temple, came before this City; who indeed gave to *Alexander* the Example of that despairful work of joyning it to the Continent. For *Nebuchodonosor* had formerly done it; though by the diligence of the Citizens, and the strength of the Sea, the same Causey and Passage was again broken down, and demolished.

Josep. Ant. l. 9. c. 14. Et tom. Ap. 1 Guil. Tyrius, de bell. sacr. 13. 4. Josep. Ant. l. 9. c. 15.

Against *Nebuchodonosor* for many Years, the *Tyrians* defended themselves; for so long did these *Babylonians* continue before it, *As every Head was made bald, and every Shoulder made bare*, saith *Ezekiel*, who with the Prophet *Isaiah* had manifestly foretold the destruction of this proud place. In the end, and after thirteen Years siege or more, the *Tyrians* despoiled of all their hopes, and remembring over-late the predictions and threatnings of God's Prophets, having prepared a convenient number of Ship, abandoned their City, transporting with themselves the ablest of all that remained; and with their Wives, Children, and portable Riches, sailed thence into *Cyprus*, *Carthage*, and other Maritimate Cities of their Tributaries, or Confederates; so as the *Babylonians* finding nothing therein, either to satisfy so many Labours and Perils, or any Person upon whom to avenge themselves for the loss of so many bodies in that War. It pleased God in recompence thereof (who strengthened this Resolution, as in a work of his own) to make *Nebuchodonosor* victorious over the *Egyptians*; and gave him that Kingdom and the Spoil thereof, as it were in Wages for his Army. Whereupon St. *Hierome* noteth, that God leaveth not the good Deeds of the Heathen unrewarded; who tho they cannot hope by any laudable worldly Action, to attain unto that eternal Happiness reserved for his Servants and Saints; yet such is the boundless Goodness of God, as he often repayeth them with many Worldy Gifts and Temporal Blessings.

Ezek. 29. 18. Isa. 23, &c.

Ezek. 29. 19.

Now of this Enterprise of *Nebuchodonosor* against *Tyre*, prophane Historians have not been silent. For both *Diocles* and *Philostratus* (as *Josephus* citeth them) the one in his second Book, the other in his *Phœnician* Histories remember it.

Josep. Ant. l. 10. c. 13.

After these two great Vastations by the Kings of *Babylon* and *Macedon*, this City of *Tyre* repaired and recovered it self again; and continued in great glory about 300 Years, even to the coming of our Saviour Christ; and after him flourished in the Christian Faith near 600 years; the Arch-bishop whereof gave place to none but to the Patriarch of *Hierusalem* only; who within his own Dioceſs had fourteen great Cities with their Bishops and Suffragans; namely *Caipha*, otherwise *Porphiria*, *Acon* or *Ptolomais*, *Sarepta*, *Zidon*, *Cæsarea Philippi*, *Berytus*, *Biblus*, *Botrys*, *Tripolis*, *Orthosia*, *Archis*, *Aradus*, *Antarudus* (or *Tortosa*) and *Maraclea*. But in the Year 636, it was with the rest of that beautiful Region of *Phœnicia* and *Palestina*, subjected to the cruel and faithless *Saracen*. Under the burden and yoke of whose Tyranny it suffered with other *Palestine* Cities 488 years.

Gul. Tyr. bell. sacr.

In the year 1112, it was attempted by *Baldwine* King of *Hierusalem*, but in vain: yet in the year 1124, by *Guaremonde*, *Patriarke* of *Hierusalem*, Vicegerent to *Baldwine* the second, with the assistance of the *Venetians*, and their Fleet of Gallies, it was again recovered, and subjected to the Kings of *Hierusalem*, and so it remained 165 years.

Gul. Tyr. 11. bel sacr. 17.

Finally, in the year 1189, *Saladine* having first taken *Hierusalem*, removed his whole Army and sat down before *Tyre*, drawing his fleet of Ships and Gallies from *Alexandria* into the Port, this City as then only remaining in the Christian Power.

The Citizens finding themselves reduced into great Famine, and many other Miseries, they at once with certain rafters of Timber, fiered, burnt, and brake the Saracens Fleet, and sallying out resolvedly upon his Army, slew so great numbers of them, and followed their Victory with such fury, as that the Saracens forsaking their Trenches and Tents, removed in great disorder and dishonour. Two Years after which Victory the body of that famous *Frederick Barbarossa* (who by the lamentable accident of following the Christians Enemies over a River unfordable, perished

rished by the weight of his Armour therein) was brought and interred in the Cathedral Church of *Tyre*, near unto that glorious Sepulchre of *Origen*, garnished and graven with guilt Pillars of Marble, 940 years before therein buried; but in the year 1289, the Saracens again attempted it, and carried it, and it now remaineth subject to the Turks.

¶. IV.

Of Ptolomais, *or* Acon.

THe third City along the Coast of the Sea, which the *Asserites* could not obtain, on the South Bound of *Asser* was *Acho*, which was the ancient name thereof, after *Hierom*; though other good Authors affirm, that it took name from *Acon* the Brother of *Ptolomy*. *Pliny* calleth it *Ace*; and otherwise the Colony of *Claudius*. It had also the Name of *Coth*, or *Cod*; and by *Zeiglerus* it is called *Hactipos*.

Plin. lib. 5. c. 19. in descrip. terr. sanct.

But, lastly, it was intituled *Ptolomais*, after the name of one of the *Ægyptian Ptolomies*; which City also, as it is 1 *Mac.* 11. another of the *Ptolomies*, infideliously wrested from his Son-in-Law *Alexander*, which called himself the Son of *Antiochus Epiphanes*; the same *Alexander* having married *Cleopatra*, Daughter of the said *Ptolomy*, not long before. Therein also was *Jonathan Maccabæus* treacherously surprized and slain, as it is 1 *Maccab.* 12. 48. by the perfidiousness of *Tryphon*; whom soon after *Antiochus* pursued, as it is in the Story ensuing; and by like reason, about the same time, was the aforesaid *Alexander* in the War against *Demetrius*, one of the Sons of *Antiochus* the Great, with whom *Ptolomy* joined, overthrown and treacherously murthered by *Zabdiel* the *Arabian*, to whom he fled for succour; and his Head presented unto his Father-in-Law *Ptolomy*, who enjoyed not the Glory of his Victory and Treason above three days, for God struck him by Death.

Ptolomæus Philometor.

1 Mac. 1. 10.

1 Mac. 11. 18.

For the Beauty and Strength of this City, this *Alexander* made it his Regal Seat; two parts of the same being invironed by the Sea; and the Port for Safety and Capacity, not inferior to any other in all that Tract. This City is distant from *Hierusalem* some 34 miles: four miles to the North, from the Mountain *Carmel*, and as much to the South from *Castrum Lamberti*: from *Tyre*, *Antoninus* maketh it 32 Italian miles. In the midst of the City there was a Tower of great strength, sometime the Temple of *Belzebub*, and therefore called the Castle of Flies; on the top whereof there was maintained a perpetual Light, like unto that called *Pharus* in *Ægypt*; to give comfort in the Night to those Ships, which came near and sought that part. It had in it a Bishop's Seat, of the Diocess of *Tyre*, after it became Christian; but in the Year 636, (a fatal Year to the Christians in those Parts) it was forced and taken by *Haomarus* the *Saracen*. In the Year 1104, it was regained by *Baldwine* the first, by the help of the Gallies of *Genoa*; to whom a third of the Revenue was given in recompence. Again, in the Year of our Lord God, 1187. *Saladine*, King of *Ægypt* and *Syria*, became Lord thereof. In the Year of Christ 1191, by *Richard* King of *England*, and *Philip* King of *France*, it was repossessed and redelivered to the Christians. Lastly, In the Year 1291, it was, by the fury of the *Saracens*, besieged with an Army of 150000, entred, sackt, and utterly demolished; tho in some sort afterward reedified, and it is now *Turkish*.

Ant. Itin.

Harold.

G. Tyr. bell. sacr. l. 10. c. 28. Harold. l. 1 bell. sacr. tit. 7. & l. 2. c. 2. & alibi.

¶. V.

Of the Castle of St. George.

FIve miles from *Ptolomais*, towards the East, is the Castle of St. *George* seated, in which he was born; the Valley adjoyning bearing the same name. And though, for the credit of St. *George's* killing the Dragon, I leave every Man to his own belief: yet I cannot but think, that if the Kings of *England* had not some probable Record of that his memorable act, among many others, It was strange that the Order, full of Honour, which *Edward* the Third founded, and which his Successors royally have continued, should have born his Name, seeing the World had not that scarcity of Saints in those days, as that the English were driven to make such an Erection upon a Fable, or Person fained. The place is described by *Adrichomius*, in his Description of *Asser*, to have been in the Fields of *Libanus*, between the River *Adonis* and *Zidon*: His own words are these; *Hoc loco qui ab incolis Cappadocia appellatur, non longè à Beryto, memorant inclitum Christi Militem* D. Georgium, *Regis filiam ab immanissimo Dracone asseruâsse: eamq; mactata bestia parenti restituisse. In cujus rei memoriam Ecclesia postmodum fuit ædificata. In this place, which by the Inhabitants is called* Cappadocia, *not far from* Berytus, *Men say that the famous Knight of Christ, St.* George, *did rescue the King's Daughter from a huge Dragon: and having killed the Beast, delivered the Virgin to her Parent. In memory of which Deed, a Church was after built there:* Thus far *Adrichomius*. His Authors he citeth *Ludovicus Roman. Patric. Navigationum*, l. 1. c. 3. and *Bridenbach Itin.* 5. The Valley under this Castle some time called *Asser*, was afterward called the Valley of St. *George*. If this Authority suffice not, we may rather make the Story allegorical, figuring the Victory of Christ, than accept of *George* the *Arrian* Bishop, mentioned by *Am. Marcellinus*.

Broch. Itin. 4. Of the place and memory of his death, See Ch. 9. §. 1.

¶. VI.

Of Acziba, Sandalium, *and others.*

BEtween *Ptolomais* and *Tyre*, alongst the Sea-coast, was the strong City of *Acziba*, or *Achazib*, which St. *Hierom* calleth *Achziph*, and *Josephus Ecdippos*, *Pliny Ecdippa*, one of those which defended it self against the *Asserites*. *Belforrest* finds *Acziba* and *Sandalium*, or the Castle of *Alexander* to be one, but I know not whence he had it.

The twelve Searchers of the Land which *Moses* sent from *Cadesbarne*, travelled as far to the North as *Roob*, or *Rechob*, in the Tribe off *Asser*, which *Rechob*, as also *Berotha*, which by *Ezekiel*, *cap.* 47. *v.* 16. is placed in these North Borders, belonged, in *David's* time, to the King *Hedarhezer*, as it may be gathered out of 2 *Sam.* 8. 8. and 10. 6. and it defended it self against the *Asserites*, as *Zidon*, *Tyre*, *Achziph*, *Ptolomais*, *Alab*, *Helbah*, and *Aphek*, did.

Jerom. de Locis Hebr. Jos. Bell. Jud. l. 1. c. 11. Plin. l. 5. c. 19.

This *Aphek* it was, whose Wall falling down, slew 27000 of *Benhadad's* Souldiers, after that 100000 had been slaughtered by the *Israelites*, under the conduct of *Ahab*. Here *Junius* finds that the *Philistims* incamped, a little before the Battel, at *Gilboa*, tho in his Note upon 1 *Sam.* 9. 1. he takes *Apheck* there mentioned (at which Battel the Ark was taken) to have been in *Judea*. Of which *Josh.* 15. and 53. and in 2 *Kings* 13. 17. he

1 Kings 20. 29. 1 Sam. 29. 1.

he reads, *Fortiter*, for, *in Aphek*. Where others convert it, *Percutiens Syros in Apheck*.

The next place along the Coast is *Sandalium*, first called *Schandalium* of *Schander*, which we call *Alexander*, for *Alexander Macedon* built it, when he besieged *Tyre*: and set it on a Point of Land which extended it self into the Sea, between *Acziba* and *Tyre*: which Castle *Baldwine* the First rebuilt and fortified, in the year of Christ 1157, when he undertook the recovery of *Tyre*.

Not much above a mile from this Castle, ariseth that most plentiful Spring of Water, which *Solomon* remembreth, called *the Well of Living Waters*: from whence, not only all the Fields and Plains about *Tyre*, are made fruitful by large Pipes hence drawn; but the same Spring, which hath not above a bow-shot of ground to travel till it recover the Sea, driveth six great Mills in that short Passage, saith *Brochard*.

Cant. 4.

Itin. 1.

Within the Land, and to the East of *Acziba*, and *Sandalium*, standeth *Hosa*: and beyond it, under the Mountains of *Tyre*, the City of *Achsaph*, or *Axab*, or after St. *Hierom*, *Aciſap*, a City of great strength, whose King, amongst the rest, was slain by *Joshua*, at the Waters of *Merom*.

Jos. 12. 20

¶. VII.

Of Thoron, Giscala, *and some other Places.*

FArther into the Land, towards *Jordan*, was seated the Castle of *Thoron*, which *Hugo de Sancto Abdemare* built on the Eastermost Hills of *Tyre*, in the year 1107, thereby to restrain the Excursions of the *Saracens*, while they held *Tyre* against the Christians; the place adjoining being very fruitful, and exceeding pleasant. From this Castle, the Lords of *Thoron*, famous in the Story of the Wars for the recovery of the Holy Land, derive their Names, and take their Nobility. It had in it a curious Chappel, dedicated to the Blessed *Virgin*, in which *Humphrey* of *Thoron*, Constable to *Baldwine* the Third, King of *Hierusalem*, lieth buried: There were five Castles besides this within the Territory of *Asser*; whereof four are seated almost of equal distance from each other; to wit, *Castrum Lamperti*, *Montfort*, *Indin* (or *Saron*) *Castrum Regium*, and *Belfort*. The first near the Sea, under the Hills of *Saron*; the next three, to wit, *Indin*, *Montfort*, and *Regium*, stand more within the Land, and belonged to the Brotherhood and Fellowship of the *Teutonici*, or *Dutch Knights*, (by which they defended themselves, and gave succour to other Christians, at such time as the *Saracens* possest the best part of the upper *Galilee*) the chief of which Order was in *Ptolomais Acon*. The first Fortress was, for Beauty and Strength, called *Belfort*, seated in the high ground upon the River *Naar*, near the City *Rama*: of which in this Tribe, *Josh.* 19. 29. for which the Vulgar reads *Horma*, making the Article a part of the word, and mistaking the Vowels; from the siege of this Castle of *Belfort*, the great *Saladine*, King of *Syria* and *Ægypt*, was by the Christians Army raised, and with great loss and dishonour repulsed.

Herold. *l.* 2. *c.* 4. *Continuationis Bell. sac.*

To the East of *Belfort*, is the strong City of *Alab* (or *Achlab*) which S. *Hierom* calleth *Chalab*, one of those that defended themselves against *Asser*, as *Roob* (or *Rechob*) not far thence did.

Towards the South from *Roob*, they place *Gabala*, (which *Herod*, surnamed the *Ascalonite*, rebuilt) making it of the Territory of *Chabol*, *Quod Syrorum lingua dispicere significat* (saith *Weisshenburg*) so called, because *Hiram* of *Tyre*, was ill pleased with those twenty Cities, seated hereabout, which *Solomon* presented unto him in recompence of those Provisions sent him for the building of the Temple. Others think this *Chabol*, or *Cabul*, containing a Circuit of those twenty Cities given to *Hiram*, to have been without the compass of the Holy Land; tho bordering *Asher* on the North side: as it is said, 1 *Reg.* 9. 11. that they were in *Regione limitis*; that is, *in limite Regionis*, in the border of the Country: for it was not lawful, say they, to give to Strangers any part of the Possession allotted to the *Israelites*: howsoever, that after *Hiram* had refused them, they were peopled by the *Israelites*, it appears 2 *Chron.* 8. 14. And it seems they were conquered by *David*, from the *Syri Rechobæi*, whose City *Roob*, or *Rechob*, was in these parts.

Jos. *Ant.* 13. 21. & 15. 10.

Jun. *annot. in* 1 Reg. 9. 11.

2 Sam. 10. 6.

Almost of equal distance from the Castle of *Thoron*, they place the Cities of *Giscala*, and *Gadara*: of which *Gadara* is rather to be placed over *Jordan*: *Giscala* was made famous by *John* the Son of *Levi*, who from a mean Estate, gathering together 400 Thieves, greatly troubled all the upper *Galilee*; at such time as the *Romans* attempted the Conquest of *Judea*; by whose practice *Josephus*, who then commanded in the upper *Galilee*, was greatly endangered: whereof himself hath written at large, in his second Book of those Wars. This *John* betraying, in all he could, the City of *Giscala* (whereof he was Native) to the *Roman State*: and finding a resistance in the City, gave opportunity, during the Contention, to the *Tyrians* and *Gadarims*, to surprize it; who at the same time forc'd it, and burnt it to the ground: But being by *Josephus*'s Authority rebuilt, it was afterward rendred to *Titus* by composition. They find also the Cities of *Cana Major*, and * *Cades* (or *Cedessa*); of the first was that *Syro-Phœnician*, whose Daughter Christ delivered of the Evil Spirit. Near the other, they say, it was that *Jonathas Maccabæus* overthrew the Army of *Demetrius*.

Cap. 26.

* *See* Kadesh *in* Naphtalim.

Mat. 15. Mark 7. Mac. 11. 73 Jos. *Ant.* 13. *c.* 8.

There are, besides these forenamed Cities within the Tribe of *Asser*, divers others; as on the South Border, and near the Sea, *Messal*, or *Misheal*: within the Land * *Besara*, † *Bethdagon*, and *Bethemec*, standing on the South Border, between *Asher* and *Zabulon*: on the North side, joining to *Syro-phœnicia*, is the City of *Hethalon*, or *Chethlon*, the utmost of the Holy Land that way: under which, towards the Sea, is *Chali*, and then ‖ *Enoch*, supposed to be built by *Cain*, and named of his Son *Enoch*, but without probability, as I have formerly proved. There are others also besides these, as *Ammon*, or *Chammon*, of which *Josh.* 19. 28. where also we read of *Nebiel*, *Rama*, *Alamelec*, and *Beton*: the Cities of *Alcath*, or *Chelcath*, *Habdon*, and *Rechob*, and *Misheal*, which we have already mentioned, were by the *Asserites* given to the *Levites*. Of others held by the *Canaanites*, mention is made *Judg.* 1. 30. to which, out of *Joshua*, we may add *Ebron*, *Amhad*, and others, on which no story dependeth, and therefore I will not pester the description with them.

* Of which Jos. *in vita sua.*

† Of both which, Jos. 19. 27. Ezek. 47. 15.

‖ Or Enosa. Jos. *Ant. l.* 1. *c.* 4.

Josh. 21. 30.

¶. VIII.

Of the Rivers and Mountains of Asser.

THe Rivers to the North of *Asser*, are *Adonis*, afterward *Canis*, to which *Ziegler* joyneth *Lycus*, *Ptolomy*, *Leontis*: both which fall into the Sea near *Berytus*: which River of *Leontis*, *Montanus* draws near unto *Zidon*: finding his Head notwithstanding, where *Ptolomy* doth, between *Zidon* and

Tyre.

Asiæ.Tab.4. Tyre. It hath also a River called *Fons horrorum Libani*, which *Adrichomius*, out of *Brocard*, intituleth *Eleutherus*: for which he also citeth *Pliny*; and the first of *Machabees* the 11. Chap. but neither of those authorities prove *Eleutherus* to be in *Asser*: Asiæ.Tab.4. for this River falleth into the Sea at the Ile of *Aradus*, not far from *Balanea*, witness *Ptolomy*: and Post Orthosiam & Eleutherum est Tripolis. therefore *Ponetus* calleth it *Valania*, and *Postellus*, *Velana*: which River boundeth *Phœnicia* on the North side; to which *Strabo* also agreeth: but this principal River of *Asser*, *Arias Montanus* calleth *Gabatus*, *Christianus Schrot*, out of the Mouth and Papers of *Peter Laicstan* (which *Laicstan* in this our Age both viewed and described the Holy Land) calleth the main River, *Fons horrorum Libani*: and one of the Streams which runneth into it from the North side, *Nasr*; and another from the South-west, *Chabul*: of the City adjoining of the same name; for *Eleutherus* it cannot be. There is also another River described by *Adrichomius*, named *Jephthael*, which I find in no other Author, and for which he citeth the nineteenth of *Joshua*, but the word *Ghe* which is added there to *Jephthael*, is not taken for a River, but for a Valley: and for a Valley the *Vulgar*, the *Geneva*, and *Arias Montanus* turn it. There is also found in *Asser*, the River of *Belus*, remembred by *Josephus* and *Tacitus*, which is also called *Pagidas*, saith † *Pliny*: out of the Sands of this River are made the best Glass, which sometime the *Zidonians* practised; and how the *Venetians* at *Muriana*. *Arias Montanus* makes *Belus* to be a Branch of *Chedumim*; which it cannot be; for *Belus* is known to flow from out the Lake *Cendevia*; as all *Cosmographers*, both Ancient and Modern, and the later Travellers into those parts witness. It is true, that the River of *Chison*, taketh Water from *Chedumim*; but not in that fashion which *Montanus* hath described it: neither doth it find the Sea at *Ptolomais Acon*, according to *Montanus*, but farther to the *South*, between *Caiphas* and *Sicaminum*, witness *Ziegler*, *Adrichomius*, and *Schrot*.

* The word *Nachal* is ambiguous, either for a Valley, or for a River: but this word *Ghe*, is always a Valley, as in *Gehinnon* and *Gethsemaim*.

Josephi. l.2. Bell. Ind. c.3.

† L. 5. c. 19. in Josua 19.26 it is called *Shichor*; of which name many understand another Stream, *Josh.* 13.3, which running by *Petra* of *Arabia*, falleth into the Lake *Sirbonis*, and divideth *Ægypt* from the promised Land; whereabout they place *Rhinocolura*, for which City *Junius* taketh *Shichor* in that place of *Joshua*; but howsoever, whether this *Shichor*, Josh. 13. 3. be a River or a City, it appears that this Name is found, both in the North bound of the Holy Land, *Josh.* 19. 26. and in the South bound, *Josh.* 13. 3.

Besides these Rivers, there are divers famous Springs and Fountains, as that of living Waters adjoining to *Tyre*: and * *Maserephot*, or after *S. Hierom*, *Maserephotmaim*, whose Well filled by the flood of the Sea adjoining, (they say) the Inhabitans, by seething the Water, make Salt thereof, as at *Nantwich*.

* See the Marginal Note above, in the second Section of this Paragraph.

The Mountains which bound *Asser* on the North, are those of *Anti-libanus*, which with *Libanus* bound *Cœlosyria*; two great ledges of Hills, which from the Sea of *Phœnicia*, and *Syria*, extend themselves far into the Land Eastward, four hundred stadia, or furlongs, according to *Strabo*: for that length he giveth to the Valley of *Cœlosyria*; which those Mountains inclose: but *Pliny* gives them 1500 furlongs in length from the West (where they begin at *Theipsophon*, or *Dei facies*, near *Tripolis*) to the Mountains of *Arabia* beyond *Damascus*; where *Anti-libanus* turneth towards the South. These Ledges, where they begin to part *Traconitis* and *Basan*, from the *Desart Arabin*, are called *Hermon*: which *Moses* also nameth *Sion*; the *Phœnicians*, *Syrion*; and the *Amorites*, *Sanir*; neither is this any one Mountain apart, but a continuation of Hills; which running farther Southerly, is in the Scripture called *Galaad*, or *Gilead*: the same being still a part of *Libanus*, as the Prophet *Jeremy* proveth; *Galaad tu mihi caput Libani*: noting that this *Galaad* is the highest of all those Hills of *Libanus*. *Strabo* knows them by the Name of *Traconite*; and *Ptolomy* by *Hippus*. *Arias Montanus* calleth these Mountains bordering, *Asser*, *Libanus*, for *Anti-libanus*, contrary to all other *Cosmographers*, but he giveth no reason for his Opinion.

Strab.l.10. Pto. Asiæ. Tab.4.

They take the name of *Libanus* from their white tops; because, according to *Tacitus*, the highest of them are covered with Snow all the Summer; the Hebrew word *Libanon* (saith *Weissenburg*) signifieth whiteness. Others call them by that name of the Frankincense which those Trees yield; because λίβανος is also the Greek word for that Gum.

Sueton.

Niger out of *Aphrodiseus* affirmeth, that on *Libanus*, there falleth a kind of Hony-dew, which is by the Sun congealed into hard Sugar, which the Inhabitants call *Succhar*, from whence came the Latin word *Saccarum*.

Nig.p.503.

The Rivers which *Libanus* bestoweth on the Neighbour Regions, are, *Chrysorrhoas*, *Jordan*, *Eleutherus*, *Leontes*, *Lycus*, *Adonis*, *Fons horrorum Libani*, and others.

The rest of the Mountains of *Asser*, are those Hills above *Tyre*, and the Hills of *Saron*, both exceeding fruitful; but those are but of a low stature, compared with *Libanus*: for from *Nebo*, or the Mountain of *Abarim*, in *Ruben*, *Moses* beheld *Libanus* threescore miles distant.

§. IV.

The Tribe of NEPHTALIM.

¶. I.

Of the Bounds of Naphtalim, *and of* Heliopolis, *and* Abila.

THE next proportion of the Land of *Canaan*, bordering *Asher*, was the upper *Galilee*; the greatest part whereof fell to the lot of *Naphtalim*, the Son of *Jacob* by *Bilha*, the Handmaid of *Rachel*: who while they abode in *Ægypt*, were increased to the number of 53400 Persons, able to bear Arms, numbred at Mount *Sinai*: all which leaving their Bodies in the Desarts, there entred the Holy Land of their Sons 45400, besides Infants, Women, and Children, under twenty years of Age. The Land of *Naphtalim* took beginning on the North part from the Fountains of *Jordan*, and the Hills of *Libanus* adjoining, as far South as the Sea of *Galilee*, bounded on the West by *Asher*, and on the East & South-east by *Jordan*.

Guil. Tyr. Bell. sacri. l.9. c.15. Theodor. 4. Hist. Ecclesiast. Mela. l.3. cap. 9. Justin. Gestell. in itinerar. Josiph. in Plurib. locis. Eusth. 8. Demonst. Volat. l.11. f. 243.

On the North side of *Libanus*, and adjoining to this Territory of *Naphtalim*, did the *Amorites* (or *Emorites*) also inhabite; in which Tract, and under *Libanus*, was the City of *Heliopolis*; which the heigth of the Mountains adjoining shadowed from the Sun, the better part of the day. *Postellus* calls it *Balbec*: *Niger*, *Marbech*; and *Leonclavius*, *Beallebeca*.

Of this name of *Heliopolis*, there are two great Cities in *Ægypt*: the first called *On*, by the *Hebrews*, and the *Chaldean Paraphraft*, otherwise *Bethsemes*, or after the *Latines*, *Solis oppidum*, or *Domus Solis*, *The City of the Sun*: into which, saith *Ulpian*,

Ulpian, Severus the Roman Emperor sent a Colony: the other *Gasselius* nameth *Dealmarach*: and of this name *Stephanus* also findeth a City in *Thrace*, and *Glyca* in *Phrygia*.

There is also, in the same Valley adjoining to *Nephtalim*, *Chalcis*, and *Abila*. *Chalcis*, of whom the Region towards *Palmyrena* hath the name of *Chalcidaca*, over which *Herod*, *Agrippa*, and *Berenice* the Queen commanded.

Abilon also gave name to the Region adjoining; of which *Lysanius*, the Son of *Herod* the Elder, became Tetrarch or Governour; whereof *Ptolomy* gave it the addition of *Lysanii*, and called it *Abila Lysanii*. *Volaterran* names it *Aphila*, of which he notes that one *Diogenes*, a famous Sophister, was Native, who by *Volaterran* is intituled *Aphilius*, not *Abilenus*. After that this City of *Abila*, or *Aphila*, had received the Christian Faith, *Priscillinus* became Bishop thereof; slain afterward by our British *Maximus* at *Trever*. For distinction of this City (if it be not the same, as it may be thought to be the same) it is to be remembred, that in the Tribe of * *Manasseh*, joining upon the Bounds of the Tribe of *Nephtalim*, there is another City of the same name, saving that it is written with an (*E*) for an (*I*), and called *Abela*, remembred in the 20*th* Chapter of the second of *Samuel*. The same *Josephus* calls *Abelmachta*, and *Hierom*, *Bethmacha*. In the place of *Samuel*, for distinction-sake, it is written, *Abel Beth-Mahaca*, (for belike it was the Town of *Mahaca*, the Wife of *Machir*, the Son of *Manasseh*, the Father of *Gilead*) in the *Chronicles* it is called *Abel-Majim*. This City *Joab* besieged; because *Seba* the Son of *Bichri*, who rebelled against *David*, fled thereinto for succour; but a certain wise Woman of the City perswading the People to cast *Seba* his Head over the Wall, *Joab* retired his Army. The same City was afterward taken by the King of *Damascus*, *Benhadad*; and after a while by *Teglatphalasar*.

* Also a third in *Ephraim* called *Abel Mechola*; and a 4th in *Reuben*, called *Abel-Sittim*, also *Abel-Misraim*, at the Ford of *Jordan*, and (as it seems) in the same Tribe of *Reuben*; of all which, in that which follows, to which also we may add, *Abel-Magnum*, the name, as some think, of a City, otherwise called *Bethshemes*, near the border of the *Philistims*; or according to others, of the great Stone in the Border. 1 *Sam.* 6. 18. *Joseph. Ant. l.* 7. *c.*10. 2 *Sam.* 20. 1 *Kings* 15. 2 *Kings* 15.

The word *Abel* may be expounded, either to signify Bewailing, or a plain Ground, and therefore no marvel, that many Towns (with some addition for distinction-sake) were thus called; for even of bewailing many places took Name, as *Bochim*, *Judg.* 2. 4. and so doubtless * *Abel-Misraim*, *Gen.*50. 11. and yet *Junius*, in his Note upon *Numb.* 33. 49. thinks that *Abel-Sittim* was so called, rather by reason of the plain ground there, (to wit, in the Land of *Moab*) and so perhaps *Abel-Mehola* in the Tribe of *Ephraim*; the Town of *Elisha* the Prophet; also *Abel-Vineraum* of the *Ammonites*, whither *Jeptha* pursued them.

* And *Abel Magnum.* 1 *Sam.* 6. 18. *Judg.*7.24 1 *Reg.* 19. 15. *Judg.* 11. 35.

¶. II.

Of Hazar.

* Of two other Cities of this name in *Judea*, see chap. 9. §. 1. of a fourth in *Benjamin*, See that which follows in this place. Of a fifth in this Tribe of *Naphtalim*, called *Kin-Chatsor*, we read *Josh.* 19. 37. to which we may add *Chatsor-Hinan*, in the uttermost North-east of *Manasseh*, over *Jordan*, Ezek.47. *Numb.*34. 8. Also in *Simeon*, *Chatsar-Susima*, of which 1 *Chron.*4.31. which also is called *Chatsar-Susa*, and *Chatsar-Gadda*: and lastly, *Chatsar-Sualh*, another City of *Simeon*. Fol. 19. 3.

IN this Tribe of *Nephtalim*, was that famous City of *Jabin*, in *Joshua*'s time, called *Asor*, (or after the Chaldean Paraphrast, *Hatsor*) by *Josephus*, *Asora*; by *Junius*, * *Chatzor*; which *Laish* names *Hesron*, the Regal City and Metropolis of *Canaan*, seated in the West part of *Naphtalim*, towards *Asher*. In this City was that great Rendevouz, and assembly of those four and twenty Kings against *Joshua*; who being all overthrown, slain, and scattered, this their powerful City was by *Joshua* taken and burnt to Dust. But in process of time, the same being rebuilt by the *Canaanites*, a second King *Jabin*, 137 years after the death of this first *Jabin*, invaded the *Israelites*: and being ordained of God to punish their Idolatry, he prevailed against them, and held them in a miserable servitude twenty years; till *Deborah* the Prophetess overthrew *Sisera*, *Jabin*'s Lieutenant, and his Army, near the Mountain *Tabor*. This City *Solomon* restored at such a time as he also reedified *Gezar*, burnt by *Pharaoh* of *Ægypt*, with * *Megido*, *Bethoron*, and other Cities; but about 260 years after, it fell into the hands of *Teglatphalasar*, King of the *Assyrians*. It is now, saith *Adrichomius*, called *Antiopia*; it was one of the principal Cities of *Decapolis*. There is another City of this name in the Territory of *Benjamin*, seated on the Confines of *Ascalon*, called the new *Hazor*, † saith *Hierom*.

* 1 *King.*9.

† *Hieron. loc. Hebr. l.* E. Out of *Nehem.* 11. 33. as it seems.

¶. III.

Of Cæsaria Philippi.

THere was also on the Border, and within the Territory of *Nephtalim*, that renowned City of *Lais*, or *Lajisch*, as *Junius* writes it, or *Leschen*; which City the Children of *Dan* (being straightned in their Territory under *Juda*) invaded and mastered, and gave it the name of their own Parent *Dan*; and by that name it is written in *Gen.* 14. at which place *Abraham* surprised *Chedorlaomer* and his Confederates; and followed his Victory as far as *Sobah*, formerly remembred in the Division of *Syria*, otherwise called *Sophena*. And after the possession of the *Danites*, it had the joint name of *Leschem Dan*. *Weissenburgh* writes it *Lacis*; the *Geneva*, *Laish*; *Josephus*, *Dana*; *Benjamin*, *Balina*; *Breitenbach*, *Belena*; but the now Inhabitants know it by the name of *Belina* to this day: witness *Neubrigensis*, *Tyrius*, *Volaterranus*, *Brochard* the Monk, and *Postellus*; who also taketh this City to be the same which in *Mat.* 15. 39. in the Vulgar is called *Magedan*: for which the Greek Text hath *Magdala* in that place; and in S. *Mark*, speaking of the same story, *Dalmanutha*. At such time as the Children of *Dan* obtained this place, it seemeth that it was either a free City, of the Alliance and Confederacy of the *Zidonians*, or else subject unto the Kings thereof; for it is written, *Judges* 18. *And there was none to help, because* Lais *was far from* Zidon: *and they had no business with other Men*; for it was above 30 English miles from the *Mediterranean* Sea, and from *Zidon*.

*Judg.*18. *Chap.*8.10. *Vers.*28.

In after-times, when these Regions became subject to the State of *Rome*, it had the name of *Paneas*, from a Fountain adjoining so called; and therefore *Ptolomy* calls it *Cæsaria Pania*. *Hegesippus* calls it *Parnium*, saith *Weissenburgh*: But he had read it in a corrupt Copy, for in *Hegesippus*, set out by *Badius*, it is written *Paneum*, without an (*R*): and at such time as *Philip* the Son of the Elder *Herod*, Brother to *Herod*, Tetrarch of *Galilee*, became Governour of *Traconitis*, sometime *Basan*, this City was by him amplified and fortified; and both to give memory to his own name, and to flatter *Tiberius Cæsar*, he called it * *Cæsaria Philippi*; and so it became the Metropolis, and head

*Plin. l.*5. *c.*15. *Hegd.*1. *c.*35.

* Of another *Cæsaria* (or *Cæsarea*) called *Cæsarea Palestina*. See hereafter in the former part of *Manasseh*. Of *Diocæsarea*, see *Sephoris* in *Zabulon*.

head City of *Trachonitis*; and one of the first Cities of *Decapolis*. And being by *Agrippa*, in the succeeding Age, greatly adorned; by him, in honour of *Nero*, it was called *Neronia*, or *Neroniada*. But as nothing remained with that Emperor, but the memory of his impiety; so in *S. Jerom*'s time the Citizens remembred their former *Paneas*, and so recalled it, with the Territory adjoining by the ancient name. Of this City was that Woman whom Christ healed of a bloody Issue, by touching the Hem of his Garment with a constant Faith; who afterward, as she was a Woman of great Wealth and Ability, being mindful of God's Goodness, and no less grateful for the same, as *Eusebius* and *Nicephorus* report, caused two Statues to be cast in pure Copper; the one representing Christ, *as near as it could be moulded*; the other made like her self, kneeling at his Feet, and holding up her Hands towards him. These she mounted upon two great Bases, or Pedestals, of the same Metal, which she placed by a Fountain near her own House; both which (saith *Eusebius*) remained in their first perfection, even to his own time, which himself had seen, who lived in the Reign of *Constantine* the Great. But in the year after Christ, 363, that Monster *Julian Apostata*, caused that worthy Monument to be cast down and defaced, setting up the like of his own in the same place; which Image of his was with Fire from Heaven broken into fitters; the Head, Body, and other parts, sundered and scattered, to the great admiration of the people at that time living. The truth of this Accident is also confirmed by *Sozomenus Salaminius*, in his 5th Book and 20th Chapter.

Euseb. Eccl. l. 7. c. 14. Niceph. l. 6. c. 15.

This City built by the *Danites*, was near the joining together of those two Rivers which arise from the Springs of *Jor* and *Dan*, the two * apparent Fountains of *Jordan*; in a Soil exceeding fruitful and pleasant; for as it is written, *Judg.* 18. it is a place *which doth want nothing that is in the World*. In the Fields belonging to this City, it was that S. *Peter* acknowledged Christ to be the Son of God: whereupon it was answered, *Tu es Petrus, & super hanc Petram, &c.* After this City received the Christian Faith, it was honoured with a Bishops Seat: and it ran the same fortune with the rest, for it was after taken and retaken by the *Saracens*, and Christians; under *Fulco* the fourth King of *Jerusalem*, and after the death of *Godfrey* of *Bulloin*, the King of *Damascus* wrested it from the Christians: and shortly after by them again it was recovered. Lastly, Now it remaineth, with all that part of the World, subjected to the *Turk*.

* Josephus in the Book of the Jewish War, 18 saith, That Philip the Tetrach cast Chaff into a Fountain called Phiala, distant 120 stadia North-east from Cæsaria; which Chaff being carried under ground, was cast up again at Panium, or Dan, whereby it is conjectured, that the first Spring of Jordan, is from this Fountain called Phiala, from whence Jor and Dan receive their Waters.

¶. IV. *Of* Capernaum, *and the Cities of* Decapolis.

AMong the remarkable Cities within this Tribe, *Capernaum* is not the least; so often remembred by the Evangelists. This City had the honour of *Christ*'s presence three years; who for that time was as a Citizen thereof, in which he first preached and taught the Doctrine of our Salvation; according to that notable Prophesy of *Esay* 9. *The people that walked in darkness, have seen a great Light: they that dwelt in the Land of the shadow of Death, upon them hath the Light shined.*

Capernaum was seated on *Jordan*, even where it entreth into the Sea of *Galilee*, in an excellent and rich Soil: of whose destruction *Christ* himself prophesied in these words. *And thou* Capernaum, *which art lifted up unto Heaven, shalt be brought down to Hell*, &c. Which shewed the pride and greatness of that City; for it was one of the principal Cities of *Decapolis*, and the Metropolis of *Galilee*. And tho there were some marks of this City's magnificence in St. *Jerom*'s time, as himself confesseth, it being then a reasonable Burgh, or Town; yet those that have since, and long since seen it, as *Brochard*, *Bridenbech*, and *Saliniac*, affirm, that it then consisted but of six poor Fishermens Houses.

The Region of ten principal Cities, called *Decapolitana*, or *Decapolis*, is in this description often mentioned; and in S. *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*, also remembred; but I find no agreement among the Cosmographers, what proper limits it had; and so *Pliny* himself confesseth: for *Marius Niger* speaking from others, bounds it on the North by the Mountain *Casius* in *Cassiotis*, and endeth it to the South at *Egypt* and *Arabia*; by which description it imbraceth *Phœnicia*, a part of *Cœlosyria*, all *Palestina*, and *Judea*.

Mat. 4. Mark 7. Luke 8. Niger. comment. Asiæ. 4. f. 503.

Pliny also makes it large, and for the ten Cities of which it taketh name, he numbreth four of them to be situated towards *Arabia*; to wit, first these three, *Damascus*, *Opotos*, *Raphana*; then *Philadelphia* (which was first called *Ariana*, saith *Stephanus*, or as I guess, *Amana* rather, because it was the chief City of the *Ammonites*, known by the name of *Rabbah*, before *Ptol. Philadelphus* gave it this later and new name). Then *Scythopolis*, sometime *Nysa*, built (as is said) by *Bacchus*, in memory of his Nurse, who died therein, anciently known by the name of *Bethsan*: for the sixth he setteth *Gadara* (not that *Gadara* in *Cœlosyria*, which was also called *Antioch* and *Selencia*); but it is *Gadara* in *Basan*, which *Pliny* in this place meaneth, seated on a high Hill, near the River *Hieromax*. This River *Ortelius* takes to be the River *Jaboc*, which boundeth *Gad* and *Manasseh* over *Jordan*: but he mistaketh it, for *Hieromax* falleth into the Sea of *Galilee*, between *Hippos* and *Gerasa*, whereas *Jaboc* entreth the same Sea between *Ephron* and *Phanuel*. For the seventh, he nameth * *Hippos* or *Hippion*, a City so called of a Colony of Horsemen there garisoned by *Herod*, on the East side of the *Galilæan* Sea, described hereafter in the Tribe of *Manasseh* over *Jordan*. For the eighth, *Pella*, which is also called *Butis*, and *Berenice*, seated in the South Border of the Region over *Jordan*, called *Peræa*. For the ninth, *Gelesa*, which *Josephus* takes to be *Gerasa*: and *Gerasa* is found in *Cœlosyria* by *Josephus*, *Hegesippus* and *Stephanus*; but by *Ptolomy* (whom I rather follow) in *Phœnicia*. The tenth, and last, *Pliny* nameth *Canatha*; and so doth *Suetonius*, and *Stephanus*, which *Volaterran* calls *Gamala*; but *Hegesippus* rightly *Camala*, a City in the Region of *Basan* over *Jordan*, so called, because those two Hills on which it is seated, have the shape of a Camel. But the collection of these ten Cities, whereof this Region took name, is better gathered out of *Brochard*, *Breidenbach*, and *Saligniac*, which make them to be these; *Cæsaria Philippi*, and *Asor*, before remembred, *Cedes Nephtalim*, *Sephet*, *Corazin*, *Capernaum*, *Bethsaida*, *Jotapata*, *Tiberias*, and *Scythopolis*, or *Bethsan*. For all other Authors disagree herein, and give no reason for their Opinion. One place of the Evangelist St. *Matthew* makes it manifest, that this Region, called *Decapolitana*, was all that Tract between *Zidon*, and the Sea of *Galilee*. For thus it is written; *And he departed again from the Coasts of* Tyrus *and* Zidon, *and came unto the Sea of* Galilee, *through the midst of the Coasts of* Decapolis: so that it was bounded by *Damascus* and *Libanus* on the North, by the *Phœnician* Sea, between *Zidon* and *Ptolomais* on the West; by the Hills of *Gelbo* and *Bethsan* on the South; and by the Mountains *Traconei*,

Plin. l. 5. c. 18.

Opotos a City standing in the Valley of Cœlosyria, watered by Chrysorrhoas as Damascus is. Plin. l. 5.

Mat. 4.

* Pliny hath Hippon Dion, for which Volaterran reads Hippidion. Ortelius takes them for two Cities.

Tracones, otherwise *Hermon*, *Sanir*, and *Galaad*, on the East; which is, from East to West, the whole breadth of the Holy Land; and from the North to the South, near the same distance, which may be each way forty English miles.

¶. V. *Of* Hamathu

But to look back again towards *Libanus*, there is seated, near the foot thereof, the City of * *Hammath*, or *Chammath*, of which (as they say) the Country adjoining taketh name: the same which *Josephus* calleth *Amathitis*, and *Amathensis*: † *Jacobus Zeigler*, *Ituræa. Ituræa Regio tenet borealia tribus Nephtali, per montem Libanum usq; Trachones.* The Country of *Ituræa*, saith he, containeth the North parts of the Tribe of *Nephtali*, along the Mount *Libanus* to *Trachones*. But herein following *Strabo*, who calls *Trachonitis*, *Ituræa*, he mistakes the Seat of this Region; and so doth *Mercator*. For indeed were *Ituræa* (which *Hegesippus* calls *Peræa*, and *G. Tyrius*, *Baccar*) the same with *Traconitis*, yet *Traconitis* it self is far more to the East than *Hammath* in *Naphtalim*; for *Traconitis* lieth between *Cæsaria Philippi*, and the Mountains *Trachones*, which the Hebrews call *Galead*: and this *Hammath*, or *Chammath*, is seated under *Cæsarea*, towards the Sea Westward. And it seemeth that this mistaking grew, by confounding *Emath*, or *Hamath* the Great in *Cælosyria*, beyond the Mountains *Trachones*, which ‖ *Jerom* upon *Amos* calls *Antiochia*, with *Hammath*, or *Hamath* the lesser in *Phœnicia*; and *Naphtalim*, which he calleth *Epiphania*: for this *Hammath*, or in our Translation *Hamath*, (and not that which is commonly called *Emath*, which 2 *Chron.* 8. 3. is set far from the North border of *Canaan* in *Syria Soba*,) is remembred in *Numb.* 34. 8. and *Numb.* 13. 22. and in *Ezek.* 47. 16. In the first of which places, it bordereth the Land of Promise: the same being the words; *From Mount Hor you shall point* (that is, direct or draw a line) *until it come to* Hamath. In the second place, thus; *So they went up and searched out the Land from the Wilderness of* Sin, *unto* Rehob *to go to* Hamath. Then in *Ezekiel*; *The West part also shall be the great Sea from the Border till a man come over against* Hamath; that is, the Coast of the Sea shall be the West Border from the Southermost part of the Holy Land, till you come directly over against *Hamath* Northward: from whence, if a Line be drawn to the Sea, it will touch the Wall of *Zidon*; which is * the North-west Corner of the Holy Land.

* *The Septuagint write it* Ammoth, Jerom, *Emath.* Josephus, *Amath.* Josh. 19. 35. *Chammath.* Ch. 21. 32. *Chammoth-Dor.* 1 Chron. 6. 76. *Chammon.* 2 King. 14. 8. *Chamath-Jehuda*, as Junius reads it. *Whereas also, for further distinction, there is added* (in Israel) *to note that it was of old belonging to* Judah, *tho seated in* Israel, *that is in the Kingdom of the ten Tribes; the other* Chamath *being in Syria Soba.*

† Zeigler. *in* Naptal.

‖ So Jerom *in his Comment in Amos* 6. 2. *where there is mention of* Hamath *the Great, as it seems, for distinction from the other in* Naphtalim; *tho* Mat. Beroaldus *rejecting* Jerom, *rather follows the Opinion of* Zeigler *above-mentioned, as indeed it cannot easily be justified, that either one or other of these is either* Antiochia, *or* Epiphania: *howbeit, that the same City which,* Josh. 19. 35. *is called* Chammath, *and placed in* Naphtalim, *was also called* Chamath, (*whence the word* Hamath *and* Emath *were framed*) *it may be gathered, partly because the other* Hamath, 2 Chron. 8. 3. *for distinction is called* Chamath-Tsoba, *as this* (*as it may seem by* Josh. 21. 32.) *was* Chamath-Dor, *and* Chamath-Judæ, *as we have noted* 2 Reg. 24. *Secondly, because* Numb. 34. 8. *and also* Ezek. 47. 10. Chameth *in the North side of the Holy Land, is placed too near the West corner to be that* Chamath-Tsoba: *for in the line which should make the North border, which begins at the great Sea, they make* Moses *to name never a place Eastward along all the breadth of the Holy Land, until we come to* Hermon (*for so they expound* Mount Hor, Numb. 34. 7.) *and beyond* Hermon *Eastward in this North side, they make him to name divers Towns, first* Chamath, *then* Tsodad, *then* Ziphron; *and lastly,* Chatsar-henan: *a thing most unlikely, seeing* Israel *had little or nothing Eastward beyond* Hermon. *Therefore we must needs expound* Hor *to be one of the Hills near* Sidon; *and so those Towns, as they are named to lie in order on the North side of* Asher, Naphtalim, *and* Manasses: *and in like manner those in* Ezekiel; *first,* Chetlon, *then* Chamath; *and so in order,* Berotha, Sibraim, Tsedad, Chauran, Chatsar-Henan. * *Of which,* Jos. 19. 35.

Now that this *Hamath*, or *Hammath*, which *Moses* also made the Confine of the Holy Land, is that of *Naphtalim*, both the reference which it hath to the West Sea, and the City of * *Rehob* adjoining prove it: the other *Hamath*, or *Emath* (being far removed, and beyond the forenamed Mountains, which inclose all those Lands which *Israel* ever had possession of) is that *Emath*, which is also called *Ituræa*, witness † *Stella* and *Laicstan*, and not that in *Naphtalim*, where ‖ *Jonathas Maccabæus* attended the Army of *Demetrius*, who fled from him, and removed by night.

* *Which* Rehob, *or* Rechob, *is* Josh. 19. 28. *is placed in Asher towards* Zidon, *in the Confines of* Naphtalim.

† Tilemanus Stella, *and* Peter Laicstan, *in their Tables of the Holy Land.*

‖ Jos. Ant. 13. 8.

For tho *Traconitis* be comprehended within *Ituræa* (and therefore it is said to be *finitima Galilæa Gentium*) yet it hath beginning over the Mountains *Traconis*, and so it stretcheth into the Plains of the Territory of *Ituræa*; whence *Philip* the Brother of *Herod* was Tetrarch or President, both of *Ituræa* and *Traconitis*; both which are over *Jordan* towards the East. But *Chamath* in *Naphtalim*, is on the West side of *Jordan* towards the *Mediterranean* Sea.

The Country *Ituræa* was so called of *Jethur*, one of the Sons of *Ishmael*; it is placed in the Bounds of *Celosyria* and *Arabia* * the Desart.

* *That it doth properly belong to* Arabia, *the name of* Jethur Ishmael's *Son, whose Issue settled in the* Arabians, *may in part give witness. Also the place of* 1 Chron. 5. 19. *confirms it, where* Jethur *is named among the* Hagarens, *against whom the* Reubenites *and* Gadites *made war, and whose Country they took in the time of* Jeroboham, *as their Forefathers had done in the time of* Saul, *after his Conquest of the* Amalekites. 1 Chron. 5. 10. *where the Country is placed in the East of* Gilead.

The People of *Ituræi*, were valiant and warlike Men, and excellent Archers. Of whom *Virgil*;

Ituræi Taxi torquentur in arcus.

Of Yew the *Ituræans* Bows were made.

This City *Chamath*, or *Hamath*, in *Naphtalim*, seems to have been as ancient as the other in *Ituræa*, both built by *Amathus*, the 11th Son of *Canaan*. Whether in the time of *David*, this, or the other had *Toha* for King, it is not certain; for *Hamath*, or *Emath*, beyond the Mountains, and *Hammath* in *Naptalim* were both Neighbours to *Damascus*; of whose subjugation *Toha* rejoiced, because *Hadadeser*, whom the *Damascens* came to help, was his Enemy. This *Toha* fearing the strength and prosperity of *David*, hearing of his approach towards his Territory, bought his Peace with many rich Presents, and with many ancient Vessels of Gold, Silver, and Brass.

But it seemeth that *David* in such great success, would not have had Peace with *Toha*, if he had been King of any place in *Naphtalim*, and therefore it is probable that he ruled in *Tysoba*; which City *Solomon*, after his Father's Death, made himself Master of, as a part of the Lands (* in the larger and conditional Promise) allotted by God to the Children of *Israel*.

* *Of the larger Promise expriss* Deut. 1. 7. *where* Euphrates *is named for one of the Bounds, so* Cap. 7. 24. Jerom. *de Locis Hebr.*

But this *Hammath* of *Naphtalim*, in the end, and after divers Mutations and Changes, both of Name and Fortune, being, as it hath been said, possessed by *Antiochus Epiphanes*, it was called *Epiphania*.

While S. *Jerom* lived, it remained a City well peopled, known to the *Syrians* by the name *Amathe*, and to the *Greeks* by *Epiphania*.

¶. VI. *Of* Reblatha *and* Rama, *and divers other Towns.*

IN the Border of *Hamath*, or *Emath*, towards *Jordan*, standeth the City *Reblatha*, or *Ribla*, watered from the Fountain *Daphnis*, which falleth into the Lake of *Meron*. Hereunto was *Zedekias* brought Prisoner, after his surprize in the Fields of *Jericho*, and delivered to *Nebuchodonosor*: who to be avenged of *Zedekia*'s Infidelity, beyond the proportion of Piety, first caused the Princes his Children to be slain in his presence: and to the end that this miserable Spectacle might be the last that ever he should behold in this World, and so the most remembred, he commanded both his eyes presently

presently to be thrust out: and binding him in Iron Chains, he was led a Slave to *Babylon*, in which estate he ended his Life. Of which seldom-exampled Calamity, tho not in expres words, *Jeremiah* the Prophet foretold him in *Jerusalem* not long before: But *Ezekiel* thus directly, speaking in the Person of God, *I will bring him to Babel, to the Land of the* Chaldeans, *yet shall he not see it, tho he shall die therein.*

Jer. 32. 34. &c. Ezek. 52.

There are besides these before-remembred, many other strong Cities in *Nephtalim*; as that which is called * *Cedes*: there are two others of the same name, one in † *Isachar*, another in *Juda*, of which *Josh.* 15. 23. and therefore to distinguish it, it is known by the addition of ‖ *Nephtalim*, as *Judg.* 4. It is seated on a high Hill, whence *Josh.* 20. 7. *Kedesh in Galilæa in monte Nephtali*: *Josephus* calls it *Cedesis*: and in S. *Jerom*'s time it was called *Cidissus*. *Belforest* greatly mistakes this *Cedes*, and confounds it with *Cades* in the Desar of *Pharan*.

* Or Kedesh, Josh. 19.37. & 20.7. & 21.32. item Judg. 4.6. † 1 Chron. 6.72. which Jos. 19.20. is called Keshion. ‖ Sometime Kedesh in Galilee, 1 Chron. 6. 76. Jos. 12.22. 2 Reg. 15. 29.

After the King thereof, among other of the *Canaanites*, perished by the hand of *Joshua*, it was made a City of Refuge, and given to the *Levites*. Herein was *Barack* born, who overthrew the Army of the second *Jabin* of *Hazor*, at the Mount *Tabor*. It was sometime possest by *Teglatphalassar*, when he wasted all *Nephtalim*: afterward by the Romans, and numbred for one of the ten Cities of the *Decapolitan* Region: when it had imbraced the Christian Faith, it was honoured with a Bishop's Seat; but in time it fell with the rest into the power of the *Saracens* and *Turks*, and by them it was demolished.

From *Cedes*, some four *Italian* miles towards the South-west, standeth *Sephet*, otherwise *Zephet*, which was also one of the ten *Decapolitan* Cities; a place exceeding strong, and for many years the inexpugnable Fortress of the Christians, and afterward of the *Saracens*; for from hence they conquered all the neighbour Cities of those Regions, both Inland and Maritimate near it. Touching *Rama* of *Nephtalim*, seated Northward near *Sephet*: this is to be noted, that there are * divers places of this name in *Palestine*, all situate on Hills; and therefore called *Rama* (*Rama Hebræis excelsum*, *Rama with the Hebrews is high*). Also that for this *Rama*, *Josh.* 19. 36. they read *Arama*, making the Article (which it hath in the Hebrew, as being a name of divers Towns) to be a part of the word: whence casting away the Aspiration, they read *Arama*. From *Sephet* towards the West, they place † *Bethsemes*, of which *Josh.* 19. 38. which defended it self against *Nephtalim*, *Jud.* 1. 33. but paid them tribute. On the other side of *Sephet*, towards the East, was *Bethanath*, who also kept their City from the *Nephtalims*.

* Set in Benjamin, and in Ephraim. † Other Cities there were of this name (which is as much as domus Solis) as that in Juda, 2 King. 14. 15. where Joash King of the Ten Tribes, overcame Amasia of Juda, of which also I understand the place, Josh. 21. 16. & 1 Sam. 6. 14. & 2 Chron. 29. 18. A third, as it seems, was in Dan. 1. King. 4. 9. which, Josh. 19. 41. is written Hirshemes, which is as much as cinatis Solis. Jud. 1. 31.

Adjoining to which standeth *Carthan* * or *Kiriathasim*, a City of the *Levites*, not far from the Mountain, out of which the Springs of *Capernaum* arise, called *Mons Christi*; a place by our Saviour often frequented: as also then when calling his Disciples together, he made choice of twelve, which he called and ordained to be his Apostles or Messengers; of which place, or the acts therein done, there is often mention in the † Evangelists.

* So it appears, by comparing of the places, Josh. 21. 32. & 1 Chron. 6. 76. Adrichomius both here & elsewhere deceived by the double name, makes two of one: altho I deny not but that there was another Kiria-thajim in Reuben; of which Josh. 13. 19. † Mark 3. Mat. 10. Acts 1. Mat. 5. 6. 7.

* Josh. 19. 38.

Adjoining to these are *Magdalel*, a place of strength; * and *Masaloth*, of which we read, that it was forced by *Bacchides*, in the time of the *Maccabes* *: also (according to *Adrichomius*) one of the two *Berothaes* of *Naphtalim*. For *Adrichomius* maketh two of this name in this Tribe; † one near *Chamath* in the North border, of which *Ezek.* 47. 6. Another (upon a weak conjecture out of *Joseph. Ant. J.* 5. c. 2.) he therefore placeth, in this Tract, near the Waters of *Merom*; because the Kings that joined with *Jabin* against *Joshua*, which incamped at the Waters of *Merom*, Josh. 11. 5. are by *Josephus* said to have incamped at the City *Berotha* in *Galilee*, not far from *Cedesa Superior*, which is also in *Galilee*: all which may be true of that *Berotha* of which *Ezek.* seeing it is in that *Galilee* which is called the *Upper Galilee*, or *Galilee* of the *Gentiles*. The same *Adrichomius* placeth the Region of *Berim* near *Abela*, (of which *Abela*, or *Abel-beth-mahacah*, we have spoken already) this he doth upon a conjecture touching the place, 2 *Sam.* 20. 14. where some read *Abel & Bethmahacah, & omnia loca Berim*; but the better reading is, *& omnes Berim*, that is, *with all the Berai*; for *Sheba* being of *Benjamin* (in which Tribe also there is a City called *Berotha*, or *Beeroth*) drew the Men of that City after him.

* 1 Mac. 9. 2. † *Barathæna Ptolomæo in fine Arabiæ deserta: Junio eadem cum Berothai una civitatum Hadadezers.* 2 Sam. 8. 8. Jos. 18. 25. *Asroth Hierom.* Jud. 4. *Lyr. in* Jud. 4. Jos. 19. 37. 1 Reg. 15. 20. 2 Reg. 15. 29.

To the North of *Berotha* of *Naphtalim*, standeth *Sebarim* under *Libanus*, remembred by *Ezek.* 47. and *Aroseth gentium*, near the Waters of *Merom*, or *Samachonitis*, the City of *Sisara*, Lieutenant of the Army of the second *Jabin*: from whence, not far off, towards the Sea of *Galilee*, is *Edrai*, or *Edrehi*, a strong City; besides many others, whereof I find no particular Story of importance; as *Ser* in *Josh.* 19. 35. called *Triddim-Tzer*, and named for the first of their fenced Cities: whence they make two Cities, *Assedim* and *Ser*: then *Adama*, which they call *Edama*; also *Hion*, which they call *Ahion*; of which in the Books of *Kings*. Then the strong City of *Cinnereth*, after called *Gennezareth*, whence we read of the Land and Lake of *Gennezareth*; the same Lake which is also called the Sea of *Tiberias*. In the body of the Land they place *Galgala* to the South border; of which ‖ *Macc.* 19. 2. also divers others named, *Josh.* 19. as *Ucuca*, or *Chukkok*: *Horem* and *Azanoth-tabor* (which they place towards the East parts) and out of the same place of *Joshua*: *Jirzon*, *Lakkum Jepnael*, *Heleb*, and * *Reccath*; which two last they place near *Cæsaria Philippi*: To these they add out of *Joshua*, *Nekeb*, and *Adami*; for which two *Junius* readeth *Fossa Adamæi*, making it no Town, but a Ditch cast by some of *Adamath*, as it seems; or at least the custody of which March or Limit belonging to the Town. To these out of *Numb.* 34. 10. they add *Sephana*, which 1 *Sam.* 30. 21. seems to be called *Sipmoth*. As for *Tichon* and *Helon*, whereof the former they fetch out of *Ezek.* 47. 16. and the latter out of *Joshua* 19. 33. it may appear by *Junius* his Translation, that neither are to be taken for Cities: for the former, he readeth *Mediani*, and for the latter *Quercetum*. The City of † *Naphtalim*, which they make the native Place of *Toby* and *Nasson* near unto it, they fetch out of the vulgar Translation, *Tob.* 7. 7. but in the Greek Text there is no sign, neither of the one nor of the other.

Mac. 6. 13. Luke 5. 1.

‖ This place of the Maccab. warrants no Galgala, or Gilgal in Naphtali; but may well be understood of Gilgal in Benjamin, or in Manasseh.

* This Reccath, or Rakkath, Junius thinks that it is the same with Karthan, (one of these being made of the other by transposition of Letters) of which Karthan we have noted already, that it is also called Kiria-thajim. † In the place which also they bring to prove that there was a City called Naphtalim, as it is evident by the following Verses, the Tribe of Naphtalim is meant, and not any City of that name.

1 Reg. 4.

§. V.

§. V.

The Tribe of Zabulon.

OF *Zabulon*, or *Zebulon*, another of the Sons of *Jacob* by *Lea*, there were muſtered at Mount *Sinai* 57400 able Men, beſides Women, Children, and aged unable Perſons; all which dying in the Deſarts, there entred the Holy Land of their Iſſues 65000 fit to bear Arms; who inhabited that part of *Canaan*, from *Aſher* to the River *Chiſen*; Southward, and from the Sea of *Galilee* to the *Mediterran*, Eaſt and Weſt:

* Joſh.12. 22. † Joſep.2. bel.19. ‖ Joſph.2. bel.22.

The Cities within this Tribe, which border *Aſher*, are *Sicaminum* on the Sea-ſhore, of which *Joſeph Ant.*13. c. 19. *Debbaſet* of * which *Joſh.*19.11. *Jeconam*, or *Jokneham*, (whoſe King was † ſlain by *Joſhua*, and the City was given to the *Levites*) and *Gaba*, after called the *City of Horſemen*, of a Regiment there garriſoned by *Herod*. Then the City which beareth the name of *Zabulon*, or the *City of Men*, exceeding ancient and magnificent, ‖ burnt to the ground by *Ceſtius*, Lieutenant of the Roman Army. *Adrichomius* makes it the birth City of **Elon* Judg of *Iſrael*, becauſe he is called *Zabulonita*; not marking that in the ſame place he is ſaid to be buried at *Ajalon*.

* Jud.12. 12. † *The greater* Cana *is in the Tribe of* Aſſer. *Jo.*21.2. Nathaniel *is ſaid to be of* Cana *in* Galilee. *Of* Simon *it may be douted; for* Angelus Caninius *reads* Mat. 10.4. Simon Kannites, *which word* Luke 6. *is, he thinketh, to be expounded by* Zelotes.

To the Eaſt of this City of *Zabulon* is *Cateth*, of which *Joſh.*19.15. on the border of *Aſher*; and beyond it the leſſer † *Cana* of *Galilee*, where Chriſt converted Water into Wine; the native City of *Nathaniel*, and, as it is thought, of *Simon Zelotes*. Beyond it begin the Mountains of *Zabulon*; and then the City of *Cethron* (in *Ziegler*, *Ghiltron*) which defended it ſelf againſt *Zabulon*. Then *Berſabe* which ſtandeth in the partition of the upper and neather *Galilee*, fortified by *Joſephus* againſt the Romans. Not far from hence ſtandeth *Shimron* of *Meron*, whoſe King was ſlain by *Joſhua*.

‖ *The Hebrew* Hammethoar *(for which the Vulgar hath* Amthar. Joſh. 19.13.) Vatablus *expoundeth* quæ gyrat, Junius *joinſt with the word going before it, & reads* Rimmonem Methoarum. Mar.8.11. Mark 1.6. Luk.4.10.

Then *Damna*, or *Dimna*, a City of the *Levites*; then *Noa*, or rather *Neha*, of which *Joſh.* 19. 13. Then *Dothan*, or *Dothain*, where *Joſeph* found his Brethren feeding their Flocks; the ſame wherein *Eliſæus*, beſieged by the *Syrians*, ſtrook them all blind.

Beyond it, towards the Eaſt, they imagine ‖ *Amthar*, or *Amathar*; then *Remmon* of the *Levites*. The laſt of the Cities on the North border of *Zabulon*, is *Bethſaida*, one of the ten Cities of *Decapolis*, ſituate on the *Galilæan* Sea, and watered by the Springs of *Capernaum*, the native City of the Apoſtles, *Peter*, *Andrew*, and *Philip*. Herein Chriſt did many Miracles; but theſe People being no leſs incredulous than the *Capernaims*, and others, received the ſame curſe of threatned Miſeries; as, *Wo be unto thee* Bethſaida, *&c.*

Alongſt the Weſt border of *Galilee*, towards the South from *Bethſaida*, was the ſtrong Caſtle of *Magdalum*, the Habitation of *Mary Magdalen*, not long ſince ſtanding.

* *The names of the chief Cities ſeated about this Sea, or Lake, thro which* Jordan *runeth, were* Capernaum, Tiberias, Bethſaida, Gadara, Tarichea; *& they add* Cinereth, *which in former times gave name to the Lake & Country.* Mat.9. Luke 5. Joſ.Ant. 18.3.

And beyond it the ſtrong & high ſeated City of *Jotapata*, fortified by *Joſephus* in the Roman War: but in the end, after a long Siege, ſurprized by *Veſpaſian*; who ſlaughtered many thouſands of the Citizens; and held 1200 Priſoners, whereof *Joſephus* the Hiſtorian was one.

The laſt and greateſt of the Cities on that *Sea, and the Lake of *Genezareth* within *Zabulon*, was that of *Tiberias*; from whence afterward the *Galilæan* Sea alſo changed name, and was called *the Sea of the City Tiberias*, ſo named in honour of *Tiberius Cæſar*; it was one of the ten Cities, and the Metropolis of the Region *Decapolitan*, and the greateſt and laſt of the lower *Galilee*. From hence our Savious called *Matthew*, from the Toll or Cuſtom-houſe, to be an *Apoſtle*, and near unto it raiſed the Daughter of *Jairus* from death; it was built (as *Joſephus* reports) by *Herod* the Tetrarch, the Brother of *Philip*, in the beginning of the reign of *Tiberius Cæſar*; in the moſt fruitful part of *Galilee*, but in a ground full of Sepulchres; *Quum juxta noſtras leges* (ſaith he) *ad ſeptem dies impurus habeatur, qui in talibus locis habitet*; *Whereas by our Law he ſhould be ſeven days held as unclean who inhabited in ſuch a place*: by which words, and by the whole place of *Joſephus* it appears, that this *Tiberias* is not (as ſome have thought) the ſame as the old *Cinnereth*, which was ſeated, not in *Zabulon*, but in *Naphtalim*.

Joſeph 10.15. Adrich. in Zab.

Near unto this *Tiberias* at *Amaus*, there were hot Baths, where *Veſpaſian* the Emperor encamped againſt *Tiberias*: More into the Land, toward the South-weſt, is *Bethulia*, ſeated on a very high Hill, and of great ſtrength, famous by the ſtory of *Holofernes* and *Judith*, ſuch as it is. Near which ſtandeth *Bethleem* of *Zabulon*; and adjoining unto it, *Capharath* fortified by *Joſephus* againſt the Romans; and *Japha* an exceeding ſtrong place, afterward forced by *Titus*: who in the entrance, and afterward in fury, ſlew 15000 of the Citizens, and carried away above 2000 Priſoners.

Joſep. in vita ſua. Joſep. 2. bell.25.

On the South ſide are the Cities of *Cartha* of the *Levites*, and *Gabara*, of which *Joſephus* in his own Life, then *Jafic* according to *Adrichomius* (of which *Joſ.*19.12.) for he thinks that it is not that *Japha* of which we ſpake but now out of *Joſephus*. *Jideala*, of which *Joſh.*19.15. *Jerom* calls it *Jadela*; under it weſtward *Legio*, (afterward a Biſhop's Seat) and the City *Belma*, in ancient Times exceeding ſtrong, remembred *Judith* 7.3. otherwiſe *Chelma*. Between *Legio* and *Nazaret*, is the City *Saffa*, or *Saffra*, the birth City of *Zebedæus*, *Alphæus*, *James*, and *John*: Then *Sephoris*, or *Sephora*, according to *Joſephus*: *Sepphorum*, according to *Brochard*; which afterward, ſaith *Hegeſippus* and *Jerom*, was called *Diocæſaria*; the City of *Joachim* and *Anna*, the Parents of the Virgin *Mary*, it was called by *Herod* the Tetrarch: and by him, as *Joſephus* ſpeaks, made the head and defence of *Galilee*; in another place he ſaith, *Urbium Galilææarum maxima Sephoris & Tiberias*. This *Sephoris* greatly vexed *Veſpaſian* e're he wan it. *Herod Antipas*, when he made it the Regal Seat of the nether *Galilee*, and ſurrounded it with a ſtrong Wall, called it *Autocratorida*, which is as much as to ſay, *Imperial*, ſaith *Joſephus*; and it is now but a Caſtle called *Zaphet*.

Joſephus otherwiſe Riſloth Thabor, *as* Junius *thinks upon* Joſ.19.12. *whence* 1 Chron. 6.77. *it is called* Thabor.

Johan. de Montevil. la.c.4. & 20.

Joſ.Ant. 18.3. *in vita ſua.*

To the South-weſt of this *Sephoris*, or *Diocæſarea*, was that bleſſed place of *Nazareth*, the City of *Mary* the Mother of Chriſt; in which he himſelf was conceived, it ſtandeth between Mount *Tabor*, and the *Mediterran* Sea. In this City he abode chiefly 24 years, and was therefore called a *Nazarite*, as the Chriſtians afterward were for many years. It was erected into an Archbiſhoprick in the following Age. Near unto it are the Cities *Buria* (afterward well defended againſt the Turks) and *Nahalal*, of which *Joſ.*19.15. and *Jud.*1.30. where it is called *Nahalol*: and *Joſ.*21.35. where it is a City of the *Levites*, near the Sea; adjoining to the River of *Chiſan*, is *Sarid*, noted in *Joſhua* for the uttermoſt of *Zabulon*.

In this Territory of *Zabulon*, there are divers ſmall Mountains; but *Tabor* is the moſt renowned, by the Apparition of *Moſes* and *Elias*: and by the Transfiguration of Chriſt, in the preſence of *Peter*, *James*, and *John*; unto whom *Moſes* and *Elias* appeared; in memory whereof, on the top of the Mountain, the Empreſs *Helen* built a ſumptuous Chappel.

The chief River of *Zabulon*, is *Chiſon*; which riſing out of *Tabor*, runneth with one ſtream Eaſtward

ward to the Sea of *Galilee*, and with another ſtream weſtward into the great Sea. This River of *Chiſon*, where it riſeth, and ſo far as it runneth Southward, is called *Chedumim*, or *Cadumim*: and for mine own Opinion, I take it to be the ſame which *Ptolomy* calleth *Chorſeus*; tho others diſtinguiſh them, and ſet *Chorſeus* by *Ceſaria Paleſtinæ*. There is a ſecond Torrent, or Brook, that riſeth in the Hills of *Bethulia*, and falleth into the Sea of *Galilee* by *Magdalum*: and the third is a Branch of a River riſing out of the Fountains of *Capernaum*, which falleth alſo into the ſame Sea, and near *Magdalum*; which Torrent they call *Dotham*, from the Name of the City from which it paſſeth Eaſtward to *Bethſaida*, and ſo joining with *Jordanis Parvus*, which runneth from the Valley of *Jephthael*, which *Joſhua* reckoneth in the bounds of *Zabulon*, it endeth in the Sea of *Galilee*.

So Laicſian's Map in Ortelius. Joſ. 19.14.

§. VI.

The Tribe of Issachar.

THE next adjoining Territory to *Zabulon*, to the South and South-weſt, was *Iſſachar*, who inhabited a part of the nether *Galilee*, within *Jordan*: of whom there were increaſed in *Egypt*, as appeared by their Muſters at Mount *Sinai* 54400, able and warlike Men, who leaving their Bodies with the reſt in the Deſarts, there entred the Holy Land, 64300.

Taricheain Suicton. The firſt City of this Tribe, near the Sea of *Galilee*, was *Tarichea*, diſtant from *Tiberias* 8 Engliſh miles, or ſomewhat more, a City wherein the *Jews* (by the practiſe of a certain mutinous upſtart, *John* the Son of *Levi*) took Arms againſt *Joſephus* the Hiſtorian, then Governor of both *Galilees*. This City was firſt taken by *Caſſius*, and 3000 Jews carried thence captive; and afterward, with great difficulty by *Veſpaſian*, who entred it by the Sea ſide, having firſt beaten the Jews in a Sea-fight upon the Lake or Sea of *Galilee*: he put to the Sword all ſorts of People, and of all Ages; ſaving that his Fury being quenched with the Rivers of Blood running through every Street, he reſerved the remainder for Slaves and Bondmen. Next to *Tarichea* is placed *Ceſſion*, or *Ciſhion*, of the *Levites*, and then *Iſachar*, remembred in 1 *Kings* 4.17. then *Abes*, or *Ebets*, *Joſh.* 19.20. and *Remeth*, of which *Joſh.* 19. 21. otherwiſe *Ramoth*, 1 *Chron.* 6. 73. or *Jarmuth*, *Joſh.* 21. 29. this alſo was a City of the *Levites*, from whoſe Territory the Mountains of *Gilboa* take beginning; and range themſelves to the *Mediterranean* Sea, and towards the Weſt as far as the City of *Jezrael*; between which and *Ramoth*, are the Cities of *Bethpheſes*, or *Bethpaſſes*, according to *Ziegler*, and *Enadda*, or *Hen-chadda*: near which *Saul* ſlew himſelf: under thoſe *Aphec*, or *Apheca*, which *Adrichomius* placeth in *Iſachar*; between which and *Suna*, he ſaith, that the *Philiſtims* incamped againſt *Iſrael*, and afterward againſt *Saul*, a Land thirſty of Blood; for herein alſo, ſaith he, the *Syrians*, with 32 *Reguli*, aſſiſting *Benhadad*, incountred *Achab*: and were overthrown and ſlaughtered: to whom the King of *Iſrael* made a moſt memorable Anſwer, when *Benhadad* vaunted before the Victory; which was, *Tell* Benhadad, *Let not him that girdeth his Harneſs boaſt himſelf, as he that putteth it off*; meaning, that Glory followed after Victory, but ought not to precede it. In the year following, in the Fields, as they ſay, adjoining to this City, was the ſame vain-glorious *Syrian* utterly broken and diſcomforted by *Achab*, and 100000 Footmen of the *Aramites*, or *Syrians*, ſlain: before which overthrow, the Servants and Counſellors of *Benhadad* (in deriſion of the God of *Iſrael*) told him, *That the Gods of Iſrael were Gods of the Mountains; and therefore if they fought with them in the Plains, they ſhould overcome them.* 1 King. 20 23.

Joſ. 21.28. Kiſhion, which, 1 Chron. 6.72. is called Kediſh.

Joſh. 19. 1 Sam. 4.1. —29. 1. 1 King. 20. 26. In the latter two places, Junius makes Aphek in Aſſer, according to Joſ. 19.30. in the firſt he placeth it in Juda, out of Joſ. 15. 53. 1 King. 20.

Under *Aphec*, towards the Sea, they ſet the City of *Eſdrelon*, in the plains of *Galilee*, called alſo the *Great Field of Eſdrelon*, and *Maggedo*; in the border whereof are the Ruins of *Aphec* to be ſeen, ſaith *Brochard*, and *Breidenbach*. After theſe are the Cities of *Caſaloth*, of which 1 *Macc.* 9.2. *Anem*, or *Hen-Gannim* of the *Levites*; and *Seeſima*, or *Shahatſima*, the Weſt border of *Iſachar*, of which *Joſh.* 19.22. From hence ranging the Sea-coaſt, there is found the Caſtle of *Pilgrims*; a ſtrong Caſtle, invironed with the Sea, ſometime the Storehouſe and Magazine of the Chriſtians, and built by the Earl of S. *Giles*, or *Tolouſe*. Judith 1. 8. & 7.3. 1 Chron. 6.73. Joſ. 21.29.

From the Caſtle of *Pilgrims*, the Sea maketh a great Bay towards the North, and at the farthermoſt ſhore beginneth Mount *Carmel*, not far from the River *Chiſon*; where *Elijah* aſſembled all the Prophets and Prieſts of *Baal*, and prayed King *Achab*, and the People aſſembled, to make trial, whether the God of *Iſrael*, or the Idol of *Baal*, were to be worſhipped, by laying a Sacrifice, without Fire, on the Altar: which done, the Prieſts of *Baal* prayed, and cut their own Fleſh after their manner, but the fire kindled not; while *Elijah* in deriſion told them, that their God *was either in purſuit of his Enemies not at leaſure, or perchance aſleep*, &c. But at the Prayer of *Elijah*, his Fire kindled, notwithſtanding that he had cauſed the People to caſt many Veſſels of Water thereon; by which Miracle the People incenſed, ſlew all thoſe Idolaters on the Banks of *Chiſon* adjoining.

At the foot of this Mountain, to the North, ſtandeth *Caiphas*, built, as they ſay, by *Caiphas* the High Prieſt. It is alſo known by the name of *Porſina* and *Porphyria*, ſometime a Suffragan Biſhop's Seat. Returning again from the Sea-coaſt, towards *Tiberias*, by the Banks of *Chiſon*, there are found the City of *Hapharaim*, or *Aphraim*, and the Caſtles of *Meſra* and *Saba*; of which *Brochard* and *Breidenbach*: and then *Naim* on the River *Chiſon*, a beautiful City while it ſtood, in the Gates whereof Chriſt raiſed from Death the Widows only Son. Luke 7.

Then *Seon*, or *Shion*, named *Joſh.* 19. between the two Hills of *Hermon*, in *Iſachar*: beyond it ſtandeth *Endor*, famous by reaſon of the Enchauntreſs that undertook to raiſe up the Body of *Samuel*, at the inſtigation of *Saul*.

Beyond it ſtands *Anaharath* and *Rabbith*, named *Joſh.* 19.19,20. Then *Dabarath*, as it is named *Joſh.* 21.28. or *Dobratha*, as it is named 1 *Chron.* 6. 72. This City (which ſtretcheth it ſelf over *Chiſon*) was a City of Refuge belonging to the *Levites*.

Next to *Daberath* is *Arbela* ſituate, near the Caves of thoſe two Thieves which ſo greatly moleſted *Galilee* in *Herod*'s Time. It joineth on one ſide to the Mountain of *Iſachar* or *Hermon*, and on the other to the Valley of *Jezrael*; which Valley continueth it ſelf from *Bethſan*, or *Scythopolis*, the Eaſt border of *Iſachar*, even to the *Mediterranean* Sea; two parts whereof are incloſed by the Mountains of *Gilboe* on the South, and by *Hermon*, and the River *Chiſon* on the North. In theſe * Plains *Gideon* overthrew the *Madianites*, and herein, they think, *Saul* fought againſt the *Philiſtims*: *Achab* agains the *Syrians*, and the *Tartars* againſt the *Saracens*.

* *Called* Campus Magnus, 1 Mac. 12. 49. *and* Harbathæ *for* Harabath. 1 Macc. 5. 23. & c. 2. Judg. 6. 1 Sam. 31. 1 King. 20.

§. VII.

The half of the Tribe of MANASSEH.

¶. 1. *Of the Bounds of this half Tribe; and of* Scythopolis, Salem, Therſa, *and others.*

THE next Tribe which joineth it ſelf to *Iſachar* towards the South, is the half of *Manaſſeh*, on the Weſt ſide of *Jordan*. *Manaſſes* was the firſt begotten of *Joſeph*, the 11*th* Son of *Jacob*. His Mother was an *Egyptian*, the Daughter of *Putiphar*, Prieſt and Prince of *Heliopolis*: which *Manaſſes*, with his Brother *Ephraim*, the Grand-children of *Jacob*, were by adoption numbred amongſt the Sons of *Jacob*, and made up the number of the twelve Patriarks.

Of *Manaſſeh*, there were increaſed in *Egypt*, as they were numbred at Mount *Sinai*, 32200 able Men: all which being conſumed in the Deſarts, there entred of their Iſſue 52700 bearing Arms. The Territory which fell to this one half of *Manaſſeh*, was bounded by *Jordan* on the Eaſt, and *Dora* upon the *Mediterran* Sea on the Weſt, *Jezrael* on the North, and *Machmata* is the South border.

Plin. *lib.* 5. *c.* 18. The firſt and principal City which ſtood in this Territory, was *Bethſan*, ſometime *Nyſa*, ſaith *Pliny*, built by *Liber Pater*, in honour of his Nurſe there buried, of the ſame name, which *Solinus* confirms. Afterward, when the *Scythians* invaded *Aſia* the Leſs, and pierc'd into the South, to the uttermoſt of *Cœloſyria*, they built this City anew, and very magnificent: and it had thereupon the name of *Scythopolis*, or the City of *Scythians* given it by the Greeks.

Theſe barbarous Northern People, conſtrained the Jews to fight againſt their own Nation and Kindred, by whoſe hands when they had obtained victory, they themſelves ſet on the Jews which ſerved them, and ſlew them all. *Stephanus* makes it the utmoſt towards the South of *Cœloſyria*: and *Strabo* joins it to *Galilee*. It is ſeated between *Jordan* and the Hills of *Gilboe*, *in aulone ad montes acrabitena*, ſaith *Ziegler*. But I find it in the Eaſt part of the Valley of *Jezrael* near *Jordan*: after that *Jordan* ſtraitneth it ſelf again into a River, leaving the Sea or Lake *Genezareth*. Notwithſtanding, *Montanus* deſcribes it far to the Weſt, and towards the *Mediterranean* Sea, near *Endor*, contrary to *Stella*, *Laieſtan*, *Adrichome*, and all other the beſt Authors. This City was the greateſt of all thoſe of *Decapolis*: but the Children of *Manaſſeh* could not expel the Inhabitants thereof, and therefore called it *Sane*, an Enemy; or *Beth-ſan*, the Houſe of an Enemy.

Judg. 1. Joſh. 17. *de Bell. ſacr.* Over the Walls of this *Bethſan*, the *Philiſtims* hung the Body of *Saul*, and his Sons, ſlain at *Gilboe*. It had, while the Chriſtian Religion flouriſhed in thoſe parts, an Arch-biſhop, who had nine other Biſhops of his Dioceſs numbred by *Tyrius*, in *lib.* 14. *cap.* 12. but the ſame was afterward tranſlated to *Nazareth*. The later Travellers in thoſe parts affirm, that there is daily taken out among the rubbiſh and the ruins of that City, goodly Pillars, and other pieces of excellent Marble, which witneſs the ſtately buildings and magnificence which it had in elder times, but it is now a poor and deſolate Village.

Jerom *in Epiſt. ad Evagr. & in Loc. Hebr.* From *Bethſan*, keeping the way by *Jordan*, they find an ancient City called *Salim*; which City, the ancient *Rabbins*, ſaith *Jerom*, do not find to be the ſame with *Jeruſalem*; there being, in the time of *Jerom*, and ſince, a Town of that name, near *Scythopolis* before remembred; which if the place of Scripture, *Gen.* 13. 18. do not confirm, where the Vulgar readeth *tranſivitq; in Salem urbem Sichemorum* (for which others read, *venit incolumis ad Civitatem Sechemum*, making the word *Shalem* not to be a proper Name, but an Adjective) yet the place *John* 3. 13. where it is ſaid, that *John* was baptizing in *Ænon* near *Saleim*, may ſomewhat ſtrengthen this opinion, and yet it is not unlikely that this *Saleim* of which S. *John* ſpeaketh, is but contracted of *Shahalim*, of which in the Tribe of *Benjamin*, 1 Sam. 9. 4. This word *Junius* maketh to be the *plural* of *Shuhal*; of which we read, 1 *Sam.* 13. 17. for as for that which is added out of *Cant.* 6. 12. of *Shulammitis*, as if it had been as much as a Woman of this *Saleim*, near *Ænon*, it hath no probability.

Not far from thence, where they place *Salem*, they find *Bezech* the City of *Adonibezec*; *Joſephus* calls it *Bala*: here it was that *Saul* aſſembled the ſtrength of *Iſrael* and *Juda*, to the number of 330000, when he meant to relieve *Jabeſh-Gilead*, againſt *Naaſh* the *Ammonite*; who would give them no other conditions of Peace, than to ſuffer their right Eyes to be thruſt out. Near *Bezech*, is the City of *Bethbera*, or rather *Beth-bara*, of which *Judg.* 7. 24. in the ſtory of *Gedeon*; and then *Ephra*, or *Hophra*, wherein *Gideon* inhabited; in the Border whereof ſtood an Altar conſecrated to *Baal*: which he pulled down and defaced; and near it that Stone on which *Abimilec* the Baſtard ſlew his 70 Brothers, (an heatheniſh Cruelty, practiſed by the Turks to this day); and not far hence, between the Village of *Aſophon* and *Jordan*, *Ptolomæus Lathurus* overthrew *Alexander* King of the *Jews*; and ſlaughtered, as *Joſephus* numbreth them, 3000; but according to *Timagenes* 5000: after which Victory, as *Ptolomy* paſt by the Villages of the *Jews*, he ſlew all their Women, and cauſed the young Children to be ſod in great Caldrons, that the reſt of the *Jews* might thereby think that the *Egyptians* were grown to be Men-eaters, and ſtrike them with the greater terror.

This City Bezek, by the place Jud. 1. 3. ſeemeth to have been in Juda. Joſ. Ant. l. 6. c. 5 1 Sam. 11.

Joſ. *Ant. l.* 13. *c.* 21.

Towards the Weſt, and on the border of *Iſſachar*, they place the Cities of * *Ener* of the *Levites*, and *Abel-Mehola*, which *Junius*, *Jud.* 7. 22. placeth in *Ephraim*; it was the Habitation of *Heliſeus* the Prophet, numbred among thoſe places, 1 *Reg.* 4. 12. which were given in charge to *Baana* by *Solomon*; to whoſe charge alſo *Tahanach* belonged, a place of great ſtrength, which at the firſt reſiſted *Joſhua*, tho their King was afterward hanged, and their City given to the *Levites*.

* *This Aner, Junius upon* 1 Chron. 6. 70. *makes to be the ſame with* Tahanac, *of which* Joſ. 21. 25.

In the body of this Territory of *Manaſſeh*, but ſomewhat nearer to *Jordan* than to the *Mediterranean* Sea, were three great Cities, to wit, *Therſa*, whoſe King was one of thoſe that *Joſhua* ſlew; which the Kings of *Iſrael* uſed for their Regal Seat, till ſuch time as *Samaria* was built. From hence the Wife of *Jeroboam* went to *Achia* to enquire of her Son's health; who knowing her, tho ſhe were diſguiſed, told her of her Son's death.

Jerom *names it from Aner the Confederate of Abraham, Gen.* 14. 13. Joſ. 12. 17. 1 King. 14.

The ſecond was *Thebes* near *Samaria*, of which name there are both in *Egypt* and *Greece*, of great fame; in the aſſault of the Tower of this Town, whereinto the Citizens retired, the Baſtard *Abimilec* was wounded by a weighty ſtone, thrown by a Woman over the Wall; who deſpairing of his recovery, commanded his Page to ſlay him out-right, becauſe it ſhould not be ſaid that he periſhed by the ſtroke of a Woman. But others ſet this City in *Ephraim*, near *Sichem* or *Neapolis*.

Jud. 9. 54.

The third is *Acrabata*, of which the Territory adjoining is called *Acrabatena*, (one of the ten *Toparchies*, or Governments in *Judea*) for which *Jerom*, 1 *Maccab.* 5. reads *Arabathena*; but in the Greek it is *Acrabatine*: *Iſidore* calls it *Agrabat*. This City had one of the largeſt Territories of all *Paleſtine*, belonging to the Governour thereof. *Joſephus* remembreth it often, as in his ſecond Book

Jer. *Matt.* 1. *c.* 5.

of

of the *Jews* Wars, *c.* 11, 25, 28. and elsewhere.

The difference between a *Tetrarchie* and a *Toparchie*, was, that the first was taken for a Province, and the other for a City, with some lesser Territory adjoining; and a *Tetrarch* is the same with *Praes* in Latin, and *President* in English, being commonly the fourth part of a Kingdom, and therefore so called. *Pliny* nameth 17 *Tetrarchies* in *Syria*: the Holy Land had four, and so hath the Kingdom of *Ireland* to this day, *Lempster*, *Ulster*, *Connath*, and *Munster*.

Plin. *l.* 5.

Euseb. *in Cron.*

To the South-west of *Acrabata*, they place the Cities of *Balaam*, or *Bilham*, and *Gethremmon* of the *Levites*: but *Junius* out of *Josh.* 21. 25. and 1 *Chron.* 6. 70. gathers, that these two are one; and that *Jibleham*, *Josh.* 16. 11. is another name of the same City.

Then is *Jezrael* a Regal City, set at the foot of the Mountains of *Gilboe*, towards the South-west: herein *Jezabel*, by a false accusation, caused *Naboth* to be stoned, to the end she might possess his Vineyard joining to the City; which *Naboth* refused to sell, because it was his Inheritance from his Father. *Joram* also was cast unburied into the same field;

1 King. 21. for which his Mother *Jezabel* murdered *Naboth*.

Toward the Sea, from *Jezrael*, is the City which they call *Gaber*; in whose ascent, as *Ahaziah* King of *Juda* fled from *Jehu*, when he had slain *Joram*, he was wounded with the shot of an Arrow, of which wound he died at *Mageddo* adjoining. The

2 King. 9. 27. Scripture calls this City of *Gaber*, *Gur*.

Then *Adadremmon*, near unto which the good King *Josias* was slain by *Necho* King of *Egypt*, in a War unadvisedly undertaken. For *Necho* marched towards *Assyria* against the King thereof, by the Commandment of God; whom *Josias* thought to resist in his Passage: it was afterward called *Maximianopolis*.

A neighbour City to *Adadremmon* was *Maggeddo*, often remembred in the Scriptures; whose

Jud. 1. 5. King was slain among the rest by *Joshua*; yet they

Jos. 12. 17. defended their City for a long time against *Manasseh*. The River which passeth by the Town, may perhaps be the same which *Ptolomy* calleth *Chorseus*: and not that of which we have spoken in *Zabulon*. For because this name is not found in the Scriptures, many of those that have described the Holy Land delineate no such River. *Moore* only sets it down in his *Geography* of the twelve Tribes: but the River which passeth by *Maggedo*, he understandeth to be but a Branch falling thereinto. *Laicstan* and *Schrot* make a great confluence of Waters in this place; agreeable to this Scripture in the fifth of *Judges*; *Then fought the Kings of* Canaan *in* Tanaac, *by the Waters of* Maggeddo. But these Authors, and with them *Stella*, give it no other name than the Torrent so called.

But seeing that ancient *Cosmographers* stretch out the bounds of *Phœnicia* even to *Sebaste*, or *Samaria*;

Strab. *l.* 16. Jos. *l.* 15. *c.* 13. *Niger.* and *Strabo* far beyond it on the Sea-coast: And *Josephus* calls *Cæsaria Palestinæ*, a City of *Phœnicia*: yea *Laurentius Corvinus* extendeth *Phœnicia* as far as *Gaza*: seeing also *Ptolomy* sets down *Chorseus* for the partition of *Phœnicia* and *Judæa*, this River running East and West parallel with *Samaria*: it is very probable that this Torrent called *Maggeddo*, after the name of the City which it watereth, is the same which *Ptolomy* in his fourth Table of *Asia*, calleth *Chorseus*. The later travellers of the Holy Land call *Maggeddo*, *Subimbre* at this day.

¶. II. *Of* Cæsaria Palestinæ, *and some other Towns.*

FRom *Maggeddo* toward the West, and near the *Mediterran Sea*, was that glorious City of *Cæsaria Palestina*: first, the Tower of *Straton*: the same which *Pliny* calls *Apollonia*: tho *Ptolomy* sets *Apollonea* elsewhere, and toward *Egypt*, between this City and *Joppe*, to which *Vespasian* gave the name of *Flavia Colonia*. It was by *Herod* rebuilt, who therein laboured to exceed all the works in that part of the World: For besides the edifices, which he reared within the Walls, of cut and polish't Marbles, the *Theater* and *Amphitheater*, from whence he might look over the Seas far away, with the high and stately Towers and Gates, he forced a Harbor of great capacity, being in former times but an open Bay: and the wind blowing from the Sea, the *Merchants* haunting that Port, had no other hope, but in the strength of their Cables & Anchors. This work he performed with such charge and labour, as the like of that kind hath not bin found in any Kingdom, nor in any Age: which, because the Materials were fetcht from far, and the weight of the stones was such, as it exceedeth belief, I have added *Josephus*'s own words of this work, which are these: *Hanc locorum incommoditatem correcturus, circulum portus circumduxit, quantum putaret magna classi recipiendæ sufficere: & in viginti ulnarum profundum, prægrandia saxa demisit: quorum pleraque pedum quinquaginta longitudinis, latitudinis verò octodecim, altitudine novem pedali: fuerunt quædam etiam majora, minora alia. To mend this inconvenience of place* (saith Josephus) *he compast in a Bay wherein a great Fleet might well ride: and let down great stones twenty fadom deep: whereof some were fifty foot long*, 18 *foot broad, and nine foot thick: and some bigger, and some lesser.* To this he added an arm or cawse of two hundred foot long, to break the waves: the rest he strengthned with a Stone Wall, with divers stately Towers thereon builded: of which the most magnificent he called *Drusus*, after the name of *Drusus* the Son in Law of *Cæsar*: in whose honour he intitled the City it self, *Cæsaria of Palestine*: all which he performed in 12 years time. It was the first of the Eastern Cities that received a Bishop: afterward erected into an Archbishoprick, commanding twenty others under it, saith *Tyrius*.

Jos. *l.* 15. *c.* 13.

L. 14. *c.* 12. *Bell. sacr.*

St. *Jerom* nameth *Theophilus*, *Eusebius*, *Acacius*, *Euzorus*, and *Gelasius*, to have been Bishops thereof. In this City was *Cornelius* the Centurion baptized by S. *Peter*: and herein dwelt *Philip* the Apostle. S. *Paul* was herein two years prisoner, under the *President Felix*, unto the time and government of *Porcius Festus*: by whom, making his appeal, he was sent to *Cæsar*. Here, when *Herod Agrippa* was passing on to celebrate the *Quinquennalea*, taking delight to be called a God by his flatterers; he was stricken by an Angel unto death, saith *Josephus*.

To the North of *Cæsaria* standeth *Dora*, or *Naphoth Dor*, as some read, *Jos.* 12. so called (saith *Adricomius*) because it joyneth to the Sea, whose King was slain by *Joshua*. But *Junius*, for *in Naphoth Dor*, reads *in tractibus Dor*: and so the Vulgar, *in regionibus Dor*, although 1 *Reg.* 4. 11, for the like speech in the Hebrew it readeth *omnis Nephath Dor*: The *Septuagint* in the place of *Josua* call it *Nephith-Dor* and in the other of the Kings, *Nepha-Dor*: but the true name by other places (as *Jos.* 12. 23. *Judg.* 1. 27.) may seem to be *Dor*. It was a strong and powerful City, and the fourth in account of those 12 Principalites, or *Sitarchies*, which *Solomon* erected. *Junius* upon *Macc.* 15. 11. placeth it between the Hill *Carmel*, and the mouth of the River *Chorseus*: for so some name the River *Corseus*, of which we have spoken already.

Into this City, for the strength thereof, *Typhon* fled from *Antiochus* the Son of *Demetrius*, where he was by the same *Antiochus* besieged with 120000 foot-Men, and 8000 Horse: the same perfidious villain that received 200 talents for the ransom of *Jonath. Macchabeus* (whom he had taken by treachery) and then slew him: and after him slew his own Master, usurping for a while the Kingdom of *Syria*. It had

Macc. 1. 13, 15.

also a Bishops seat of the Dioceſs of *Cæsaria*.

From *Cæsaria* towards the South, they place the Cities of *Capharnaum*, *Gabe*, and *Galgal*: for besides that *Caparnaum* famous in the *Evangelists*, they find in these parts near the West Sea, another of the same name. Of *Gabe*, *Hierome*, *in locis Hebraicis*. The famous *Galgal*, or *Gilgal*, was in *Benjamin*: but this *Gilgal*, they say it was, whose King was slain by *Joshua*.

Gal. Tyr. de Bell. sacr. l.10. c.6.

Then *Antipatris*, so called of *Herod*, in honour of his Father: but in the time of the *Machabees*, it was called *Caphar salama*: in the Fields whereof *Judas Macchabeus* overthrew a part of the Army of *Nicanor*, Lieutenant to *Demetrius*: an Army drawn into *Judæa* by a traiterous Jew, called *Alcimus*: who contended for the Priesthood, first under *Bacchides*, and then under *Nicanor*. To this was St. *Paul* carried prisoner from *Jerusalem*, conducted by 470 Souldiers, to defend him from the fury of the Jews. In after-times the Army of *Godfry* of *Bulloign* attempted it in vain; yet was it taken by *Baldwin*. It was honoured in those days with a Bishops seat, but it is now a poor Village, called *Assur*, saith *Brochard*. Near unto this City the Prophet *Jonas* was three days preserved in the body of a Whale.

Mac. 17.31

Into the Land, from *Antipatris* and *Cæsaria*, standeth *Narbata*, whereof the Territory taketh name: which *Cestius* the *Roman*, wasted with fire and Sword, because the Jews which dwelt at *Cæsaria* fled thence, and carried with them the Books of *Moses*. Near unto it is the Mountain of *Abdia*, the Steward of King *Achab*; wherein he hid an hundred Prophets, and fed them: after which he himself is said to have obtained from God *the Spirit of Prophecy* also.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Kingdom of Phœnicia.

§. I.

The Bounds, and chief Cities, and Founders, and Name, of this Kingdom: and of the Invention of Letters ascribed to them.

BEcause these five Tribes, of *Asser*, *Nepthalim*, *Zabulon*, *Issachar*, and the half of *Manasseh* possest the better part of that ancient Kingdom of *Phœnicia*, to wit, of so much as lay to the South part of *Anti-libanus*; I have therefore gathered a brief of those Kings which have governed therein: at least so many of them as time (which devoureth all things) hath left to posterity: and that the rest perished, it is not strange: seeing so many Volumes of excellent Learning in so long a race and revolution, and in so many changes of Estates, and Conquest of Heathen Princes, have been torn, cast away, or otherwise consumed.

The limits of this Kingdom, as touching the South parts, are very uncertain: but all *Cosmographers* do in effect agree, that it takes beginning from the North, where that part of *Syria*, which is called *Casiotis*, ends: most of them bounding it by *Orthosia*, to the North of *Tripolis*. *Ptolomy* makes it a little larger, as reaching from the River *Elutherus* that falls into the Sea at the Island of *Aradus*, somewhat to the North of *Orthosia*, and stretching from thence along the coast of the *Mediterran Sea*, as far as the River of *Chorseus*; which seems to be that which the Jews call the Torrent, or River of *Maggeddo*. *Pliny* extends it further, and comprehends *Joppe* within it: *Corvinus* and *Budæus*, *Joppe* and *Gaza*. *Phœnicia apud priscos appellata* (saith *Budæus*) *quæ nunc Palæstina Syria dicitur*; *It was called Phœnicia of old* (saith he) *which now is called Palæstina of Syria*.

Ptol. 4. Tab. Asiæ.

Plin. l. 5. c. 19.

Strabo comprehends in this Countrey of *Phœnicia* all the Sea-side of *Judea*, and *Palæstina*, even unto *Peluſium*, the first Port of *Egypt*. On the contrary, *Diodorus Siculus* foldeth it up in *Cœlosyria*, which he boundeth not. But for my self, I take a middle course, and like best of *Ptolomy*'s description, who was seldom deceived in his own Art. It had in it these famous Maritimate Cities (besides all those of the Islands) to wit, *Aradus*, *Orthosia*, *Tripolis*, *Botrys*, *Byblus*, *Berytus*, *Sidon*, *Tyre*, *Ptolomais* (or *Acon*) *Dora*, and *Cæsaria Palestinæ*: and by reason of its many Ports and goodly Sea-towns, it antiently commanded the Trade of the Eastern World: and they were absolute Kings of the *Mediterran Sea*.

Strab. l. 16. Budæ. de Aſ. l. 4.

The ancient Regal Seat of those Princes was *Zidon*, built by *Zidon* the first Son of *Canaan*: and the people then subject to that Family were called *Zidonians*; the same state continuing even unto *Joshua*'s time. For till then, it is probable that there was but one King of all that Region, afterward called *Phœnicia*: which *Procopius* also confirmeth in his second Book of *Vandal Wars*. But in process of time the City of *Tyre* adjoyning, became the more magnificent: yet, according to the Prophet, it was but a Daughter of *Zidon*, and by them first built, and peopled.

Esay 23.

But after the death of *Moses*, and while *Joshua* yet governed *Israel*, *Agenor* an *Egyptian* of *Thebes*, or a *Phœnician* bred in *Egypt*, came thence with his Sons *Cadmus*, *Phœnix*, *Cyrus*, and *Cilix*, (say *Cedrenus* and *Curtius*) and built and possest the Cities of *Tyre* and *Zidon*, to wit, the new *Tyrus*; and brought into *Phœnicia* (so called after the name of his second Son) the use of Letters: which also *Cadmus* in his pursuit after his Sister *Europa*, taught the *Grecians*. For *Taurus* King of *Crete*, when he surprised *Tyre*, had stolen her thence: of which the Poets devised the fable of *Jupiters* transformation into a Bull, by whom that stealth was also supposed to be made. *Pomponius Sabinus* makes *Belus* the first King of *Phœnicia*; and finds *Cadmus* his Successor, whom he calleth his grand-child: and it seemeth that *Belus* was the Father of *Agenor*, and not *Neptune*: because the Successors of *Dido* held that name always in reverence, making it a part of their own, as *Asdrubaal*, *Hannibaal*: whose memory *Virgil* also toucheth in these Verses.

F. 17.

Hic Regina gravem gemmis auroque popoſcit,
Impleviteq; moro pateram: quam Belus *& omnes*
A Belo, *soliti.*
The Queen anon commands the weighty Bowl
(Weighty with precious stones and massie Gold)
To flow with Wine. This Belus *us'd of old,*
And all of Belus *Line.*

Whether this *Belus* were Father or Grandfather to *Agenor*, the matter is not great. But it seems to me by comparing of times, that *Belus* was Ancestor to these *Phœnicians*, and preceded *Agenor*. For were *Belus*, or *Jupiter Belus*, the Son of *Neptune* by *Libya* the Daughter of *Epaphus*, or were he the Son of *Telegonus*, according to *Eusebius*; yet it is agreed that *Cecrops* then ruled in *Attica*: and in the end of *Cecrops* his

his time, ſaith S. *Auguſtin*, *Moſes* left *Egypt*: *Agenors* ſucceſſor living at once with *Joſhua*. Now that *Agenor* returned about the ſame time into the Territory of *Zidon*, I cannot doubt: neither do I deny, but that he gave that Region the name of *Phœnicia*, in honour of his Son. But inſtead of the building of *Tyre* and *Zidon*, it is probable that he repaired and fortified both: and therefore was called a Founder, as *Semiramis* and *Nebuchodonoſor* were of *Babylon*.

For be it true, that *Agenor* was of the ſame Nation, and brought up in *Egypt*: where he learnt the uſe of Letters (*Egypt* flouriſhed in all kind of Learning in *Moſes*'s time) or were he by Nation an *Egyptian*; yet it is very likely that either he came to ſave his own Territory; or otherwiſe to defend the coaſt of *Canaan* from the *Iſraelites*, who were by *Moſes* led out of *Egypt*, to the great loſs and diſhonour of that Nation: and by *Joſhua* conducted over *Jordan*, to conquer and poſſeſs the *Canaanites* Land. For though the *Egyptians*, by reaſon of the loſs which they received by the hand of God in the *Red Sea*, and by the ten Plagues caſt on them before that, and by the ſlaughter of ſo many of the male Children at the ſame time, could not hinder the *Hebrews* from invading *Canaan* by Land, which they knew had ſo many powerful Nations to defend it; the *Deſerts* interjacent, and the ſtrong *Edomites*, *Emorites*, and *Ammonites* their borderers: yet *Egypt* having ſuch Veſſels or Ships, or Gallies, as were then in uſe, did not in all probability neglect to gariſon the Sea-coaſt, or aſſiſt *Agenor* with ſuch forces as they had to ſpare; and which they might perform with the greater facility, in that the *Philiſtims*, which held the ſhores of *Canaan* next adjoyning unto them, were their Friends and Confederates.

Now, as it appeareth by the courſe of the ſtory; thoſe Cities of *Phœnicia*, which *Agenor* was ſaid to have built (that is, to have fortified and defended againſt *Joſhua*, and againſt the Tribes after him, as *Zidon*, *Sor*, or *Tyre*, by *Joſhua* called the ſtrong City *Accho*, afterward *Ptolomais*, *Achzib*, and *Dor*) were all that *Phœnicia* had in thoſe days. c.19.v.29.

That the Kings of *Phœnicia* were mighty, eſpecially by Sea, it appears, firſt by their defence againſt *Iſrael*: Secondly, by this, that *David* & *Solomon* could not maſter them, but were glad of their alliance: Thirdly, that one of their Cities, though they were then but *Reguli*, defended it ſelf thirteen years againſt a King of Kings, *Nebuchodonoſor*: and that *Alexander* the great (who being made victorious by the providence of God, ſeemed unreſiſtable) ſpent more time in the recovery of *Tyre*, than in the conqueſt of all the Cities in *Aſia*.

Other opinions there are, as that of *Beroſus* out of *Joſephus*, who conceives that *Tyre* was founded by *Tyrus* the Son of *Japhet*. And for the Region it ſelf, though *Caliſthenes* derives it, *ab arbore dactylorum*; and the Greeks from the word *Phonos* of ſlaughter, becauſe the *Phœnicians* ſlew all that came on their coaſts; yet for my ſelf, I take it that *Phœnix* the Son of *Agenor* gave it that name. But that either *Agenor* in *Phœnicia*, or *Cadmus* his Son in *Greece*, were the Inventers of Letters, it is ridiculous: and therefore the diſpute unneceſſary.

The *Ethiopians* affirm, that *Atlas*, *Orion*, *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Hercules*, *Prometheus*, *Cadmus*, and others, had from them the firſt light of all thoſe Arts, Sciences, and civil Policies, which they afterward profeſt, and taught others: and that *Pythagoras* himſelf was inſtructed by the *Lybians*; to wit, from the South and ſuperiour *Egyptians*: from whom thoſe which inhabited nearer the out-let of *Nilus*, as they ſay, borrowed their Divinity and Philoſophy: and from them the *Greeks*, then barbarous, received Civility. Again, the *Phœnicians* challenge this invention of Letters and Learning; acknowledging nothing from the Egyptians at all; neither do they allow that *Agenor* and his Sons were *Africians*; whence *Lucan*,

Phœnices primi (fama ſi creditur) auſi,
Mandare rudibus vocem ſignare figuris. Lucan. l.3.
Phœnicians firſt (if fame may credit have)
In rude Characters dar'd our words to grave.

And that *Cadmus* was the Son of *Agenor*, and was a *Phœnician*, and not an *Egyptian*, it appeareth by that anſwer made by *Zeno*; when he in a kind of reproach was called a Stranger, and a *Phœnician*.

Si patria eſt Phœnix, *quid tum*; *nam* Cadmus *& ipſe* Phœnix; *cui debet* Græcia *docta libros*. Athen. l. Dipſon.
If a *Phœnician* born I am, what then?
Cadmus was ſo: to whom *Greece* owes
The Books of learned Men.

Out of doubt the *Phœnicians* were very ancient: and from the Records and Chronicles of *Tyre*, *Joſephus* the Hiſtorian confirms a great part of his Antiquities. The *Thracians* again ſubſcribe to none of theſe reports; but affirm conſtantly, that the great *Zamolixis* flouriſhed among them, when *Atlas* lived in *Mauritania*, *Nilus* and *Vulcan* in *Egypt*, and *Ochus* in *Phœnicia*. Yea, ſome of the French do not bluſh to maintain, that the ancient *Gauls* taught the *Greeks* the uſe of Letters, and other Sciences. And do not we know that our *Bards* and *Druids* are as ancient as thoſe *Gauls*, and that they ſent their Sons hither to be by them inſtructed in all kind of Learning? Joſ. *contra Appionem.*

Laſtly, whereas others beſtow this invention on *Moſes*: the ſame hath no probability at all; for he lived at ſuch time as Learning and Arts flouriſhed moſt, both in *Egypt* and *Aſſyria*, and he himſelf was brought up in all the Learning of the *Egyptians*, from his infancy.

But true it is, that Letters were invented by thoſe excellent Spirits of the firſt Age, and before the general Flood, either by *Seth* or *Enos*, or by whom elſe God knows; from whom all Wiſdom and Underſtanding hath proceeded. And as the ſame infinite God is preſent with all his Creatures, ſo hath he given the ſame invention to divers Nations; whereof the one hath not had commerce with the other, as well in this as in many other knowledges; for even in *Mexico*, when it was firſt diſcovered, there were found written Books after the manner of thoſe *Hieroglyphicks*, anciently uſed by the *Egyptians*, and other Nations: and ſo had thoſe *Americans*, a kind of Heraldry; and their Princes differing in Arms and Scutchions, like unto thoſe uſed by the Kings and Nobility of other Nations: *Jura naturialia communia, & generalia, &c. Natural Laws are common, and general.* Juriſcon.

§. II.

Of the Kings of Tyre.

BUt whatſoever remaineth of the Story and Kings of *Phœnicia* (the Books of *Zeno*, *Sachoniatho*, *Manaſſeas*, and others of that Nation, being no where found) the ſame is to be gathered out of the Scriptures, *Joſephus*, and *Theophilus Antiochenus*.

Agenor lived at once with *Joſua*, to whom ſucceeded *Phœnix*, of whom that part of *Canaan*, and ſo far towards the North as *Aradus*, took the name of *Phœnicia*: what King ſucceeded *Phœnix* it doth not appear; but at ſuch time as the *Græcians* beſieged *Troy*, *Phaſis* governed *Phœnicia*.

In *Jeremies* time, and while *Jehoiakim* ruled in *Juda*, the *Tyrians* had a King apart: for *Jeremy* ſpeaketh of the Kings of *Zidon*, of *Tyre*, of *Edom*, &c. as of ſeveral Kings. c.27.v.3.

In

In *Xerxes* time, and when he prepared that incredible Army wherewith he invaded *Greece*, *Tetramnestus* ruled that part of *Phœnicia* about *Tyre* and *Zidon*: who commanded, as some Writers affirm, *Xerxes*'s Fleet, or rather, as I suppose those 300 Gallies, which himself brought to his aid: for at this time it seemeth, that the *Phœnicians* were Tributaries to the *Persian*: for being broken into *Reguli*, and petty Kings in *Jeremies* time, they were subjected by *Nebuchodonosor*, of whose conquests in the Chapter before remembred, *Jeremiah* prophesied.

Tennes, though not immediately, succeded *Tetramnestus*, remembred by *D. Siculus* in his fourteenth Book.

Strato, his successor, and King of *Zidon*, *Alexander Macedon* threw out, because of his dependency upon *Darius*, & that his Predecessors had served the East Empire against the *Grecians*. But divers Kings, of whom there is no memory, came between *Tennes* and *Strato*. For there were consumed 130 years and somewhat more, between *Xerxes* and *Alexander Macedon*. And this Man was by *Alexander* esteemed the more unworthy of restitution, because (saith *Curtius*) he rather submitted himself by the instigation of his subjects (who foresaw their utter ruine by resistance) than that he had any disposition thereunto, or bare any good affection towards the *Macedonians*. *L.4.*

Athen. *l.*12 *c.*13. Of this *Strato*, *Athenæus*, out of *Theopompus* reporteth, that he was a Man of ill living, and most voluptuous; also that he appointed certain Games and Prizes for Women-Dancers and Singers, whom he to this end chiefly invited, and assembled: that having beheld the most beautiful and lively among them, he might recover them for his own use and delights. Of the strange incident about the death of one *Strato* King of these coasts, St. *Hierome* and others make mention: who having heard that the *Persians* were neer him with an Army too weighty for his strength, and finding that he was to hope for little grace, because of his falling away from that Empire, and his adhering to the *Egyptians*, he determining to kill himself, but fainting in the execution, his Wife being present, wrested the Sword out of his hand, and slew him: which done, she also therewith pierced her own body, and died. Jerom. *l.*1. *cont. Jovin.*

After *Alexander* was possest of *Zidon*, and the other *Strato* driven thence, he gave the Kingdom to *Hephestion* to dispose of: who having received great entertainment of one of the Citizens, in whose house he lodged, offered to recompence him therewith; and willingly offered to establish him therein: but this Citizen, no less vertuous than rich, desired *Hephestion* that this honour might be conferred on some one of the blood and race of their antient Kings: and presented unto him *Balonimus*, whom *Curtius* calls *Abdolominus*; *Justine*, *Abdolomius*; and *Plutarch*, *Alynomus*: who at the very hour that he was called to this regal Estate, was with his own hands working in his Garden, setting herbs and roots, for his relief and sustenance: though otherwise a wise Man, and exceeding just.

These were the ancient Kings of *Zidon*: whose Estate being afterwards changed into Popular or *Aristocratical*, and by times and turns subjected to the Emperors of the East, there remaineth no further memory of them, than that which is formerly delivered in the Tribe of *Asser*.

The Kings of *Tyre*: who they were before *Samuels* time, it doth not appear: *Josephus* the Historian, as is said, had many things wherewith he garnished his Antiquities from the *Tyrian Chronicles*: and out of our *Josepus* and *Theophilus Antiochenus*, there may be gathered a descent of some twenty Kings of the *Tyrians*: but these Authors, though they both pretend to write out of *Menander Ephesius*, do in no sort agree in the times of their reigns, nor in other particulars.

Abibalus is the first King of the *Tyrians*, that *Josephus* and *Theophilus* remember, whom *Theophilus* calls *Abemalus*: the same perchance that the Son of *Sirach* mentioneth in his forty and sixth Chapter, speaking of the Princes of the *Tyrians*. *C.* 46.

To this *Abibalus*, *Suron* succeeded: if he be not one and the same with *Abibalus*. *David* (saith *Eusebius* out of *Eupolemus*) constrained this *Suron* to pay him Tribute, of whom also *David* complaineth, *Psal.* 83. *Prep. Evang. l.*9. *c.*4.

Hiram succeeded *Suron*, whom *Josephus* calls *Irom*, and *Theophilus* sometime *Hieronimus*, sometimes *Hieromus*, but *Tatian* and *Zonaras*, *Chiram*. He entred into a league with *David*, and sent him Cedars, with Masons and Carpenters, to persom his buildings in *Jerusalem*, after he had beaten thence the *Jebusites*. The same was he that so greatly assisted *Solomon*; whom he not only furnished with Cedars, and other Materials towards the raising of the Temple, and with great sums of Mony, but also he joyned with him in his enterprize of the East *India*, and of *Ophir*: and furnished *Solomon* with Mariners and Pilots: the *Tyrians* being of all Nations the most excellent Navigators: and lent him 120 Talents of Gold. Of this *Hiram*, there is not only mention in divers places of Scripture, but in *Josephus*'s Antiquities, the 7. and 8 Chap. 2. & 3. in *Theophilus* his third book, in *Tatianus* his Oration against the *Greeks*: and in *Zonaras*, Tome the first. This Prince seemeth to be very mighty and magnificent; he despiseth the twenty Towns which *Solomon* offered him: he defendeth himself against that victorious King *David*: and gave his Daughter in marriage to *Solomon*, called the *Zidonian*: for whose sake he was contented to worship *Asteroth*, the Idol of the *Phœnicians*. *Hiram* lived 53 years. 2 Sam. 5. *&c.* 2 Sam. *c.* 5. 1 King. *c.* 1. 9. 20. 1 Chron. 14. 2 Chron. 2. 8, 9. 1 King. 11.

Balastartus, whom *Theop. Antiochenus* calleth *Bazorus*, succeeded *Hiram* King of *Tyre* and *Zidon*, and reigned seven years, according to *Josephus*. Theoph. 17 *years.*

Abdastartus the eldest Son of *Baleastartus*, governed nine years, and lived but twenty years according to *Josephus*: but after *Theophilus*, he reigned twelve years, and lived 54 who being slain by the four Sons of his own Nurse, the eldest of them held the Kingdom twelve years.

Astartus Brother to *Abdastartus*, recovered the Kingdom from this Usurper, and reigned twelve years.

Astarimus, or *Atharimus*, after *Theophilus*, a third Brother, followed *Astartus*, and ruled nine years, and lived in all fifty four. Joseph 54 Theoph. 58.

Phelles the fourth Son of *Baleastartus*, and Brother to the three former Kings, slew *Astarimus*, and reigned eight Months, and lived fifty years. Theoph.

Ithobalus (or *Juthobalus*, in *Theophilus*) Son to the third Brother *Astarimus*, who was the chief Priest of the *Goddess Astarta*, which was a dignity next unto the King, revenged the death of his Father, and slaughtered his Uncle *Phelles*: and reigned thirty two years, the same which in the first of Kings, chap. 16. is called *Ethbaal*, whose Daughter *Jezebel* *Achab* married. Joseph. 32 Theoph. 12.

Badezor, or *Bazor*, the Son of *Ithobalus*, or *Ethbaal*, Brother to *Jezebel*, succeeded his Father, and reigned six years, and lived in all forty five. 1 King. 16. *v.* 31. Joseph. 6 *Years.*

Mettimus succeeded *Badezor*, and reigned but nine years (saith *Josephus*) he had two Sons, *Pygmalion*, and *Barca*, and two Daughters, *Elisa* and *Anna*. Theoph. 26. Joseph. 9. Theoph. 29.

Pygmalion reigned after *Mettimus* his Father forty Years, and lived fifty six. In the seventh Year of whose reign, *Elisa* sailed into *Africa*, and built *Carthage*, 143 Years and 8 Months after the Temple of *Solomon*: which by our account was 289 Years after

after *Troy* was taken, and 143 before *Rome*; and therefore that fiction by *Virgil* of *Æneas* and *Dido* must be far out of square. For *Pygmalion* covetous of *Sicheus* his riches, who had married his Sister *Eliſa*, ſlew him traiterouſly as he accompanied him in hunting: or if we believe *Juſtin* and *Virgil*, at the Altar: whereupon *Eliſa* fearing to be diſpoiled of her Husbands Treaſure, fled by Sea into *Africa*, as aforeſaid: whom when *Pygmalion* prepared to purſue, he was by his Mothers tears, and by threats from the *Oracle* arreſted. *Barca* accompanied his Siſter, and aſſiſted her in the erection of *Carthage*: and from him ſprang that noble Familiy of the *Barcæ* in *Africa*, of which race deſcended many famous Captains, and the great *Haanibal*. *Servius* interprets this name of *Dido* by *Virago*, becauſe of her manlike acts: others from *Jedidia*, a ſurname of *Solomon*.

Juſtin. l. 11
Virgil. l. 1.

Elulæus ſucceeded *Pygmalion*, and reigned thirty ſix Years: the ſame that overthrow the Fleet of *Salmanaſſer*, in the Port of *Tyre*: notwithſtanding which he continued his ſiege before it on the Land ſide five Years, but in vain.

After *Elulæus*, *Ethobales* governed the *Tyrians*, who vaunted himſelf to be as wiſe as *Daniel*: and that he knew all ſecrets (ſaith *Ezekiel*) of whom the Prophet writeth at large in his twenty eight Chapter: out of whom it is gathered, that this Prince died, or was ſlain in that long ſiege of *Nebuchodonoſor*: who ſurrounded and attempted *Tyre* thirteen Years together, ere he prevailed.

Baal followed *Ethobales*, and reigned ten Years a tributary, perchance, to *Nebuchadonoſor*: for after his death, it was governed by divers Judges, ſucceeding each other: Firſt by *Ecnibalus*, then by *Chelbis*, *Abarus* the Prieſt, *Mittonus*, and *Geraſtus*, who held it among them ſome ſeven Years, and odd Months: after whom *Balatorus* commanded therein as a King for one Year: after him *Merbalus* ſent from *Babylon* four Years; after him *Iram*, ſent thence alſo twenty Years. In the ſeventeenth of whoſe reign *Cyrus* began to govern *Perſia*.

§. III.

Of Boſius *his conceit, that the Edumeans inhabiting alongſt the Red Sea, were the Progenitors of the Tyrians, and that the Tyrians from them received and brought into Phœnicia the knowledg of the true God.*

OF the great mutations of this Kingdom and State of the *Tyrians*, mixed with a diſcourſe of divers other Nations, there is one *Bozius* that hath written a Tract at large, intituled, *De ruinis Gentium*. And although the great and many alterations found in this and other Cities, yea in all things under Heaven, have proceeded from his ordinance, who only is unchangeable and the ſame for ever; yet whereas the ſaid *Bozius*, inforcing here-hence, that the proſperity and ruine of the *Tyrians* were fruits of their embracing or forſaking the true Religion; to prove this his aſſertion, ſuppoſeth the *Tyrians* to have been *Edumeans*, deſcended from *Eſau Jacobs* Brother: firſt, it can hardly be believed that *Tyre*, when it flouriſhed moſt in her ancient glory, was in any ſort truly devout and religious. But to this end (beſides the proof which the Scriptures give of *Hirams* good affection, when *Solomon* built the Temple) he brings many conjectural Arguments; whereof the ſtrongeſt is their pedigree and deſcent: it being likely in his opinion, that the poſterity of *Eſau* received from him by Tradition the Religion of *Abraham* and *Iſaac*. That the *Tyrians* were *Edumeans*, he endeavours to ſhew, partly by weak reaſons painfully ſtrained from ſome affinity of names, which are arguments of more delight than weight: partly by authority. For *Strabo*, *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, and others, witneſs, that the *Tyrians* came from the *Red Sea*, in which there were three Iſlands, called *Tyrus*, *Aradus*, and *Zidon*: which very names (as he thinketh) were afterwards given to the Cities of *Phœnicia*. Conſidering therefore that all the coaſt of the *Red Sea*, was (in his opinion) under the *Edumeans*: as *Elah* and *Eſiongaber*, or under the *Amalekites* who deſcended of *Amalec* the Nephew of *Eſau*, whoſe chief City was *Madian*, ſo called of *Madian* the Son of *Abraham* by *Cethura*, whoſe poſterity did people it: the conſequence appears good (as he takes it) that the *Tyrians* originally were *Edomites*: differing little or nothing in Religion from the Children of *Iſrael*. Hereunto he adds, that *Cadmus* and his Companions brought not into *Greece* the Worſhip of *Aſtartis* the Idol of the *Sidonians*. That the Parents of *Thales* and *Pherecides* being *Phœnicians*, themſelves differed much in their Philoſophy from the Idolatrous cuſtoms of the *Greeks*. That in *Teman*, a Town of the *Edumeans*, was an Univerſity, wherein, as may appear by *Eliphas* the *Temanite*, who diſputed with *Job*, Religion was ſincerely taught.

Boz. de ruin. Gent. l. 5. c. 7.

Such is the diſcourſe of *Bozius*, who labouring to prove one *Paradox* by another, deſerves in both very little credit. For, neither doth it follow, that if the *Tyrians* were *Edumeans*, they were then of the true Religion, or well affected to God and his people: neither is it true that they were *Edumeans* at all. In what Religion *Eſau* brought up his Children, it is no where found written, but that himſelf was a profane Man, and diſavowed by God, the Scriptures in plain terms expreſs. That his Poſterity were Idolaters, is directly proved in the twenty fifth Chapter of the ſecond Book of *Chronicles*. That the *Edomites* were perpetual enemies to the Houſe of *Iſrael*, ſave only when *David* & ſome of his race, Kings of *Juda*, held them in ſubjection, who knows not? or who is ignorant of *David's* unfriendly behaviour amongſt them, when firſt they were ſubdued? ſurely, it was not any argument of Kindred or Alliance between *Tyrus* and Mount *Seir*, that *Hiram* held ſuch good correſpondence with *David*; even then when *Joab* ſlew all the males of *Edom*: neither was it for their devotion to God, and good affection to *Iſrael*, that the *Edomites* were ſo ill intreated. It ſeemeth that the piety and ancient wiſdom of *Eliphaz* the *Temanite* was then forgotten, and the *Edumeans* puniſhed, for being ſuch as *David* in his own days found them. Although indeed the City of *Teman* whence *Eliphaz* came to reaſon with *Job*, is not that in *Edumea*, but another of the ſame name, lying Eaſt from the Sea of *Galilee*, and adjoyning to *Hus*, the Country of *Job*: and to *Sueh* the City of *Bildad* the *Shuit*; as both ſuch *Choreographers* who beſt knew thoſe parts, do plainly ſhew, and the holy Text maketh manifeſt. For *Job* is ſaid to have exceeded in riches, and *Solomon* in wiſdom all the People of the Eaſt; not the Inhabitants of Mount *Seir*, which lay due South from *Paleſtina*. True it is, that *Elephaz* the Son of *Eſau* had a Son called *Teman*: but that Fathers were wont in thoſe days to take name of their Sons, I no where find. And *Iſhmael* alſo had a Son called *Thema*: of whom it is not unlike, that *Theman* in the Eaſt had the name: for as much as in the ſeventh Chapter of the Book of *Judges*, the *Midianites*, *Amalekites*, and all they of the Eaſt are called *Iſhmaelites*. He that well conſiders how great and ſtrong a Nation *Amalec* was, which durſt give battel to the Hoſt of *Iſrael*, wherein were 600000 able men, will hardly believe that ſuch a people were deſcended from one of *Eſau* his grand-children. For how powerful and numberleſs muſt the forces of all *Edom* have been, if one Tribe of them, yea, one Family of a Tribe had been ſo great?

great? ſurely Mount *Seir* and all the Regions adjoining could not have held them. But we no where find that *Edom* had to do with *Amalec*, or aſſiſted the *Amalekites*, when *Saul* went to root them out. For *Amalec*, is no where in Scripture named as a Tribe of *Edom*: but a Nation of it ſelf, if diſtinct from the *Iſhmalites*. The like may be ſaid of *Midian*, that the Founder thereof being Son to *Abraham* by *Cethura*, doubtleſs was no *Edomite*. And thus much in general for all the *Seigniory* of the *Red Sea* coaſt, which *Bozius* imagines the *Edumæans* to have held: if the *Edomites* in after-times held ſome places, as *Elan* and *Eſiongaber* on the *Red Sea* ſhore, yet in *Moſes*'s time, which was long after the building of *Tyre*, they held them not. For *Moſes* himſelf ſaith, that *Iſrael* did compaſs all the borders of *Edom*: within which limits had *Midian* ſtood, *Moſes* muſt needs have known it: becauſe he had ſojourned long in that Country: and there had left his Wife and Children, when he went into *Egypt*.

But conjectural Arguments, how probable ſoever are needleſs in ſo manifeſt a caſe. For in the 83 *Pſalm*, *Edom*, *Amalec* and *Tyre*, are named as diſtinct Nations: yea the *Tyrians* and *Sidonians* being one people, as all good Authors ſhew, and *Bozius* himſelf confeſſeth, were *Canaanites*, as appears, *Gen.* 10. 15, 19. appointed by God to have been deſtroyed, and their Lands given to the Children of *Aſſer*, *Joſ.* 29. becauſe they were ever Idolaters, and of the curſed Seed of *Canaan*, not Couſins to *Iſrael*, nor profeſſors of the ſame Religion. For though *Hiram* ſaid, *Bleſſed be God that hath ſent King David a wiſe Son*: we cannot infer that he was of *David's* Religion. The *Turk* hath ſaid as much of *Chriſtian* Princes, his confederates. Certain it is, that the *Sidonians* then worſhiped *Aſteroth*, and drew *Solomon* alſo to the ſame Idolatry.

Whereas *Hiram* aided *Solomon* in building the Temple, he did it for his own ends, receiving therefore of *Solomon* great proviſion of Corn and Oyl, and the offer of twenty Towns and Villages in *Galilee*. And if we rightly conſider things, it will appear that *Hiram* in all points dealt Merchant-like with *Solomon*. He allowed him Timber, with which *Libanus* was, and yet is over-peſterd, being otherwiſe apt to yield Silks: as the *Andarine* Silks which come from thence, and other good Commodities. For Corn and Oyl, which he wanted, he gave that which he could well ſpare to *Solomon*. Alſo Gold for Land: wherein *Solomon* was the wiſer; who having got the Gold firſt, gave to *Hiram* the worſt Villages that he had; with which the *Tyrian* was ill pleaſed. But it was a neceſſary Policy, which inforced *Tyrus* to hold League with *Iſrael*. For *David* had ſubdued *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, the *Aramites*, and a great part of *Arabia*, even to *Euphrates*: through which Countries the *Tyrians* were wont to carry and recarry their Wares on Camels, to their Fleets on the Red Sea, and back again to *Tyrus*: So that *Solomon* being Lord of all the Countries through which they were to paſs, could have cut off all their Trade.

But the *Iſraelites* were no Seamen, and therefore glad to ſhare with the *Tyrians* in their Adventures. Yet *Solomon*, as Lord of the Sea-towns, which his Father had taken from the *Philiſtims*, might have greatly diſtreſſed the *Tyrians*, and perhaps have brought them even into ſubjection. Which *Hiram* knowing, was glad (and no marvel) that *Solomon* rather meant as a Man of Peace to employ his Father's Treaſure in magnificent Works, than in purſuing the Conqueſt of all *Syria*. Therefore he willingly aided him, and ſent him cunning Workmen, to increaſe his delight in goodly Buildings, Imageries, and Inſtruments of Pleaſure.

As theſe Paſſages between *Solomon* and *Hiram*, are no ſtrong Arguments of Piety in the *Tyrians*: ſo thoſe other Proofs which *Bozius* frames Negatively upon particular Examples, are very weak. For what the Religion of *Cadmus* was, I think, no Man knows. It ſeems to me, that having more cunning than the Greeks, and being very ambitious, he would fain have purchaſed Divine Honours: which his Daughters, Nephews, and others of his Houſe obtained, but his own many Misfortunes beguiled him of ſuch hopes, if he had any. *Thales* and *Pherecydes* are but ſingle Examples. Every ſalvage Nation hath ſome whoſe Wiſdom excelleth the Vulgar, even of civil People. Neither did the moral Wiſdom of theſe Men expreſs any true knowledg of the true God. Only they made no good mention of the Gods of *Greece*; whom being newly come thither, they knew not. It is no good Argument to ſay, that *Cadmus* and *Thales* being *Tyrians*, are not known to have taught Idolatry, therefore the *Tyrians* were not Idolaters. But this is of force, That *Carthage*, *Utica*, *Leptis*, *Cadiz*, and all Colonies of the *Tyrians* (of which, I think, the Iſlands before mentioned in the Red Sea to have been, for they traded in all Seas) were Idolaters, even from their firſt beginnings: therefore the *Tyrians* who planted them, and to whom they had reference, were ſo likewiſe.

This their Idolatry, from *Solomon*'s Time onwards, is acknowledged by *Bozius*, who would have us think them to have been formerly a ſtrange kind of devout *Edomites*. In which fancy he is ſo peremptory, that he ſtileth Men of contrary Opinion, *impios politicos*; as if it were impiety to think that God (who even among the Heathen, which have not known his Name, doth favour Vertue, and hate Vice) hath often rewarded moral Honeſty, with temporal Happineſs. Doubtleſs this Doctrine of *Bozius*, would better have agreed with *Julian* the *Apoſtata*, than with *Cyril*. For if the Aſſyrians, Greeks, Romans, and all thoſe Nations of the Gentiles, did then proſper moſt, when they drew neareſt unto the true Religion: What may be ſaid of the foul Idolatry which grew in *Rome*, as faſt as *Rome* it ſelf grew; and was inlarged with ſome new Superſtition, almoſt upon every new Victory? How few great Battels did the Romans win, in which they vowed not either a Temple to ſome new God, or ſome new Honour to one of their old Gods? Yea, what one Nation, ſave only that of the *Jews*, was ſubdued by them, whoſe Gods they did not afterward entertain in their City? Only the true God, which was the God of the *Jews*, they rejected, upbraiding the *Jews* with him, as if he were unworthy of the Roman Majeſty. Shall we hereupon inforce the lewd and fooliſh concluſion, which Heathen Writers uſed againſt the Chriſtians in the Primitive Church; That ſuch Idolatry had cauſed the City of *Rome* to flouriſh; and that the decay of thoſe Abominations, did alſo bring with it the decay of the Empire? It might well be thought ſo, if Proſperity were a Sign or Effect of true Religion. Such is the blind Zeal of *Bozius*, who writing againſt thoſe whom he falſly terms Impious, gives ſtrength to ſuch as are impious indeed. But ſuch indiſcretion is uſually found among Men of his humour; who having once either fooliſhly imbraced the Dreams of others, or vainly faſhioned in their own Brains, any ſtrange *Chimæra's* of Divinity, condemn all ſuch in the pride of their Zeal, as Atheiſts and Infidels, that are not tranſported with the like intemperate Ignorance.

Great

Great pity it is, that such mad Dogs are oftentimes incouraged by those, who having the command of many Tongues, when they themselves cannot touch a Man in open and generous opposition, will wound him secretly by the malicious virtue of an Hypocrite.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Tribe of Ephraim; *and of the Kings of the Ten Tribes, whose Head was* Ephraim.

§. I.

Of the memorable Places in the Tribe of Ephraim.

HAving now past over *Phœnicia*, we come to the next Territory adjoining; which is that of *Ephraim*, sometime taken, *per excellentiam*, for the whole Kingdom of the ten Tribes. *Ephraim* was the second Son of *Joseph*; whose Issues, when they left *Egypt*, were in number 45000; all which dying in the Deserts, (*Joshua* excepted) there entred the Holy Land of their Children, grown to be able Men, 32500, who sat down on the West side of *Jordan*, between *Manasseh* and *Benjamin*: who bounded *Ephraim* by the North and South; as *Jordan* and the *Mediterranean* Sea, did by the East and West.

Psal. 59. 78, 108. Par. 25.

The first and chief City which *Ephraim* had, was *Samaria*, the Metropolis of the Kingdom of *Israel*, built by *Amris*, or *Homri*, King thereof, and seated on the top of the Mountain *Somron*, which overlooketh all the bottom, and as far as the Sea-coast. It was afterward called *Sebaste*, or *Augusta*, in honour of *Augustus Cæsar*. This City is often remembred in the Scriptures: and magnificent it was in the first Building; for as *Brochard* observeth, the Ruins which yet remain, and which *Brochard* found greater than those of *Hierusalem*, tell those that behold them, what it was when it stood upright: for to this day there are found great store of goodly Marble Pillers, with other hewen and carved Stone, in great abundance, among the Rubbish.

It was beaten to the ground by the Sons of *Hyrcanus* the High Priest: restored and built by the first *Herod*, the Son of *Antipater*; who, to flatter *Cæsar*, called it *Sebaste*. Herein were the Prophets *Heliseus*, and *Abdias* buried; and so was *John Baptist*. It now hath nothing but a few Cottages filled with *Græcian* Monks.

Near *Samaria* towards the South, is the Hill of *Bethel*, and a Town of that name; on the top of which Mountain *Jeroboam* erected one of his Golden Calves to be worshipped; with which he seduced the *Israelites*.

In sight of this Mountain of *Bethel*, was that ancient City of *Sichem*; after the Restauration called *Neapolis*, now *Peloſa*, and *Napolasa*: It was destroyed by *Simeon* and *Levi*, in revenge of the ravishment of their Sister *Dina*: and after that by *Abimelec* evened with the Soil. *Jeroboam* raised it up again; and the *Damascens* a third time cast it down.

Sichar. Joh. 4. 5. Mabor-than. Joseph. 11 Ant. 1.

Under *Sichem*, towards the Sea, standeth *Pharaton*, or *Pirhaton*, on the Mountain *Amelec*, the City of *Abdon* Judg of *Israel*. And under it *Bethoron* of the *Levites*, built, as it is said, by *Sara*, the Daughter of *Ephraim*. Near to this City, *Judas Maccabæus* overthrew *Seron* and *Lysias*, Lieutenants to *Antiochus*. This City had *Solomon* formerly repaired and fortified.

Judg. 12. 15. 2 King. 13.

Between *Bethoron* and the Sea, standeth *Samir*, of which *Josh.* 10. and *Saron*, whose King was slain by *Joshua*: it is also mentioned *Acts* 9. 35. And of this *Saron* the Valley taketh name; which beginning at *Cæsaria Palestina*, extendeth it self alongst the Coast as far as *Joppe*, saith *Adrichome*. Tho indeed the Name *Sarona* is not particularly given to this Valley, but to every fruitful plain Region; for not only this Valley is so called, to wit, between *Cæsaria* and *Joppe*, but that also between the Mountain *Tabor* and the Sea of *Galilee*; for so St. *Jerom*, upon *Esay* 35. interprets the word *Saron*: and so doth the same Father, in his Commentaries upon *Abdia*, read *Saron* for *Assaron*; understanding thereby a Plain near *Lidda*: which *Lidda*, in his time, was called *Diospolis*, or the City of *Jupiter*, one of the *Topharchies* of *Judea*, the fifth in dignity, (or the third after *Pliny*) where S. *Peter* (*non sua sed Christi virtute*) cured *Æneas*. *Niger* calls all that Region, from *Antilibanus* to *Joppe*, *Sarona*. This *Joppe* was burnt to the ground by the Romans, those Ravens and Spoilers of all Estates, disturbers of Common-Weals, usurpers of other Princes Kingdoms: who with no other respect led, than to amplify their own Glory, troubled the whole World: and themselves, after murdering one another, became a prey to the most salvage and barbarous Nations.

Jos. c. 12. 18.

Acts 9. Luke 23. Niger. *Comm.* 4. Asiæ. *fol.* 503. 14.

In *Diospolis* (saith *Will.* of *Tyre*) was S. *George* beheaded, and buried: in whose Honour and Memory, *Justinian* the Emperor caused a fair Church to be built over his Tomb: these be *Tyrius* his words; *Relicta à dextris locis maritimis Antipatride, & Joppe, per latè patentem planitiem Eleutheriam pertranseuntes, Liddam quæ est Diospolis, ubi & egregii Martyris* Georgii *usq; hodie Sepulchrum ostenditur, pervenerunt, ejus Ecclesiam quam ad honorem ejusdem Martyris pius & orthodoxus Princeps Romanorum*, Augustus Justinianus *multo studio & devotione prompta ædificari præceperat*, &c. *They having left* (saith he) *on the right hand, the Sea Towns* Antipatris *and* Joppe, *passing over the great open Plain of* Eleutheria, *came to* Lidda, *which is* Diospolis, *where the sumptuous Tomb of the famous Martyr S.* George *is at this day shewed: whose Church, when the Godly and Orthodox Prince of the Romans, High and Mighty* Justinian, *had commanded to be built, with great earnestness and present devotion*, &c. Thus far *Tyrius*, by whose Testimony we may conjecture, that this S. *George* was not that *Arrian* Bishop of *Alexandria*, but rather some better Christian; for this of *Alexandria*, was slain there in an uproar of the People, and his Ashes cast into the Sea, as *Ammianus Marcellinus* Reports. And yet also it may be, that this *Georgius* was a better Christian than he is commonly thought: for his words of the

Of this S. George *see more above in this second Book.* c. 7. §. 3. ¶. 5.

L. 22. *c.* 11

Temple of *Genius*, *How long shall this Sepulcher ſtand?* occaſioned the uproar of the People againſt him, as fearing leſt he would give attempt to overthrow that beautiful Temple. This alſo *Marcellinus* reports; who tho he ſays that this *Georgius* was alſo deadly hated of the Chriſtians, who elſe might have reſcued him: yet he addeth, that his Aſhes, with the Aſhes of two others, were therefore caſt into the Sea, leſt if their Reliques had been gathered up, Churches ſhould be built for them, as for others. But for my part, I rather think that it was not this *Georgius*, whoſe Name lives in the right honourable Order of our Knights of the Garter, but rather another, whom *Tyrius*, above-cited, witneſſeth to have been buried at *Lidda*, or *Dioſpolis*. The ſame alſo is confirmed by *Vuriac*. S. *Jerom* affirms that it was ſometime called *Tigrida*; and while the Chriſtians inhahited the Holy Land, it had a Biſhop Suffragan.

Salig. *Tom.* 6. *c.*4.

Near to *Lidda*, or *Dioſpolis*, ſtandeth *Ramatha* of the *Levites*, or *Aramathia*: afterward *Rama*, or *Ramula*, the native City of *Joſeph*, which buried the Body of Chriſt. There are many places which bear this name of *Rama*: one they ſet in the Tribe of *Juda* near *Thecua* in the way of *Hebron*; another in *Naphtalim*, not far from *Sephet*; a third in *Zabulon*, which, they ſay, adjoineth to *Sephoris*; a fourth, which they make the ſame with *Silo*; and a fifth, which is this *Rama* in the Hills of *Ephraim*, called *Rama-Sophim*, where *Samuel* lived, and wherein he is buried.

See in the Tribe of Benjamin, *cap.*12.§.1

1 Sam.25. 5.

From hence to the North, alongſt the Coaſt, are *Helon*, or *Ajalon* of the *Levites*, of which 1 *Chron.* 6. *Apollonia*, of which *Joſephus* in his Antiquities, and in the Wars of the *Jews*. Alſo *Balſaliſa* (for which *Junius*, 2 *Reg* 4.42. reads *planities Shaliſtæ*) they place hereabout in this Tribe of *Ephraim*: but *Junius*, upon 1 *Sam.* 9. where we read of the Land of *Shaliſha*, findeth it in *Benjamin*.

*Ant.*13.21. *de Bell. Jud.*1. 6.

On the other ſide the Mountains of *Ephraim*, ſtandeth *Gofna*, one of the *Toparchies*, or Cities of Government, the ſecond in dignity, of which the Country about it taketh name.

Then *Thamnath-ſara*, or, according to the Hebrew, *Thimnath-Serach*; one alſo of the ten *Toparchies* or *Præſidencies* of *Judæa*, which they call *Thamnitica*; a goodly City and ſtrong, ſeated on one of the high Hills of *Ephraim*, on the North of the Hill called *Gaas*; which City and Territory *Iſrael* gave unto their Leader *Joſhua*; who alſo amplified it with Buildings, near which he was buried. His Sepulcher remained in S *Jerom*'s time, and over it the Sun ingraven, in memory of that greateſt of Wonders which God wrought in *Joſhua*'s time.

Judg. 2. 9. it is called Thimnath Chores. Joſ.19. 50

Hieron. *in locis Hebr.*

In the Places adjoining ſtandeth *Adarſa*, or *Adaſa*; where *Judas Macchabæus*, with 3000 *Jews*, overthrew the Army of *Nicanor*, Lieutenant of *Syria*, near to *Gaſer*, or *Gezer*, which *Joſhua* took, and hung their King, a City of the *Levites*. It was afterwards taken by *Pharaoh* of *Egypt*; the People all ſlain, and the City razed: *Solomon* rebuilt it.

1 Mac. 7. 40.

To the Eaſt of this place is the Frontier City of *Jeſleti*, of which *Joſh.* 16. 3. otherwiſe *Pelethi*, whence *David* had part of his *Pretorian* Souldiers, under the charge of *Benaia*. Then that high and famous Mountain and City of *Silo*, whereon the Ark of God was kept ſo many years, till the *Philiſtims* got it.

See in Benjamin.

To this they join the City of *Machmas*, or *Michmas*, in which *Jonathas Macchabæus* inhabited; a place often remembred in the Scriptures. It ſtandeth in the common way from *Samaria* towards *Jeruſalem*, and is now called *Eyra*.

1 Mac. 9. *ult.*

Then the Village of *Najoth* where *Saul* prophe-

ſied; and near it *Ephron*, one of thoſe Cities which *Abijah* recovered from *Jeroboham*, after the great overthrow given him. Then *Kibtſaim* of the *Levites*, of which *Joſh.*21.22. which *Junius* thinks to be the ſame with *Jokmeham*, of which 1 *Chron.* 6. 28. As for *Abſalom*'s *Baalaſar*, which they find hereabout, *Junius* reads it the Plain of *Chatſor*; and finds it in the Tribe of *Juda*; as *Joſh* 15. we read of two *Chatzors* in that Tribe, one near *Kedeſh*, *v.* 23. and the other the ſame as *Chetzron*, *v.* 25. toward *Jordan*.

1 Kings 4. *and ſee* Rama *in* Benjamin.

In this Tribe alſo they find the City of *Mello*; whoſe Citizens, they ſay, joined with the *Sichimites* in making the Baſtard *Abimelec* King: adding, that for the building thereof, with other Cities, *Solomon* raiſed a Tribute upon the People. But it ſeems that *Mello*, of *Millo*, is a common name of a ſtrong Fort or Citadel: and ſo *Junius* for *domus Millo*, reads *incolæ munitionis*; and for *Salomo ædificabat Millo*, he reads, *ædificabat munitionem*; and ſo the *Septuagint* read τὴν ἀνοδον in that place. And without doubt the *Millo* which *Solomon* built, cannot be that of *Sichem*, but another in *Hieruſalem*.

Jud. 9. 6, 20. 1 Reg. 11. 27. Vatablus *expounds* Millo *in this place*, *Locum publicum neceſſarium civibus Jeroſolymitanis atq; Iſraelitis.*

The other Cities of mark in *Ephraim*, are *Taphuach*, whoſe King was ſlain by *Joſhua*; and *Janoach*, or *Janoah*, ſpoiled by *Teglatphalaſſer*: *Pekah* then governing *Iſrael*; with divers others, but of no great fame.

2 King.15. 29.

The Mountains of *Ephraim* ſometime ſignify the greateſt part of the Land of the Sons of *Joſeph*, on the Weſt of *Jordan*; ſeveral parts whereof are the Hills of *Samron*, or *Samaria*, 1 *Reg.*16.24. * the *Gahas*, Jud. 2. 9. the Hill of *Tſalmon*, or *Salmon*, *Judg.*9.48. the Hills of the Region of *Tſuph*, or *Tſophin*, *Judg.*9. 5. where *Rama-Tſophim* ſtood, which was the City of *Samuel*.

Joſ. 17. 15, 16. * *Alſo the Hill of* Phineas, *where* Eleazar *the high Prieſt, the Son of* Aaron *was buried*, Joſ. 24.33. *And the two tops of hills*, Gerizzim, *where the bleſſings, &* Hebal *where the curſings were to be read to the people, of which* Deut. 11. & 27. Joſ. 8.

The great plenty of fruitful Vines upon the ſides of theſe Mountains, was the occaſion that *Jacob* in the Spirit of Propheſy, *Gen.*49.22. compared *Joſeph*'s two Branches, *Ephraim* and *Manaſſeh*, to the branches of a fruitful Vine planted by the Well ſide, and ſpreading her † Daughter-branches along the Wall: which Allegory alſo, *Ezek.* 22. in his Lamentation for *Ephraim* (that is, for the ten Tribes, whoſe Head was *Ephraim*) proſecutes: as alſo in his Lamentation for *Juda*, he followeth the other Allegory of *Jacob*, *Gen.*49.9. comparing *Juda* to a Lion. Upon the top of one of the higheſt of theſe Hills of *Ephraim*, which over-looketh all the Plains on both ſides of *Jordan*, they find the Caſtle called *Dok*; which they make to be the ſame with *Dagon*, of which *Joſeph.* 1. *Bell. Jud. c.* 2. in which Caſtle, as it is 1 *Macchab.* 16. *Ptolomy* moſt traiterouſly, at a Banquet, ſlew *Simon Macchabæus* his Father-in-Law.

† *It ſeemeth that* Jacob *in this Propheſy, the rather uſeth the word* Daughters *for* Branches, *thereby the more plainly to ſignify* Colonies: *which in the Hebrew phraſe are called* Daughters *of the Metropolis*; *as in* Joſua *and elſewhere often.*

Among the Rivers of this Tribe of *Ephraim*, they name *Gaas*, remembred in 2 *Sam.* 23. 30. where tho *Junius* reads, *Hiddai ex una vallium Gahaſi*; yet the Vulgar, and *Vatabulus*, read *Hiddai* of the River of *Gaas*. Alſo in this Tribe they place the River of *Carith*, by which the Prophet *Elias* abode during the great Droughth, where he was ‖ fed by the Ravens: and after that the River was dried up, he travelled (by the Spirit of God) towards *Sidon*, where he was relieved by the poor Widow of *Zarepta*, whoſe dead Son he revived, and increaſed her pittance of Meal and Oil, whereby ſhe ſuſtained her Life.

‖ 1 Reg. 17. 3.

§. II.

§. II.

Of the Kings of the ten Tribes, from Jeroboam *to* Achab.

OF the first Kings of *Israel*, I omit in this place to speak, and reserve it to the Catalogue of the Kings of *Juda*; of whom hereafter.

Touching the Acts of the Kings of the ten Tribes; but briefly, beginning after the division from *Juda* and *Benjamin*, now it followeth to speak. The first of these Kings was *Jeroboam* the Son of *Nebat*, an *Ephrathite* of *Zereda*; who being a Man of strength and courage, was by *Solomon* made Overseer of the Buildings of the *Millo* or Munition in *Jerusalem*, for as much as belonged to the charge of the Tribes of *Ephraim* and *Manasseh*, and so many of them as wrought in those Works. During which time, as he went from *Jerusalem*, he incountred the Prophet *Ahijah*; who made him know that he was by God destined to be King of *Israel*, and to command ten of the twelve Tribes. After this, fearing that those things might come to *Solomon*'s knowledg, he fled into *Egypt* to *Shishak*, whom *Eusebius* calleth *Osochores*, whose Daughter he married: the Predecessor of which *Shishak* (if not the same) did likewise entertain *Adad* the *Idumæan*, when he was carried young into *Egypt* from the fury of *David*, and his Captain *Joab*; which *Adad*, the King of *Egypt* married to his Wives Sister *Taphnes*; using both him and *Jeroboam* as Instruments to shake the Kingdom of *Judæa*, that himself might the easlier spoil it; as he did: for in the fifth year of *Rehoboam*, *Shishack* sack'd the City of *Jerusalem*, and carried thence all the Treasure of *David* and *Solomon*, and all the Spoils which *David* took from *Adadezer* of *Soba*, with the presents of *Tohu*, King of *Hamath*, which were of an inestimable value. 1 Reg. 14.

This *Jeroboam*, after the death of *Solomon*, became Lord of the ten Tribes: and tho he were permitted by God to govern the *Israelites*, and from a mean Man exalted to that state: yet preferring the Policies of the World, before the Service and Honour of God (as fearing that if the Tribes under his Rule should repair to *Jerusalem* to do their usual Sacrifices, they might be drawn from him by degrees) he erected two golden Calves, one in *Dan*, and another in *Bethel*, for the people to worship, (an imitation of the *Egyptian Apis*, saith S. *Ambrose*, or rather of *Aaron*'s Calf in *Horeb*); further, he made election of his Priests out of the basest and unlearned People. This King made his chief Seat and Palace at *Sichem*: He despised the warning of the *Judæan* Prophet, whom *Josephus* calleth *Adon*, and *Glycas*, *Joel*: His Hand thereafter withered, and was again restored; but continuing in his Idolatry, and hardned, upon occasion that the Prophet returning was slain by a Lion, *Ahijah* makes him know, that God purposed to root out his Posterity. Ambrose on Rom. 1.

He was afterward overthrown by *Abia* King of *Juda*, and died, after he had governed 22 Years; whom *Nadab* his Son succeeded: who in the second year of his Reign, together with all the Race of *Jeroboam*, was slain, and rooted out by *Baasha*, who reigned in his stead; so *Nadab* lived King but two years. 1 King. 11, 12, 13, 14. 1 King. 15. 27, &c.

Baasha the Son of *Ahijah*, the third King after the Partition, made War with *Asa* King of *Juda*: he seated himself in *Thersa*, and fortified *Rama* against *Juda*, to restrain their excursions. Hereupon *Asa* entertained *Benhadad* of *Damascus* against him, who invaded *Naphtalim*, and destroyed many places therein: the mean while *Asa* carried away the Materials, with which *Baasha* intended to fortify *Rama*; but being an Idolater, he was threatned by *Jehu* the Prophet, that it should befal his Race, as it did to *Jeroboam*; which afterward came to pass. He ruled 24 years, and died. 1 King. 15. & 16.

To *Baasha* succeeded *Ela* his Son, who at a Feast at his Palace of *Thersa*, was in his Cups slain by *Zambris*, after he had reigned two years: and in him the Propheſy of *Jehu* was fulfilled.

Zambris succeeded *Ela*, and assumed the Name of a King seven days: But *Ambris*, in revenge of the King's Murder, set upon *Zambris*, or *Zimri*; and incloſed him in *Thersa*, and forc'd him to burn himself. 1 King. 16.

Ambris, or *Homri*, succeeded *Ela*, and transferred the Regal Seat from *Thersa* to *Samaria*, which he bought of *Shemer*, built, aad fortified it. This *Ambris* was also an Idolater, no less impious than the rest; and therefore subjected to *Tabremmon* King of *Syria*; the Father of *Benhadad*, according to *Eusebius*, *Nicephorus*, and *Zonaras*. But how this should stand, I do not well conceive; seeing *Benhadad* the Son of *Tabremmon*, was invited by *Asa* King of *Juda*, to assail *Baasha* King of *Israel*, the Father of *Ela* who forewent *Ambris*. This *Ambris* reigned twelve years, six in *Thersa*, and six in *Samaria*, and left two Children, *Achab*, and *Athalia*. 1 King. 16. 1 King. 15.

§. III.

Of Achab *and his Successors, with the Captivity of the ten Tribes.*

ACHAB, or *Ahab*, succeeded *Omri*, who not only upheld the Idolatry of *Jeroboam*, borrowed of the *Egyptians*; but he married *Jezabel* the *Zidonian*; and as *Jeroboam* followed the Religion of his *Egyptian* Wife: so did *Achab* of his *Zidonian*; and erected an Altar and a Grove to *Baal* in *Samaria*. He suffered *Jezabel* to kill the Prophets of the most High God. God sent Famine on the Land of *Israel*. *Achab* met *Elias*; *Elias* prevailed in the trial of the Sacrifice, and killeth the false Prophets, and afterward flieth for fear of *Jezabel*.

Benhadad, not long after, besieged *Samaria*; and taken by *Achab*, was by him set at liberty: for which the Prophet (whom *Glycas* calleth *Michæas*) reproveth him: afterward he caused *Naboth*, by a false Accusation, to be stoned. Then joining with *Josaphat* in the War for the recovery of *Ramoth*; he was slain, as *Michæas* had foretold him.

He had three Sons named in the Scripture, *Ochozias*, *Joram*, and *Joas*; besides seventy other Sons by sundry Wives and Concubins.

Ochosias succeeded his Father *Achab*. The *Moabites* fell from his Obedience: he bruised himself by a fall; and sent for Counsel to *Beel-zebub* the God of *Acharon*. *Eliah* the Prophet meeteth the Messenger on the way; and misliking that *Ochozias* sought help from that dead Idol, asked the Messenger, If there were not a God in *Israel*? *Ochozias* sendeth two Captains, and with each fifty Souldiers to bring *Eliah* unto him; both which, with their Attendants, were consumed with Fire. The third Captain besought mercy at *Eliah*'s hands, and he spared him, and went with him to the King; avowing it to the King that he must then die: which came to pass in the second year of his reign. Beelzebub *was the same with* Belus *and* Pluto, *saith* Viginere *upon* Livi. 2 King. 1.

Joram the Brother of *Ochozias* by *Jezabel*, ſucceeded: He allured *Joſaphat* King of *Juda*, and the King of *Edom*, to aſſiſt him againſt the *Moabites*, who refuſed to pay him the Tribute of 20000 Sheep. The three Kings wanted Water for themſelves and their Horſes in the Deſarts. The Prophet *Eliſha* cauſeth the Ditches to flow. 2 King. 3. The *Moabites* are overthrown; their King flieth to *Kirharaſeth*; and being beſieged, according to ſome Expoſitors, burnt his Son on the Walls as a Sacrifice, whereat the three Kings moved with compaſſion, returned and left *Moab*, waſting and ſpoiling that Region. Others, as it ſeems with better reaſon, underſtand the Text to ſpeak of the Son of the King of *Edom*, whom they ſuppoſe in this irruption to have been taken Priſoner by the *Moabites*, and that the King of *Moab* ſhewed him over the Walls, threatning, unleſs the Siege were diſſolved, that he would offer him in Sacrifice to his Gods. Whereupon the King of *Edom* beſought thoſe of *Juda* and *Iſrael*, to break off the Siege for the ſafety of his Son: which when the other Kings refuſed to yield unto, and that *Moab*, according to his former threatning, had burnt the King of *Edom*'s Son upon the Rampire, that all the Aſſailants might diſcern it: The King of *Edom* being by this ſad Spectacle enraged, forſook the party of the other Kings; for want of whoſe aſſiſtance the Siege was broken up.

After this the King of *Aram* ſent to *Joram*, to heal *Naaman* the Captain of his Army of the Leproſy. The anſwer of *Joram* was; Am I God to kill, and to give Life, that he doth ſend to heal a Man from his Leproſy? adding, that the *Aramite* ſought but matter of quarrel againſt him. *Eliſha* hearing thereof, willed the King to ſend *Naaman* to him; promiſing that he ſhould know that there was a Prophet in *Iſrael*; and ſo *Naaman* was healed, by waſhing himſelf ſeven times in *Jordan*. *Eliſha* refuſed the Gifts of *Naaman*. But his Servant *Gehazi* accepted a part thereof; from whence the ſellers of ſpiritual Gifts are called *Gehazites*, as 2 King. 1. 5. the Buyers are *Simonians*, of *Simon Magus*.

Afterward *Benhadad*, King of *Aram* or *Damaſcus*, having heard that this Prophet did diſcover to the King of *Iſrael* whatſoever the *Aramite* conſulted in his ſecreteſt Council, ſent a Troop of Horſe to take *Eliſha*: all whom *Eliſha* ſtrook blind, and brought them Captives into *Samaria*; *Joram* then asking leave of the Prophet to ſlay them; *Eliſha* forbad him to harm them, but cauſed them to be fed, and ſent back to their own Prince in ſafety.

The King of *Aram*, notwithſtanding theſe Benefits, did again attempt *Samaria*; and brought the Citizens to extream famine. *Joram* imputeth the cauſe thereof to the Prophet *Eliſha*. *Eliſha*, by Prayer, cauſed a noiſe of Chariots and Armour to ſound in the Air, whereby the *Aramites* affrighted, fled away, and left the Siege; an act of great admiration, as the ſame is written in 2 *Kings* 7. After this, when *Aziel* obtained the Kingdom of 2 King. 7. *Syria* by the death of his Maſter; *Joram* entring upon his Frontire, took *Ramoth Gilead*; in which War he received divers wounds, and returned to *Jezrael* to be cured. But whilſt he lay there, *Jehu* (who commanded the Army of *Joram* in *Gilead*, was anointed King by one of the Children of the Prophets ſent by *Eliſha*) ſurprized and ſlew both him and all that belonged unto him, rooting out the whole Poſterity of *Ahab*.

Jehu, who reigned after *Joram*, deſtroyed not only the Race of his Foregoers, but alſo their Religion, for which he received a promiſe from God, That his Seed ſhould occupy the Throne unto the fourth Generation. Yet he upheld the Idolatry of *Jeroboam*, for which he was plagued with grievous War, wherein he was beaten by *Hazael* the *Aramite*, who ſpoiled all the Countries to the Eaſt of *Jordan*; in which War he was ſlain, ſaith *Cedrenus*; whereof the Scriptures are ſilent. *Jehu* *Pag.* 86. raigned 28 years.

Joachaz, or *Jehoahaz*, the Son of *Jehu*, ſucceeded his Father, whom *Azael* and his Son *Benhadad* often invaded, and in the end ſubjected, leaving him only 50 Horſe, 20 Chariots, and 1000 Foot; 2 King. 13. and as it is written in the Scriptures, he made them like Duſt beaten into Powder. *Joachaz* reigned 17 years.

After *Joachaz*, *Joas* his Son governed *Iſrael*; who when he repaired to *Eliſha* the Prophet, as he lay on his Death-bed, the Prophet promiſed him three Victories over the *Aramites*: and firſt commanded him to lay his hand on his Bow; and *Eliſha* covered the King's hands with his, and bad him open the Window weſtward (which was toward *Damaſcus*) and then ſhoot an Arrow thence out. He again willed him to beat the ground with his Arrows, who ſmote it thrice and ceaſed. The Prophet then told him, that he ſhould have ſmitten five or ſix times; and then he ſhould have had ſo many victories over the *Aramites* as he gave ſtrokes. And ſo it ſucceeded with *Joas*, who overthew the *Aramites* in three Battels, and recovered the Cities and Territory from *Benhadad* the Son of *Azael*, which his Father *Joachaz* had loſt. He alſo overthrew *Amazia* King of *Juda*, who provoked him to make the War; whereupon he entred *Jeruſalem*, and ſacked it, with the Temple. This 2 King. 14. *Joas* reigned 16 years, and died; in whoſe time alſo the Prophet *Eliſha* exchanged this Life for a better.

Jeroboam, the third from *Jehu*, followed *Joas* his Father, an Idolater as his Predeceſſors: but he recovered all the reſt of the Lands belonging to *Iſrael*, from *Hamath*, which is near *Libanus*, to the dead Sea, and reigned 41 years.

Zacharias, the fourth and laſt of the Houſe of *Jehu*, ſlain by *Shallum* his Vaſſal, who reigned in his ſtead, governed ſix months. *Shallum* held the Kingdom but one month, being ſlaughtered by *Menahem* of the *Gadites*.

Menahem, who took revenge of *Shallum*, uſed great cruelty to thoſe that did not acknowledg him; ripping up the Bellies of thoſe that were with Child. This *Menaham* being invaded by *Phul*, bought his Peace with ten thouſand Talents of 2 King. 16. Silver; which he exacted by a Tribute of fifty 19. Shekels from every Man of Wealth in *Iſrael*. *Menahem* governed 20 years.

Pekahiah, or *Phaceia*, or, after *Zonaras*, *Phaceſia*, ſucceeded; and after he had ruled two years, he was ſlain by *Phaca*, or *Pekah*, the Commander of his Army, who reigned in his place. In this *Pekah*'s time, *Phulaſſar*, or *Tiglat-Phylaſſar*, invaded the Kingdom of *Iſrael*, and won *Jion*, *Abel-Bethmaaca*, *Janoach*, *Kedeſh*, *Haſor*, and *Gilead*, with all the Cities of *Galilee*, carrying them Captives 2 King. 15. into *Aſſyria*: he was drawn in by *Achas* King of 29. *Judah*, againſt *Pekah* and *Rezin*, the laſt of the *Adades*. For *Achas* being waſted by *Pekah* of *Iſrael*, and by *Rezin* of *Damaſcus*, did a third time borrow the Church Riches, and therewith engaged the *Aſſyrian*, who firſt ſuppreſſed the Monarchy of *Syria* and *Damaſcus*, and then of *Iſrael*; and this inviting of the great *Aſſyrian*, was the utter ruin of both States, of *Iſrael* and of *Judah*. *Pekah* reigned 20 years.

Then *Hoſhea*, or *Oſea*, who ſlew *Pekah*, became the Vaſſal of *Salmanaſſar*; but hoping to ſhake off the

the *Assyrian* Yoke, he sought aid from *So*, or *Sua*, or *Sebicus* King of *Egypt*: which being known to the *Assyrian*, he cast him into Prison, besieged *Samaria*, and mastered it; carried the ten idolatrous Tribes into *Nineveh* in *Assyria*, and into *Rages* in *Media*, and into other Eastern Regions, and there dispersed them: and replanted *Samaria* with divers Nations, and chiefly with the *Cuthe*, (inhabiting about *Cutha*, a River in *Persia*, or rather in *Arabia Deserta*) and with the people *Catanei* bounding upon *Syria*, and with those of *Sepharvajim* (a people of *Sephar* in *Mesopotamia* upon *Euphrates*, of whose Conquest *Senacherib* vaunteth) also with those of *Ava*; which were of the ancient *Avins*, who inhabited the Land of the *Philistims* in *Abraham*'s time, dwelling near unto *Gaza*, whom the *Caphtorims* rooted out; and at this time they were of *Arabia* the *Desart*, called *Havei*; willing to return to their ancient Seats. To these he added those of *Chamath* or *Ituæa*, the ancient Enemies of the *Israelites*, and sometime the Vassals of the *Aduds* of *Damascus*, which so often afflicted them. And thus did this *Assyrian* advise himself better than the *Romans* did: For after *Titus* and *Vespasian* had wasted the Cities of *Judæa* and *Jerusalem*, they carried the people away captive; but left no others in their places, but a very few simple Labourers, besides their own thin Garisons, which soon decayed: and thereby they gave that dangerous entrance to the *Arabians* and *Saracens*, who never could be driven thence again to this day.

Prol. l. 5. Esay 37.

And this Transmigration, Plantation, and Displantation, hapned in the year of the World 3292, the sixth year of *Ezekiah* King of *Judah*; and the ninth of *Hosea* the last King of *Israel*.

A Catalogue of the Kings of the ten Tribes.

1.	*Jeroboam*,	Reigned 22	Years.
2.	*Nadab*,	—— 2	Years.
3.	*Baasha*,	—— 24	Years.
4.	*Ela*,	—— 20	Years.
5.	*Zambris*,	—— 7	Days.
6.	*Omri*,	—— 11	Years.
7.	*Achab*,	—— 22	Years.
8.	*Ochozias*,	—— 2	Years.
9.	*Joram*,	—— 12	Years.
10.	*Jehu*,	—— 28	Years.
11.	*Joachaz*,	—— 17	Years.
12.	*Joas*.	—— 16	Years.
13.	*Jeroboam*,	—— 41	Years.
14.	*Zacharias*,	—— 6	Months.
15.	*Shallum*,	—— 1	Month.
16.	*Menahem*,	—— 10	Years.
17.	*Pekahiah*,	—— 2	Years.
18.	*Phaca*,	—— 20	Years.
19.	*Hosea*,	—— 9	Years, about whose time Writers differ.

CHAP. X.

Of the memorable Places of Dan, Simeon, Judah, Reuben, Gad, *and the other half of* Manasseh.

§. I.

Of Dan, *whereof* Joppe, Gath, Accaron, Azotus, *and other Towns.*

NOw following the coast of the *Mediterran* Sea, that portion of Land assigned to the Tribe of *Dan*, joineth to *Ephraim*, whereof I spake last: of which Family there were numbred at Mount *Sinai*, 62700 fighting Men, all which leaving their bodies with the rest in the *Desarts*, there entred the Holy Land of their Sons 66400 bearing Arms. The first famous City in this Tribe on the Sea coast was *Joppe*, or *Japho*, as in *Joshua* 19. one of the most ancientest of the World, and the most famous of others on that Coast, because it was the Port of *Jerusalem*. From hence *Jonas* imbarked himself when he fled from the service of God, towards *Tharsis* in *Cilicia*. In the time of the *Macchabees* this City received many changes: and while *Judas Macchabæus* governed the *Jews*, the *Syrians* that were Garisoned in *Joppe*, having their Fleet in the Port, invited 200 principall Citizens aboard them, and cast them all into the Sea: which *Judas* revenged by firing their fleet, and putting the Companies which fought to escape to the Sword.

V. 46.

Mac. 2. 12.

It was twice taken by the *Romans*, and by *Cestius* the Lieutenant utterly burnt and ruined. But in the year of *Christ* 1250, *Lodowick* the French King gave it new Walls and Towers: It is now the *Turks*, and called *Jaffa*. There are certain Rocks in that Port, whereunto it is reported that *Andromeda* was fastned with Chains, and thence delivered from the Sea-Monster by *Perseus*. This Fable (for so I take it) is confirmed by *Josephus*, *Solinus*, and *Pliny*. *Marcus Scaurus* during his Office of *Ædileship*, shewed the Bones of this Monster to the people of *Rome*. S. *Hierome* upon *Jonas* speaks of it indifferently.

L. 3. 1. 15. de bel. Jud. Solin. c. 47. Plin. l. 5. c. 9.

The next unto *Joppe* was *Jamnia*, where *Judas Macchabæus* burnt the rest of the *Syrian* Fleet: the fire and flame whereof was seen at *Jerusalem*, 240 furlongs off. It had sometime a Bishop's Seat, saith *Will.* of *Tyre*; But there is no sign of it at this time that such a place there was.

2 Mac. 12.

De Bell. sacr

After *Jamnia*, is the City of *Geth* or *Gath*, sometime *Anthedon*, saith *Volaterran*. And so *Montanus* seems to understand it. For he sets it next to *Ægypt*, of all the *Philistim* Cities, and in the place of *Anthedon*. But *Volaterran* gives neither reason nor authority for his oppinion; for *Ptolomy* sets *Anthedon* far to the South of *Joppe*: And *Geth* was the first and not the last (beginning from the North) of all the great Cities of the *Philistims*: and about sixteen miles from *Joppe*, where *S. Hierome* in his time found a great Village of the same name. It was sometime the Habitation and *Seminary* of the *Anakims*: strong and Giant-like-men, whom *Joshua* could not expel, nor the *Danites* after him; nor any of the *Israelites*, till *David*'s time: who slew *Goliath*, as his Captains did divers others, not much inferiour in strength and stature unto *Goliath*.

F. 244.

Hieron. in Michæam.

Rehoboam the Son of *Solomon* rebuilt *Geth*: *Ozias* the Son of *Amazia* destroyed it again. It was also laid waste by *Azael* King of *Syria*. *Fulk* the fourth King of *Hierusalem*, built a Castle in the same place out of the old ruins. Whether this

Geth

L.21.c.18. *Geth* was the ſame that *Will.* of *Tyre* in the Holy War calls *Ibjilin*, I much doubt; the error growing by taking *Gath* for *Anthedon*.

Not far from *Geth*, or *Gath*, ſtandeth *Bethſemes*, or the Houſe of the *Sun*. In the Fields adjoining to this City (as is thought) was the *Ark* of God brought by a yoke of two Kine, turned looſe by the *Philiſtims*: and the *Bethſemites* preſuming to look therein, there were ſlain of the Elders 70, and of the People 50000, by the ordinance of God. After which ſlaughter, and the great lamentation of the People, it was called the great * *Abel*, ſaith *S. Hierome*. *Benedictns Theologus* finds three other Cities of this name; one in † *Napthalim*, another in *Juda*; and another *Iſſachar*; *Hierome* finds a fifth in *Benjamin*.

1 Sam. 6. 18.

* *Or rather not the City it ſelf, but the great ſtone in the field; upon which ſtone the* Philiſtims *ſet the Ark, the change being eaſy from* Eben, *or* Aben, *which ſignifieth a ſtone, to* Abel, *which ſignifieth Mourning.*

Keeping the Sea-coaſt, the ſtrong City of *Accaron* offereth it ſelf, ſometime one of the five *Satrapies*, or Governments of the *Philiſtims*. *S. Hierome* makes it the ſame with *Cæſaria Palæſtina*. *Pliny* confounds it with *Apollonia*: It was one of thoſe that defended it ſelf againſt the *Danites* and *Judæans*. It worſhipped *Beel-zebub* the God of Hornets, or Flies. To which Idol it was that *Ahaziah* King of *Iſrael* ſent to enquire of his health: whoſe Meſſengers *Eliah* meeting by the way, cauſed them to return, with a ſorrowful anſwer to their Maſter. This City is remembred in many places of Scripture.

† *See in* Napth.c.7. §.4. ¶.6. 2 King.1.

Chriſtianus Schrot placeth *Azotus* next to *Geth*, and then *Accaron*, or *Ekron*. This *Azotus*, or *Aſdod*, was alſo an habitation of the *Anakims*, whom *Joſhua* ‖ failed to deſtroy, though he once poſſeſt their City. Herein ſtood a ſumptuous Temple, dedicated to the * Idol *Dagon*: the ſame Idol which fell twice to the ground of it ſelf, after the *Ark* of God was by the *Philiſtims* carried into their Temple: and in the ſecond fall it was utterly broken and defaced. Near it was that famous † *Judas Machabæus* ſlain by *Bacchides* and *Alcimus*, the Lieutenants of *Demetrius*. Afterward it was taken by *Jonathas*: and the reſt of the Citizens being put to the Sword, all that fled into the Temple of *Dagon* were, with their Idol therein, conſumed with Fire: near which alſo he overthrew *Apollonius*.

‖ *It was beſieged by* Pſammetichus *the Father of* Pharaoh. Necco *for* 29 *years together; whence* Jer. 25. 20. *ſpeaks of the reſidue of* Aſhdod, *to wit, the greateſt part having periſhed in this Siege.*

* 1 Sam. 5. 4.

† Mac. 1. 9. Mac. 1. 10. Joſ. 19. 41. Jud. 13. 25 &c. 18. 2.

Gabinius the *Roman* rebuilt it. It had a Biſhop's Seat while Chriſtianity flouriſhed in thoſe parts. But in *S. Hierom's* time it was yet a fair Village. And this was the laſt of the Sea-Towns within the Tribe of *Dan*.

The Cities which are within the Land Eaſtward from *Azotus*, and beyond the Fountain of *Æthiopia*, wherein *Philip* the *Apoſtle* baptized the *Eunuch*, are *Tſorah*, or *Sarara*, and *Eſthaol*, and between them *Caſtra Danis* near *Hebron*: though this place where *Sampſon* was born, may ſeem by the words, *Jud.* 18. 12. to be in the Tribe of *Judah*, as the other alſo were bordering Towns between *Dan* and *Juda*.

After theſe, within the bounds of *Juda*, but belonging to the *Danites*, they find *Gedor*: or, as it is, 1 *Mac.* 15. *Cedron*, which *Cendebæus* the Lieutenant of *Antiochus* fortified againſt the *Jews*, and near which himſelf was by the *Macchabees* overthrown.

Mac. 1. 15, 16.

Then *Modin*, the Native City of the *Macchabees*; and wherein they were buried, on whoſe Sepulcher the ſeven Marble Pillars, which were erected of that heigth, as they ſerved for a Mark to the Seamen, remained many hundreds of years after their firſt ſetting up, as *Brochard* and *Breidenbach* witneſs.

There are, beſides theſe, the City of *Cariathiarim*, that is, the City of the Woods: ſeated in the border of *Juda*, *Benjamin*, and *Dan*, wherein the *Ark* of God remained twenty years in the Houſe of *Aminadab*; till ſuch time as *David* carried it thence to *Hieruſalem*: Of this place (as they ſay) was *Zacharias* the Son of *Barachias*, or *Jehoida*, who was ſlain between the Temple and the Altar: alſo *Urias*, whom *Joachim* King of *Jeruſalem* ſlaughtered, as we find in *Jeremy*. Many other places which they place in this Tribe, rather as I take it upon preſumption than warrant, I omit: as that of *Caſpin*, taken with great ſlaughter by *Judas Macchabæus*: and *Lachis*, whoſe King was ſlain by *Joſhua*, in which alſo *Amazia* was ſlain: The ſame which *Senacherib* took, *Ezechias* raigning in *Juda*.

Alias Cariath-baal & Baal, *or* Baalpharoſim.

1 Sam. 7. 1. 2 Sam. 6. 2. 2 Chron. 24. 22. Mat. 23. 33 Jer. 20. 20.

2 Mac. 12, 13. Joſ. 12. 11. 2 Reg. 14. 19.

Of other Cities belonging to this Tribe, ſee in *Joſhua* 19. from the *Verſe* 41. where alſo it is added, that the *Danites* Portion was too little for their number of Families: and therefore that they invaded *Leſhem*, and inhabited it: which City, after amplified by *Philip* the brother of *Herod Antipas*, was called *Cæſarea Philippi*, as before, and made the *Metropolis* of *Iturea*, and *Trachonitis*: of which Coaſts this *Philip* was Tetrarch: but of this City ſee more in *Napthalim*. In this Tribe there are no Mountains of fame.

It hath two Rivers or Torrents: the Northermoſt riſeth out of the Mountains of *Juda*: and paſſing by *Modin*, falleth into the Sea by *Sachrona*. The other hath the name of *Sorek*, or *Sored*, whoſe Banks are plentiful of Vines, which have no ſeeds or ſtones: The Wine they yield is red, of excellent colour, taſte, and ſavour, &c. In this Valley of *Sorek*, ſo called from the River, inhabited *Dalila* whom *Sampſon* loved.

Hieron. in *Eſay* & *Michæam* 1. Broch. Breid. Jud. 16. 4.

§. II.

The Tribe of Simeon.

THe Tribe of *Simeon* takes up the reſt of the Sea-coaſt of *Canaan*, to the border of *Ægypt*; who being the ſecond Son of *Jacob* by *Lea*, there were increaſed of that Family, while they abode in *Ægypt*, as they were numbred at Mount *Sinai* 59300 able Men; all which ending their Lives in the Deſarts, there entred the Land of Promiſe of their Iſſues 22200 bearing Arms, who were * in part mixed with *Juda*, and in part ſevered, inhabiting a ſmall Territory on the Sea-coaſt, belonging to *Edumæa*; of which the firſt City adjoining to *Dan*, was *Aſcalon*.

* *And therefore no marvel that divers places named* Joſ. 15. *in the large portion of* Juda, *be reckoned in this Tribe: ſee* Joſ. 19. 1, 9 *where thus much is expreſly noted.*

The *Reguli*, or petty Kings thereof, were called *Aſcalonita*; of which *Volaterran* out of *Xanthus*, in the Hiſtory of the *Lydians*, reports, that *Tantalus* and *Aſcalus* were the Sons of *Hymenæus*: and that *Aſcalus* being imployed by *Aciamus* King of the *Lydians*, with an Army in *Syria*, falling in love with a young Woman of that Country, built this City, and called it after his own Name: the ſame hath *Nicolaus* in his Hiſtory, ſaith *Volaterran*.

Volat. Geog. l. 11. fol. 244.

Diodorus Siculus, in his third Book, remembreth a Lake near *Aſcalon*, wherein there hath been a Temple dedicated to *Derceto* the Goddeſs of the *Syrians*; having the Face of a Woman, and the Body of a Fiſh: who, as I have ſaid before, in the ſtory of *Ninus*, was the Mother of *Semiramis*, fained to be caſt into this Lake, and fed and relieved by Doves. And therefore was the Dove worſhipped, both in *Babylonia* and *Syria*, of which *Tibullus* the Poet:

Alba Palæſtino ſancta Columba Syro.
The white Dove is for holy held, in *Syria-Palæſtine*.

It

Vol. ut supra.

It was one of the chiefeſt and ſtrongeſt Cities of the *Philiſtims*. It bred many learned Men (ſaith *Volaterran*) as *Antiochus*, *Soſus*, *Cygnus*, *Dorotheus* the Hiſtorian, and *Artemidorus* who wrote the Story of *Bithynia*.

In *Aſcalon*, as ſome ſay, was that wicked *Herod* born, that ſeeking after our Saviour, cauſed all the Male-children, of two years old and under, to be ſlain. In the Chriſtian times it had a Biſhop, and after that, when it was by the *Saladine* defaced, *Richard* King of *England*, while he made War in the Holy Land, gave it a new Wall, and many Buildings. *Ejus muros cùm* Saladinus *diruiſſet*, Richardus *Anglorum Rex inſtauravit*, ſaith *Adrichomius*.

Adrich. in Trib. Simeon.

In *David*'s time it was one of the moſt renowned Cities of the *Philiſtims*; for he nameth *Gath* and *Aſcalon* only, when he lamenteth the death of *Saul*, and *Jonathan*; not ſpeaking of the other three. *Tell it not in* Gath, *nor publiſh it not in the ſtreets of* Aſcalon; it is now called *Scalone*. *Gabinius* reſtored it, as he did *Azotus* and *Gaza*.

2 Sam. 1.

Next to *Aſcalon* ſtood *Gaza*, or *Gazera*, which the *Hebrews* call *Hazza*; the *Syrians*, *Azan*; of *Azonus* (as they ſay) the Son of *Hercules*. Other prophane Writers affirm, that it was built by *Jupiter*. *Pomp. Mela* gives the building thereof to *Cambyſes* the *Perſian*, becauſe belike he rebuilt it; and *Gaza* in the *Perſian* tongue, is as much as to ſay, *Treaſure*. This *Gaza* was the firſt of the five *Satrapies* of the *Philiſtims*, and the South bound of the Land of *Canaan* towards *Egypt*. But this City was far more ancient than *Cambyſes*, as it is proved by many Scriptures. It was once taken by *Caleb*; but the ſtrength of the *Anakims* put him from it. At ſuch time as *Alexander Macedon* invaded the Empire of *Perſia*, it received a Garriſon for *Darius*: in deſpight whereof, it was by the *Macedonians*, after a long ſiege, demoliſhed, and was called *Gaza* of the *Deſart*.

Vol. l. 11.

Steph. de Urb. Jud. l. 6, 16. 1 King. 6. & alib.

Joſep. 13. ant. 19.

Alexander Janneus King of the *Jews* ſurpriſed it, and ſlew 500 Senators in the Temple of *Apollo*, which fled thither for Sanctuary; but this *Gaza* was not ſet up in the ſame place again, to wit, on the Foundations which *Alexander Macedon* had overturned, but ſomewhat nearer the Sea-ſide; tho the other was but two miles off. It was a Town of great account in the time of the *Macchabees*, and gave many wounds to the *Jews*, till it was forc'd by *Simon*: of which he made ſo great account, as he purpoſed to reſide therein himſelf; and in his abſence, left *John* his Son and Succeſſor to be Governor. In *Brochard*'s time it was ſtill a goodly City, and known by the name of *Gazara*.

Mac. l. 15. Broch. Itin. 7.

At the very out-let of the River *Bezor*, ſtandeth *Majoma* the Port of *Gaza*: to which the Priviledg of a City was given by the great *Conſtantine*; and the place called *Conſtance* after the name of the Emperor's Son. But *Julian* the *Apoſtate*, ſoon after favouring the *Gazeans*, made it ſubject unto them, and commanded it to be called *Gaza Maritima*.

Hiſt. trip. l. 6. c. 4. Niceph. 10 Hiſt. c. 4.

Joſep. 13. Ant. 19. 21. 14, &c.

On the other ſide of *Beſor*, ſtandeth *Anthedon*, defaced by *Alexander Janneus*, reſtored by *Herod*, and called *Agrippias*, after the name of *Agrippa*, the Favourite of *Auguſtus*.

Then *Raphia*, where *Philopater* overthrew the great *Antiochus*: and beyond it *Rhinocura*, whoſe Torrent is known in the Scriptures by the name * of *the Torrent of Ægypt*, till the *Septuagint* converted it by *Rinocura*; to difference it, *Eſay* 27. 12. giving the name of the City to the Torrent that watereth it.

* Junius calls it Vallis Ægypti the name of the ſtream ſeems to be Shichor. See in Aſſer, Chap. 7. §. 3. ¶. 8. in the Margin.

Pliny calls it *Rhinocolura*; and *Joſephus*, *Rhinocorura*.

* *Epiphanius* reports it as a Tradition, that at this place the World was divided by Lots, between the three Sons of *Noah*.

* Epiph. Tom. 2. in reſut. Manich & in Ancorat.

Within the Land, and upon the River of *Beſor*, they place *Gerar*; which the Scripture placeth between *Kadeſh* and *Shur*, Gen. 20. 1. That it was near to the Wilderneſs of *Berſheba*, it appears, *Gen.* 20. 31. and therefore no marvel that as elſewhere *Berſheba*, ſo ſometime *Gerar*, be made the South bound of *Canaan*. It was of old a diſtinct Kingdom from the *Philiſtim Satrapies*, the Kings by one common name were called *Abimelechs*: S. *Hierome* ſaith, that afterward it was called *Regio ſalutaris*; *The healthy Country*: ſo that it was no marvel that *Abraham* and *Iſaac* lived much in theſe parts. Of King *Aſa*'s Conqueſt of the Cities about *Gerar*, ſee 2 *Chron.* 14. 14.

Gen. 10. 19.

More within the Land was *Siceleg*, or *Tſiglak*, which was burnt by the *Amalekites*; when *David*, in his flying from *Saul* to the *Philiſtims*, had left his Carriages there; but *David* followed them over the River of *Beſor*, and put them to the ſlaughter, and recovered the Prey.

1 Sam. 30.

Next *Dabir*, ſometime *Cariath-Sepher*, the City of Letters, the Univerſity, as they ſay, or *Academy* of old *Paleſtine*. In S. *Jerom*'s time it ſeems it had the name of *Daema*: *Joſh.* 15. 49. it is called *Urbs Sannæ*, from the name, as it ſeems, of ſome of the *Anakims*, as *Hebron* was called *Urbs Arbahi*. For even hence alſo were theſe Giants expelled. It was taken chiefly by *Othoniel*, incouraged by *Caleb*'s promiſe of his Daughter in Marriage: but that *Joſhua* and the Hoaſt of *Iſrael* were at the Surpriſe, it appears *Joſh.* 10. 39. This City, *Joſh.* 21. 15. is named among thoſe, which out of *Simeon* and *Juda*, were given to the *Levites*. And hence it ſeems they attributed it to this Tribe.

Joſep. 10, 11, 12.

Joſ. 11. 21.

Beſides theſe, there are many others in the Tribe of *Simeon*, but of leſs fame; as *Hajin*, of which *Joſh.* 19. 7. which alſo *Joſh.* 21. 16. is reckoned for one of the Cities of the *Levites*, given out of the portion of *Juda* and *Simeon* (for which *Junius* thinks *Haſham* is named 1 *Chron.* 6. 59. though * in the place of *Joſhua* theſe two are diſtinguiſhed) alſo *Tholad* ſo named, 1 *Chron.* 4. 29. for which *Joſh.* 19. 4. we have *Eltholad*. *Chatzar-Suſa*, ſo named, *Joſh.* 19. 5. for which *Joſh.* 15. we have *Chatzar-Gadda*, both names agreeing in ſignification; for *Gadda*, is *Turma*, and *Suſa*, *Equitatus*.

* And alſo 1 Chron. 4. 32.

In the ſame places of *Joſhua*, and of the *Chronicles*, *Chorma* is named; which they think to be the ſame with that of which *Numb.* 14. 45. to which the *Amalekites* and *Canaanites* purſued the *Iſraelites*. But that *Chorma* cannot be in *Simeon*, nor within the Mountains of *Edumæa*. For *Iſrael* fled not that way, but back again to the Camp, which lay to the South of *Edumæa*, in the *Deſart*.

Deut. 1.

The ſame places alſo name *Beerſheba* in this Tribe; ſo called of the Oath between *Abraham* and *Abimelech*; near unto which *Hagar* wandred with her Son *Iſhmael*.

Gen. 21. 31

It was alſo called the City of *Iſaac*, becauſe he dwelt long there.

While the Chriſtians held the Holy Land, they laboured much to ſtrengthen this place, ſtanding on the Border of the *Arabian Deſart*, and in the South bound of *Canaan*. It hath now the name of *Gabelin*.

The other Cities of *Simeon*, which are named in the places of *Joſhua*, and of the *Chronicles*, above noted, becauſe they help us nothing in ſtory, I omit them.

In

In the time of *Ezekiah* King of *Juda*, certain of this Tribe being ſtreightned in their own Territories, paſſed to * *Gedor*, as it is 1 *Chron.* 4. 39. (the ſame place which *Joſh.* 15. 36. is called *Gedera* and *Gederothaima*) which at that time was inhabited by the Iſſue of *Cham*; where they ſeated themſelves: as alſo five hundred others of this Tribe, deſtroyed the Reliques of *Amalec* in the Mountains of *Edom*, and dwelt in their places.

* *As it ſeems in the Land of* Juda. *See in the firſt Paragraph of this Chapter, in the Cities of* Dan.

Jud. 16. 3.

The Mountains within this Tribe are few, and that of *Sampſon* the chiefeſt; unto which he carried the Gate-poſt of *Gaza*. The Rivers are *Beſor*, and the Torrent of *Egypt* called *Shichor*, as is noted in *Aſſer*.

§. III.

The Tribe of Juda.

OF *Juda*, the fourth Son of *Jacob* by *Lea*, there were multiplied in *Egypt* 74600; all which (*Caleb* excepted) periſhed in the Deſarts. And of their Sons, there entred the Land of *Canaan* 76500 bearing Arms. Agreeable to the greatneſs of this number, was the greateſt Territory given, called afterward *Judæa*; within the bounds whereof, were the Portions allotted to *Dan*, and *Simeon* included.

And many Cities named in theſe Tribes, did firſt, as they ſay, belong unto the Children of *Juda*, who had a kind of Soveraignty over them; as *Succoth*, *Cariathiarim*, *Lachis*, *Bethſemes*, *Tſiglag*, *Beerſheba*, and others.

The multitude of People within this ſmall Province (if it be meted by that ground given to this Tribe only) were incredible, if the Witneſs of the Scriptures had not warranted the Report. For when *David* numbred the People, they were found five hundred thouſand fighting Men.

The Cities of *Juda* were many: But I will remember the chiefeſt of them; beginning with *Arad*, or *Horma*, which ſtandeth in the entrance of *Judæa* from *Idumæa*: whoſe King firſt ſurprized the *Iſraelites*, as they paſſed by the Border of *Canaan* towards *Moab*; and took from them ſome Spoils, and many Priſoners: who being afterward overthrown by the *Iſraelites*, the Sons of *Keni*, the Kinſmen of *Moſes*, obtained a Poſſeſſion in that Territory: who before the coming of the *Iſraelites*, dwelt between *Madian* and *Amalek*.

Numb. 21. 3. Joſ. 12. 14. Jud. 1. 16.

Following this Frontier toward *Idumæa* and the South, *Aſcenſus Scorpionis*, or *Acrabbim* is placed, the next to *Arad*; ſo called, becauſe of Scorpions which are ſaid to be in that place: from which name of *Acrabbim*, *Jerom* thinks that the name of the *Toparchie*, called *Acrabathena*, was denominated; of which we have ſpoken in *Manaſſes*.

Num. 34. 4 Deut. 8. 15.

On the South ſide alſo of *Judæa*, they place the Cities of *Jagur*, *Dimona*, *Adada*, *Cedes*, *Aſhna*, *Jethnam*, and *Aſor*, or *Chatſor*, moſt of them Frontier Towns.

And then *Ziph*: of which there are two places ſo called: one beſides this in the body of *Juda*, of which the Deſart and Forreſt adjoining took name; where *David* hid himſelf from *Saul*.

After theſe are the Cities of *Eſron*, *Adar*, *Karkah*, and *Aſemona*, or *Hatſmon*, of no great fame.

Turning now from *Idumæa*, towards the North, we find the Cities of *Danna*, *Shemah*, *Amam*, the other *Aſor*, or *Chatſor*, *Behaloth*, and the two *Socchoes*: of all which, ſee *Joſh.* 15. alſo *Carioth*, by *Joſh.* 15. 25. called *Kerioth*: whence *Judas* the Traitor was called *Iſ-carioth*, as it were a Man of *Carioth*. Then *Hetham* the abode of *Sampſon*, which *Rehoboam* reedified. Beyond theſe, towards the North border, and towards *Eleutheropolis*, is the City of *Jethar*, or *Jatthir*, belonging to the *Levites*. In S. *Jerom*'s time it was called *Jethita*, and inhabited altogether with Chriſtians: Near unto this City was that remarkable Battel fought betwixt *Aſa* King of *Juda*, and *Zara* King of the *Arabians*, who brought into the Field a Million of fighting Men; and was notwithſtanding, beaten and put to flight: *Aſa* following the Victory as far as *Gerar*, which at the ſame time he recovered.

Judg. 15. 8 1 Chron. 11. 6. Jun. out of the 1 Chron. 4. 32. notes, that this Hetham, tho it were within the bounds of Juda, belonged to Simeon. Joſ. 13. 42. Hieron. in loc. Hebr.

Not far from *Jether*, ſtandeth *Jarmuth*, whoſe King was ſlain by *Joſhua*, and the City overturned. Next unto it is *Mareſa*, the native City of the Prophet *Michæa*: Between it and *Odolla*, *Judas Macchabæus* overthrew *Gorgias*; and ſent thence 10000 *Dragmas* of Silver to be offered for Sacrifice.

2 Mac. 12 35.

Odolla, or *Hadullam* it ſelf, was an ancient and magnificent City, taken by *Joſhua*, and the King thereof ſlain. *Jonathas Macchabæus* beautified it greatly. Then *Ceila*, or *Keila*, afterward *Echela*, where *David* ſometime hid himſelf, and which afterward he delivered from the Aſſaults of the *Philiſtims*: near which the Prophet *Abacuc* was buried; whoſe Monument remained, and was ſeen by S. *Jerom*.

Gen. 38. 1. Joſ. 12. 15. 1 Sam. 23. 1.

Near it is *Hebron*, ſometime called *the City of Arbah*, for which the Vulgar hath *Cariatharbe*; the reaſon of this name they give, as if it ſignified the City of four; becauſe the four Patriarchs, *Adam*, *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, were therein buried; but of *Adam* it is but ſuppoſed; and it is plain by the places, *Joſh.* 14. 14. and 15. 13. and 20. 11. that *Arbah* here doth not ſignify four, but that it was the name of the Father of the Giants, called *Anakim*, whoſe Son, as it ſeems, *Anak* was: and *Achiman*, *Sheſhai*, and *Talmai* (whom *Caleb* expelled, *Joſh.* 15.) were the Sons of this *Anak*, *Numb.* 13. 23. The name of *Anak* ſignifieth *Torquem*, a Chain worn for ornament: and it ſeems that this *Anak*, enriched by the Spoils which himſelf and his Father got, wore a Chain of Gold, and ſo got this Name: and leaving the Cuſtom to his Poſterity, left alſo the Name: ſo that in Latin the name of *Anakim*, may not amiſs be expounded by *Torquati*.

The City *Hebron* was one of the ancienteſt Cities of *Canaan*; built ſeven years before *Tſoan*, or *Tanis* in *Egypt*: and it was the head and chief City of the *Anakims*, whom *Caleb* expelled: to whom it was in part given; to wit, the Villages adjoining, and the reſt to the *Levites*. It had a Biſhop in the Chriſtian times, and a magnificent Temple built by *Helen* the Mother of *Conſtantine*.

Not far hence they find *Eleutheropolis*, or the free City, remembred often by S. *Jerom*. Then *Eglon*, whoſe King *Dabir* aſſociated, with the other four Kings of the *Amorites*, to wit, of *Jeruſalem*, *Hebron*, *Jarmuth*, and *Lachis*, beſieging the *Gibeonites*, were by *Joſhua* utterly overthrown. From henee the next City of fame was *Emaus*, afterward *Nicopolis*, one of the Cities of Government, or Preſidencies of *Judæa*. In the ſight of this City, *Judas Macchabæus* (after he had formerly beaten both *Apollonius* and *Seron*) gave a third overthrow to *Georgias* Lieutenant to *Antiochus*.

Joſ. 10. 11. 1 Macc. 3. 4.

In the year 1301, it was overturned by an Earthquake, ſaith *Euſebius*. In the Chriſtian times it had a Biſhop's Seat, of the Dioceſs of *Cæſaria* of *Paleſtine*.

Euſeb. in Chron. Broch. Tit. 6.

From

From *Emaus* towards the West Sea there are the Cities of *Nahama*, *Bethdagon*, and *Gader*, or *Gedera*, or *Gederothaima*, of which, and of *Gederoth* * *Jos.* 15. *v.* 36. & 41. Then *Azecha*, to which *Josua* followed the Slaughter of the five Kings before-named, a City of great Strength in the Valley of ‖ *Terebinth* or *Turpintine*: As the *Vulgar* readeth, 1 *Sam.* 17. 2. whence (as it seems) they seat it near unto *Soco*, and unto *Lebna* of the *Levites*. It revolted from the Subjection of the *Jews*, while *Joram* the Son of *Josaphat* ruled in *Jerusalem*: And next unto this standeth *Maceda*, which *Josuah* utterly dispeopled.

* Also 1 *Chron.* 4. 39. as is above remembred in the Tribe of *Simeon*.

‖ *Junius* for *in Valle Terebinth*, hath *in valle querceti*. *Vatablus* keeps the *Hebrew* reading in *valle Elah*.

On the other side of *Emaus*, towards the East, standeth *Bethsur*, otherwise *Bethsora*, and *Bethsor*; one of the strongest, and most sought for places in all *Juda*: It is seated on a high Hill; and therefore called *Bethsur* (*the House on the Rock*, or *of strength*.) It was fortified by *Roboboam*, and afterward by *Judas Macchabæus*. *Lysias* forc't it, and *Antiochus Eupator* by Famine: *Jonathas* regained it: And it was by *Simon* exceedingly fortified against the *Syrian* Kings.

Joseph 13. *ant.* 9.

Mac. 1. 6.

Bethleem is next unto it within six miles of *Jerusalem*, otherwise *Lebem*, sometime *Ephrata*; which Name, they say, it had of *Caleb*'s Wife, when as it is so called by *Moses* before *Caleb* was famous in those parts, *Gen.* 38. 16. Of this City was *Abessan*, or *Ibzan*, *Judge of Israel*, after *Jephthah*, famous for the thirty Sons, and thirty Daughters, begotten by him. *Elimelec* was also a *Bethlemite*, who with his Wife *Naomi* sojourned in *Moab* during the Famine of *Juda*, in the time of the *Judges*, with whom *Ruth*, the Daughter-in-Law of *Naomi* returned to *Bethleem*, and married *Boaz*, of whom *Obed*, of whom *Isai*, of whom *David*. It had also the Honor to be the native City of our Saviour *Jesus Christ*: And therefore shall the memory thereof never end.

Gen. 53. 48.

Ruth 1.

In *Zabulon* of *Galilee* there was also a City of the same Name; and therefore was this of our Saviour called *Bethleem-Juda*.

Hieron. in comm. super Math. c. 2.

From *Bethleem*, some four or five miles, standeth *Thecua*, the City of *Amos* the Prophet: And to this place adjoyning is the City of *Bethzacaria*, in the way between *Bethsura* and *Jerusalem*; on whose Hills adjoyning the glorious guilt Shields of *Antiochus* shined like Lamps of Fire in the Eyes of the *Jews*. The City of * *Bezek* was also near unto *Bethleem*, which also *Adoni-bezec* commanded; who had, during his Reign, tortured seventy Kings, by cutting off the Joynts of their Fingers and Toes, and made them gather Bread under his Table: But at length the same end befel himself by the Sons of *Juda*, after they had taken him Prisoner.

Mat. 2. 1. *Amos* 1. *v.* 1.

1 *Mac.* 6. 32. *Joseph. ant.* 12. *c.* 14.

1 *Mac.* 6. *v.* 36.

* See in *Manass.* *c.* 7. §. 7. † 1.

Judg. 1. *v.* 6, & 7.

The rest of the Cities in this part (most of them of no great Estimation) we may pass by, until we come to the magnificent Castle of *Herodium*, which *Herod* erected on a Hill, mounting thereunto with 200 Marble Steps, exceeding beautiful and strong. And towards the Dead Sea, and adjoyning to the *Desart* of *Jeruel*, between it and *Tekoa*, is that *Clivus floridus*, where in the time of *Josaphat*, the *Jews* stood and look'd on the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and *Edomites*, massacring one another, when they had purposed to joyn against *Juda*; near which place is the Valley of Blessing, where the *Jews* the fourth day after, solemnly came and blessed God for so strange Deliverance.

Joseph. 14. *ant.* 22.

2 *Chron.* 20. *v.* 16. & 26.

Now the Cities of *Juda* which border the dead Sea, are these; *Aduran* beautified by *Roboboam*, and *Tsohar*, which the *Vulgar* calleth * *Segor*; so called, because *Lot* in his Prayer for it, urged that it was but a little one; whence it was called *Tsohar*, which signifieth a little one; when as the old name was *Belah*, as it is *Gen.* 14. 2. In the *Romans* times it had a Garrison, and was called (as they say) *Pannier*: In *Hierom*'s time *Balezona*. Then *Engaddi*, or *Hengaddi*, first *Asasonthamar*; near unto which are the Gardens of *Balsamum*, the best that the World had called *Opobalsamum*: The most part of all which Trees, *Cleopatra*, Queen of *Ægypt*, sent for out of *Judea*; and *Herod*, who either feared or loved *Anthony* her Husband, caused them to be rooted up, and presented unto her; which she replanted near *Heliopolis* in *Ægypt*. This City was first taken by *Chedorlaomer* and the *Amorites* thence expelled. It was one of the most remarkable Cities of *Judea*, and one of the *Presidencies* thereof.

* Some call it *Balsalisa*, and *Vitula conspernans*. See in *Gad.* 10. § 5. *post principium in Haroher.* *Gen.* 19. 20. *Hieron. in Ose. Hebr. Chatsatson-hamar.* 2 *Chron* 20. 2.

Gen. 14. 7.

The rest of the Cities are many in the In-land, and among them *Jesrael*; not that which was the City of *Naboth*, of which already; but another of the same name, the City of *Achinoan*, the Wife of *David*, the Mother of that *Amnon*, whom *Absalom* slew: Also, as some think, the City of *Amasa*, *Absalom*'s Lieutenant, and the Commander of his Army. But this seemeth to be an Error, grounded upon the nearness of the words, *Israel*, and *Jesrael*: And because the 2 *Sam.* 17. 25. *Amasa*'s Father is called a *Jesraelite*, who first of the *Chron.* 2. 17. is called an *Ismaelite*: Indeed the *Hebrew Orthography* sheweth, that *Amasa*'s Father is not said to be of the City *Jesrael*, but an *Israelite* in Religion, though otherwise an *Ismaelite*.

1 *Reg.* 21.

2 *Sam.* 17. 25.

In this Tribe there were many high Hills, or Mountains, as those of *Engaddi* upon the Dead Sea, and the Mountains of *Juda*, which begin to rise by *Emaus*, and end near *Taphna*; and these part *Juda* from *Dan* and *Simeon*. Of others which stand single, there is that of *Hebron*: At the Foot whereof, was that Oak of *Mambre*, where the three Angels appeared to *Abraham*, which St. *Hierome* calleth a Fir-tree; and saith, that it stood till the time of *Constantine* the younger. There is also that Mountain, called *Collis Achillæ*, on the South side of *Ziph*; on the Top whereof the great *Herod*, inclosing the old Castle, erected by *Jonathas Maccabæus*, and called *Massada*, garnished it with seven and twenty high and strong Towers; and therein left Armor and Furniture for an hundred thousand Men, being, as it seemeth, a place unaccessible, and of incomparable Strength.

Hieron. in loc. Hebr. & quæst. Hebr. *Josep.* 14. *Ant.* c. 20.

In the Valley afterward, called the Dead Sea, or the Lake *Asphaltitis*: This Country had four Cities, *Adama*, *Sodom*, *Seboim* and *Gomorra*, destroyed with Fire from Heaven for their unnatural Sins.

§. IV.

The Tribe of Reuben, *and his Borders.*

† I.

The Seats and Bounds of Midian, Moab, *and* Ammon, *part whereof the* Reubenites *won from* Sehon, *King of* Hesbon.

ON the other side of the Dead Sea, *Reuben* the eldest of *Jacob*'s Sons inhabited, of whose Children there were numbred at Mount *Sinai*, 46000, who dying with the rest in the *Desarts*, there remained to possess the Land Promis'd 43700 bearing Arms. But before we speak of these or the rest that inhabited the East-side of *Jordan*, something

of their Borderers, to wit, *Midian*, *Moab*, and *Ammon*, whose Land in our Writers are confusedly described, and not easily distinguished. And first, we are to remember, that out of *Abraham*'s Kindred came many mighty Families; as by *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, the Nation called *Israel*, and afterward *Jews*: By *Esau*, or *Edom*, the *Idumæans*: By *Ismael*, the eldest Son of *Abraham*, the *Ismaelites*: And by *Keturah*, his last Wife, the *Midianites*. And again, by *Lot*, *Abraham*'s Brother's Son, those two valiant Nations of the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*: All which being but Strangers in the Land of *Canaan* (formerly possest by the *Canaanites*, and by the Families of them descended) these Issues and Alliances of *Abraham*, all but *Jacob*, whose children were bred in *Ægypt*, inhabited the Frontier Places adjoyning.

Esau and his Sons held *Idumæa*, which bounded *Canaan* on the South. *Ismael* took from the South-east part of the Dead Sea: Stretching his Possession over all *Arabia Petræa*, and a part of *Arabia* the *Desart*, as far as the River of *Tigris*, from *Sur* to *Havilah*.

Moab took the rest of the Coast of the Dead Sea, leaving a part to *Midian*; and passing over *Arnon*, inhabited the Plains between *Jordan*, and the Hills of *Abarim*, or *Arnon*, as far North as *Essebon*, or *Chesbon*.

Ammon sate down on the North-east side of *Arnon*, and possest the Tract from *Rabba*, afterwards *Philadelphia*, both within the Mountains of *Gilebad*, and without them as far forth as *Aroer*, though in *Moses*'s Time he had nothing left him in all that Valley: For the *Amorites* had thrust him over the River of *Jaboc*, as they had done *Moab* over *Arnon*. As these Nations compassed sundry parts of *Canaan*, so the Border between the River of *Jaboc* and *Damascus* was held by the *Amorites* themselves, with other mixt Nations: All which Territory on the East-side of *Jordan*, and on the East-side of the Dead Sea, was granted by *Moses* to the Tribe of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and *Manasse*; whereof that part which *Moab* had, was first possest by the *Emims*, a Nation of Giants, weakned and broken by *Chedorlaomer*, after expulsed by the *Moabites*, as before remembred. That which the *Ammonites* held, was the Territory, and ancient Possession of the *Zamzummims*, or *Zuræi*, who were also beaten at the same time by *Chedorlaomer*, *Amraphel*, and the rest; and by them an easie way of conquest was prepared for the *Ammonites*.

Josua 13.

Num. 21. *v.* 24.

Gen. 14.

Now where it is written, that *Arnon* was the Border of *Moab*, the same is to be understood according to the time when *Moses* wrote. For then had *Sebon*, or his Ancestor, beaten the *Moabites* out of the plain Countreys, between *Abarim* and *Jordan*, and driven them thence from *Hesbon* over *Arnon*; and this happened not long before *Moses* Arrival upon that Border, when *Vabeb* governed the *Moabites*. For he that ruled *Moab*, when *Moses* past *Arnon*, was not the Son of *Vabeb*; but his Name was *Balac*, the Son of *Zippor*. And it may be, that those Kings were Elective, as the *Idumæans* anciently were.

Now all that part of *Moab*, between *Arnon* and *Jordan*, as far North as *Essebon*, was enhabited by *Reuben*. And when *Israel* arrived there out of *Ægypt*, it was in the possession of *Sebon*, of the Race of *Canaan*, by *Amoreus*; and therefore did *Jephthah*, the Judge of *Israel*, justly defend the regaining of those Countreys against the claim of the *Ammonites*; because (as he allegded) *Moses* found them in the Possession of the *Amorites*, and not in the Hands of *Moab*, or *Ammon*, who (saith *Jephthah*) had three hundred years time to recover them, and did not: Whence he inferreth, that they ought not to claim them now.

Judg. 11.

And lest any should marvel why the *Ammonites* in *Jephthah*'s time should make Claim to these Countreys; whereas *Moses* in the place, *Numb.* 21. *verse* 26. rather accounts them to have been the ancient Possession of the *Moabites* than of the *Ammonites*: It is to be noted, that *Deut.* 3. 11. when it is said, that the Iron Bed of *Og* was to be seen at *Rabbath*, the chief City of the *Ammonites*; it is also signified, that much of the Land of *Og*, which the *Israelites* possessed, was by him, or his Ancestors, got from the *Ammonites*, as much as *Sebon*'s was from the *Moabites*.

And as the *Canaanite* Nations were seated so confusedly together, that it was hard to distinguish them; so also were the Sons of *Moab* and *Ammon*, *Midian*, *Amalec*, and *Ismael*. Yet the Reason seemeth plain enough why *Ammon* commanded in chief in *Jephthah*'s time: For sometimes the one Nation, sometimes the other of all those Borderers acquired the Sovereignty: And again, that one part of the Land which *Gad* held, namely within the Mountains of *Galaad* or *Gilebad*, and as far South as *Aroer*, belonged to the *Ammonites*. And therefore taking Advantage of the time, they sought to recover it again. Yet at such time as *Moses* overthrew *Sebon* at *Jahaz*, the *Ammonites* had lost to the *Amorites* all that part of their Possession which lay about *Aroer*, and between it and *Jaboc*. *Sebon* and *Og*, two Kings of the *Amorites*, having displanted both *Moab* and *Ammon* of all within the Mountains. For it is written in the one and twentieth of *Numb. ver.* 24. that *Israel* conquered the Land of *Sebon*, from *Arnon* to *Jaboc*, *even unto the Children of* Ammon; so as at this time the River of *Jaboc* was the South Bound of *Ammon*, within the Mountains; when as anciently they had also Possessions over *Jaboc*, which at length the *Gadites* possest; as in the thirteenth Chapter of *Josuah. ver.* 25. appears.

Jos. 13. 25. *Junius* notes, that the one half of the Land of *Hammon*, which in this place of *Josuah* is said to have been given to the *Gadites*, was taken first from the *Ammonites* by *Sebon*; but the place, *Deut.* 3. 11. proveth, that as well *Og*, as *Sebon*, had gotten Lands out of the hands of the *Ammonites*.

† II.

Of the memorable places of the Reubenites.

THe chief Cities belonging to *Reuben* were these, *Kedemoth*, for which the *Vulgar*, *without any shew of Warrant*, readeth *Fethson*. The *Vulgar*, or *Hierome* followed the *Septuagint*, those two verses 36, and 37. of 21 *Jos.* being wanting in the old *Hebrew* Copies, and the *Septuagint* read *Kedson* for *Kedmoth*, which *Kedson* by writing, slipt into *Jethson*.

Jos. 21. 37.

This City which they gave to the *Levites*, imparts her Name to the *Desart* adjoyning; from whence *Moses* sent his Embassage to *Sebon*. In the same place of *Josuah*, where this *Kedemoth* is mentioned, the *Vulgar* for *Betser & villæ ejus*, reads *Bosor in solitudine Misor*, without any Ground from the *Hebrew*: Whence *Adrichomius* makes a Town called *Misor*, in the Border between *Reuben* and *Gad*. Farther from *Kedemoth*, near the Dead Sea (for the Country between being Mountainous, hath few Cities) they place two Towns of Note, *Lasa*, or *Leshah*, of which *Genes.* 10. *vers.* 19. the *Greeks* call it *Callirhoe*; near which there is a Hill, from whence there floweth Springs both of hot and cold, bitter and sweet Water, all which, soon after their Rising, being joyned in one Stream, do make a very wholesom Bath, especially for all Contractions of Sinews:

Deut. 2. 26. It was a marginal Note out of *Deut.* 3. where the 70. kept the word *Misor*, signifying a Plain, which after crept into the Text. *Joseph.* 17. *ant. c.* 9. *& Hieron. in quæst. Heb. in Gen.*

news: To which *Herod* the Elder, when he was desperate of all other Help, repaired; but in vain. Others say, that these Springs arise out of the Hills of *Machærus* in this Tribe. The like Fountains are found in the *Pyrenees*, and in *Peru*, called, *the Baths of the Inga's or Kings*. The other Town is *Machærus*, the next between *Lasa* and *Jordan*, of all that part of the World the strongest In-land City and Castle, standing upon a Mountain, every way unaccessible. It was first fortified by *Alexander Jannæus*, who made it a Frontier against the *Arabians*; but it was demolished by *Gabinius* in the War with *Aristobulus*, (saith *Josephus*.) It was thither (saith *Josephus*) that *Herod* sent *John Baptist*, and wherein he was slain: His Army soon after being utterly overthrown by *Aretas* King of *Arabia*, and himself after this Murther never prospering. Not far from *Machærus* was *Bosor*, or *Bozra*, a Town of Refuge, and belonging to the *Levites*, and near it *Livias* upon *Jordan*, which *Herod* built in Honour of *Livia*, the Mother of *Tiberius Cæsar*.

Acosta. l. 3.
Joseph. 13. ant. c. 24. & 14. ant. c. 10. & alibi.
Joseph. bell. Jud. l. 7. c. 25.
Deut. 4. 43. Jos. 20. 8.
Euseb. in Chron. Hier. in loc hebr.

To the North of *Livias* is *Setim*, or *Sittim*, where the Children of *Israel* embraced the Daughters of *Midian*, or *Moab*; and where *Phineas* pierced the Body of *Zimri* and *Cosbi*, with his Spear, bringing due Vengeance upon them, when they were in the midst of their Sin: And from hence *Joshua* sent the Discoverers to view *Jericho*, staying here until he went over *Jordan*. As for the *Torrent Setim*, which in this place *Adrichomius* dreams of, reading *Joel* 3. 18. *irrigabit Torrentem Setim*. The Vulgar hath *torrentem spinarum*; and *Junius*, *vallem cedrorum*; expounding it not for any particular place in *Canaan*, but for the Church, in which the just being placed, grow as the *Cedars*, *Psal.* 62. 13.

Num 25. 1.
Jos. 3. 1.

The plain Countrey hereabout, by *Moses*, called *the Plains of* Moab, where he expounded the Book of *Deuteronomy* to the People, a little before his Death, is in the beginning of the same Book precisely bounded by *Moses*. On the South, it had the great *Desart* of *Paran*, where they had long wandred. On the East, it had *Chatseroth*, and *Dizahab* (of which two, the former is that *Gazorus*, of which *Ptolomy* in *Palæstina*, the later was a Tract belonging to the *Nabathæi*, in *Arabia Petræa*, where was * *Mezahab*, of which *Gen.* 36. 39.) by the Geographers, called *Medava* and *Medaba*. On the West it had *Jordan*, and on the North, it had *Laban* (in *Junius* Edition, by the Fault of the Print, *Lamban Deuteron.* 1.1.) the same which the Geographers call *Libias*; and some confound it with *Livias*, of which even now we spake.

Dew. 34. 1.

* The same as it seems which *Num.* 21. 30. is called *Medeba*, whence we read of the Plains of *Medeba*, *Jos.* 13. v. 9, 16. of which also we read in the Wars of *David* against *Hanum* the *Ammonite*, 1 *Chron.* 19. 7. Also 1 *Macc.* 9. 36. *Esa.* 16. 2. See before *c.* 5. § 7.

Also on the same North side, towards the Confines of *Cœlosyrea*, it had *Thophel*, whereabout sometime *Pella* of *Cœlosyria* stoood; which was in the Region of *Decapolis*; and as *Stephanus* saith, was sometime called *Butis*. It is also noted in *Moses* to be over against, or near unto *Suph*, for which the *Vulgar* hath the *Red Sea*; as also *Num.* 2. 14. it translateth the word *Suphah* in like manner; whereas in this place of *Deuteronomy*, there is no Addition of any word in the *Hebrew* to signifie the Sea; and yet the Scripture, when this Word is so to be taken, useth the Addition of *Mara*, thereby to distinguish it from the Region of *Suph*, or *Suphah*, which doubtless was about these Plains of *Moab*, towards the Dead Sea; where the Countrey being full of Reeds, was therefore thus called: As also the RedSea was called *Mare Suph*, for like reason.

The place in these large Plains of *Moab*, where *Moses* made those Divine Exhortations, some say, was *Bethabara*, where *John* baptized, which in the Story of *Gedeon*, is called *Beth-bara*. *Josephus* says, it was where after the City *Abila* stood, near *Jordan*, in a place set with Palm-trees; which sure was the same as *Abel-sittim*, in the Plains of *Moab*, *Num.* 33. 49. (that some call *Abel-sathaim*, and *Bel-sathim*) which is reckoned by *Moses* in that part of *Numbers* for the 42. and last place of the *Israelites* encamping in the time of *Moses*. This place is also called *Sittim*; which Word, if we should interpret, we should rather bring it from Cedars than from Thorns, with *Adrichomius* and others. It was the Wood of which the Ark of the Tabernacle was made.

Joh. 1. 28. Jud. 7. 24. Josep. ant. 4. 7.
Num. 25. 1. Exod. 25. 10.

Toward the East of these Plains of *Moab*, they place the Cities of *Nebo*, *Baal-Meon*, *Sibma*, and *Hesbon*, the chief City of *Sehon* and *Elhael*, and *Kiriathaima*, the Seat of the Giants *Emim*. Of the two first of these, *Moses* seems to give a Note, that the Names were to be changed, because they tasted of the *Moabites* * Idolatry. For *Nebo* (instead of which *Junius Es.* 46. 1. reads *Deus vaticinus*) was the Name of their Idol-Oracle, and *Baal-meon* is the *Habitation of* Baal. Of the same Idol was the Hill *Nebo* in these parts denominated; from whose Top, which the common Translators call *Phasgah*, *Moses*, before his Death, saw all the Land of *Canaan* beyond *Jordan*. In which Story *Junius* does not take *Phasgah*, or *Pisgah*, for any proper Name; but for an Appellative, signifying a Hill: And so also *Vatablus*, in some places, as *Num.* 21. 20. where he noteth, that some call *Pisgah* that Top which looketh to *Jericho*, and *Hair*, as it looketh to *Moab*, which Opinion may be somewhat strengthened by the Name of the City of *Reuben*, mentioned *Jos.* 13. 20, called *Ashdoth-Pisgah*, which is as much as *decursus Pisgæ*, to wit, where the Waters did run down from *Pisgah*. In the same place of *Joshua*, there is also named *Beth-peor*, as belonging to *Reuben*: So called from the Hill *Peor*, from whence also *Baal*, the Idol, was called *Baal peor*, which, they say, was the same as *Priapus*; the chief place of whose Worship seems to have been *Bamoth-Baal*; of which also *Jos.* 13. in the Cities of *Reuben*; for which *Num.* 22. 41. they read *the high places of Baal* (for so the word signifieth) to which place *Balak* first brought *Balaam*, to curse the *Israelites*.

Numb. 31. v. 37. Genes. 14. v. 5.
*Num. 32. * Exod. 23. 13. Nomen deorum alienorum ne recordamini, ne audiatur in ore tuo. Ps. 16. 4. non assumpturus sum nomina eorum in labeis meis, Hos. 2. 17. amovebo nomina Balalimorum ab ore ejus.*

What name they used for *Nebo*, it doth not appear; *Baal-meon* it seems they named sometime *Baith*, as *Es.* 15. 2. and sometime *Beth-meon*, *Isai.* 58 23.

† III.

Of divers Places Bordering Reuben, *belonging to* Midian, Moab, *or* Edom.

THere were besides these divers places of Note over *Arnon*, which adjoyned to *Reuben*; amongst which they place *Gallim*, the City of *Phalti*, to whom *Saul* gave his Daughter *Michal* from *David*: But *Junius* thinks this Town to be in *Benjamin*; gathering so much out of *Isai.* 10. *ver.* 29. where it is named among the Cities of *Benjamin*. With better Reason, perhaps, out of *Num.* 21. *v.* 29. we may say, that *Mathana* and *Nahaliel* were in these Confines of *Reuben*, through which places the *Israelites* past, after they had left the Well called *Beer*. Then *Diblathaim*, which the Prophet *Jeremiah* threatned with the rest of the Cities of *Moab*.

1 Sam. 25. v. ult.
Jerem. 48.

Madian also is found in these parts; the chief of the *Madianites* in *Moab*; but not that *Midian*, or *Madian* by the Red Sea, wherein *Jethro* inhabited: For of the *Madianites* there were two Nations, of which these of *Moab* became Idolaters, and received an exceeding Overthrow by a Regiment of twelve thousand *Israelites*, sent by *Moses* out of the Plains of *Moab*, at such time as *Israel* began to accompany their Daughters. Their five Kings, with *Balaam* the South-sayer were then slain, and their Regal City, with the rest, destroyed. The other *Madianites*, over whom *Jethro* was Prince, or Priest, forgot not the God of *Abraham*, their Ancestor; but relieved and assisted the *Israelites* in their painful Travels, through the *Deserts*, and were in all that Passage their Guides.

Esa. 16. 1. *1 Reg.* 14. 7. In the South Border of *Moab*, adjoyning to *Edom*, and sometime reckoned as the Chief City of *Edom*, there is that *Petra*, which in the Scriptures is called *Selah*, which is as much as *rupes* or *petra*. It was also called *Jocthеel*, as appears by the place, 2 *Reg.* 14. It was built (saith *Josephus*) by *Recem*, one of those five Kings of the *Madianites*, slain, as before is said; after whom it was called *Recem*. Now they say, it is called *Crac* and *Mozera*.

Lib. 4. *Ant.* 7.

The *Soldans* of *Ægypt*, for the exceeding Strength thereof, kept therein all their Treasures of *Ægypt* and *Arabia*; of which it is the first and strongest City: The same, perhaps, which *Pliny* and *Strabo* call *Nabathea*, whence also the Province adjoyning took Name; which Name seems to have been taken at first from *Nabaioth*, the Son of *Abraham*, by *Kethura*. For *Nabathea* is no where understood for all *Arabia Petræa* (at least where it is not misunderstood) but it is that Province which neighboureth *Judea*. For *Pharan*, inhabited by *Ismael*, whose People *Ptolomy* calleth *Pharanites*, instead of *Ismaelites*, and all those Territories of the *Cusites*, *Madianites*, *Amalekites*, *Ismaelites*, *Edomites*, or *Idumæans*, the Lands of *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Hus*, *Sin*, and of *Og*, King of *Basan*, were parts of *Arabia Petræa*; though it be also true, that some part of *Arabia* the Desart belonged to the *Amalekites* and *Ismaelites*: All which Nations the Scriptures in the first of *Chronicles* the fifth, calleth *Hagarims*, of *Hagar*.

1 *Chron.* 5 v. 19, 20.

This City *Petra*, *Scaurus* besieged with the *Roman* Army; and finding the place in shew impregnable, he was content, by the perswasion of *Antipater*, to take a Composition of Money, and to quit it. Yet *Amasias*, King of *Juda* (after he had slaughtered ten thousand of the *Arabians* in the Valley called *Salinarum*) wan also this City. St. *Hierom* finds *Ruth* the *Moabite*, to be natural of this City. In the time when the Christians held the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, it had a *Latine Bishop*, having before been under the *Greek Church*. It is seated not far from *Hor*, where *Aaron* died; and on the other side, towards the North, is the River of *Zared*, or *Zered*, by which *Moses* encamped in the thirty eighth Station. *Adrichome* describeth the Waters of *Memrim*, or rather *Nemrim*, in his Map of *Reuben*, not far hence, and between *Zared* and *Arnon*; and so he doth the Valley of *Save*: But the Waters of *Nimra*, or *Beth-Nimra* (for which it seems *Adrichomius* writ *Nemrim*) refresh the Plains of *Moab*: And the Confluence of those Waters of *Nimra* are in the Tribe of *Gad*. *Save* also cannot be found in this place, that is, to the South of *Arnon*, and under *Midian*. For after *Abraham* returned from the pursuit of the *Assyrian* and *Persian* Princes, the King of *Sodom* met him in the Valley of *Save*, or *Shaveh*, which is the King's Dale, where *Absalom* set up his Monument, as it seems, not far from *Jerusalem*. And at the same time *Melchisedec*, King of *Salem*, also encountred him. But *Abraham* coming from the North, and *Melchisedec* inhabiting, either near *Bethsan*, otherwise *Scythopolis*, in the half Tribe of *Manasse*, or in *Jerusalem* (both places lying to the West of *Jordan*) could not encounter each other in *Arabia*: And therefore *Save*, which was also called the *King's Dale*, could not be in these parts.

Gul. Tyr. 20. *bell. Sacr.* 3.

Num. 21. *Deut.* 2. 13.

Num. 32. 3. *Jos.* 13. 27. *Isai.* 15. 21.

Gen. 14.

† IV.

Of the Dead Sea.

NOw, because the Sea of *Sodom*, or the Dead Sea, called also the Lake of *Asphaltitis*, and the Salt-Sea (in distinction from the Sea of *Tiberias*, which was fresh Water) also the Sea of the Wilderness, or rather the Sea * of the Plains, is often remembred in the Scriptures, and in this Story also; therefore I think it not impertinent to speak somewhat thereof: For it is like unto the *Caspian* Sea, which hath no Out-let, or Disburthening. The length of this Lake *Josephus* makes 180 Furlongs (which make two and twenty Miles and a half of ours) and about 150 in Breadth, which make eighteen of our Miles, and somewhat more. *Pliny* makes it a great deal less. But those that have of late Years seen this Sea, did account it (saith ‖ *Weissenburg*) eight Dutch Miles (which is two and thirty of ours) in length, and two and a half of theirs (which is ten of ours) in Breadth. Of this Lake, or Sea, *Tacitus* maketh this Report; *Lacus est immenso ambitu, specie maris, sapore corruptior, gravitate odoris accolis pestifer: neque vento impellitur, neque pisces aut suetas aquis volucres patitur, incertum undè superjecta ut solido feruntur, periti imperitique nandi perinde attolluntur, &c.* That it is very great, and (as it were) a Sea of a corrupt Taste; of Smell infectious, and pestilent to the Borderers. It is neither moved, nor raised by the Wind, nor endureth Fish to live in it, or Fowl to swim in it. Those things that are cast into it, and the unskilful of swimming, as well as the skilfull, are born up by this Water. At one time of the Year it casteth up *Bitumen*; the Art of gathering which, Experience (the Finder of other things) hath also taught. It is used in the Trimming of Ships, and the like Businesses.

* So *Junius* reads for the *Hebrew*, *Haraboth* every where, and so also the Edition of *Vatablus*, *Deut.* 3. 17. though *Deut.* 4. 49. it hath *mare solitudinis*, as also 2 *Reg.* 14. 25. the reason of this name seems to be, because it joyns to the plains of *Moab*, which are called *Araboth-Moab*, *Deut.* 34. 1. as also we have *Ceseloth* in *Habath*, that is in the plains, to wit, of *Zabulon*, 1 *Mac.* 9. 2. whence *Adrichomius* imagines a City in *Zabulon*, called *Araba*. ‖ *Descr. Ter. Sanct.*

And then of the Land, he speaketh in this sort: "The Fields not far from this Lake, which "were sometime fruitful, and adorned with great "Cities, were burnt with lightning; of which "the Ruines remain, the Ground looking with "a sad Face, as having lost her Fruitfulness: For "whatsoever doth either grow, or is set thereon, "be it Fruits or Flowers, when they come to "Ripeness, have nothing within them, but moul-"der into Ashes: Thus far *Tacitus*. And it is found by Experience, that those Pomegranates, and other Apples, or Oranges, which do still grow on the Banks of this cursed Lake, do look fair, and are of good Colour on the Out-side; but being cut, have nothing but Dust within. Of the *Bitumen* which this Lake casteth up, it was by the Greeks called *Asphaltitis*. *Vespasian*, desirous to be satisfied of these Reports, went of purpose to see this Lake, and caused certain Captives to be cast into it, who were not only unskilful in swimming, but had their Hands also bound behind them; and notwithstanding, they were carried on the Face of the Waters, and could not sink.

† V. *Of*

† V.

Of the Kings of Moab, *much of whose Countrey within* Arnon, Reuben *possest.*

OF the Kings of *Moab*, whose Countrey (within *Arnon*) *Reuben* possest (though not taken from *Moab*, but from *Sehon* the *Amorite*) few are known. *Junius* in the 21. of *Numbers*, *verse* 14. nameth *Vaheb*, which seemeth to be the Ancestor, or Predecessor of *Balac*, the Son of *Zippor*, which *Balac* sent for *Balaam* to curse *Israel*. For, fearing to contend with *Moses* by Arms, by the Examples of *Sehon* and *Og*, he hoped, by the help of *Balaam's* Cursings, or Enchantments, to take from them all Strength and Courage, and to cast on them some pestilent Diseases. And though *Balaam* at the first, moved by the Spirit of God, blest *Israel*, contrary to the Hope and Desire of *Moab*; yet being desirous in some sort to satisfie him, and to do him Service, he advised *Moab* to send *Midianitish* Women among the *Israelites*; hoping by them, as by fit Instruments of Mischief, to draw them to the Idolatry of the Heathen; but in the end, he received the Reward of his falling from God, and of his evil Counsel, and was slain among the rest of the Princes of *Midian*.

Num. 21. 22, 23, 24. *Jos.* 24.

After these times the Kings of the *Moabites* are not named; saving that we find in the first of *Chron.* the fourth, that *Jokim*, and the Men of *Chozeba*, and *Joash*, and *Sareph*, all being of the Issue of *Judah*, sometime had the Dominion in *Moab*: But as it is written in the same Verse, *These also are ancient things*, to wit, as some expound it, the particulars of these Mens Governments are no where extant, or remaining: Or as others, *hæc prius fuere*; these Families of *Judah* were once thus famous: But now their Posterity chuse rather to abide in *Babylon*, and be Clay-workers to the King there.

V. 22.

Then we find *Eglon* King of *Moab*, who with the Help of *Ammon* and *Amalec*, mastered *Israel*, and commanded them eighteen Years; which *Eglon*, *Ehud* slew in his own House, and afterwards ten Thousand of his Nation. What Name the King of *Moab* had, unto whom *David* fled, fearing *Saul*, it doth not appear; or whether it were the same against whom *Saul* made War, it is not manifest; for neither are named. But in respect that this *Moabite* was an Enemy to *Saul*, he received *David*, and relieved him, knowing that *Saul* sought his Life.

Judg. 3. *1 Sam.* 22 *1 Sam.* 14

After this, *David* himself entred the Region of *Moab*; but not likely in the same King's time: For he slaughtered two parts of the People, and made the third part tributary: Whereupon it was said of *David*, Moab *is my wash-pot, over* Edom *will I cast my Shoe*; meaning, that he would reduce them to such an Abjection, and appoint them for base Services: And that he would tread down the *Idumæans*.

2 Sam. 8. *1 Chron.* 18. *Psal.* 60. *v.* 10.

The next King, after *David's* Time, of the *Moabites*, whose Name liveth, was *Mesha*; who falling from *Judah* (perhaps in remembrance of the Severity of *David*) fastened himself to the Kings of *Israel*, and paid Tribute to *Ahab* 100000 Lambs, and 200000 Rams, with the Wooll: Who revolting again from *Israel*, after the Death of *Ahab*, was invaded by *Jehoram*; with whom joyned the Kings of *Judah* and *Idumæa*; and being by these three Kings prest and broken, he fled to *Kir-hareseth*, as is elsewhere shewed. There is also mention made of the *Moabites* without the King's Name; when that Nation, assisted by the *Ammonites* and *Idumæans* invaded *Jehosophat*. And by reason of some private Quarrels among themselves, the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* set upon the *Idumæans*, and slaughtered them; and then one against another, so as *Jehosophat* had a notorious Victory over them all, without either Blood or Wound. Also in the time of *Jeremiah* the Prophet, there was a King of *Moab*, which is not named, which was after *Mesha* of *Moab* many Descents: For *Mesha* lived with *Jehoram* and this *Moabite* in *Zedekia's* time, fourteen Kings of *Judah* coming between, who wasted three hundred and odd years.

2 Chro. 20. *Jerem.* 27.

§ V.

Of the memorable Places of the Gadites, *and the Bordering Places of* Ammon.

THE Territory adjoyning to *Reuben*, is that of *Gad*; whereof all that part which joyned to the Mountains, was sometime in the Possession of the *Ammonites*, as far to the South as *Aroer*. Of the Children of *Gad*, the seventh Son of *Jacob* by *Zelpha*, the Hand-maid of *Leah*, there parted out of *Ægypt*, and died in the *Desarts* 45550. and of their Sons, there entered the Land promised 45000. bearing Arms: From the half Tribe of *Manasseh*, the River of *Jabboc* divided them: From *Reuben*, the Cities of *Hesbon*, *Elhele* and *Aphec*.

Gen. 30. *Num.* 1. 32. 26. *Jos.* 13.

The chief City of *Gad*, was *Aroer*, which they make to be the same with *Ar*, or *Rabbath-Moab*, the great or commanding *Moab*. But the Learned *Junius*, attending diligently to those Words of *Moses*, *Deut.* 2. 36. *Ab Harahero, quæ est in ripa fluminis Arnon, & Civitate ipsa quæ est in flumine*; *Where the City in the River is distinguished from the City upon the Bank of the River*, (as also in like manner, *Jos. c.* 12. *v.* 2. and *c.* 13. *v.* 9.) thinketh, that *Haroher*, which doubtless belonged to the *Gadites*, (as *Num.* 32. 34. it is said, that they built it) was indeed seated near *Har* of the *Moabites*; but diverse from it. For that *Har* was never possest by *Moses*, it is plain, *Deut.* 2. 9. where God, forbidding *Moses* to touch it, saith, he hath given *Har* for an Inheritance to the Sons of *Lot*. Now that this City, which in divers places is said to be within, and in the middle of the River of *Arnon* (and so distinguished from *Haroher*, which is said in the same places to be on the Bank of *Arnon*) is *Har* of the *Moabites*; the same *Junius* proveth out of *Numb.* 21. 15. where *Arnon* is said to be divided into divers Streams, where, or among which, *Har* is seated: And the same is confirmed by the place of *Jos.* 13. 25. where *Haroher* is said to be seated before *Rabbah*; which *Rabbah*, as it seems, cannot be the *Rabbah* of the *Ammonites* (for they seat not *Haroher* near it, nor in sight of it) and therefore by *Rabbah*, here we must understand *Rabbah* of *Moab*, which they make to be *Ar* or *Har*; and so we must needs distinguish it from *Haroher*. And as for * *Har*, (which also gave the Name to the Coast adjoyning) it seems it continued in the possession of the *Moabites*, after they had once expelled the Giant-like people, called *Emims*, first weakened by *Chedorlaomer*, and his Associates: But *Haroher*, by the Interchange of Times, suffered many ancient Changes, as being won from the *Moabites* by *Sehon*, and from him by the *Israelites*; and from them, as it seems in the Story of *Jephtha*, by the *Ammonites*; and from the *Ammonites* again, by the *Israelites*, under the Conduct of *Jephtha*. In St. *Hierom's* Time, the greatest part of this City perished by an Earthquake,

Isai. 15. *Deut.* 2.

* *Deut.* 2. 9. Out of which place the words *Num.* 21. 28. are to be expounded; not that the City of *Har*, but the Coast adjoyning, was wasted by *Sehon*.

quake, as alſo *Zoar* in which *Lot* ſaved himſelf, in the deſtruction of *Sodom*, ſeated not far hence: which they ſay was therefore called *Vitula conſternans*, becauſe as a wanton tumbling Heifer, ſhe was thrice overthrown with Earth-quakes; for which cauſe alſo *Hierom* ſeems to think that this *Zoar* was called *Saliſſa* or *Bal ſaliſſa*, as if *Bal* had been a remainder of the old name *Balah* or *Belah* (of which *Gen.* 14. 2.) and *Saliſſa* which hath a ſignification of the *ternary number*, had alluded to the three Earth-quakes.

Gen. 14. 5. *Jud.* 11. 35. *Hier. in Epitaph. Paul & in quæſt. & loc. Hebr.* ſee *Junius* his annotations upon 1 *Sam.* 9. 2. where he makes *Shaliſha* a plain Country in *Benjamin*, and the ſame with *Balſhaliſha*, 2. *Reg.* 4. 42. where he expounds *Bal* or *Baal* to be as much as *Plainties*.

Brochard takes *Haroher* to be *Petra*, but erroniouſly, as before it is noted; ſeeing that *Petra* was in the South border of *Moab*, adjoyning to *Edom*, whereas *Haroher* is in the North-Eaſt border. Between *Haroher* and *Jordan* they ſeated *Dibon*, which is attributed to the *Gadites*, becauſe they are ſaid to have built it, *Num.* 32. 34. though *Joſhua* 13. *v.* 17. it is ſaid that *Moſes* gave it to the *Reubenites*. Of this City among the reſt of *Moab*, both *Eſay* and *Hieremy* propheſied, that it ſhould periſh; and the Lakes about it run with the Blood of the Inhabitants. It was a great Village near *Arnon* in Saint *Hierom*'s time.

Eſay 15. *Hier.* 48.

Keeping the banks of *Arnon*, one of the next Cities of fame to *Aroer* was *Beth-nimrah*, of which *Eſay* propheſieth, *That the waters thereof ſhould be dryed up: and all the vale of* Moab *withered*. Not far from *Beth-nimrah* in this Tribe *Adrichomius* placeth *Jogbeha*, and *Nobach* or *Nobe*: of both which we read in the ſtory of *Gedeon*; and that *Jogbeha* was in *Gad* built by the *Gadites*, it appears *Num.* 32. 35. and therefore *Nobach* alſo muſt needs be in theſe parts: but whether in *Gad* or *Manaſſe* it is not certain; only that it was anciently called *Kenath*, *Moſes* witneſſeth. NOBACH *alſo* (ſaith he) *went and took* Kenath *with her Towns, and called it* Nobach *of his own Name*, where becauſe the verſes precedent ſpeak of the *Manaſſites*, and becauſe it is not likely that *Moſes* would have ſevered this ſeat of the *Gadites* from the reſt, of which he ſpake before *v.* 34, 35, 36. therefore it may ſeem that this * *Nobach* was in that part of *Manaſſe*, which was in the Eaſt of *Jordan*: though *Adrichomius* place it in *Gad*. For whereas he ſuppoſeth it to be the ſame with *Nob*, which *Saul* deſtroyed, of this we ſhall ſpeak ‖ in the Tribe of *Benjamin*. And as for that *Karkor* where *Zebach* and *Salmunah* reſted themſelves in their flight from *Gedeon*, to which place *Gedeon* marched through this *Nobach* and *Jogbeha*, though ſome place it in *Gad*, and make it the ſame with *Kir-chares*, of which *Eſay* 15. and 2. *Reg.* 3. 25. yet there can be no certainty that it was in *Gad*: and if it be the ſame with *Kir-chares*, it is certain that it was a principle City held ſtill by the *Moabites*, and not in the Tribe of *Gad*.

Eſay 15. 21. *Jud.* 8. 11. *Num.* 32. 33.

* *Num.* 21. 30. It is called *Nophach* and placed in the border of the Kingdom of *Sehon* towards *Baſan*, and therefore it is not altogether unprobable that it was in *Gad*

‖ Chap. 12. §. 1. *Judg.* 8. 10.

In the body of this Tribe of *Gad* they place *Hataroth*: of which name the Scripture witneſſeth, that to Cities were builded by the *Gadites*; the former ſimply called *Hataroth*, the latter *Hatroth-Shophan*: for which latter the *Vulgar* makes two Cities *Roth* and *Shophan*; the name *Hataroth* is as much as *Coronæ*.

Num. 32. 34, 35.

In the Valley of the Kingdom of *Sehon*, together with *Beth-nimrah*, of which we have ſpoken, *Joſhua* c. 13. *v.* 27. nameth *Beth-haram*, and *Succoth*: the former *Num.* 32. 36. (where it is called *Beth Haram*) together with *Beth-nimrah*, is ſaid to have been built by the *Gadites*, which (perhaps the rather becauſe in *Joſhua* it is called *Beth-Haram*) ſome take to be *Betaramptha* (of which * *Joſephus*) after by *Herod* called *Julias*. But whether this *Betaramptha* were corrupted from *Beth-Haram*, or from *Beth-Aramatha* (of which *Aramatha* there is mention in ‖ *Joſephus*) or from *Beth-Remphan* (of which *Remphan*, an Idol of thoſe Countries, we read *Act.* 7. 43. and to which *Junius* refers the name of the City *Rephan*, 1. *Macch.* 37.) of this queſtion it were hard to reſolve. But touching *Julias* (according to *Joſephus* ſometimes *Betaramptha*) the ſame *Joſephus* placeth it in the Region of *Peræa*, beyond *Jordan*, which *Regio Peræa*, as the *Greek* word ſignifieth, is no more than *Regio ulterior, the Country beyond the River*; and therefore they which labour to ſet down the bounds of this *Peræa* take more pains than needs. Fourteen Villages this *Julias* had belonging unto it, according to *Joſephus*. He makes it to have been built by *Herod Antipas*, and named *Julias* in honour of the adoption of *Livia*, *Auguſtus* his Wife, into the *Julian* Family: by which adoption ſhe was called *Julia*. Another *Julias*, he ſaith, was built by *Philip* the Brother of *Herod*, in the lower *Gaulanitis*, which he ſaith is the ſame as *Bethſaida*.

‖ L. 7. *ant.* c. 7. *Ubi Græcus Codex legit* Aequanda. *Latinus* Rabatha Metropolis Hammonitarum.

Ant. 20. 11.

Joſep. Ant. 18. 3. & *Bell. Jud.* 2. 8.

Upon the Sea of *Galilee* near to *Julias* in *Peræa* (that is, in the Region over *Jordan*) they find *Vetezobra*, as it is called in *Joſephus*, for *Beth-ezob*, which is as much as *domus hyſſopi*. Of a noble Woman of this City, which for ſafeguard in the time of War with the *Romans*, came with many others in *Hieruſalem*, and was there beſieged, *Joſephus* in the place noted, reports a lamentable Hiſtory; how for Hunger ſhe eat her own Child, with other Tragical accidents hereupon enſuing.

Joſep. de Bell. Jud. l. 7. c. 8.

Of *Succoth* (which we ſaid *Joſ.* 13. is placed with *Beth-haran*, in the Valley of the Kingdom of *Sehon*) it is plain by the Story of *Gedeon* that it is near unto *Jordan*: where it is ſaid, that as he was paſt *Jordan* with his three Hundred, weary in the purſuit of *Zebah* and *Salmunach*, he requeſted relief of the men of *Succoth*: who denying him, and that with contempt, in *Gedeons* return were by him tortured, as it ſeems under a threſhing-Carr or *Tribulum*, between which and their fleſh he put Thorns to tear their fleſh as they were preſt and trod under the *Tribulum*, and after which ſort alſo *David* uſed ſome of the *Ammonites*, though not with Thorns, but with the Iron Teeth of the *Tribulum*. As for the name of *Succoth*, which ſignifieth ſuch Tabernacles as were made in haſt, either for Men or Cattle, *Moſes Gen.* 33. 17. witneſſeth, that the Original of the name was from ſuch Harbours, which *Jacob* in his return from *Meſopotamia* built in that place: As alſo the place beyond the Red-Sea, where the Children of *Iſrael*, as they came from *Rameſes* in *Ægypt*, had their firſt Station, was upon like reaſon called *Succoth*: becauſe there they ſet up their firſt Tabernacles or Tents: which they uſed after for forty years in the Wilderneſs. In remembrance whereof, the Feaſt of *Succoth* or Tabernacles was inſtituted.

Jud. 8. 5. 2 *Sam.* 12. 31. *Exod.* 12. 37. *Levit.* 23. 43.

Other four Cities of *Gad* are named *Joſ.* 21. 38. *Ramoth* in *Gilehad*, *Machanaijm*, *Chesbon*, and *Jahzer*, all of them by the *Gadites* given to the *Levites*; of which *Jahzer*, as *Chesbon* or *Hesbon* was a chief City of *Sehon*, whence *Num.* 32. 1. his Country is called the Land of *Jahzer*. It was taken by *Moſes*, having firſt ſent Spies to view it. In the firſt of the *Chronicles* it is made part of *Gilehad*. In the latter times (as it may be gathered by the propheſy of *Eſay*, touching *Moab*) it was poſſeſſed by the *Moabites*: to which place of *Eſay* alſo *Hieremy* in a like propheſy alludes. It was at length regained (but as it ſeems from the *Ammonites*) by *Judas Machabæus*: as it is 1 *Mac.* 5. 8. where *Junius* out of *Joſephus* reads *Jahzer*, though the *Greeks* hath *Gazer*. For *Gazer* or *Gezer* (as he gathereth out of *Joſhua*

Num. 22. 32. 1 *Chron.* 27. 31. *Eſay* 6. 8. *Hierom.* 48. 92.

Joshua 16. 3. & 8. and *Jud.* 1. 29.) was far from these Countreys of *Sehon*, seated in the West Border of *Ephraim*, not possessed by the *Israelites*, until *Solomon's* Time; for whom the King of *Ægypt* wan it from the *Canaanite*, and gave it him as a Dowry with his Daughter.

Of *Chesbon* it may be marvelled, that in the place of *Joshua*, and 1 *Chron.* 6. 81. it should be said to have been given to the *Levites*, by the *Gadites*, seeing *Joshua* 13. *v.* 17. it is reckoned for a principal City of the *Reubenites*. *Adrichomius*, and such as little trouble themselves with such Scruples, finding *Casbon*, 1 *Macc.* 5. 36. among the Cities of *Gilehad*, taken by *Judas Macchabæus*, makes two Cities of one; as if this *Casbon* had been the *Chesbon* of *Gad*, and that of *Reuben* distinct from it; but the better Reconciliation is, That it being a bordering City, between *Gad* and *Reuben*, was common to both, and that the *Gadites* gave their part to the *Levites*: For so also it seemeth, that in like reason, *Dibon* is said in one place built by the *Gadites*, and in another, given to *Reuben*, as before is noted. Of *Machanaiim*, which word signifieth a double Army, we read *Genesis* 32. 2. that it was therefore so called, because the *Angels* of God in that place met *Jacob* in manner of another Host, or Company, to joyn with him for his defence; as also *Luke* 2. 13. we read of the Multitude of the Host of Heaven, which appeared to the Shepherds, at the time of our Saviour's Birth; and so unto the Godly King *Oswald* of *Northumberland*, when he was soon after to joyn Battel with the Pagan *Penda* of Middle-*England*. *Beda* reports, that the like Comfort appeared; whence the Field where the Battel was fought in the North parts of *England*, is called *Heaven-field*. In this City of *Machanaiim*, *David* abode during the Rebellion of *Absalom*; and the same, for the Strength thereof, *Abner* chose for the Seat of *Ishboseth*, during the War between *David* and the House of *Saul*.

Of the fourth Town, which was *Ramoth* in *Gilehad*, we read often in the Scripture; for the recovering of which King *Achab* lost his Life. *Junius* thinks, that *Ramatha-Mitspæ*, of which *Joshua* 13. 26. was this *Ramoth* in *Gilehad*. Concerning the place where *Laban* and *Jacob* sware one to the other, as it was called *Gilehad*, which is as much as a witnessing Heap, because of the Heap of Stones which *Laban* and his Sons left for a Monument; so also that it was called *Mitspah*, which signifieth Over-looking (because there they called God to over-see, and be Witness to their Covenant) it is plain by the place, *Gen.* 31. 49. that in these parts there was not only a Town, but likewise a Region called *Mitspa*, it appears *Jos.* 11. 3. where we read of the *Chivites* under *Hermon*, in the Country of *Mitspa* * the Town of *Mitspa*, as it seems both by this place and in the eighth verse following, being not in the Hill Country, but in the Valley. But seeing that *Jephthah* the Judge of *Israel*, who after he came home from *Tob* (whither his Brethren had driven him) dwelt in this Town of *Mitspa*, who doubtless was of the Tribe of *Manasse*, and thence at first expelled by his Brethren; it may seem that they do not well which place this Town of *Mitspa* rather in *Gad*, than in *Manasse*. By *Judas Macchabæus* this Town of *Mitspa* (whether in *Gad* or in *Manasse*) was utterly spoiled and burnt, and all the Males of it was slain: for it was then possest of the *Ammonites*.

* Of other towns of this name, See in the Tribe of *Benjamin*.

Jud. 11. 36.

1 *Macc.* 5. 35.

Between *Succoth* (of which we have spoken) and the River *Jaboc* was that *Peniel* or *Penuel*, which name signifieth *Locum faciei Dei*; *A place where the face of God was seen*: so called for Memory of the *Angel's* appearing to *Jacob*, and wrestling with him there: the churlishness of which City, in refusing to relieve *Gedeon*, was the cause that in his return he over-threw their Tower, and slew the chief Aldermen thereof. To these places of the *Gadites*, they add *Rogelim*, the City of that great and faithful Subject *Barzillai*, as it seems, not far from *Mahanaima*, where he sustained King *David* during *Absaloms* Rebellion. To these they add the Towns of *Gaddi*, *Arnon*, and *Alimis*, of which *Gaddi* being in *Hebrew* no more then *Gaddita*, is ignorantly made a name of a place. *Arnon* also no where appears to be the name of a Town, but still of a River. *Alimis Adrichomius* frames of ἐν Ἀλίμοις, 1 *Macc.* 5. 26. so that the name should rather be *Alema*; but *Junius* out of *Josephus* reads *Mallæ*, for this in *Alimis*: And understanding *Mallæ* to be put for *Millo*, and to be as much as *Munitio* (as we have shewed touching the *Millo* of the *Sichemites*) he takes this *Mallæ* to be *Mitspa Moabitarum*, of which 1 *Sam.* 22. 3. As for that *Mageth* which *Adrichomius* finds in this Tribe of *Gad*, it is that *Mahacath*, which *Moses* noteth to be as far as the fartheſt of *Manasses*, out of the bounds of this Tribe. So also *Dathema*, of which 1 *Macc.* 5. 10. (which *Junius* takes to be * *Rithma*, of which *Num.* 33. 18. a place of strength in the Territory of the *Ammonites*) and in like manner *Minnith* and *Abel vinearum*, though by some they be attributed to the *Gadites* or to their borders, yet they are found farther off. For of the two last we read in *Jephthah's* pursuit of the *Ammonites*: seated as it seems by that place of the book of *Judges*, the former of them in the South-Border, and the other in the East border, both far removed from the *Gadites*. But the chief City of the *Ammonites* was nearer, and not far from the Borders of *Gad*. It is called in the Scriptures sometime *Rabbath* as *Deut.* 3. 11. but more often *Rabba*. It is supposed to be that ‖ *Philadelphia* which *Ptolomy* finds in *Cœlosyria*. *Hierom* and *Callistus* in *Arabia*. It was Conquered by *Og* from the *Ammonites*: but as it seems never possest by the *Israelites*, after the overthrow of *Og*, but left to the *Ammonites*; whereupon at length it became the Regal seat of the *Ammonites*, but of old it was the possession of the *Zamzummims*: which is as much to say, as men for all manner of craft and wickedness infamous. The same were also called *Raphaim*, of whom was *Og*, which recovered much of that which the *Ammonites* had got from his ancestors: who having been first beaten by the *Assyrians*, and their Assistants (as the *Emims* in *Moab*, and the *Horims* in *Seir* had been) were afterward the easier conquered by the *Ammonites*, as the *Emims* were by *Moab*, and the *Horims* by the *Idumæans*. Yet did the Races of *Emoreus*, of whom these Gyants were descended, contend with the Conquerors for their ancient inheritance: and as *Sehon* of *Hesbon* had dispossest *Moab*, so had *Og* of *Basan* the *Ammonites*, and between them recovered the best part of all the Valley, between the Mountains and *Jordan*. For this *Og* was also master of *Rabba* or *Philadelphia*: And in the possession of the one or the other of these two, *Moses* and *Israel* found all those Cities and Countreys, which were given to *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the half Tribe of *Manasse*. So that though it were 450. years since that these *Zamzummims* or *Raphaims* were expelled, yet they did not forget their ancient inheritance: but having these two Kings of one kindred, and both Valiant and undertaking men, to wit, *Og* and *Sehon* both *Ammorites*, they

Judg. 8. 17.

2 *Sam.* 19. 33.

Deut. 3. 14.

Jos. 12. 5.

* The Letters *D* and *R* in the *Hebrew* are very like, so that one is oft mistaken for another, and some time without mistaking one is put for another, as for *Rodanim*, 1 *Chron.* 7. we have *Dodanim*, *Genes.* 10. 4.

‖ Other names of this City according to *Stephanus* were *Ammana* and *Astarte*: but in this latter perhaps he mistook, which might seem to be the same *Astaroth*, one of the chief Citys of *Og*, of which in that *which* remaineth to be spoken of *Manasses*. *Adrichomius* says it was also called *Urbs aquarum*, because of the River *Jaboc's* winding about it, but

Gen. 32. 30.

in the place, 2 *Sam. v.* 27. whence he gathers this opinion, *Junius* reads *intercepi ab urbe aquam*, if we must read with others *cepi urbem aquarum*, yet it cannot be taken of *Rabba* it self, but of some Fort adjoyning. *Gen.* 14.

recovered

recovered again much of their loſt Poſſeſſions, and thruſt the Sons of *Lot* over the Mountains, and into the Deſarts. And as the Kings, or Captains of *Perſia* and *Aſſyria* (remembred in the 14*th*. of *Geneſis*) made way for *Ammon*, *Moab*, and *Edom*; ſo by that great Conqueſt which *Moſes* had over thoſe two *Amorites*, *Og* and *Sehon*, did the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* take Opportunity to look back again into thoſe Plains; and when the *Reubenites*, *Gadites*, and *Manaſſites* forſook the Worſhip of the living God, and became ſlothful and licentious, they taking the Advantage, invaded them, and caſt them out of their Poſſeſſions; and were ſome time their Maſters, ſome time their Tributaries, as they pleaſed, or diſpleaſed God; and according to the Wiſdom and Vertue of their Commanders.

Deut. 3. In this City of *Rabba*, was the Iron Bed of *Og* found, nine Cubits of Length, and four of Breadth. The City was taken in *David*'s Time, and the Inhabitants ſlain with great Severity, and by divers Torments. At the firſt Aſſault thereof *Urias* was ſhot to Death, having been by direction from *David*, appointed to be employed in the leading of an Aſſault, where he could not eſcape: wherein alſo many of the beſt of the Army periſhed, and wherein *David* ſo diſpleaſed God, as his Affairs had ill Succeſs afterward even to his dying day. From hence had *David* the weighty and rich Crown of Gold, which the Kings of *Ammon* wore; or which, as ſome expound it, was uſed to be ſet on the Head of their Idol, weighing a Talent, which is ſixty pound weight after the common Talent. In the time of *Chriſtians* it had a *Metropolitan* Biſhop, and under him twelve others.

2 Sam. 12. *Will. Tyr. Bell. Sacr.* 13. *cap.* 12.

The Mountains which are deſcribed within this Tribe, and that of *Manaſſe*, with a part of *Reuben*, are thoſe which *Ptolomy* calleth *the Hills of* Hippus a City of *Cœloſyria*; and *Strabo* **Trachones*, the ſame which continue from near *Damaſcus* to the Deſarts of *Moab*, and receive divers names, as commonly Mountains do, which neighbour and bound divers Countreys: For from the South part, as far Northward as *Aſteroth*, the chief City of *Og*, they are called *Galaad*, or *Gilead*; from thence Northward, they are known by the name of *Hermon*; for ſo *Moſes* calleth them: The *Sidonians* name them *Shirion*; but the *Amorites*, *Shenir*, others *Seir*; of which name all thoſe Hills alſo were called, which part *Judæa* and *Idumæa*: And laſtly, they are called *Libanus*; for ſo the Prophet *Jeremiah* makes them all one, calling the high Mountains of *Galaad*, the Head of *Libanus*. Theſe Mountains are very fruitful, and full of good Paſtures, and have many Trees, which yield *Balſamum*, and many other medicinable Drugs. The Rivers of this Tribe are the Waters of *Nimrah* and *Dibon*, and the River *Jaboc*: Others do alſo fancy another River, which riſing out of the Rocks of *Arnon*, falleth into *Jordan*.

Ptolomy. Strabo. l. 16. * Τραχὼν is *locus aſper & ſalebroſus*: whence it appears that *Trachonitis regio* in theſe parts was properly the hill-country. *Deut.* 3. *verſ.* 9. *Hier.* 22.

Hier. 8. & *in* 46.

§ VI.

Of the Ammonites, *part of whoſe Territories the* Gadites *won from* Og *the King of* Baſan.

THis Tribe of *Gad*, poſſeſt half the Country of the *Ammonites*, who together with the *Moabites*, held that part of *Arabia Petræa* called *Nabathea*, as well within as without the Mountains of *Gilead*: though at this time when the *Gadites* won it, it was in the poſſeſſion of *Sehon* and *Og*, *Amorites*: and therefore *Moſes* did not expel the *Ammonites*, but the *Amorites*, who had thruſt the Iſſues of *Lot* over the Mountains *Trachones* or *Gilead*, as before. After the death of *Othoniel* the firſt Judge of *Iſrael*; the *Ammonites* joyned with the *Moabites* againſt the *Hebrews*, and ſo continued long. *Jephtha* Judge of *Iſrael* had a great Conqueſt over one of the Kings of *Ammon*, but his name is omitted. In the time of *Samuel* they were at peace with them again. *Jud.* 10.

Afterward we find that cruel King of the *Ammonites*, called *Nahas*: who beſieging *Jabes Gilead*, gave them no other conditions but the pulling out of their right Eyes. The reaſon why he tendred ſo hard a Compoſition, was (beſides this deſire to bring ſhame upon *Iſrael*) becauſe thoſe *Gileadites* uſing to carry a Target on their left Arms, which could not but ſhadow their left Eyes, ſhould by loſing their right, be utterly diſabled to defend themſelves: but *Saul* came to their Reſcue, and delivered them from that danger. This *Nahas*, as it may ſeem, became the Confederate of *David*, having friended him in *Saul*'s time, though *Joſephus* thinks that this *Nahas* was ſlain in the Battel, when *Saul* raiſed the Siege of *Jabes*, who affirmeth that there were three Kings of the *Moabites* of that name. 1 *Sam.* 11. *Joſeph.* l. 6. *Ant. c.* 5. *&c.*

Hanon ſucceeded *Nahas*; to whom when *David* ſent to congratulate his Eſtabliſhment, and to confirm the former friendſhip which he had with his Father, he moſt contemptuouſly and proudly cut off the Ambaſſadors garments to the knees, and ſhaved the half of their Beards. But afterward notwithſtanding the Aids received from the *Aramites* Subject to *Adadezer*, and from the *Reguli* of *Rehob*, and *Maacah*, and from *Iſtob*, yet all thoſe *Arabians*, together with the *Ammonites*, were over-turned: their chief City of *Rabba*, after *Philadelphia*, was taken, the Crown which weighed a Talent of Gold was ſet on *Davids* head, all ſuch as were Priſoners *David* executed with ſtrange ſeverity, for with Saws and Harrows, he tare them in peices, and caſt the reſt into Lime-kilns. 2 *Sam.* 10. 4. 18. *Iſtob*, that is the men of *Thob*: *Thob* is a ſmall Territory under *Aram* hills. *Rehob* is another between *Hazor* and *Sidon*, in the North-bound of *Canaan*, *Num.* 13. 22. of which ſee in the Tribe of *Aſſer*.

Joſaphat Governing *Juda*, they aſſiſted the *Moabites* their Neighbours againſt him, and periſhed together. *Oſias* made them Tributaries, and they were again by *Jotham* inforc't to continue that tribute, and to increaſe it, to wit, an hundred Talents of Silver, ten thouſand meaſures of Wheat, and ten thouſand of Barley: which the *Ammonites* continued two years. *Hier.* 40. and 41. 2 *Chron.* 20. 2 *Chron.* 36. 2 *Chron.* 26. 2 *Chron.* 27.

The fifth King of the *Ammonites*, of whoſe name we read was *Baalis*, the Confederate of *Zedechia*: after whoſe taking by *Nabuchodonoſor*, *Baalis* ſent *Iſmael* of the Blood of the King of *Juda*, to ſlay *Gedaliah*, who ſerved *Nabuchodonoſor*.

§ VII.

Of the other half of Manaſſe.

THe reſt of the Land of *Gilead*, and of the Kingdom of *Og* in *Baſan*, with the Land of *Hus*, and *Argob*, or *Trachonitis* (wherein alſo were part of the ſmall Territories of * *Batanea*, *Gaulonitis*, *Geſſuri*, *Machati*, and *Auranitis*) was given to the half Tribe of *Manaſſe* over *Jordan*, of which thoſe three latter Provinces defended themſelves againſt them, for many ages. But *Batanea Ptolomy* ſetteth farther off, and to the North-Eaſt, as a skirt of *Arabia* the

* Another territory adjoyning to *Manaſſe*, whoſe limits were confounded with ſome of theſe, was that *Trachonitis*, the Country on the eaſt of *Elias*, as it is the 1 *Kings* 16. 1. and of *Tobias Tob.* 1, 2. it lay to the Tribe of *Neph.* on the right hand of it, as in *Tob.* 1, 2. and was poſſeſt by Colonies of *Iſraelites* in the time of *Saul*, after his Victory over the *Amalekites* and *Iſmaelites* in thoſe parts, as it is gathered out of the 1 *Chron.* 4. 10. whence it appears that it was part of *Iturea*, of which Chap. 7. §. 4. 5, and 6.

Deſert

Desart: and all these other Provinces before named with *Peræa* and *Ituræa*, he nameth but as part of *Cœlosyria*, as far South as *Rabba* or *Philadelphia*; likewise all the rest which belonged to *Gad* and *Reuben*, saving the Land near the Dead Sea, he makes part of a *Arabia Petræa*: For many of these small Kingdoms take not much more Ground than the County of *Kent*.

Basan, or after the *Septuagint*, *Basanitis*, stretcheth it self from the River of *Jaboc*, to the (*a*) *Machati* and *Gessuri*; and from the Mountains to *Jordan*, a Region exceeding fertile; by reason whereof it abounded in all sorts of Cattel. It had also the goodliest Woods of all that part of the World; especially of Oaks, which bear Mast, (of which the Prophet *Zacharias*, *Howl, O ye Oaks of Bashan*) and by reason hereof they bred so many Swine, as (*b*) 2000 in one Herd were carried head-long into the Sea, by the unclean Spirits which Christ had cast out of one of the *Gadarens*. It had in it threescore Cities, walled and defenced: All which, after *Og* and his Sons were slain, *Jair*, descended of *Manasse*, conquered, and called the Country after his own Name, *Avoth Jair*, or the Cities of *Jair*.

(*a*) So they call them of *Mabacath*, of which *Mabacath* some what hath been spoken toward the end of the fifth Paragraph of this Chap. See 1 *Mac.* 5. 36. and *Deut.* 3. 14. and *Jos.* 12. 5.
(*b*) *Mark* 5. 13.

The principal Cities of this half Tribe (for I will omit the rest) are these, *Pella*, sometimes (*c*) *Butis*, otherwise *Berenice*: By *Seleucus*, King of *Syria*, it is said to have been called *Pella*, after the Name of that *Pella* in *Macedon*, in which both *Philip* the Father, and his Son *Alexander* the Great were born. It was taken, and in part demolished, by *Alexander Jannæus*, King of the *Jews*, because it refused to obey the *Jews* Laws; but it was repaired by *Pompey*, and annexed to the Government of *Syria*. It is now but a Village, saith *Niger*. *Carnaim* by the River of *Jaboc*, taken by (*d*) *Judas Macchabæus*, where he set on fire the (*e*) Temple of their Idols, together with all those that fled thereinto for Sanctuary; and near it they place the Castle of *Carnien*, of which 2 *Macc.* 12. 22. Then the strong City of (*f*) *Ephron* near *Jordan*, which refusing to yield Passage to (*g*) *Judas Macchabæus*, was forced by him by Assault, and taken, and burnt with great Slaughter.

(*c*) Anciently as it seems, it was called *Tophel*. See above in the *Bounds* of the Plains of Moab, in this Chapter. § 4. † 2.
(*d*) 1 Mac. 5.
(*e*) *Jos.* 12. *Ant.* 12.
(*f*) 1 Mac. 5.
(*g*) 2 Mac. 12. 27.

Jabes Gilead, or *Jabesus*, was another of the Cities of this half Tribe, which being besieged by (*b*) *Nahas*, King of the *Ammonites*, was delivered by *Saul*, as is (*i*) elsewhere mentioned. In Memory whereof, the Citizens (*k*) recovered, embalmed, and buried the Bodies of *Saul* and his Sons, which hung despitefully over the Walls of *Bethsan* or *Scythopolis*. (*l*) *Gaddara*, or *Gadara*, is next to be named, seated by *Pliny* on a Hill near the River *Hieromiace*, which River *Ortelius* seems to think to be *Jaboc*. At the Foot of the Hill there spring forth also hot Bathes, as at *Macharus*. *Alexander Jannæus*, after ten Months Siege, wan it, and subverted it. *Pompey* restored it; and *Gabinius* (*m*) made it one of the five Courts of Justice in *Palestine*. *Jerusalem* being the First, *Gadara* the second, *Emath*, or *Amathus* the Third, *Jericho* and *Sephora* in *Galilee* the fourth and fifth. The Citizens impatiently bearing the Tyranny of *Herod*, surnamed *Ascalonita*, accused him to *Julius Cæsar* of many Crimes; but perceiving that they could not prevail, and that *Herod* was highly favoured of *Cæsar*, fearing the terrible (*n*) Revenge of *Herod*, they slew themselves; some by strangling, others by leaping over high Towers, others by drowning themselves.

(*b*) 1 *Sam.* 11.
(*i*) *Josep.* 6. *ant.* 5.
(*k*) 1 *Sam.* 31.
(*l*) 1 *Chron.* 10.
(*m*) *Josep.* 14. *ant.* 13.
(*n*) *Josep.* 15. *Antiq.* 13.

To the East of *Gadara*, they place *Sebei* (*o*) in which *Josephus*, *Ant.* 5. 13. saith, *Jephtha* was buried; whence others reading with the *Vulgar*, *Jud.* 12. 7. *Sepultus est in Civitate sua Gilehad*, (for *in una Civitatum Gilehad*) imagine *Gilehad* to be the Name of a City, and to be the same with *Sebei*. In like manner following, the *Vulgar*, 1 *Macc.* 5. 26. where it readeth *Casphor* for *Chesbon*: The same *Adrichomius* imagineth it to be *ampla & firma Gilehaditarum Civitas*; so of one City, *Hesbon*, or *Chesbon*, which they call *Essebon*, the chief City of *Sehon*, in the Tribe of *Reuben*, he imagineth two more. This *Casphor* in *Manasses*, and a City in *Gad*, which he calleth *Casbon*, of which we have admonished the Reader heretofore. Of *Gamala* (so called, because the Hill on which it stood, was in fashion like the Back of a Camel) which *Josephus* placeth not far from *Gadara*, in the lower *Gaulanitis*, over against *Tarichea*, which is on the West-side of the Sea or Lake of *Tiberias*. See this in *Josephus* his fourth Book of the *Jewish* War, where he describes the place by Nature to be almost invincible; and in the Story of the Siege, shews how *Vespasian*, with much danger of his own Person, entring it, was as first repulsed, with other very memorable Accidents; and how at length, after the coming of *Titus*, when it was taken, many leaping down the Rocks, with their Wives and Children, to the Number of five thousand, thus perished; besides four thousand slain by the *Romans*; so that none escaped, save only two Women that hid themselves.

(*o*) Of *Mizpa* in in *Gilead*, the City of *Jephtha*. See in the Tribe of *Gad*.

Cap. 1. 3.

About four Miles West from *Gadara*, and as much East from *Tiberias* (which is on the other side of the Lake) *Josephus* placeth *Hippus*, or *Hippene*, whence *Ptolomy* gives the Name to the Hills that compass the Plains in which it standeth: So that it may seem to have been of no small Note. It is seated far from the Hill-Country: On the East of the Lake, as also *Pliny* noteth *lib.* 5. *cap.* 15. It was restored by *Pompey*; after by *Augustus* added to *Herod*'s *Tetrarchy*: It was wasted by the *Jews*, in the beginning of their Rebellion: When by many Massacres of their Nation, they were inraged against their Borderers.

in vita sua.
Josep. Bell. Jud. l. 2. *c.* 19.

The next City of note, but of more ancient fame, is *Edrebi* or *Edrai*, wherein *Og* King of *Basan* chiefly abode, when *Moses* and *Israel* invaded him: And near unto this his Regal City, it was that he lost the Battle and his Life. It stood in S. *Hierom*'s time; and had the name of *Adar* or *Adara*. Not far from these Towns near *Jordan*, in this valley stood *Gerasa* or *Gergesa*, inhabited by the *Gergesites*, descended of the fifth Son of *Canaan*. Of these *Gergesites* we read *Matt.* 8. 28. that *Christ* coming from the other side of the Lake of *Tyberias*, landed in their Coasts; where casting the Devils out of the possessed, he permitted them to enter into the Herd of Hogs: In which Story for *Gergesites* or *Gergesins*, S. *Luke* and S. *Mark* have *Gadarens*; not as if these were all one (for *Gergesa* or *Gerasa* is a distinct Town in these parts from *Gadera*) but the bounds being confounded, and the Cities Neighbours, either might well be named in this story. This City received many changes and calamities; of which *Josephus* hath often mention. For besides other adventures, it was taken by L. *Annius* Lieutenant to *Vespasian*; and 1000. of the ablest young Men put to the Sword, and the City burnt. In the year 1120. it was re-built by *Baldwin* King of *Damascus*; and in the same year recovered by *Baldwin de Burgo* King of *Jerusalem*, and by him utterly razed. Near unto *Gerasa* is the Village of *Magedan*, or after the *Syriak Magedu*, or after the *Greek Magdala*, where the *Pharisees* and *Sadduces* desired of our Saviour a Sign from Heaven; the same place

Of another *Edrebi* in *Nepth.* see *Jos.* 19. 37. *Deut.* 3. 1. & 10. Item *Jos.* 13. 31.
Matt. 8. 28.
Mark 5. *Luc.* 8.
Matt. 15.

Mark. 8. Brocard in 2. Of this Phiola see in Nepth. c. 7. §. 4. †3.

or ſome adjoining to it, which S. *Mark* calleth *Dalmanutha*. By the Circumſtances of which Story it appears, that this Coaſt lay between the Lake of *Tiberias* and the Country of *Decapolis*. *Brochard* makes both theſe places to be one; and finds it to be *Phiale*, the Fountain of *Jordan* according to *Joſephus*: but this *Phiale* is too far from the Sea of *Galilee*, and from *Bethſaida*, to be either *Magdala* or *Dalmanutha*. For as it appears by the Story, not far hence towards the North was the *Deſart* of *Bethſaida*, where *Chriſt* filled 5000 People with the five Barley Loaves and two Fiſhes.

Matt. 14. Marc. 6. Luc. 11. Joh. 6.

On the North of this *Bethſaida* they place *Julias*, not that which was built by *Herod*, but the other by *Philip*, which boundeth the Region *Trachonitis* towards the South. It was ſometime a Village, and not long after the Birth of *Chriſt* it was compaſſed with a Wall by *Phillip* the *Tetrarch* of *Ituræa* and *Trachonitis*; and after the Name of *Julia*, the Wife of *Tiberius*, called *Julias*, as hath been farther ſpoken in the Tribe of *Gad*, where it was noted, that *Joſephus* makes this *Julias*, to be the ſame as *Bethſaida*. Upon the Eaſt ſide of the ſame Lake of *Tyberias* ſtands *Corozaim*, or *Corazim*, of which *Chriſt* in *Matthew*; *Wo be unto the* Corazim.

Joſep. 8. ant. 3. & alibi.

But the Principal City of all theſe in ancient time was *Aſteroth*, ſometimes peopled with the Giants *Raphaim*; and therefore the Country adjoining called the Land of Giants, of whoſe race was *Og*, King of *Baſan*. In *Geneſis* this City is called *Aſteroth* of *Carnaim*, whence 1. *Mac.* 5. 26. it is called ſimply *Carnaim*, as *Joſ.* 13. 21. it is called *Aſteroth* without the addition of *Carnaim*. The word *Carnaim* ſignifieth a pair of Hornes, which agree well with the name of their Idol *Aſtoreth*, which was the Image of a Sheep, as it is elſewhere noted, that *Aſteroth* in *Deut.* ſignifieth Sheep. Others from the ambiguity of the *Hebrew* take *Karnaim*, to have been the Name of the People which inhabited this City, and expound it *heroes* * *radiantes*. For of old the *Raphæi* which inhabited this City (*Gen.* 14. 5.) were Gyant-like men, as appears by comparing the Words *Deut.* 3. 11. *Og ex reſiduo gigantum*, with the Words *Joſ.* 13. 12. *Og ex reliquiis Raphaæorum*; but if the *Karnaim* (or *Karnaijm*) were theſe *Raphæi*, the word would not have been in the dual number; neither would *Moſes* in the place of *Geneſis* have ſaid the *Raphæi* in *Aſteroth* of the *Karnaim*, but either the *Raphæi* in *Aſteroth* of the *Raphæi*, or ſome other way fitteſt for perſpicuity; for this naming of both thus in the ſame clauſe, diſtinguiſheth one from the other.

Gen. 14. 5.

See chap. 7. §. 3. †. 2.

* Becauſe Horn, when it is poliſhed, ſhineth; hence it is that the verb of this Noun is ſometime *Lucere*; as it were *corneum eſſe*: Whereupon the *Vulgar Exod.* 34. 29. reading *cornuta corneam*, or *lucidam faciem*, gave occaſion to the fabulous painters to paint *Moſes* with Horns. *Judith.* 1. 8. 1. *Cant.* 5.

Not far from *Aſteroth Adrichomius* out of *Brochard* and *Breidenbachius* placeth *Cedar*, in the way out of *Syria* into *Galilee*, four miles from *Corazin*. This City (ſaith he) is remembred in the *Canticles*, and in the Book of *Judith*, and there are that of this City underſtand *David* in his 120. *Pſalm*, and here the Sepulcher of *Job* is yet to be ſeen, ſaith *Breidenbach*.

Now concerning the Texts which he citeth, it is ſo that the *Greek* hath *Galaad* inſtead of the word *Cedar*, which the *Vulgar* doth uſe in that place of *Judith*, and joyneth *Carmel* and *Galilee*. The *Canticles* and the 120. *Pſalm* do rather prove that *Cedar* was not here about, than any way help *Adrichomius*. For that they ſpeak of *Scenitæ Cedareni*, it is apparent, and as evident by the place in the *Canticles* that they were *decolores*, much more than any under the *Climates* of the Land of *Canaan*; whence *Junius* out of *Lampridius* and *Pliny* placeth them in *Arabia Petræa*, far from theſe parts. Touching the Sepulchre of *Job* it is certain that the *Arabians* and *Saracens* (holding thoſe places) fain many things to abuſe the *Chriſtians*, and to get Money. Further, it may well be affirmed, that many (if not all) the Hiſtorical Circumſtances of *Job* are ſo obſcure, that we ſhould rather by finding his Country ſeek to get ſome knowledge of him, than by any preſumptions founded upon him, infer what his Country was, and build unto him a City by conjecture.

Rup. Lyran. Oleaſt. in Gen. Bell. in Com. lib. 1. de verb. Dei. S. Amb. ſup. Ep. ad Rom. Aug. de civit. Dei l. 18. c. 4. Chryſ. Hom. 2. De patientia Job. Greg. com. in Job.

Of *Job* himſelf whether he were the ſame *Jobab* remembered in the ſame 36. of *Geneſis*, deſcended from *Eſau*, and King alſo of *Idumæa*, though *Rupertus*, *Lyranus*, *Oleaſter*, and *Bellarmine* are of another Opinion, yet S. *Ambroſe*, *Auguſtin*, *Chryſoſtome*, and *Gregory*, with *Athanaſius*, *Hyppolitus*, *Iræneus*, *Euſebius Emiſſenus*, *Apollinaris*, *Euſtachius* and others, cited by S. *Hierom* in his 126. Epiſt. to *Evagrius*, take him for the ſame.

The Land of *Huts* or *Hus* wherein *Job* dwelt is from the *Greek* Ὡς, which the *Septuagint* uſe for the word *Huts*, tranſlated by the *Vulgar* ſometimes *Hus*, as *Job.* 1. *v.* 1. ſometime *Auſitis*, as *Hierome* 25. 20. This Land is placed by *Junius* between *Palæſtina* and *Cœleſyria*, beſides *Chamatha* (or *Hamath*) under *Palmyrene* in the Country called by *Ptolomy*, *Trachonitis* or *Bathanæa*, the bounds of which Countries are confounded with *Baſan* in this half Tribe of *Manaſſes*. And that this Land of *Hus* was thus ſeated it may in part be gathered out of the place of *Jeremiah* the 25. 20. where he reckons the *Huſhites* among the promiſcuous Borderers of the *Iſraelites*, whom he therefore calleth promiſcuous or *miſcellaneam turbam*, becauſe their bounds were not only joined but confounded, and their *Seigniories* mingled one with the other, but of this place the words of *Jeremiah*, *Lamentations* 4 21. ſpeaking of the ſame Prophecy, of which he ſpeaketh in the five and twentieth Chapter, muſt needs be expounded; as *Junius* reads them, diſtinguiſhing the Land of *Hus* from *Edom*: *O Filia Edomi, ô quæ habitas in terra Hutzi*; *O Daughter of Edom, O thou which dwelleſt in the Land of* Hus. Now becauſe the *Vulgar* doth not ſo diſtinguiſh, but readeth *Filia Edom quæ habitas in terra Hus*; *Daughter of Edom which dwelleſt in the Land of Hus*: Hence, as it ſeems, ſome of the Learned have thought that *Job* was an *Edomite*, as we have ſaid, and King of *Edom*, which if they underſtand by it *Idumæa* or *Edom*, ſo called in *Moſes*'s time, they are greatly miſtaken, making this Land of *Hus* to be in *Idumæa*. For it is very probable that *Eſau*, when he firſt parted from *Jacob*, did not ſeat himſelf in *Edom*, or *Seir*, which lieth on the South Border of *Judæa*, but inhabited *Seir* far to the Eaſt of *Jordan*, and held a part of thoſe Mountains otherwiſe called *Galaad*, and *Hermon*, which by corruption the *Sidonians* call *Shirion*, and the *Amorites Shenir* for *Seir*, and from this his Habitation did *Eſau* incounter *Jacob*, when he returned out of *Meſopotamia*, who paſſed by the very border of *Eſau* his abiding. It is true, that at ſuch time as *Moſes* wandred in the *Deſarts*, that the poſterity of *Eſau* inhabited *Seir* to the South of *Judæa*: For it is like that the *Amorites*, who had beaten both *Ammon* and *Moab*, did alſo drive the *Edomites* out of thoſe parts, who thence-forward ſeated themſelves to the South of *Judæa*, bordering the *Deſart Paran*, and ſtretched their Habitations over the *Deſarts* as far as *Hor*, where *Aaron* died.

For *u* and *eu* are often changed one into the other: whence they uſed *Auſitis* for *Ouſitis*, &c. Hence alſo by *Junius* and others it is called *Auſanitis*, & ſo as it ſeems they read it in the Septuagint. *Junius* in Gen 10. 23.

Deut. 3. 9.

Now

Now for this *Hus* which gave the name to a part of the Land of *Trachonitis*, whether it were *Hus* the Son of *Aram*, as *Junius* thinks in his note upon *Gen.* 10. 23. or rather *Hus* the Son of *Nachor*, *Abraham*'s Brother, the queſtion is doubtful. For my part I rather incline to think, that it was *Hus* the Son of *Nachor*; partly becauſe theſe Families of *Aram* ſeem long before to have been loſt; and partly becauſe in *Job.* c. 32. 2. *Elihu* the fourth of *Jobs* Friends, which ſeems to be of *Jobs* own Country, is called a *Buzite*, of *Buz*, the Brother of *Hus*, the Son of *Nachor*; as alſo *Jeremiah* 25. in the ſame Continuation (though ſome other Nations named between) where *Hus* is ſpoken of, there *Buz* is alſo named. Neither doth it hinder our conjecture, that in the place of *Job.* 32 *Elihu* the *Buzite* is ſaid to be of the Family of *Ram* (which *Junius* expounds to be as much as of the Family of *Aram*) for that by this *Aram* we are not to underſtand *Aram* the Son of *Shem*, *Junius* himſelf maketh it plain, both in his Annotation upon the beginning of his Book, where he ſaith that one of *Jobs* Friends (which muſt needs be this *Elihu*) was of the poſterity of *Nachor* (as alſo in this place he confeſſeth ſo much expreſsly) and in as much as he readeth not *è familia Aram*, or *Ram*, but *è familia Syra*; like as elſewhere *Laban* who ſprung of *Nachor* is called a *Syrian*.

Whence the *Septuagint* call him *ex regione Auſitide.*

As for the other three of *Jobs* Friends (of whom by this Note of *Elihu* his being of the *Syrian* Family, or the Family of *Nachor*) it is implied that they were of other Kindreds; as alſo by the *Septuagints* Addition, that this *Elihu* was of the Land of *Hus*, or *Auſitis*, it is implied that they thought only *Elihu* to have been of *Jobs* own Country.

See *Sixtus Senenſis.*

Franciſcus Brochard the *Monk*, in his Deſcription of the Holy Land in the journey from *Acon* Eaſtward, findeth *Suetha*, and *Themian* on the Eaſt of the Sea of *Galilee*, both very near to the Land of *Hus*; whereof the one may ſeem to have denominated *Bildad* the *Shuchit*; the other *Eliphaz* the *Themanite*; two of the three Friends of *Job*, of the which *Job* 2. 11. But *Junius* thinks that the *Shuchits* were Inhabitants of *Arabia* the *Deſart*, deſcended of *Shuach* the Son of *Abraham* and *Keturah*; of whom *Gen.* 52. 2. perhaps, ſaith he, the ſame whom *Pliny* call *Sacchæi*. So alſo he thinketh the *Themanites*, of whom *Eliphaz* was, to have been of *Arabia* the *Deſart*; and *Eliphaz* himſelf to have been of the poſterity of *Theman* the Son of *Eliphaz*, which was the Son of *Eſau*. And ſo alſo *Nahamah* whence *Tſophar* the third of *Jobs* Friends (which in this place of *Job* c. 2. *v.* 11. are mentioned) is by the ſame Learned Expoſitor thought either to be named of *Thimnah* by Tranſpoſition of Letters (which *Thimnah Gen.* 36. 40. is named among the Sons of *Eſau* that gave Denomination to the places where they were ſeated) or elſe to be the ſame *Nahamah*, which *Joſ.* 15. 41. is reckoned for a City of *Juda* in the Border, as he thinks, of *Edom*. And yet I deny not, but that near to the Land of *Hus*, in *Baſan*, as it ſeems, in the Tribe of *Manaſſes*, there is a Region which at leaſt in latter times was called *Suitis*, or of ſome like name. For this is evident by the Hiſtory of *Gulielmus Tyrius*, which reports of a Fort in this Region of *Suita* or *Suites* (as he calls it diverſly) of exceeding great ſtrength and uſe for the retaining of the whole Country: Which in the time of *Baldwin* the ſecond King of *Jeruſalem*, was with great digging through Rocks recovered by the *Chriſtians*; having not long before been loſt to the great diſadvantage of the Country, while it was in the Hands of the *Saracens*. The Situation of this Fort is by *Tyrius* deſcribed to be ſixteen miles from the City *Tiberias*, on the Eaſt of *Jordan*, by *Adrichomius* four miles North-ward from the place where *Jordan* enters the Lake *Tiberias* at *Corazim*. *De Bell. Sacr. l.* 22. *c.* 15. & 21.

Other Cities of this part of *Manaſſes* named in the Scripture are theſe; *Golan*, *Beheſthera*, *Mitſpa* of *Gilead*, and *Kenath*, which after the coming of the *Iſraelites* was called *Nobach*. Of *Nobach* or *Kenath*, and *Mitſpa* of *Gilehad*, we have ſpoken by occaſion among the Cities of *Gad*. The two other were given to the *Levites*, and *Golan* made one of the Cities of Refuge; from which *Golan* we have both *Gaulanitis ſuperior & inferior*, oft in *Joſephus*. *Beheſthera* is accounted the chief City of *Baſan* by ſome, but the Writers corrupting the Name into *Bozra*, it is confounded with *Betſer* or *Bozra* of *Reuben*, and with *Bozra* of *Edom*. *Argob* is oft named for a Region in this Tract, and hence *Jerome* hath *Arga*, a name of a City placed by ſome about the Waters of *Merom* (as they are called by *Joſhua*) which make the Lake *Samachonitis*, as *Joſephus* calls it. This Lake being as it were in the midſt between *Cæſarea Philippi* and *Tiberias*, through which, as through the Lake of *Tiberias*, *Jordan* runneth, boundeth part of this half Tribe on the Weſt. When the Snow of *Libanus* melteth it is very large, ſaith *Brochard*; otherwiſe more contract, leaving the marſh ground on both ſides, for Lyons and other wild Beaſts, which harbour in the Shrubs that plentifully grow there. *Joſ.* 21. 27. *Deut.* 4. 43.

Adjoining to this Lake in this Country of *Manaſſes*, *Joſephus* names two places of ſtrength fortified by himſelf in the beginning of the *Jews* Rebellion: *Seleucia* the one, and *Sogane* the other. In the North ſide of this half Tribe of *Manaſſe*, and in the North-eaſt, the Scripture nameth divers bordering places toward *Damaſcus*, as *Tſedad*, *Chauran*, and *Chatſar Henan*, lying in a line drawn from the Weſt; of which three Cities we read *Ezek.* 47. 15. with which alſo agrees the place *Numb.* 34. 8. where for *Chauran*, between *Tſedad*, and *Chatſar Henan*, *Ziphron* is named. From this *Chauran* is the Name of *Auranitis regio*, in *Joſephus* and *Tyrius*, whoſe bounds (as alſo the bounds of *Geſſur* and *Mahachath* or *Macati*, which were likewiſe Borderers to *Manaſſes* towards the North-eaſt) are unknown; only that *Geſſur* was of might, it appears in that *David* married *Mahaca* the Daughter of *Tholmay* King of *Geſſur*; by whom he had the moſt beautiful, but wicked, and unfortunate *Abſalon*. 1 *Chron.* 3. 2.

CHAP. XI.

The History of the Syrians, *the chief Borderers of the* Israelites, *that dwelt on the East of* Jordan.

§. I.

Of the City of Damascus, *and the divers Fortunes thereof.*

DAMASCUS of all other in this Border, and of that part of the World, was the most famous, excelling in Beauty, Antiquity, and Riches, and was therefore called the City of Joy or Gladness, and the House of Pleasure; and is not only remembred in many places of Scripture, but by the best Historians and *Cosmographers*. The *Hebrews*, *Joseph.* saith *Josephus*, think it to have been built by *Hus* l. 14. the Son of *Aram*; of which Opinion S. *Jerome* *In Isai.* 17. upon *Isaiah* seemeth to be; though in his *Hebrew* Questions he affirmeth that it was founded by *Da-* *Gen.* 15. 2. *mascus*, the Son of *Eliezer Abraham's* Steward, a thing very unlikely, seeing the City was formerly known by that Name, as appears by *Abraham's* calling this his Steward *Eliezer* of *Damasco*. *David* was the first that subjected it to the Kingdom of *Juda*, after the overthrow of *Adadezer* their King; but in *Solomon's* time, *Rezon* recovered it again, though he had no Title at all or Right to that Principality: But *David* having overthrown *Hadadezer* King of *Sophena*, (otherwise *Syria*, *Soba* or *Zobah*) *Rezon* or *Rezon* with the remainder *1 Reg.* 11. of that broken Army, invaded *Damascena*, and *v.* 40. possest *Damascus* it self, and became an Enemy to *Solomon* all his Life.

The next King of *Damascus* was *Adad* the *Edo-* *1 Reg.* 11. *mite*, who flying into *Ægypt* from *David*, and *Joab*, when they slew all the Males in *Edom*, was there entertained, and married *Taphnes* the King of *Ægypt's* Wives Sister, of whom *Taphnes* in *Ægypt* was so call'd. This *Adad* returning again became an Enemy to *Solomon*, all his Life, and (as some Writers affirm) invaded *Damascus*, and thrust *Rezon* thence out. In the line of *Adad* that Kingdom continued nine descents (as hereafter may be shewed in the Catalogue of those Kings of *Syria*) to whom the *Assyrians* and then the *Grecians* succeeded. This City was exceeding strong, compassed with Waters from the Rivers of *Abanah*, and *Parphar*; whereof one of them Prophane *2 Reg* 5. Writers call *Chrysorrhoas*, the Golden River. *Junius* takes it for *Adonis*. The Country adjoining is very fruitful of excellent Wines and Wheats, and all manner of excellent Fruits. It had in it a very strong Castle built, as it seems, by the *Florentines*, after it became *Christian*: The Lillies being found *Herold.* 6. *Bell. Sacr.* cut in many Marbles in that *Citadel*. Against this City the Prophets *Amos*, *Isai*, *Jeremy*, and *1.* 3. 8. 10. *Zacharias*, Prophesied that it should be taken, *& 17.* 49. burnt, demolished, and made a heap of Stones. *& 9.* In the time of the last *Rezon*, and tenth King of the *Damascens*, *Teglatphalassar* invited by *Achaz* *2 Reg.* 16. King of *Judah*, carried away the Naturals of *Damascus* into the East, leaving of his own Nation to inhabit it. After that it was utterly ruined by the *Babylonians*, saith *Jerome* upon *Isai*, which thing was performed by *Salmanasar* according to *Juni-* *Isai.* 17. *us*, in his note upon that place, five years after the Prophesie. In time it was restored by the *Mace-* *Joseph.* *donians*, and the *Ptolomies*; but long after when Sy- *ant.* 4. *ria* fell into the Hands of the *Romans*, it was taken by *Metellus* and *Lollius*. In the time of the *Christians* it had an *Archbishop*: S. *Jerome* living, as he affirmeth upon the *Acts*, it was the *Metropolis* of the *Saracens* being taken by *Haomar* their King from the *Romans*, in the year of our Redemption 636. And in the year 1147. *Conrad* the third, Emperour of *Rome*, *Lewes* King of *France*, *Baldwin* the third King of *Jerusalem*, *Henry* Duke of *Austria*, Brother to *Conrad*, *Frederick Barbarossa* afterward Emperour, *Theodorick* Earl of *Flanders*, and other Princes assembled at *Ptolomais Acon*, on the sea coast, determined to recover *Damascus*; but being betrayed by the *Syrians* they failed of the Enterprize.

Onuphrius in Chron.

Vitri c. 46. *Wil. Tyr. Bell. Sac. l.* 17. *c.* 1. 23. 4. 5.

In the year 1262. *Halon* the *Tartar* incompast it, and having formerly taken the King, brought him under the Walls, and threatned extream torture unto him, except the Citizens rendred the place; but they refusing it, the King was torn asunder before them, and in fine the City taken, *Agab* the Son of *Halon* was by his Father made King thereof.

Herold. Bel. Sac. 4. *c.* 14.

In the year 1400. *Tamberlain* Emperour of the *Parthians*, invaded that Region, and besieged the City with an Army of 1200000. (if the number be not mistaken.) He entred it and put all to the Sword, filling the Ditch with his Prisoners, those that retired into the Castle, which seem'd a place impregnable, he over-topp'd with another Castle adjoining; he forbore the demolishing of the City in respect of the Beauty of the Church, garnished with 40. Gates or sumptuous Porches. It had within it 9000. Lanthorns of Gold and Silver; but while he invaded *Ægypt* they again surprized *Damascus*. Lastly in his return after three Months Siege he forct it; the *Mahometans* prostrating themselves with their Priests, desired Mercy: But *Tamberlain* commanding them to enter the Church, he burnt them, and it, to the number of 30000. and did so demolish it, as those that came afterwards to see their Houses, knew them not by the Foundations. And as a *Trophey* of his Victory he raised three Towers with great Art, builded with the Heads of those whom he had slaughtered. After this it was restored and repossest by the *Soldan* of *Ægypt*, with a Garrison of *Mammalukes*. And in the Year 1517. *Selimus* Emperour of the *Turks* wrested it out of the hands of the *Ægyptians*; in whose Possession it now remaineth inhabited with *Mahometans*, and *Christians*, of all Neighbouring Nations.

Herold. l. 6. *c.* 4.

§. II.

Of the first Kings of Damascus, *and of the growing up of their Power.*

NOW be it that *Damascus* were founded by *Hus* the Son of *Aram*, or by *Damascus* the Son of *Eliezer Abrahams* Steward, we find no relation of their Kings, or Common-wealth till *Da-*

vid's

vids time. For it ſtood without the Bounds of *Canaan*; and therefore neglected by *Moſes*, *Joſua*, and *Judges*, as impertinent to that Story: But were it ſo that it had ſome *Reguli*, or petty Kings over it, as all the Cities of thoſe parts had, yet none of them became famous for ought that is left to writing, till ſuch time as *David* overthrew *Adadezer* Prince of *Sophena* or *Syria Zoba*; the ſame Nation which *Pliny* calleth *Nubæi*, inhabiting be-
Plin. l. 6. c. 28. tween *Batanea* and *Euphrates*. Now the better to underſtand the Story of thoſe *Syrian* Princes, whom ſoon after the Kings of *Damaſcus* made their vaſſals, the Reader may inform himſelf, That on the North-eaſt parts of the holy Land there were three chief Principalities whereof the Kings or Commanders greatly vexed or diſturbed the State or Commonwealth of *Iſrael*, namely *Damaſcus* or
1 Sam. 14. 47. *Aram*, *Sophena* or *Syria Zoba*, and *Chamath*, or *Chamath Zoba*, of which theſe were the Princes in *David's* and *Solomon's* times: *Rezon* or *Rezon* of *Damaſcus*, *Adadezer* of *Syria Zoba*, and *Toha* of *Chamath*. But it ſeemeth that *Damaſcus* was one of the Citys ſubject to *Adadezer* when *David* invaded him, though when *Saul* made War againſt
3082. *Zoba*, *Damaſcus* was not named. And as *Joſephus* affirmeth the Leader of thoſe Succours, which were levied and ſent to *Hadad Hezer* from *Damaſ-*
2 Sam. 8. *cus*, had the Name of *Adad*: who was in that Battle ſlain with 22000. *Aramites* of *Damaſcus*; whereof, as of the overthrow of *Adadezer*, *Rezon* the Commander of his Army, taking advantage, made himſelf King of *Damaſcus*: *Adadezer* and
1 Reg. 11. *Adad* of *Damaſcus* being both ſlain. About the ſame time *Toha* King of *Chamath* or *Ituræa*, hearing that his Neighbour and Enemy *Adadezer* was utterly overthrown, ſendeth for Peace to *David*, and preſenteth him with rich Gifts, but in *dolo* ſaith St. *Hierome*; it was craftily done of him. Now to the North of the Holy Land, and to the Weſt of *Damaſcus*, the *Tyrians* and *Zidonians* inhabited; but they for the moſt part were in League and Peace with the *Judæans* and *Iſraelites*. But to return to the Kings of *Syria*, I mean of *Syria* as it is taken in the Scriptures, containing *Damaſcena*, *Soba* or *Zoba*, and *Chamath* or *Iturea*, to which I may add *Geſhur*, becauſe it is ſo accounted in the 2. of *Sam.* 15. as joining in the Territory to *Damaſcus* (for *Syria* at large is far greater, of which *Paleſtina* it ſelf is but a Province, as I have noted in the beginning of this Tract) It it not agreed among the Hiſtorians of former times, nor of our latter Writers, who was the firſt of thoſe *Adads* of *Syria Zoba*, and *Damaſcus*.

Some account *Rezon*, other *Adad* of *Idumæa*: of whom it is written in the firſt of Kings, that *David* having invaded that Region, and left *Joab* therein to deſtroy all the Male Children thereof: *Adad* of the Kings Seed, fled into *Ægypt*, and was there Married to *Taphnes* the Queens Siſter as before; who hearing of *Davids* death, and of the death of his Captain *Joab* (whom indeed all the bordering Nations feared) he returned again, and as *Bunting* thinketh, this *Adad* did expel *Rezon* out of *Damaſcus*; and was the firſt of the *Syrian* Kings. To me it ſeemeth otherwiſe.
2 Sam. 8. 3. and 12. For as I take it, *Adadezer* the Son of *Rehob*, whom *Saul* invaded, was the founder of that principali-
1 Sam. 14. 47. ty; and the firſt of *Adads*, who forſaking his Fathers Name, as he grew powerful, took upon him the ſtile of *Adad*, the great *God* of the *Aſſyrians*, ſaith *Macrobius*, which ſignified Oneneſs or *Unity*. I alſo find a City called *Adada* in the ſame part of *Syria*: of which whether theſe Princes took the Name or gave it, I am ignorant. For *Adad-ezer*, *Ben-adad*, *Eli-adad* were the ſame in Name, with the differences of *Ezer*, *Ben*, and *Eli*, adjoyned. And that *Adadezer* was of greateſt power, it appeareth, firſt becauſe it is againſt him, that *David* undertook the War; Secondly becauſe he levied 22000. *Aramites* out of the Territory of *Damaſcus*; as out of his proper Dominions: for had the *Damaſcens* had a King apart, it is probable that the Scriptures would have given us his Name; Thirdly, becauſe *Syria Zoba*, of the moſt of which *Adadezer* was King, was an exceeding large Territory, and contained of *Arabia* the Deſart as far as to *Euphrates*, according to *Pliny*, and the great-
Plin. l. 6. c. 18. eſt part of *Arabia Petræa* according to *Niger*. Whoſoever was the firſt, whether *Adadezer*, or *Adad*
1 Reg. 11. of *Idumæa*, *Rezon* was the ſecond: *Who was an Enemy to* Iſrael *all the days of* Solomon. Beſides the evil that *Adad* did, the evil that *Hadad* did, ſeemeth to be referred to *Habad* of *Idumæa*, lately returned out of *Ægypt*, to wit, 23. years after he was carried hither.

The third King of *Damaſcus*, and of *Zobah* both, was *Hezion*; to *Hezion* ſucceeded *Tabrimmon*, or *Tibremmon*; to him *Benhadad*, as is proved in the firſt of *Kings*. For *Aſa* King of *Juda*,
1 King. 15. 18. the Son of *Abiam*, the Son of *Roboam*, the Son of *Solomon*, being vexed and invaded by *Baaſha*, the Succeſſor of *Nadab*, the Son of *Jeroboam*, ſent to *Benhadad*, the Son of *Tabrimmon* the Son of *Hezion* King of *Aram*, that dwelt at *Damaſcus*, to invade *Iſrael* (while *Baaſha* ſought to fortifie *Rama* againſt *Aſa*; thereby to block him up, that he ſhould not enter into any of the Territories of *Iſrael*) who according to the deſire of *Aſa*, having received his Preſents, willingly invaded the Country of *Napthalim*, and took divers Cities, and ſpoils
1. Reg. 15. v. 18. thence: *Aſa* in the mean while carrying away all the Materials, which *Baaſha* had brought to fortifie *Rama* withal, and converted them to his own uſe.

This *Benhadad's* Father *Tabremmon* was in League with *Aſa*: and ſo was his Father *Hezion*; for *Aſa* requireth the continuance of that friendſhip from *Benhadad*, his Son; though it ſeemeth that the Gold and Silver ſent him out of the Temple, was the moſt forcible argument. And that this *Tabremmon* invaded *Iſrael*, before the enterprize of his Son *Benhadad*, it is conjectured. For *Benhadad* when he was priſoner with *Achab*, ſpoke as followeth. *The City which my Father took from thy Father, I will reſtore; and thou ſhalt make Streets or*
1 Reg. 20. v. 34. *Keepers of the Borders, for thee in* Damaſcus; *as my Father did in* Samaria. And herein there ariſeth a great doubt (if the Argument it ſelf were of much importance) becauſe *Tabremmon* was Father indeed to *Benhadad* which invaded *Baaſha*, at the requeſt of *Aſa*. But this *Benhadad* that twice entred upon *Achab*; and was the ſecond time taken Priſoner, was rather the Son of *Benhadad*, the firſt of
1 Reg. 15. that name, the Confederate of *Aſa* and *Abiam*, as before, than the Son of *Tabremmon*. For between the Invaſion of *Benhadad* the firſt, in *Baaſha's* time, and the ſiege of *Samaria*, and the overthrow of *Benhadad* by *Achab*, there paſt 49. years, as may be gathered out of the Reigns of the Kings of *Iſrael*. So that if we allow 30. years of Age to *Benhadad*, when he invaded *Baaſha*, and after that 49. years, e're he was taken by *Achab*, which make eighty lacking one, it is unlikely that *Benhadad*, at ſuch an Age, would make War. Beſides all this, the firſt *Benhadad* came with no ſuch pomp, but the ſecond *Benhadad* vaunteth, that he was followed with 32. Kings; and therefore I reſolve that *Benhadad* the Son of *Tabremmon* invaded *Baaſha* and *Omri*, and *Benhadad* the ſecond invaded *Achab*, at whoſe Hands

this

this *Benhadad* received two notorious Overthrows; the first at *Samaria*, by a Sally of 700 *Israelites*; the second at *Aphec*, where with the like Number in effect, the *Israelites* slaughtered 100000 of
1 *Reg.* 20. the *Aramites*, besides 27000, which were crusht by the Fall of the Wall of *Aphec*. And this *Benhadad*, *Achab* again setteth at Liberty; to whom he rendreth those Towns, that his Father had taken from the Predecessor of *Achab*; but being returned, he refuseth to surrender *Ramoth-Gilead*, a Frontier Town, and of great Importance. Now three years after (for so long the League lasted)
1 *Reg.* 22. *Ramoth* not being delivered, *Achab* invadeth *Gilead*, and assiegeth the City, being assisted by *Je-*
3227. *hosaphat*. The *Aramites* came to succor and fight,
3232. in which *Achab* is wounded, and dieth that night.
2 *Reg.* 5. After this, *Benhadad* sendeth the Commander of
1 *Reg.* 6. his Forces, called *Naaman*, to *Joram* the Son of *Achab*, to be healed of the Leprosie; and though *Elizeus* had healed him, yet he picketh Quarrel against *Joram*: And when *Joram*, by *Elizeus* his Intelligence, had escaped his Plot, he sent Men and Chariots to take the Prophet, as is aforesaid.
2 *Reg.* 6. After *Benhadad* besiegeth *Samaria* again; and be-
2 *Reg.* 7. ing terrified thence from Heaven, he departeth Home, and sickneth, and sendeth *Azael* with great
3234. Gifts to *Elizeus*, to know his Estate, if he might live. *Azael* returning, smothereth him. *Zonaras* and *Cedrenus* call this *Benhadad*, *Adar*, the Son of
Amo. 1. *Adar*: *Amos* and *Jeremiah* mention the Towers
Hier. 49. of *Benhadad*. *Josephus* writeth, that *Benhadad* and his Successor *Azael*, were worshipped for *Gods*, by the *Syrians* to his time, for the sumptu-
Ant. l. 8. *c.* 8. ous Temples which they built in *Damascus*. The *Syrians* also boasted much of their Antiquity, ignorant, saith he, that scarce 1100 years are compleat, since their Wars with the *Israelites*.

Hazael, or *Azael*, the first King of the race of the *Adads* of *Damascus*, was anointed by *Elisha*, or *Elizeus*, when he was sent by *Benhadad* to the Prophet, to know whether *Benhadad* should recover his present Fit of Sickness. He waged War with *Joram*, who received divers Wounds at the Encounter at *Ramoth* in *Gilead*; from whence returning to be cured at *Jesrael*, he and the King of *Juda*, *Ahaziah*, or *Ochozias*, are slain by *Jehu*, as before is said. After the Death of *Joram*, *Azael* continued the War against *Jehu*, and wasted *Gilead*,
2 *Reg.* 12. 17. and all those Portions of *Gad*, *Reuben*, and *Manasse*, over *Jordan*. He then invadeth *Juda*, and took *Gath*; but by Gifts from *Joas*, he was averted from attempting *Jerusalem*: for he presented
2 *Reg.* 12. him with all the *hallowed things which* JEHOSAPHAT, JEHORAM, *and* AHAZIAH, *his Fathers, Kings of* Juda *had dedicated, and which he himself had dedicated; and all the Gold which was found in the Treasuries of the Lord, and in the King's House*. This was the second time that the Temple was spoiled, to please the *Adads* of *Damascus*: For *Asa* did present *Benhadad* with those Treasures, when he invited him to war upon
1 *Reg.* 15. *Baasha*, King of *Israel*. And notwithstanding this Composition between *Joas* and *Azael*, yet a part of his Army spoiled the other Provinces of *Judæa*, and slaughtered many principal Persons.
2 *Kings* 13. *v.* 7. Lastly, *Azael* vexed *Joahas* the Son of *Jehu*, and brought him to that Extremity, as he left him but Fifty Horsemen, Ten Chariots, and Ten Thousand Footmen of all his People.

§. III.

Of the later Kings, and Decay and Overthrow of their Power.

After *Hazael*, *Benhadad* the Second, or rather the Third of that Name, the Son of *Hazael* reigned in *Damascus*, who fought against *Israel* with ill Success: For *Joas*, King of *Israel*, 2 *Reg.* 13. the Son of the unhappy *Joachaz*, as he was foretold by *Elisha* the Prophet, beat *Benhadad* in *Josep. Ant.* three several Battels; and he lost all those Cities to *Israel*, which his Father *Hazael* had taken violently from *Joachaz*. *c.* 9.

Afterward this *Benhadad*, the Son of *Hazael*, *Josep. Ant.* there succeeded three others of the same Name, *l.* 7. *c.* 6. of whom the Stories are lost; only *Nicholaus Damascenus*, cited by *Josephus*, makes mention of them: And in one of these King's Times it was, that *Jeroboam* the Second, the Son of *Joas*, re- 2 *King.* 14. covered *Damascus* it self, to *Judah*, saith the *Ge-* 28. *neva*; but better in *Junius*, *utque recuperabat Damascum, & Camatham Jehudæ, pro Israele*; that is, *And how he recovered for* Israel, Damascus, *and* Camatha *of* Judæa: For these Cities sometimes conquered by *David*, did of right belong to the Tribe of *Juda*.

And it is likely that this Conquest upon the *Adads* was performed; the first of these three *Adads* then living, of whom there is no Story. For when as *Jehoas* the King of the ten Tribes had thrice overcome the *Syrians* in the time of *Benhadad*, the Son of *Hazael*, and had recovered the Cities which *Hazael* had won from *Israel*; and so left his Kingdom to his Son *Jeroboam* the Second: It seemeth, that this *Jeroboam*, without delay, and having nothing else left for him to enterprise, instantly followed his Father's good Fortune, and invaded *Damascus*.

Razin, or *Rezin*, after *Josephus Rases*, after *Zonaras Raason* the 10*th*. *Adad*, maketh League with *Pekah*, or *Phacas*, King of *Israel*, against *Achaz*, King of *Juda*: Both carry away a great number of Prisoners. After this they both besiege *Achaz* in *Jerusalem*; but in vain. Then *Adad* alone in- 2 *Kings* vadeth *Elath*; and beating out the Jews, maketh 16. 5. it a Colony of *Syrians*. Wherefore *Achaz* brought *Es.* 7. *Tetglaphalassar* against *Razin*, who took him, and *Josep. Ant.* beheaded him, and won *Damascus*; with whom *lib.* 9. *c.* 12. ended the Line of the *Adads*, and the Kingdom of *Damascus*; the *Assyrians* becoming Masters both of that and *Israel*. These *Adads*, as they reigned in order, are thus reckoned:

1. *Adadezer*, the Son of *Rehob*.
2. *Rezin*, the Son of *Eliadad*, or *Razin*.
3. *Hezion*.
4. *Tabremmon*.
5. *Benhadad*, who invaded *Baasha*.
6. *Benhadad* the Second, taken Prisoner by *Achab*.
7. *Hazael*, whom *Elisha* foretold with Tears, of his Advancement; the same who overthrew *Joram*, King of *Israel*, at *Ramoth Gilead*. And that there was a second *Hazael*, which preceded *Benhadad* the Third, it is not improbable, because that *Hazael* which took *Gath*, and compounded the War with *Joas*, made the Expedition thirty Years, and perhaps more, after the first *Hazael*, which stifled his Master *Benhadad*, and had slain *Joram* the Son of *Achab*, King of *Israel*. For *Joas* began to reign in the seventh Year of *Jehu*, King of *Israel*; and after he had reigned twenty three Years, the Temple was not yet repaired;

after

after which (and how long we know not) it is said, that *Hazael* took *Geth*, and turned his Face towards *Jerusalem*. It is also some Proof, that *Hazael* which took *Geth*, was not the same with *Hazael* that murdered *Benhadad*, because he could not at that time but be of good Years, being, as it seemeth, the Second Person in the Kingdom, and Commander of *Benhadad*'s Men of War. To which *Hazael*, be he the first or second, succeeded,

8. *Benhadad* the Third, who *Joash*, King of *Israel*, thrice overthrew.

9. *Resin*, or *Rezin* the last, who joyned with *Pekah*, King of *Israel*, against *Juda*, at which time *Achaz*, King of *Juda*, waged for his defence *Teglatphalassar*.

Now between *Benhadad* the Third, and *Rezin* the last, *Nicholaus Damascenus* finds three other Kings of the *Adads*, which make twelve in all.

For the rest of the Princes, of *Syria*, which were
2 Sam. 8. 9 but *Reguli*, as those of *Emath*, and *Gessur*, we find that *Toha* was King of *Emath*, or *Chamath* in *David*'s time, to whom he sent his Son *Joram* with
Isa. 37. Presents, after *David*'s Victory against *Adadezer*. Also *Sennacherib* speaketh of a King of *Emath*, but nameth him not.

§ IV.

Of other lesser Kingdoms of the Syrians, *which being brought under the* Assyrians, *never recovered themselves again.*

OF *Gessur* we find two Kings named, to wit, *Talmai*, and his Father *Ammihur*. To *Talmai*, whose Daughter *David* married, it was that *Absalom* fled, who was his Maternal Grandfather. Of the Kings of *Sophena*, or *Syria*, *Soba*, or *Cœlosyria*, there are two named, *Rehob*, or *Rochob*, the the Father of *Adadezer*, and *Adadezer* himself; and it is plain, that after his Death, the Seat of the Kings of *Soba*, was transferred to *Damascus*, a City better fitting their Greatness. After, *Rezin* became Lord of both Principalities. And the Race of these Kings of *Syria*, (which became so potent, and joyned *Soba*, *Damascus*, *Emath*, and the Desart of *Arabia*, with other Provinces, into one, under *Rezin* the second of the *Adads*) as it began with *David*, so it ended at once with the Kingdom of *Israel*. For *Abaz* King of *Juda*, waged the *Assyrian Teglatphalassar* against *Pekah*, King of *Israel*, and against *Rezin*, the last King of *Damascus*; which *Teglath* first invading *Damascena*, and the Region of *Soba*, and took *Damascus* it self; and did put to Death *Rezin* the last, carrying the Inhabitants Captive. This was the second time that the *Assyrians* attempted *Israel*: For first, *Phul Belochus* entered the Borders thereof (*Menahem* governing *Israel*) who stop'd the Enterprize of *Phul*, with a thousand Talents of Silver: For this *Phul Belochus*, whose Pedigree we will examine hereafter, being scarce warm as yet in his Seat at *Babylon*, which he, with the help of his Companion *Arbaces*, had wrested from *Sardanapalus*; having besides this King of *Syria* in his way, who seemed to be a great and strong Prince, was content to take the Composition of a thousand Talents of the King of *Israel*, for that present time. But his Son *Teglath*, following the purpose of his Father *Belochus*, and finding so excellent an occasion, as the War begun between *Israel* and *Juda*, *Pekah* commanding in the one, and *Achaz* in the other, his Neighbour *Rezin* being also wrapt in that War, and wasted in strength thereby, did willingly accept the offer of *Achaz*, King of *Juda*, his Impresst and Entertainment. So, first attempting *Damascus*, which lay in his Path towards *Israel*, he carried it (as before remembred) and then with great Ease possest himself of the Cities of *Nephthalim*, leading with him a great part of the People Captive. And his Son *Salmanassar*, whom *Ptolomy* calleth *Nabonassar*, after the Revolt of *Hosea*, forced *Samaria*, and rent that Kingdom asunder. So as the Line and Race of *Ninus* in *Sardanapalus*, whom *Belochus* supplanted; the Race and Monarchy of *Syrian Adads* in *Rezin*, whom *Tiglath* slaughtered; the Kingdom of *Israel* in *Hosea*, whom *Salmanassar* overturned, happened near about a time; that of *Ninus* in the days of *Belochus*, and the other two in the days of *Teglatphalassar*, and *Salmanassar* his Son. For *Sardanapalus* perished, *Ossa* ruling *Juda*; and the other two Kingdoms were dissolved, *Achaz* yet living.

Lastly, the Kingdom of *Juda* it self, being attempted by *Sennacherib*, the Son of *Salmanassar*, in vain, and preserved for the time by God, miraculously, was at length utterly overturned. *Jerusalem* and the Temple burnt, an hundred thirty two years after the Captivity of *Israel* and *Samaria*; the Destruction of *Israel* being in the ninth Year of *Hosea*; that of *Juda* in the eleventh of *Zedechiah*. Now the Emperors of *Assyria* and *Babylon*, held also the Kingdom of *Syria*, from the eighth year of *Salmanassar*, to the last of *Baltassar*, whom *Herodotus* calleth *Labynitus*; in all 3603.
about two hundred Years. After these, the *Per-* 3811.
sians, from *Cyrus* to *Darius* their last King, held *Syria* about two hundred Years.

Then *Alexander Macedon* took this among other Provinces of the *Persian* Empire; and his Successors the *Seleucidæ* reigned therein, till it became subject to the Power of the *Romans*, from whom it was wrested long after by the *Saracens*, and remaineth now in Possession of the *Turk*, as shall be shewed in due place. Thus much of the Nations bordering upon the *Israelites*, with whom they had most to do, both in War and Peace, being the only People, whose History in those antient Times, carried an assured Face of Truth.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Tribe of Benjamin, *and of* Jeruſalem.

§ I.

Of divers memorable Places in the Tribe of Benjamin, *whereof* Jericho, Gilgal, Mitſpa, Bethel, Rama, Gobah *and* Gibha.

OF the Tribe of *Benjamin*, the Twelfth and youngeſt Son of *Jacob*, whom he had by *Rachel*, there were muſtered at Mount *Sinai*, Thirty five thouſand able Bodies; all which periſhing in the *Deſarts*, there entred the Holy Land of their Iſſues, Forty five thouſand ſix hundred, fit to bear Arms: And theſe had their Territory on this ſide *Jordan*, between *Juda* and *Ephraim*. The Cities within this Tribe, neareſt *Jordan*, are *Lod*, *Hadid* and *Ono*; of which *Lod* and *Ono* were built by *Shemed*, a *Benjamite*: They were all three re-inhabited with *Benjamites*, after the Return out of Captivity, as is mentioned, *Nehemiah* 11. 35. and *Eſdras* 2. 35. where *Adrichomius* reading *Lod*, *Hadid*, *Ono*, makes beſides *Hadid* in *Nehemiah*, a City called *Lodhadid*. This *Hadid*, or *Chadid*, was rebuilt by *Simon Maccbabæus*.

1 *Chron.* 8. 12.

Macc. 12. 38.

Samarim, or *Tſemaraim*, named of *Tſemary*, one of the Sons of *Canaan*, was another of their Cities; and further into the Land ſtandeth *Jericho*, one of the *Toparchies*, and the laſt of *Juda*; ſeated in a moſt fruitful Valley, adorned with many Palm trees; and therefore elſewhere called the City of *Palms*. From the Time of *Joſhua*, who utterly deſtroyed it, it lay waſte until the Time of *Achab*; in whoſe days *Chiel* of *Bethel* laid the new Foundation of it, in the Loſs of *Abiram* his Eldeſt Son, and built the Gates of it in the Loſs of his youngeſt Son *Segub*, according to the Curſe of *Joſhua*; in which, and other reſpects, *Hoſea* 12. 14. calleth *Joſhua* a Prophet. In after-times it was deſtroyed by *Veſpaſian*, and re-built by *Adrian*.

1 *Reg.* 17. 36.

Joſ. 26. 9.

* 1 *Chron.* 6. 60. This *Halmon* is called *Halemeth*, whence they make a new City *Almath*, as if this Tribe had given five Cities to the *Levites*

To the South eaſt of *Jericho*, ſtood * *Halmon* of the *Levites*, of which *Joſ.* 21. 18. To the South, *Betharaba*, of which *Joſ.* c. 15. *and* c. 18. Then that *Gilgal*, of which there is ſo much mention in the Scripture, where *Joſhua* firſt eat of the Fruits of the Land; circumciſed all thoſe born in the Deſarts, and celebrated the *Paſſeover*.

The Reaſon of the Name, or rather a memorable Application of the *Etymology* of this Name, (for it ſeems by the place *Deut.* 11. 30. that the Name was known before the coming of the *Iſraelites* into *Canaan*) is noted *Jo.* 5. 9. *Ob devolutionem probri Ægytiaci*, becauſe their Fore-skins (the People being there circumciſed) were tumbled down the Hill; which from thence was called *Collis Præputiorum*. This *Gilgal* was alſo called *Geliloth*, as appears by comparing the places, *Joſ.* 15. 7. & 18. 17. For it was in the Borders of *Jordan*, of which *Joſ.* 22. 13. and *Geliloth* ſignifieth Borders. It ſtood (though in ſome diſtance) directly Eaſtward, over againſt the two Hills, *Garizim* and *Hebal*; upon the one of which the Bleſſings, and on the other the Curſings were to be read to the People, both being the Mountains of *Ephraim*. Further, for the Scituation of this *Gilgal*, it is to be noted, that both it, and *Mitſpa* of *Benjamin* (of which alſo we read oft in the Scripture) were ſeated about the midſt of the length of the Land of *Canaan*; For which reaſon *Samuel* choſe theſe two places, to either of which he came yearly to give *Judgment* to the *Iſraelites*; of which two (*Gilgal* as is ſaid) was near *Jordan* on the Eaſt ſide of this Tribe; and *Mitſpa* near the Weſt Sea, towards the Land of the *Philiſtims*.

Deut. 11. 30.

1 *Sam.* 7. 15.

The Third place, which is named with theſe two, whither alſo *Samuel* uſed yearly to come, is † *Bethel*; which alſo was ſeated in this Tribe of *Benjamin*. But to return to *Gilgal* which was the firſt place, where the Ark reſided, after they paſt over *Jordan* (from whence it was carried to *Silo*, and thence to *Kiriath-jeharim*, and at length to *Jeruſalem*) here in *Gilgal* it was that *Joſua* pitched up the twelve ſtones, which were taken out of the Channel of *Jordan* when it was dry, that the *Iſraelites* might paſs over it; by which Story, as it is ſet down *Joſ.* 4. it appears, that the ſame day that they paſſed over *Jordan*, they lodged at *Gilgal*. At the ſame *Gilgal*, to omit many other memorable things, it was that *Samuel* hewed *Agag* the King of the *Amalekites* in pieces. And as for *Mitſpa*, whither alſo *Samuel* came yearly to give Judgment, there alſo were often the greateſt meetings held, as that for the revenge of the *Levites* wife againſt *Gibha*, and the *Benjamites*, *Jud.* 20. 1. and another againſt the *Philiſtims*, 1 *Sam.* 7. 12. Thither alſo *Judas Macchabæus* gathered the *Jews* (when *Jeruſalem* was poſſeſt by the *Heathen*) as it is 1 *Mac.* 3. 47. in which place this reaſon of their meeting is added; *Quia locus Orationi fuerat Mitſpæ antea Iſraeli*. Touching this *Mitſpa*, to avoid confuſion, it is to be remembred, that the Scriptures mention four places of this name: *Mitſpa* of *Juda*, of which *Joſ.* 15. 38. * *Mitſpa* of *Gilead*, of which we have ſpoken already in the Tribe of *Gad*: *Mitſpa* of the *Moabites*, where *David* for a while held himſelf, commending his Parents to the King of *Moab*, 1 *Sam.* 22. 3. and laſtly, this chief *Mitſpa* of the *Benjamites*. And as in this place the chief Meetings were held, both before *Jeruſalem* was recovered from the *Jebuſites*, and alſo in the time of the *Maccabees* (as we have ſaid) when *Jeruſalem* was held by the wicked under *Antiochus*, ſo alſo in the time of *Jeremy*, after the deſtruction of the Temple by the *Chaldees*, *Gedaliah*, whom *Nabuchodonoſor* left in *Jewry*, as Governor over thoſe that were left in the land, held his abiding in this place; untill (to the great hurt of the *Jews*) he was ſlain by the Treaſon of *Iſmael*, one of the Royal Blood of *Juda*, as it is *Jeremiah* 14.

† *Junius* in this place, for *Bethel*, reads *Domum Dei fortis*, and interprets it, *Kiriath-jeharim*, where the Ark abode: For (ſaith he) by the Law, *Exod.* 23. 17. the greateſt Meetings in their annual Feaſts, were to be where the *Ark* was; but this place doth not ſpeak of feſtival, but of judicial meetings: And beſides, the Prieſts did uſe to bring the *Ark* to their great Meetings, whereſoever they were, as appears 1 *Sam.* 12. *v.* 1. & c. 14. *v.* 18. neither is it eaſie to expound *Bethel*, otherwiſe than for the City *Bethel*, tho' *Junius* alſo takes it for the place where the *Ark* was, 1 *Sam.* 10. 3.

* It was no other than this *Mitſpa* of *Gilead*, of which *Joſ.* 11. 8. as appears by that which is added, *Verſus Orientem*: For *Joſhua* notes the three quarters North, Weſt and Eaſt, to which he followed the *Canaanites*; though *Adrichomius*, and others, out of this place, imagine a *Mitſpa*, or *Maſpha* (as they write it) in the Tribe of *Aſſer*.

Near unto this *Mitſpa* ‖ the Scripture mentioneth *Beth-car*, after called *Aben-Hezar*, that is, the ſtone of help: where *Samuel* pitched up the Pillar or Stone, for a *Trophy* againſt the *Philiſtims*. ‖ 1 *Sam.* 7. 11.

Touch-

Touching *Bethel*, which (as it ſeems) was the third place where *Samuel* held his chief Meetings for the miniſtring of Juſtice, that it was anciently called *Luz*, and how it was taken by the Iſſue of *Joſeph* (though it belonged to the Portion of *Benjamin*, as it is *Nehemiah* 11. 31. and *Joſhuah* 18. 22.) and how another City called * *Luz*, near adjoyning to it, was built by the Man of the City, which ſhewed the Entrance to the Spies, as it is *Judges* 1. and of the occaſion of the Name from *Jacob's* Viſion; and how *Jeroboam*, by erecting one of his Calves here, of *Bethel* (which ſignifieth the Houſe of God) made it (a) *Beth-aven*, that is, the Houſe of Vanity, *Hoſ.* 4. 15. and 10. 5. as alſo other memorable things of this place; they are ſo well known out of the Hiſtories of the Scripture, that we may well paſs them over.

* *Joſ.* 16. 2.

(a) Borrowing the name of a neighbour Town in the Confines of the Kingdoms of *Juda* and *Iſrael*, between *Hai* and *Bethel*, *Joſ.* 7. 2. and 18. 12.

The Territory of *Bethel*, which at the firſt belonged to the Kingdom of the ten Tribes, from the time of the great Victory of *Abia* againſt *Jeroboam* (of which 2 *Chron.* 13.) was taken from them, and adjoyned to the Kingdom of *Juda*; and ſo it continued, as appears by the Story of *Joſiah*, which performed the Propheſies againſt the Altar of *Bethel*, 2 *Reg.* 23. whence thoſe Coaſts, 1 *Macc.* 11. 34. are called *Aphærema*, which *Greek* Word ſignifieth as much as, *A thing taken away*, to wit, from the ten Tribes. It was one of the three *Seigniories*, or *Præfectures* which *Demetrius*, in his Epiſtle mentioneth, as added by him to the *Ditio* of the *Jews*, out of the *Samaritan* Countrey. A part of it, as appears, 2 *Chron.* 13. 19. was *Hephrævin*, which *Joſ.* 18. 23. is called *Hophram*, belonging to this Tribe of *Benjamin*.

Not far from this *Bethel*, in this Tribe, we find three other Cities often mentioned in the Scriptures, *Rama*, *Gibha* and *Gebah*. Of the Name *Rama*, (b) it is noted already in the Deſcription of *Ephraim*, that there were many Towns ſo called, becauſe of their high Scituation: But whereas they find out *Rama* in the Tribe of *Juda* (as it ſeems, becauſe *Matthew* 2. it appears that it bordered *Bethlehem*) and alſo out of *Brochard* and *Breidenbach*, make *Silo* to have been called *Rama*, and find yet another *Rama* in *Zabulon*; and theſe three have no Warrant in the Scripture. Of *Rama*, in the Tribe of *Aſſer*, as it ſeems, we have Teſtimony, *Joſ.* 19. 29. and of another in *Nephthalim*, *Joſ.* 19. 36. of a third *Rama*, where *Samuel* dwelt in Mount *Ephraim*, 1 *Samuel* 25. 1. which more often is called (c) *Ramatha*, and 1 *Samuel* 1. 1. *Ramathaim Tſophim*; for which the *Septuagint* have *Aramathaim-ſophim*, taking the Article affixed in the beginning, for a part of the word, whence they think *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, *Matthew* 27. 57. was denominated.

(b) See c. 9. § 1.

(c) Of this *Ramatha*, I underſtand the place, 1 *Macc.* 11. 34. where it is named for one of the three *Præfectures*, which *Demetrius* yields to the *Jews* out of the Country of *Samaria*; this lying toward the Eaſt to *Jericho*, and *Juda* toward the Weſt; and *Apharema* (of which even now we ſpake) lying in the midſt, between the two other. A ſixth *Rama* it ſeems there was in the Tribe of *Simeon*, toward the South, and which *Joſ.* 19. 8. 7. called *Ramah* of the South, and otherwiſe *Baalath-beer*.

Of a fourth *Rama*, we read 2 *Reg.* 8. 29. which is *Ramoth* in *Gilehad*. The firſt, which is moſt often mentioned, is *Rama* of *Benjamin*, ſeated, as we ſaid, near *Bethel*, the uttermoſt South-border of the Kingdom of the Ten Tribes; for which Cauſe *Baaſha*, in the time of *Aſa*, King of *Juda* fortified it, to hinder thoſe that did fly from him to *Aſa*. Of this *Rama*, or *Ramatha*, I ſhould rather think that *Joſeph* was, that buried Chriſt, becauſe it was nearer to *Jeruſalem*, and after the Captivity belonged to *Juda*, as it appears, *Eſd.* 2. 26. where in that it is joyned with *Gebah*, it is plain, that he ſpeaketh of that *Rama*, with whoſe Stones (after *Baaſha* had ceaſed to build it) *Aſa* (as it is 1 *Reg.* 25. 22.) built *Gebah* adjoyning to it, both being in *Benjamin*. And as *Rama* was the South border of the Ten Tribes, ſo was *Gebah* the North-border of the Kingdom of *Juda*; whence 2 *Reg.* 23. 8. we read, that *Joſiah*, through all his Kingdom, even from *Gebah*, which was the North border to *Beer ſheba*, which was the South-border, deſtroyed the places of Idolatry.

The third City *Gibha*, which was the City of *Saul* (the Wickedneſs of which City, in the time of the *Judges*, had almoſt utterly rooted out this Tribe) *Adrichomius* confounds with *Gebah*, making one of two (as they are evidently diſtinguiſhed, *Iſaiah* 10. 27. of which word (d) *Gibha*, in another form *Gibbath*, he imagineth *Gabaath*, another City in this Tribe, making two of one. The Vicinity of this City alſo to *Rama* of *Benjamin*, appears, *Jude* 19. 13. where the *Levite* with his Wife, not able to reach to *Rama*, took up his Lodging at *Gibha*. By that place of 1 *Samuel* 22. 6. it ſeems, that there was in this *Gibha* ſome Tower or Cittadel, called *Rama*, where *Junius* reads, in *excelſo*, for in *Rama*: but it may be, that the Name of the King's Palace in this City was *Rama*, (for this word is oft-times an Appellative, ſignifying a Hill) but as it ſeems, that in *Rama* of *Samuel*, the Naem of the chief place where *Samuel* with the Colledge of *Prophets* abode, was *Naioth*. The great City of *Hai*, overthrown by *Joſhua*, which *Joſ.* 7. 2. is placed near *Beth-aven*, upon the Eaſt of *Bethel*, was in this Tribe, as is proved, *Nehemiah* 7. 10. 30. though it be not named by *Joſhua*, chap. 18. for it was burned by him, and laid deſolate, as it is, *Joſhua* 8. 28. *In ſolitudinem in tumulum perpetuum.* Another City of chief Note, reckoned, *Joſhua* 18. 25. in this Tribe, was *Gibbon*, the chief City of the *Hivites*, whoſe Cunning, to bind the *Iſraelites* by Oath to ſave their Lives, is ſet down, *Joſhua* 9. whence they were reckoned among the *Nethinæi*, or *Proſelites*, and were bound to certain publick Services in the Houſe of God; which Oath of ſaving theſe *Gibeonites*, broken in part after by *Saul*, was by God puniſhed by a Famine, 2 *Samuel* 21. 1. This *Gibeon*, or *Gibbon*, with *Almon* and *Jebab* (of both which we have ſpoken) and with *Hanothoth*, the Natal Place of *Jeremiah* the Prophet, were ſaid, *Joſhua* 21. 28. to be given to the *Levites* by the *Benjamites*. Near to this *Hanothoth* was *Nob*, as appears 1 *Reg.* 2. 26. where *Abiathar* the Prieſt, which was of *Nob*, before it was deſtroyed by *Saul*, is ſent to his Grounds at *Hanothoth*. It is reckoned in the Tribe of *Benjamin*, *Nehemiah* 9. 31. and though in the time of *Saul*, the reſiding place of the Ark was in *Kiriath jearim*, yet by the lamentable Tragedy of Blood ſhed, which *Saul* raiſed in this place (as it is ſet down, 1 *Samuel* 21, and 22.) in the Judgment of *Junius*, it is proved, that the Tabernacle was there for a time.

(d) *Gibha* in conſtruction, that is, governing a Genitive Caſe, is *Gibbath*, whence the *Vulgar* out of the *Septuagint* read, *Joſ.* 24. 33. *Gabaath Phinees*; for which *Junius* hath *Collis Phincaſi*. Hill) but this Text, and placeth it in *Benjamin*, when as the words adjoyned, note that this Hill was in the Mountains of *Ephraim*.

Micmas alſo in this Tribe, *Nehemiah* 9. 31. was a place of Fame, of which *Iſaiah* 10. 28. where alſo he nameth *Gallim* and *Migron* in this Tribe. In *Micmas*, *Saul* had his Camp, 1 *Samuel* 13. 2. (when he left *Gibha* to *Jonathan*) and there alſo was *Jonathan Maccabæus* his Abode, 1 *Mac.* 9. 73. Of *Giſcala* in *Galilee*, *Joſephus* often maketh mention; but of any here in *Benjamin*, which

The word *Nethinim*, or *Nethinæi*, is as much as *dati* (as it were *à Deo dati*;) or as *Junius* expounds it, *dedititii* is uſed, 1 *Chron.* 9. 2. and in *Eſdras* and *Nehemiah* often.

they make the Natal Place of St. *Paul*, whence (they say) when it was taken by the *Romans*, he sailed with his Parents to *Tharsis*: Of this I find no good Warrant. Other places of less Importance I omit, and come to the City of *Jerusalem*, and the Princes and Governors of this City; a great part whereof was in the Tribe of *Benjamin*, whence, *Joshua* 18. 28. it is named among the Cities of *Benjamin*.

§ II.

Of divers memorable things concerning Jerusalem.

AT what time *Jerusalem* was built (which afterward became the Princess of all Cities) it doth not appear. Some there are, who imagine, that *Melchisedec* was the Founder thereof in *Abraham*'s Time. But according to others, that City out of which *Melchisedec* encountred *Abraham* (in his return from the Overthrow of the *Assyrian* and *Persian* Kings or Captains, when *Lot* was made Prisoner) standeth by the River of *Jordan*, in the half Tribe of *Manasse*, bordering *Zabulon*, which was also called *Salem*, and by the *Greeks*, *Solima*.

See in the hither half of *Manasse*.

Hierusalem, (whensoever, or by whom built) was a Principal City in *Joshua* his Time; yet not so renowned as *Hazor* the *Metropolis* (in those Days, and before) of all the *Canaanites*. *Adonizedeck* (whom *Joshua* slew) was then King of *Jerusalem*. That it was belonging to the *Jebusites* it is manifest: For how long soever they held it before *Moses* his Time, they were Masters and Lords thereof almost four hundred Years after him, even till *David* wan it; and therefore in all likelyhood, it was by the *Jebusæi* (the Children of *Jebusæus*, the Son of *Canaan*) built; after whom it was called *Jebus*. And so much did that Nation relie on the Strength of the Place, as when *David* attempted it, they bragged, that their Lame, and Blind, and impotent People should defend it.

2 *Sam.* 5. v. 6.

David, after he had, by God's Assistance, possest it, and turned out the *Jebusites*, gave it an exceeding great Encrease of Circuit; strengthened it with a Cittadel or Castle, and beautified it with many Palaces, and other Buildings, changing the Name from *Jebusalem*, the City of the *Jebusites*, to *Jerusalem*, which the *Greeks* call *Hierosolima*. After *David*'s Time, *Solomon* amplified, beautified, and strengthened it exceedingly: For, besides the Work of the Temple, which was no less admirable than renowned among all Nations; the Palaces, Gates and Walls, could not any where in the World be exampled: And besides that it had an Hundred and fifty thousand Inhabitants, the Women and Children not accounted. The Ditch had Sixty Foot of Depth, cut out of the very Rock, and Two hundred and fifty Foot of Breadth, whereof the like hath seldom been heard of either since or before.

Jos. cont. App. l. 1. *Strabo Geog. l.* 16.

After the Death of *Solomon*, and that the Kingdom of the *Jews* was cut asunder, *Shishac*, King of *Ægypt*, and his Predecessor, having bred up for that purpose *Adad* the *Idumæan*, and *Jeroboam*, *Solomon*'s Servant; and both married to *Ægyptians*; the State by the one disturb'd, by the other broken, *Shishac* first invaded the Territory of *Juda*, entred *Jerusalem*, and Sackt it; and became Master, not only of the Riches of *Solomon*, but of all those Spoils which *David* had gotten from *Adadezer*, *Toha*, the *Ammonites*, and other Nations. It was again sackt, and a part of the Wall thrown down by *Joas* King of *Israel*, while *Amasia* the twelfth King thereof governed *Juda*.

2 *Chron.* 12.

2 *King.* 14.

2 *King.* 14.

Not long after, *Achaz*, the Fifteenth King of *Juda*, impoverished the Temple, and presented *Teglathphalassar* with the Treasures thereof. And *Manasse*, the Son of *Ezekiah*, the Son of *Achaz*, by the Vaunts made by *Ezekiah* to the Embassadors of *Merodach*, lost the Remain, and the very Bottom of their Treasures. It was again spoiled by the *Babylonians*, *Joakim* then reigning. But this ungrateful, idolatrous, and rebellious Nation, taking no warning by these God's gentle Corrections and Afflictions; but persisting in all kind of Impiety, filling the City even to the Mouth with innocent Blood, God raised up that great *Babylonian* King *Nebuchadonosor*, as his Scourge and Revenger, who making this Glorious City and Temple, with all the Palaces therein, and the Walls, and Towers which embraced them, even and level with the Dust, carried away the Spoils with the Princes and People, and crusht them with the heavy Yoak of Bondage and Servitude full seventy years; insomuch, as *Sion* was not only become as a torn, and plowed up Field, *Jerusalem* a Heap of Stone and Rubble, the Mountain of the Temple as a Grove, or Wood of Thorns and Briars; but (as *Hierom* speaketh) even the Birds of the Air scorned to fly over it, or the Beasts to tread on that defiled Soil.

1 *Chron.* 5. 16. 2 *King* 25.

2 *King.* 19. 2 *Par.* 18.

Mich. 3. *Hier.* 25. 26. 29

Then seventy Years being expired, according to the Prophesie of *Daniel*, and the *Jews*, by the Grace of *Cyrus*, returned, the Temple was again built, though with Interruption and Difficulty enough, and the City meanly inhabited, and without Walls, or other Defences, for some Sixty and odd Years, till *Nehemiah*, by the Favour of *Artaxerxes*, rebuilt them. Then again was the Temple and City spoiled by *Bagoses*, or *Vagoses*, the Lieutenant of *Artaxerxes*; after, by * *Ptolomæus* the First; then by *Antiochus Epiphanes*; and again by *Apollonius* his Lieutenant. By *Pompey* it was taken long after, but not destroyed, nor robbed; though *Crassus* in his *Parthian* Expedition, took as much as he could of that which *Pompey* spared.

Hier. to 3. *trad. Heb.*

Nehem. 12. 34. &c.

* The first of the *Ægyptian* Kings after *Alexander Macedon*, who dissembling his Religion, came up to *Jerusalem* to offer Sacrifice. *Jos.* 12. *an.* 1.

But the Damages which it sustained by the Violence of Sacrilegious Tyrants, were commonly recompensed by the Industry or Bounty of good Princes, the voluntary Contribution of the People, and the Liberality of Strangers. Before the Captivity, the People of the Land, through the Exhortation of Godly Kings, made many and large Offerings to repair the Temple of *Solomon*. The Wrong done by *Ptolomæus Lagi* to the second Temple, was requited by the Bounty of his Son *Ptolomæus Philadelphus*. The Mischief wrought by *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and his Followers, was amended partly by the great Offerings which were sent to *Jerusalem* out of other Nations. Finally, all the Losses, which either the City, or Temple had endured, might well seem forgotten in the Reign of *Herod*, that usurping and wicked, but magnificent King, who amplified the City, new built the Temple; and with many sumptuous Works, did so adorn them, that he left them far more stately and glorious, than they had been in the Days of *Solomon*.

M. T. C. pro Cyllo.

§ III.

§ III.

Of the Destruction of Jerusalem *by the* Romans.

IN this flourishing Estate, it was, at the coming of our Saviour *Christ Jesus*; and after his Death and Ascension it so continued about fourty Years: But then did *Titus* the *Roman*, being stirred up, by God, to be the Revenger of *Christ* his Death, and to punish the *Jews* sinful Ingratitude, encompass it with the *Roman* Army, and became Lord thereof. He began the Siege at such time as the *Jews*, from all parts, were come to the Celebration of the *Passeover*; so as the City was then filled with many hundreds of thousands of all sorts, and no manner of Provision or Store for any such Multitudes. An extream Famine, with the Civil Dissention, oppresst them within the Walls; a forcible Enemy assailed them without. The *Idumæans* also, who lay in wait for the Destruction of the *Jews* Kingdom, thrust themselves into the City, of purpose to betray it, who also burnt the Temple, when *Nebuchodonosor* took it. And to be short, there perished of all sorts, from the first besieging, to the Consummation of the Victory, Eleven hundred thousand Souls; and the City was so beaten down, and demolished, as those which came afterward to see the Desolation thereof, could hardly believe that there had been any such Place or Habitation: Only the three *Herodian* Towers (Works most magnificent, and overtopping the rest) were spared, as well for Lodgings for the *Roman* Garrisons, as that thereby their Victory might be the more Notorious and Famous: For by those Buildings of strength and State remaining, after-ages might Judge what the rest were; and their Honour be the greater and more shining that thereover became Victorious.

Esd. 1. c. 4. v. 45.

After this, such *Jews* as were scattered here and there in *Judæa*, and other Provinces, began again to inhabit some part of the City; and by degrees to rebuild it, and strengthen it as they could, being then at Peace, and Tributaries to the *Roman* State; but after Sixty Five years, when they again offered to Revolt, and Rebel, *Ælius Adrianus the Emperour* slaughtered many Thousands of them, and overturned those Three *Herodian* Towers, with all the rest, making it good which *Christ* himself had foretold; *That there shall not stand one Stone upon another*, of that ungrateful City. Afterward, when his Fury was appeased, and the Prophecy accomplished, he took one part without the Wall, wherein stood *Mount Calvary, and the Sepulchre of* Christ, and excluding of the rest the greatest portion, he again made it a City of great Capacity, and called it after his own name, *Ælia Capitolia*. In the Gate toward *Bethel*, he caused a Sow to be cut in Marble, and set in the Front thereof, which he did in despight of the *Jews* Nation; making an *Edict*, that they should not from thenceforth ever enter into the City, neither should they dare so much as to behold it, from any other high place overtopping it.

Gul. Tir. Bel. Sa. l. 14. c. 12.

But the Christian Religion flourishing in *Palæstina*, it was inhabited at length, by all Nations, and especially by Christians; and so it continued 500. years.

Onuphrius Chro.

It was afterward in the 636. year after *Christ*, taken by the *Ægyptian Saracens*, who held it 400. and odd years.

In the year 1099. it was regained by *Godfrey* of *Bouillon*, by assault, with an exceeding slaughter of the *Saracens*, which *Godfrey*, when he was Elected King thereof, refused to be Crowned with a Crown of Gold, because *Christ*, for whom he fought, was therein Crowned with Thorns. After this recovery, it remained under the Successors of *Godfrey* Eighty Eight years: till in the year 1197. it was regained by *Saladin* of *Ægypt*: And lastly, in the year 1517. in the time of *Selim*; the *Turks* cast out the *Ægyptians*, who now hold it, and call it *Cuzumobarec*, or the Holy City. Neither was it *Jerusalem* alone, that hath so often times been beaten down and made desolate, but all the great Cities of the World have with their Inhabitants, in several Times and Ages, suffered the same Shipwrack. And it hath been Gods just Will, to the end others might take Warning, if they would; not only to Punish the impiety of Men, by Famine, by the Sword, by Fire, and by Slavery; but he hath revenged himself of the very places they possest; of the Walls and Building, yea of the Soil, and the Beasts that fed thereon.

G. Tir. l. 8. c. 5. 18, 19, &c.

For, even that Land, sometime called Holy, hath in effect, lost all her Fertility, and Fruitfulness; Witness the many Hundreds of Thousands, which it fed in the days of the Kings of *Juda* and *Israel*; it being at this time all over, in effect, exceeding Stony and Barren. It also pleased God, not only to consume with Fire from Heaven, the Cities of the *Sodomites*; but the very Soil it self hath felt, and doth feel the Hand of God to this day. God would not spare the Beasts that belonged to *Amalek*, no not any small number of them, to be Sacrificed to himself; neither was it enough that *Achan* himself was Stoned, but that his Moveables were also consumed and brought to Ashes.

§ IV.

Of the Vain and Malicious Reports of Heathen Writers, touching the Ancient Jews.

OF the Original of the *Jews*, prophane Writers have conceived diversely and injuriously. *Quintilian* speaks infamously of them, and of their Leader; who (saith he) gathered together a pernicious Nation. *Diodore* and *Strabo* make them *Ægyptians*. Others affirm that while *Isis* Governed *Ægypt*, the people were so increased, as *Jerosolymus*, and *Judas* led thence a great Multitude of that Nation, with whom they planted the Neighbour Regions; which might be meant by *Moses* and *Aaron*: for the name of *Moses* was accidental, because he was taken up and saved out of the Waters. But *Justin*, of all other most Malicious, doth derive the *Jews* from the *Syrian* Kings; of whom, *Damascus*, saith he, was the first; and to him succeeded *Abraham*, *Moses*, and *Israel*. He again supposeth (somewhat contrary to himself) that *Israel* had Ten Sons, among whom he divided the Land of *Juda*; so called of *Judas* his Eldest, who had the greatest Portion. The youngest of the Sons of *Israel* he calleth *Joseph*; who being brought up in *Ægypt*, became Learned in Magical Arts, and in the Interpretations of Dreams, and Signs prodigious, and this *Joseph* (saith he) was Father to *Moses*: who with the rest, by reason of their foul Diseases, and least

Justin. l. 36.

they ſhould infect others, were Baniſhed *Ægypt.* Further, he telleth how theſe Men thus Baniſhed, when in the *Deſarts* they ſuffered extream Thirſt and Famine, and therein found relief the Seventh day; for this cauſe ever after obſerved the Seventh day, and kept it Holy; making it a Law among themſelves, which afterward became a Branch of their Religion. He addeth alſo, that they might not Marry out of their own Tribes, leaſt diſcovering their uncleanneſs, they might alſo be expelled by other Nations, as they were by the *Ægyptians.* Theſe and ſuch like Fables hath *Juſtin.*

Cornelius Tacitus, doth as groſly belye them in affirming, That in the inmoſt Oratory of their Temple, they had the Golden Head of an *Aſs,* which they adored. But herein *Tacitus* forgetteth himſelf, having in the fifth Book of his own Hiſtory truly confeſſed of the *Jews,* that they Worſhipped one only God: And thought it moſt prophane to repreſent the *Deity* by any Material Figure, by the ſhape of a Man, or any other Creature; and they had therefore in their Temples, no Image or Repreſentation, no not ſo much as in any City by them inhabited. Somewhat like this hath *Alexander Polyhiſtor,* in *Stephanus*; who alſo makes *Judas* with *Idumæa,* the firſt Parents of the *Jews.*

Cited by *Stephanus* in *Judæa.*

Claudius Iolaus draws them from *Judæus,* whoſe Parents were *Sparton* and *Thebis*; whence it came, that the *Spartans,* or *Lacedæmonians,* challenged kindred of the *Hebrews*: but they did it as deſcended of *Abraham,* ſaith *Joſephus.* Some of theſe reports ſeem to have been gathered out of divine Letters; though wreſted and perverted, according to the Cuſtom of the Heathen. For ſo have they obſcured and altered the Story of the Creation, of Paradiſe, of the Flood; and given new Names to the Children of *Adam* in the firſt Age; to *Noah* and his Sons, in the Second; and ſo to *Abraham, Iſaac,* and *Jacob, Moſes,* and the reſt of the Fathers, and Leaders of the *Hebrews*; all which fainings, as touching the *Jews* and their Originals, *Joſephus* againſt *Appion,* and *Tertullian* have ſufficiently anſwered. For that the *Hebrews* were the Children of *Arphaxad* and *Heber,* no man doubteth: And ſo *Chaldæans* Originally, taking name either of *Heber,* the Son of *Sale,* or elſe (ſaith *Montanus*) of wandring, as is before remembred. And therefore doth *Stephanus,* the *Greek Grammarian,* derive the *Hebrews* or *Jews,* from *Abrabon*; having miſtaken the name of *Abraham,* who was the Son of *Heber,* in the Sixth deſcent. Their ancient Names were firſt changed by the two Grand-Children of *Abram*; for after *Jacob,* otherwiſe *Iſrael,* the chief part were called *Iſrael,* another part after *Eſau* or *Edom, Edomites*; at length the remnant of *Jacob,* being moſt of the Tribe of *Juda,* honoured the Name of *Judas,* the Son of *Jacob,* and became *Judæans* or *Jews*; as alſo for a time in the Name of *Ephraim* the Son of *Joſeph,* the chief of the *Patriarchs* of the Ten Tribes; the reſt of the Ten Tribes were comprehended, but were firſt rooted out when the Kingdom of *Iſrael* fell. The *Judæans* continued their Names, though they ſuffered the ſame Servitude not long after, under *Nabuchodonoſor.*

Tert. in Apol.

Caleb. f. 63.

The Government which this Nation underwent, was Firſt paternal: which continued till they ſerved the *Ægyptians.* They were Secondly ruled by their Captains and Leaders, *Moſes* and *Joſhua,* by a Policy Divine. Thirdly, they ſubjected themſelves to Judges. Fourthly, they deſired a King, and had *Saul* for the firſt: Of whom and his Succeſſours, before we intreat, we are firſt to ſpeak of their Government under Judges, after the death of *Joſhua*; with ſomewhat of the things of Fame in other Nations about theſe times

CHAP. XIII.

Of the memorable things that happened in the World, from the Death of Joſhua, *to the War of* Troy; *which was about the time of* Jephtha.

§. I.

Of the Inter-Regnum *after* Joſhua's *Death: and of* Othoniel.

WHEN *Joſhua* was now dead, who with the advice of the 70. Elders, and the High Prieſt, held Authority over the People, and ordered that Common-Wealth: It pleaſed God to direct the Tribe of *Juda* (in whom the Kingdom was afterward eſtabliſhed) to undertake the War againſt the *Canaanites,* over whom (with Gods favour, and the aſſiſtance of *Simeon*) they became Victorious.

In the firſt attempt which they made, they not only ſlew ten thouſand, but made *Adonibezek* Priſoner; the Greateſt and Cruelleſt Commander, both of the *Canaanites* and *Perizzites.* This Tyrants Cruelty, as elſewhere hath been ſignified, they returned in the ſame kind upon his own head: and ſo by the Torments which he now felt in his own perſon (before no otherwiſe known unto him, but by his malitious imagination) made him confeſs and acknowledge Gods juſt Judgment againſt himſelf.

The Tribes of *Juda* and *Simeon* did alſo maſter and poſſeſs, during this *Inter-regnum* (or as ſome think, before the death of *Joſhua*) the Cities of *Azotus, Askalon, Ekron,* and *Jeruſalem,* which they burnt, and the *Iebuſites* afterward re-edified. They took alſo the Cities of *Hebron, Debir,* or *Kiriathſepher,* and *Zephath,* afterwards *Horma.* And although it be not ſet down in expreſs words, that any one Perſon commanded in Chief over the people, as *Moſes* and *Joſhua* did; yet it ſeemeth that *Caleb* was of greateſt Anthority amongſt them, and that he with the advice of *Phinees* directed and ordered their Wars. For if any think that they proceeded without a Chief, the good ſucceſs which followed their undertakings witneſſeth the contrary. And it was *Caleb,* even while *Joſhua* Governed, as appears *Joſ.* 10. 39. that propounded the attempt of *Debir,* to the reſt of the Captains; for the performance of which enterprize, he promiſed his Daughter *Achſah*: which he performed to *Othoniel* his younger Brother

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The desert Arabia
Saccæa
Agræi
Saue or Saba from whens the Sabeans spoyled Iob
Alsadamus mons
Palmerina
The contry of tyme Zamzumminis
Saba of Malchizer
Thesbe of Elias & Tobit
Berothy
Betack
Emath or Ituria of Tohu
Aduch
Caruth
The mountains Sanir
Caslu
Caphar
Eanum Bad
Syria da masci
Hermon
Gaulen
Bathanea
Gallaad
Gessur
Basra
Asteroth Carnaim
Themon
Raphaim
Edrai
Gessuri regio
Caterbarum
Phiale fons
Hus. the teritories of Iob
Baldwyn the 2. ouerthroweth the Damasens
Damascus
The riuer
Machati
of Libanus
MANASSE
Racanitis
Bethsaida desert
Magdalon
Gerasa
Cadara
Iaher Galaad
Nobach
Helon
Reseth
Philippi
Kabbata
Cæsarea
Dan
Iulias
Iordan
Chalcis
Sephumi
Abelnathmacha
Galilee superior
The sea of Galile
Corazain
Capernaum
Magdalum
Tiberias
Tarichea
Hippos
Abila
Augustus temple
Siburon
The ouerthrow of Iabin king of Aser by Iosue
Mons Christ
NEPTA-
Masaloth
Marufeth
Carthan
Remmon
Iaspis
Heliopolis
Beroth
Chinneth
Amathber
Libanus
LIM
Asor
Bethanet
Sepfet
Iotapata
Cortha
Gabara
Bethlem
Bethulia
The ouerthrow of the Damascens by Baldwyn
Naara
Cholyl
Bethsemes
Dothaim
Nabled
Nee
Legio
The ouerthrow of Sisara
Cloly
Alab
Iephthaeli
Aphec
Abdon
Carnagal
Belfort
Giscala
Thoron
Ramia
Regnum cassis
Tyre Anno
Indi
Beritus
Sidon
Sarepta
Helba
Mahaer
Alaab
Achzip
Ramia
Tyre
Castrum Imperat
Ptolemais Acon
Cæs. of Pilgrims
THE PHOENICIAN SYRIAN OR MEDITERAN SEA
Cyprus

East
South
North
Agubeni
Arabia the stonie
Balaam
contry of ye Amonites
Iome
Nabatha
mzuminis now
Philadelphia
The mountains of Arnon
Mountaines of Ara: ye stonie
Moabites somtime Emims
Moab desert
Medians
Petra deserti
Iabrin
Adama
Sehom
The dead sea or y l: Asphaltichs
Sodom
Gomorra
Plaines of Iericho
Iericho
Ierusalem
Enachim
Cariathsephor or Dabir
Gerar
Gaza
Ascalon
Azotus
THE ÆGYPTIAN SEA
Samaria
Bethel
Naioth
Thamnath
Timnath
Lachis
Antipatris
Iabneel
Iaplena
Estemo
Zanoe
Ceila
Amaus
Nebo
Iericho
Iordan
Mount of Ephraim
Mountaines of Iudea

Ch

Jul
19.
Jul
25.
Jul
31.

ther after the conquest: whose behaviour in that Service was such, as (next unto the ordinance of God) it gave him the greatest Reputation among them, and may be esteemed the second cause of his Preferment and Election for their first *Judge* soon after. But while those of *Juda* made War with their Borderers, from whom they only recovered the Mountainous Countries (for they could not drive out the Inhabitants of the Vallies, *because they had Chariots of Iron.*) The rest of the Tribes sought also to inlarge and establish their own Territories; in which War they laboured with variable Success: for as the house of *Joseph* recovered *Bethel* or *Luz*, from the *Hittites*, so did the *Amorites* recover from *Dan* all the plain Countries; and forc't them to save themselves in the Mountains. And now the *Israelites* unmindful of Gods benefits, and how often he had miraculously afore-time defended them, and made them Victorious over their Enemies (the Elders being also consumed, who better advised them in the *Interregnum*) did not only joyn themselves in Marriage with the Heathen Nations; but (that which was more detestable) they served the *Idols* of *Baal*, and *Asteroth*, with other the dead Gods of the *Canaanites* and *Amorites*. And therefore did the *Lord God* whom they had provoked with their *Idolatry*, deliver them into the hands of the *Aramites* of *Mesopotamia*; whom *Chushan Rishathaim* at that time commanded. But after they had felt the smart of Gods displeasure against them eight years, it pleased him to have compassion on his People, and to raise up *Othoniel* to be their Judge and Leader; who by God assisted, delivered his Brethren from oppression, and inforc't the *Aramites* to return into their own *Desarts*, and into *Mesopotamia* adjoyning; after which the *Israelites* had peace Forty years, during all the time of *Othoniel*'s Government. This *Othoniel* is thought by *Tostatus* to have been the younger Brother of *Caleb*, for as much as in the Book of *Judges* he is twice called *Othoniel* the Son of *Cenaz*. *Calebs* younger Brother. Others do rather interpret those Words (*Calebs* younger Brother) as if they signified the meanest of his kindred. Indeed it is not likely, that *Calebs* Daughter should Marry with her own Uncle; yet it follows not therefore, that *Othoniel* should have been the meanest of the Kindred. Wherefore we may better think, that he was the Nephew of *Caleb* (as some learned men expound it) and as the very Words of Scripture seem to inforce. For *Caleb* was the Son of *Jephunneth*, and *Othoniel* the Son of *Cenaz*, *Calebs* younger Brother; that is, he was not Brother to *Caleb*, but his younger Brothers Son; to whom it was not only lawful, but commendable to Marry with his Cousin German *Calebs* Daughter.

Jud. 1. 19.
Jud. 1. 25.
Jud. 1. 32.
Jud. 3. 10.
2608.
2648.

How long it was from the Death of *Joshua*, to the Government of *Othoniel*, it cannot be found; but it seems to have been no short time: For many Wars were made in that space against the People of the Land. *Laish* was then taken (as is thought) by the *Danites*; and the best Writers are of Opinion, that between the times of *Jeshua* and *Othoniel*, that Civil-War broke out, between the *Benjamites* and the rest of *Israel*; for the forcing to Death of the *Levite*'s Wife. For it is written, that in those Days there was no King in *Israel*, but every Man did that which was good in his own Eyes. And as *Juda* led the People against the *Canaanites*, during the *Inter-regnum*, so was he commanded to do against *Benjamin*, even by the Lord God, whose direction they craved, as wanting a Judge to appoint what should be done, which sheweth it to have been when *Joshua* was Dead, and before the Government of *Othoniel*; especially, considering, that all other times wherein they wanted Governours, were spent under such Oppression of Strangers, as would have given them no leave to have attended such a Civil-War; if their Power had been as great, as it was in the managing of this Action, wherein they so weakned the Body of their Estate, by Effusion of Blood, that in many Ages, they could not bring into the Field such numbers, as formerly they had Mustered against their Bordering Enemies.

Jud. 17, 18, and 19.

§. II.

Of the Memorable things of this Age, in other Nations; and of the difficulty in the Computation of times.

THere lived in this Age of *Othoniel*, *Pandion*, or *Pandareus*, according to *Homer*, the Fifth King of *Athens*; who began to Rule in the Twentieth Year of *Othoniel*, and Governed Forty Years. He was Father to *Erictheus*: his Daughters were *Progne* and *Philomela*, so greatly mentioned in Fables.

Cadmus also about this time obtained *Thebes*; of whose Daughter *Semele* was Born, *Dionysius* or *Liber Pater*; under whom *Linus* the Musician lived. In his time also the Cities of *Melus*, *Paphus*, and *Tharsus* were built.

Ida and *Dactylus* flourished in this Age, who are said to have found out the use of Iron: but *Genesis* hath taught us the contrary, and that *Tubal-Cain* long before wrought cunningly both in Iron and Brass. Not long after this time, *Amphion* and *Zethus* Governed *Thebes*; whom divers Chronologers find in *Ehud*'s time. But St. *Augustine* making a Repetition of these Fables, which were devised among the *Grecians*, and other Nations, during the Government of the Judges, begins with *Triptolemus*, of whose Parentage there is a little Agreement. *Vives* upon the Thirteenth Chapter of St. *Augustine de Civitate Dei*, and the Eighteenth Book, hath gathered all the Opinions of this Man's Progeny, where he that desires his Pedigree may find it. *Lactantius* and *Eusebius* make him Native of *Attica*: and the Son of *Eleusius* King of *Eleusina*: which *Eleusius*, by careful Industry, had fed the People of that Territory, in the time of a great Famine. This, when upon the like Occasion *Triptolemus* could not perform, fearing the fury of the People, he fled thence by Sea in a kind of Galley or long Boat, which carried in her Prow an Engraven or Carved Serpent; who because he made exceeding great speed to return, and to relieve his People with Corn, from some Neighbour Nation; it was fained by the *Poets*, that his Coach was carried by Serpents through the Air.

Gen. 4. 22. Whence came the Name of *Vulcan* by *Apheresis* of the two first Letters. *Aug. de civit. Dei* l. 18 c. 13.

Whether the times of these Kings, which lived together with *Othoniel*, and after him with the rest of the Judges, and Kings of *Israel* and *Juda*, be precisely set down, I cannot avow; for the Chronologers, both of the former and latter times, differ in many particulars; to examine all which, would require the whole time of a long Life; and therefore, I desire to be excused, if in these Comparisons I err with others of better Judgement. For whether *Eusebius*, and all that follow him, or his Opposites (who made themselves so Conversant with these Ancient Kings, and with the very Year when they began to Rule) have

have hit the mark of time, of all other the farthest off, and most defaced, I cannot but greatly doubt. First, because the Authors themselves, from whom the Ancientest Chronologers have borrowed Light, had nothing for the warrant of their own works, but Conjecture: Secondly, because their own Disagreement and Contention in those elder Days, with that of our own Age among the Labourers in times, is such, as no Man among them hath yet so edified any Man's Understanding, save his own, but that he is greatly distracted, after what Pattern to erect his Buildings.

This Disagreement is found not only in the Reigns of Heathen Kings and Princes; but even in Computation of those times, which the indisputable Authority of Holy Scripture hath summed up, as in that of *Abraham*'s Birth; and after in the times of the Judges, and the Oppressions of *Israel*, in the times from the Egression, to the Building of *Solomon*'s Temple, in the *Persian* Empire, the seventy Weeks; and in what not? Whersoever the account of times may suffer Examination, the Arguments are opposite, and Contentions are such, as for ought that I see, men have sought by so many ways to uncover the Sun, that the days thereby are made more dark, and the Clouds more condenst than before, I can therefore give no other warrant, than other Men have done in these Computations; and therefore that such and such Kings and Kingdoms took beginning in this or that year, I avow it no otherwise, than as a borrowed Knowledge, or at least a private Opinion; which I submit to better Judgements. *Nam in Priscis rebus Veritas non ad Unguem quærenda. In Ancient things we are not to require an exact Narration of the Truth*, says *Diodore*.

§. III

Of Ehud's *time, and of* Proserpina, Orithya, Tereus, Tantalus, Tityus, Admetus, *and others that lived about these times.*

After the Death of *Othoniel*, when *Israel* fell back to their former Idolatry, God incouraged *Moab* to invade and suppress them; to perform which, he joined the Forces of *Ammon*, and *Amalek* unto his own, and so (as all kind of Misery readily findeth out those whom God hath abandoned, or for a time with-drawn his help from, thereby to make them feel the difference between his Grace and his Displeasure) these Heathen Neighbouring Nations, had an easie Conquest over *Israel*; whom God himself exposed to those Perils; within which they were so speedily folded up. In this miserable Estate they continued full Eighteen Years, under *Eglon* King of the *Moabites*, and his Confederates. Yet as the Mercies of God are infinite, he turned not his Ears from their crying Repentance; but raised up *Ehud* the Son of *Gera* to deliver them; by which weak Man, though maimed in his Right-hand, yet confident in the Justness of his Quarrel; and fearing that the *Israelites*, were too few in numbers, to contend with the Head of those Valiant Nations; he resolved to attempt upon the Person of *Eglon*, whom if he could but extinguish, he assured himself of the following Victory; especially giving his Nation no time to re establish their Government, or to choose a King to command, and direct them in the Wars. According to which Resolution, *Ehud* went on as an Ambassador to *Eglon*, loaden with Presents from the *Israelites*, as to appease him, and obtaining private Access upon the pretence of some Secret to be revealed; he pierced his Body with a Poniard, made of purpose, with a double Edge; and shutting the Doors of his Closet upon him, escaped.

It may seem that being confident of his good success, he had prepared the strength of *Israel* in readiness. For suddenly after his return, he did re-pass *Jordan*, and invading the Territory of *Moab*, overthrew their Army consisting of 10000. able and strong Men; whereof not any one escaped. After which Victory, and that *Samgar* his Successor had miraculously slain 600. *Philistines* with an Oxe Goad; the Land and People of *Israel* lived in Peace, unto the end of fourscore Years, from the Death of *Othoniel*; which term expired in the Worlds Year 2691.

In the days of *Ehud*, *Naomi* with *Elimelech* her Husband, and with her two Sons, travelled into *Moab*; and so the story of *Ruth* is to be referred to this time. About the beginning of the Fourscore Years which are given to *Ehud*, it was that *Orcus* King of the *Molossians*, otherwise *Pluto*, stole *Proserpina*, as she walked to gather Flowers in the Fields of *Hipponium* in *Sicilia*; or (according to *Pausanias*) by the River *Cephisus*, which elsewhere he calleth *Cheuer*, if he mean not two distinct Rivers. This stealth being made known to *Pyrithous*, with whom *Hercules* and *Theseus* joined themselves, they agreed together to recover her; but *Pluto* or *Orcus* (whom others call *Aidonius*) had (as they say) a very huge Dog, which fastened on *Pyrithous*, and tore him in pieces, and had also worried *Theseus*, but that *Hercules* speedily rescued him; and by strength took and mastered the Dog *Cerberus*; whereof grew the Fable of *Hercules* his delivering of *Theseus* out of Hell. But *Zezes*, as I take it, hath written this story, somewhat more according to the truth. For *Theseus* and *Pyrithous*, saith he, attempted to steal *Proserpina* Daughter to *Aidonius*, King of the *Molossians*, who had *Ceres* to Wife, the Mother of *Proserpina*. *Proserpina* being a general Name also for all fair Women. This purpose of theirs being known to *Aidoneus*, *Theseus* and *Pyrithous* were both taken; and because *Pyrithous* was the principal in this Conspiracy, and *Theseus* drawn on by a kind of Affection or Inforcement, the one was given for Food to *Aidonius* his great Dog *Cerberus*, the other held Prisoner; till *Hercules* by the Instigation of *Euristhеus* delivered him by a strong hand. The *Molossi* which *Stephanus* writes with a single (S) were a People of *Epirus*, inhabiting near the Mountains of *Pindus*; of which Mountains, *Oeta* is one of the most Famous, where *Hercules* burnt himself. The River of *Acheron* (which the Poets describe to be in Hell) riseth out of the same Hills. There is another Nation of the *Molossi* in *Thessaly*; but these are Neighbours to the *Cassiopæi*, saith *Plutarch* in his Greek Questions.

Paus. in Att.

The Rape of *Orithya* the Daughter of *Erictheus*, King of *Athens*, taken away by *Boreas* of *Thrace*, is referred to the time of *Ehud*. The Poets ascribe this rape to the North-wind, because *Thrace* is situate North from *Athens*. In his time also *Tereus* ravished *Philomela*, of which the Fable was devised of her conversion into a Nightingale. For *Tereus* having Married her Sister *Progne*, conducting *Philomela* from *Athens* to see her Sister, forc't her in the passage, and withal cut out her Tongue that she might not complain; perswading *Progne* his Wife, that *Philomela* died in the mid-way; all which her Brother-in-law's mercilesse Behaviour towards

wards her, *Philomela* expreſſed by her Needle upon Cloth, and ſent it *Progne*. In revenge whereof *Progne* cauſed her only Son *Itys* to be cut in pieces, and ſet before *Tereus* her Husband, ſo dreſt as it appeared to be ſome ordinary Food; of which when he had eaten his fill, ſhe cauſed his Head, Hands, and Feet, to be preſented unto him; and then fled away with ſuch ſpeed towards *Athens*, where her Father *Pandion* yet lived, as the Poets fained, that ſhe was turned into a Swallow. The place where it was performed, *Strabo* finds to be *Daulis* in *Phocis*; and the Tomb of *Tereus*, *Pauſanias* hath built near the Rocks *Mergi*, in the Territory of *Athens*. By which, as alſo by the Name *Daulis*, where theſe things are ſuppoſed to have been done (whence alſo *Philomela* is called *Daulias ales*) it appears that it is true, which *Thucydides* notes by way of digreſſion in his *Peloponneſian* War, That this *Tereus* was not King in that which is now called *Thracia*, or in *Odryſæ*, (as the Poets call him *Odryſius*) but that *Phocis* a Country in *Greece* not far from *Attica*, a City whereof is called *Daulia*, was in *Pandions* time inhabited by *Thracians*; of which this *Tereus* was King: whence *Pandion* to have amity with his Neighbours, made him his Son in law; as it is good to believe, ſaith *Thucydides*, that *Pandion* King of *Athens*, made that Alliance with a Neighbour King from whom he might have ſuccour, rather than with any *Tereus*, that ſhould have held the Kingdom of *Odryſæ*, which was greatly diſtant from thence. The occaſion that the Poets choſe a Swallow for *Progne* to be turned into, may ſeem to have been, partly becauſe, as *Pauſanias* ſays: *Daulide nec nidificant, nec habitant in tota circum regione Hirundines*; As if a Swallow remembring the wrong that was there done to her, and to her Siſter, did for ever hate that place.

l. 9. Pau. in Att.

Thuc. l. 2.

Near this time *Melampus* (who is ſaid to have underſtood the voices of Birds and Beaſts) flouriſhed, being alſo eſteemed for an excellent Phyſician. He reſtored to their former health the Daughters of *Prætus* King of the *Argives*, who (as the Poets pleaſe) were made Mad by *Juno*; and thinking themſelves to be Kine, fled into the Woods, fearing to be conſtrained to the Plough; for in thoſe Countries, where the Ground was light, they did uſe often to Plough with Kine.

Pauſ. l. 1. Homer. Odiſſ. 11.

In the Forty Seventh year of *Ehud*, *Tros* began to Raign in *Dardania*, and gave it his own Name; about which time *Phemone*, the chief Prieſt of *Apollo* in *Delphos*, deviſed the *Heroical* Verſe.

Pauſ.

Of the ſame date was *Tantalus*, King of *Lydia*; whom *Euſebius* makes King of *Phrygia*; and alſo of that part of which the People were anciently *Mæones*. Of *Tantalus* was deviſed the Fable, that ſome Poets have applied to the paſſion of Love; and ſome to the Covetous that dare not enjoy his Riches. *Euſebius* calls this *Tantalus* the Son of *Jupiter*, by the Nymph *Pleta*, *Diaconus* and *Didymus* in *Zezes*, give him another Mother. He was ſaid to be the Son of *Jupiter*, as ſome will have it; becauſe he had that Planet in his Aſcendent, betokening Wiſdom and Riches. It is ſaid that when he made a Feaſt to the Gods, having nothing more precious, he cauſed his own Son to be ſlain and dreſt for the Banquet; of whom *Ceres* eat part of one of the Shoulders; whereby was ſignified, That thoſe men which ſeek after divine Knowledge, prefer nothing on Earth before it; no not the care of their own Children, of all elſe the moſt deareſt. And where it was deviſed, that he had always Water and Fruit offered to his Lips, and yet ſuffered the Torment of Hunger and Thirſt, it was meant thereby, That though he abounded (by reaſon of his Riches) in all delicacy of the World, yet his mind being otherwiſe, and to higher deſires tranſported, he enjoyed no pleaſure at all by the reſt. Of whom *Ovid*:

Euſeb. præp. Evang. l. 2. Zezes hiſt. 10. Chil. 5.

Quærit aquas in aquis, & poma fugacia captat
Tantalus, *hoc illi garrula lingua dedit.*

Here *Tantalus* in Water ſeeks
for Water and doth miſs,
The fleeting Fruit he catcheth at:
His long Tongue brought him this.

This puniſhment, they ſay, was inflicted upon him, for that he diſcovered the Secrets of the Gods: That is, becauſe he taught Wiſdom and Virtue to Mortal Men; which Story *Cornelius Gallus* hath elegantly expreſt in Verſe. Others expound this Fable otherwiſe and ſay, That *Tantalus*, though he excelled in Riches, [illegible] being Thirſty of more abundance, was never ſatisfied. Of whom *Horace* againſt Covetouſneſs,

Tantalus *à labiis ſitiens fugientia captat*
Flumina, quid rides? mutato nomine de te
Fabula narratur.

The Thirſting *Tantalus* doth catch
at Streams that from him flee.
Why laugheſt thou? the Name but chang'd,
the Tale is told of thee.

Others conceive, where it is fained of *Tantalus*, that he gave the *Nectar* and *Ambroſia* of the Gods to vain and unworthy men, that he was therefore by them in that ſort puniſhed. Of which *Natalis* out of *Pindarus*.

Immortalitatem quod furatus,
Cœtanis convivis
Nectar Ambroſiámque *dedit.*

Becauſe that ſtealing Immortality,
He did both *Nectar* and *Ambroſia* give
To gueſts of his own age to make them live.

Whereby it was meant, That the Secrets of Divinity, ought not to be imparted to the unpure Vulgar. For as the cleaneſt Meats in a foul Stomack, are therein corrupted; ſo the moſt high and reſerved Myſteries are often perverted, by an unclean and defiled Mind.

To you it is given (ſaith *Chriſt* in *Mark*) *to know the Myſtery of the Kingdom of God, but unto them that are without all things be done in Parables.* So is it ſaid of him, that *he expounded all things to his Diſciples apart.* And therefore doth *Gregory Nazianzen* infer upon a place of St. *Paul*. *Quid ſi Paulo licuiſſet effari ea, quorum ipſi cognitionem cœlum tertium & uſque ad illud progreſſio ſuppeditavit, fortaſſe de Deo nobis aliquid amplius conſtaret*: If Paul *might have uttered the things, the knowledge whereof the third Heavens, and his going thither did bring unto him, peradventure we might know ſomewhat more of God.*

Mark 4. 11.

Mark 4. 34.

Greg. in Orat. de recta ratione diſ. de Deo. 2. Cor. 12.

Pythagoras, ſaith *Reuclin*, thought it not the part of a wiſe-man, *Aſino lyram exponere, aut myſteria, quæ ita reciperet, ut ſus tubam, & fidem graculus, & unguenta Scarabæus*; *quare ſilentium indixit diſcipulis, ne vulgo divinorum arcana patefacerent, quæ meditando facilius, quam loquendo apprehendantur*; *To ſet an Aſs to a Harp, or to learn Myſteries, which he would handle as a Swine doth a Trumpet, or a Jay a Vial, or Scarabees and unclean Flie, ſoveraign Ointment. Wherefore he commanded ſilence to his Diſciples,*

ciples; *that they ſhould not diſcloſe Divine Myſteries to the common ſort, which are eaſier learnt by Meditation than by Babling.* And therefore did the *Ægyptians* Communicate their Myſteries among their Prieſts in certain *Hieroglyphick* Letters, to the end that their Secrets might be hidden from the Vulgar; and that they might beſtow the more time in the Contemplation of their covered meanings.

But to proceed with the Contemporaries of *Aod*, or *Ehud*, with him it is alſo ſaid, that *Tityus* lived whom *Apollo* ſlew, becauſe he ſought to force his Mother *Latona*. *Euphorion* hath it thus, that *Tityus* was the Son of *Elara*, the Daughter of *Orchomenus*; which *Elara* being beloved of *Jupiter*, to avoid *Juno*'s revenge, he hid *Elara* in the Earth, where ſhe was delivered of *Tityus*; whoſe Mother dying, and himſelf therein nouriſhed, he was therefore called the Son of the Earth. *Pauſanias* ſpeaking of the Grave of this Giant, affirms that his Body occupied the third part of a furlong. But *Tibullus* hath a louder lye of his ſtature out of *Homer*.

Hom. Od. 11. *Porrectuſque novem* Tityus *per Jugera Terræ.*
Aſſiduas atro viſcere paſcit Aves.

Nine Furlongs ſtretch'd lies *Tityus*,
who for his wicked Deeds
The hungry Birds with his
renewing Liver daily feeds.

This *Strabo* doth thus expound; that *Apollo* killing this cruel and wicked Tyrant of *Panopea*, a City in *Phocis*, it was fained by the Poets to the terrour of others, that he was ſtill eaten in Hell by Birds, and yet ſtill lived, and had his Fleſh renewed.

Admetus King of *Theſſaly* lived alſo in this Age, whom it is ſaid that *Apollo* firſt ſerved as a Herdman, and afterward for his Excellent Wit was by him advanced; but having ſlain *Hyacinthus* he croſt the *Helleſpont*, and fled into *Phrygia*; where together with *Neptune*, he was entertained by *Laomedon*, and got his Bread by working in Brick, for building of the Walls of *Troy*, not by making the Bricks leap into their places by playing on his Harp; according to him in *Ovid* which ſaith;

Ilion *aſpicies, firmataque turribus altis*
Mania Apollinea *ſtructa Canore lyræ.*

Strong *Ilion* thou ſhalt ſee
with Walls and Towers high
Built with the Harp of Wiſe
Apollo's Harmony.

Thus the Poets; but others, that he laboured with his Hands, as hired in this work. And that he alſo laboured at the building of the *Labyrinth* in *Greece*, all the *Megariens* Witneſs, ſaith *Pauſanias*. *Pauſ. in Att.*

In theſe days alſo of *Ehud*, or (as ſome find it) in the days of *Deborah*, lived *Perſeus* the Son of *Jupiter* and *Danae*, by whoſe Souldiers (as they ſailed out of *Peloponneſus* to ſeek their adventure on *Africa* ſide) *Meduſa* the Daughter and Succeſſor of *Phorcus*, being weakly accompanied as ſhe Hunted, near the Lake *Triton*, was ſurpriſed and Slain; whoſe Beauty when *Perſeus* beheld, he cauſed her Head to be imbalmed, and carried into *Greece*: the Beauty whereof was ſuch, and ſo much admired, and the Beholders ſo aſtoniſhed which beheld it, as thereof grew the Fiction, that all that looked on *Meduſa*'s Head, were turned into Stones. *Triton* a Lake of *Africa*, which *Pliny* calleth *Pallantias*. *Didym. in pereg. Hiſt.*

Cecrops the ſecond King of that name, and 7. King of *Athens*, and *Acriſius* the 13. or after *Euſebius*, the 14. King of the *Argives*, began alſo their Raigns, as it is ſaid, in the time of this Judge; of which the firſt Ruled 40. Years, and the ſecond 31. Years. Alſo *Bellerophon* lived in this Age, being the Son of *Glaucus*, the Son of *Siſyphus*; who inticed by *Antea* or *Sthenobia* the Wife of *Prætus* of the *Argives*, to accompany her, but refuſing it, ſhe accuſed him to her Husband that he offered to force her: Whereupon *Prætus* ſent *Bellerophon* into *Lycia*, about ſome Affairs of Weight, between him and his Son-in-law *Jobates*; giving ſecret Order to *Jobates* to diſpatch him: But *Jobates* thinking it diſhonourable to lay violent Hands on him; imployed him againſt *Chymæra*, a Monſter, vomiting or breathing Fire. Now the Gods (as the report is) pitying his Innocency, ſent him the winged Horſe *Pegaſus*, ſprung up of the Blood of *Meduſa*, formerly ſlain by the Souldiers of *Perſeus* in *Africa*, to tranſport him; a Horſe that none other could Maſter or Bridle but *Minerva*: Upon which Beaſt *Bellerophon* overcame *Chymæra*, and performed the other Services given him in Charge; which done, as he returned toward *Lycia*, the *Lycians* lay in Ambuſh to have ſlain him; but being Victorious alſo over all thoſe, he arrived to *Jobates* in ſafety; whom *Jobates* for his eminent Vertues honoured, firſt with one of his Daughters, and afterward with his Kingdom: After which he grew ſo inſolent, as he attempted to flye up to Heaven upon his *Pegaſus*; whoſe Pride *Jupiter* diſdaining, cauſed one of his ſtinging Flies ſo to vex *Pegaſus*, as he caſt off *Bellerophon* from his Back, into the Valley of *Cilicia*, where he died Blind; of which Burthen *Pegaſus* being diſcharged (as the Fable goeth) flew back to Heaven; and being fed in *Jupiter*'s own Stable, *Aurora* begg'd him of *Jupiter* to ride on before the Sun. This Tale is diverſly expounded, as firſt by ſome, That it pleaſeth God to relieve Men in their innocent, and undeſerved Adverſity, and to caſt down thoſe which are too high-minded: According to that which is ſaid of *Bellerophon*; that when he was expoſed to extream Hazard, or rather certain Death, he found both Deliverance and Honour; but waxing over-proud and Preſumptuous in his Glorious Fortunes, he was again thrown down into the extremity of Sorrow, and ever-during Miſery. Secondly by others, That under the name of *Chymæra*, was meant a cruel *Pyrate* of the *Lycians*, whoſe Ship had in her Prow a Lyon, a Goat in the mid-Ship, and a Dragon in the Stern, of which three Beaſts this Monſter *Chymæra* was ſaid to be compounded, whom *Bellerophon* purſued with a kind of Galley of ſuch Swiftneſs, that it was called the flying Horſe; to whom the Invention of Sails (the Wings of a Ship) are alſo attributed. Many other Expoſitions are made of this Tale by other Authors; but it is not unlikely, that *Chimæra* was the name of a Ship, for ſo *Virgil* calleth one of the greateſt Ships of *Æneas*. *Euſeb. in Chron.* *Plutar. in claris Mulier.* *L. 5. Æneid.*

Ion alſo, from whom the *Athenians* (being ignorant of the antiquity of their Parent *Javan*) derive their Name of *Iones*, is ſaid to have been about *Ehud*'s time: *Homer* calls them *Iacnes*, which hath a near reſemblance to the word of *Javan*. Perhaps it might be ſo that *Ion* himſelf took name from *Javan*; it being a Cuſtome obſervable in the Hiſtories of all times, to revive the Ancient name of a Fore father, in ſome of the principal of his Iſſue. *Homer in Hymno ad Apoll.* *Lib.* 18. *c.* 12. *de Civ. Dei d.* 18. *c.* 15.

The

The invasion of *India* by *Liber Pater*, is by some reported as done in this age: But St. *Augustine* makes him far more ancient; placing him between the coming out of *Ægypt*, and the death of *Joshua*.

About the end of the 80. years, ascribed to *Ehud*, and *Samgar*, *Pelops* flourished: who gave name to *Peloponnesus* in *Greece*, now called *Morea*.

§. IV.

Of Deborah *and her Contemporaries.*

After *Israel* had lived in peace and plenty to the end of these 80. years, they again began to forget the Giver of all goodness, and many of those being worn out, which were witnesses of the former misery, and of Gods deliverance by *Ehud*, and after him by *Samgar*, the rest began to return to their former neglect of Gods Commandments. For as Plenty and Peace are the Parents of idle Security; so is Security as fruitful in begetting and bringing forth both Danger and Subversion; of which all Estates in the World have tasted by enterchange of times. Therefore when their Sins were again ripe for Punishment, *Jabin* King of *Hazor*, after the death of *Ehud*, invaded the Territory of *Israel*, and having in his Service 900. Iron Chariots, besides the rest of his Forces, he held them in subjection twenty years, till it pleased God to raise up *Deborah*, the Propheteſs, who incouraged *Barac* to levy a Force out of *Nepthalim*, and *Zabulon*, to incounter the *Canaanites*. That the Men of *Nepthalim* were more forward than the rest in this Action, it may seem to have proceeded, partly from the Authority that *Barac* had among them, being of the same Tribe; and partly from their feeling of the common Grievance, which in them was more sensible, than in others, because *Hazor* and *Haroseth* the chief holds of *Jabin*, were in *Nepthalim*. So in the days of *Jeptha*, the *Gileadites* took the greatest care, because the *Ammonites* with whom the War was, pressed most upon them, as being their Borderers. Now as it pleased God by the left hand of *Ehud* to deliver *Israel* from the *Moabite*; and by the Counsel and Courage of a Woman, to free them from the yoke of *Canaan*, and to kill the Valiant *Sisera* by *Jael* the *Kenites* Wife: So was it his Will at other times, to work the like great things by the weakest means. For the mighty *Assyrian Nabuchodonosor*, who was a King of Kings, and resistless, he overthrew by his own imaginations, the causers of his Brutish Melancholy; and changed his matchless Pride into the base humility of a Beast. And to approve that he is the Lord of all power, he sometime punisheth by invisible strength, as when he slaughtered the Army of *Senacherib* by his Angel; or as he did the *Ægyptians* in *Moses*'s time: sometime by dead Bodys, as when he drowned *Pharoah* by the Waves of the Sea; and the *Canaanites* by Hail-stones in the time of *Joshua*: Sometimes by the Ministery of Men, as when he overthrew the four Kings of the East, *Chedorlaomer*, and his Companions, by the Houshold Servants of *Abraham*. He caused the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* to set upon their own Confederates the Army of the *Edomites*; and having slain them to kill one another in the sight of *Jehosaphat*; and of the like, to these a Volume of examples may be gathered. And to this effect did *Deborah* the Propheteſs speak unto *Barac* in these words: *But this journey that thou takest, shall not be for thine Honour, for the Lord shall sell* Sisera *into the hands of a Woman.* In which Victory all the strength of the *Canaanite Jabin* fell to the ground, even to the last man: in the end of which War it seemeth that *Jabin* himself also perished, as appeareth by the last Verse of the Fourth of *Judges*.

Chron. 2. 20.

Jud. 4. 9.

After all which *Deborah* giveth thanks to God, and after the acknowledgement of all his Powerfulness, and great Mercies, she sheweth the weak estate whereinto *Israel* was brought for their Idolatry by the *Canaanites*, and other bordering Nations in these words: *Was there a Shield or spear seen among Forty Thousand of* Israel? She also sheweth how the *Israelites* were severed and amazed, some of them confined over *Jordan*, and durst not joyn themselves to the rest; as those of *Reuben* in *Gilead*; that the *Asherites* kept the Sea-coast, and forsook their habitations towards the Land; and the Children of *Dan* who Neighboured the Sea, crept into their Ships for safety, shewing thereby that all were dispersed, and all in effect lost. She then curseth the Inhabitants of *Meroz*, who dwelling near the place of the Battle (belike fearing the success) came not out to assist *Israel*, and then blesseth *Jael* the Wife of *Heber* the *Kenite*, who nailed *Sisera* in her Tent; shewing the Ancient affection of that race to the *Israelites*. For though the Family of *Heber* were inforced in that miserable time of Subjection, to hold correspondency with *Jabin* the *Canaanite*; yet when occasion offered them means, they witnessed their Love and Faith to their ancient Friends. Lastly, she deriderh the Mother of *Sisera*, who promised her Son the Victory in her own hopes; and fancied to her self, and described the spoiles both of Garments and Maidens by him gotten. For conclusion, she directeth her praises and thanks to God only Victorious.

Jud. 5. v. 18.

From the beginning of *Jabin*'s oppression, to the end of that peace which *Deborah* and *Barac* purchased unto *Israel*, there passed 40. years. In which time the Kingdom of *Argos*, which had continued 544. years, was Translated to *Mycænæ*: The Translation of this Kingdom *Vives* out of *Pausanias* writeth to this effect: After *Danaus*, *Lynceus* succeeded in *Argos*, after whom the Children of *Abas* the Son of *Lynceus* divided the Kingdom; of which *Acrisius* being eldest held *Argos* it self: *Prætus* his Brother possest *Ephyra* or *Corinth*, and *Tirynthos*, and other Cities, with all the Territory towards the Sea, there being many Monuments in *Tirynthos*, which witness *Prætus* possession, saith *Pausanias*.

Pau. in Corinthiacis.

Now *Acrisius* was foretold by an Oracle, that he should be slain by the Son of his Daughter *Danae*; whereupon he caused her to be inclosed in a Tower, to the end that no man might accompany her. But the Lady being exceeding fair, it is fained that *Jupiter* turned himself into a Golden Shower, which falling into her lap, begat her with Child: The meaning whereof was, That some Kings Son, or other Worthy man, corrupted her Keepers with Gold; and enjoyed her, of whom *Perseus* was Born; who when he grew to mans estate, either by chance (saith *Ctesias*) or in shewing his Grand-father the invention of the *Discus*, or leaden Ball, slew him unwillingly. After this *Perseus*, to avoid the infamy of *Patricide* in *Argos*, changed Kingdoms with his Vncle *Prætus*; and Built *Mycænæ*. This imprisonment of *Danae*, *Sophocles* reporteth otherwise: and that she was inclosed in a Brazen Vault, under the Kings Hall with her Nurse and Keepers. Upon this close Custody *Horace* hath this witty observation.

Incluſam Danaen, *turris ahenea,*
Robuſtæque fores, & vigilum Canum
Triſtes excubiæ, munierant ſatis
Nocturnis ab adulteris:
Si non Acriſium *Virginis abditæ*
Cuſtodem pavidum, Jupiter *&* Venus
Riſiſſent, fore enim tutum iter & patens,
Converſo in pretium Deo.
Aurum per medios ire ſatellites,
Et perrumpere amat ſaxa, potentius
Ictu fulmineo.

The brazen Tower with Doors cloſe bar'd,
And watchful Bandogs frightful guard,
Kept ſafe the Maidenhead
Of *Danae* from ſecret love:
Till ſmiling *Venus*, and wiſe *Jove*
Beguil'd her Fathers dread.
For chang'd into a Golden Shower,
The God into her lap did power
Himſelf, and took his pleaſure.
Through guards and ſtony walls to break,
The Thunder-bolt is far more weak,
Then is a golden Treaſure.

The firſt Kings of the Argives *were theſe,*

Inachus the firſt King, who began to reign in the firſt Year of *Jacob*, and the Sixty-firſt of *Iſaac*; from which time, to the end of *Sthenelus*; *Caſtor* miſ-reckoneth 400 years. This Kingdom before the Tranſlation, *Euſebius* accounteth to have ſtood 544. years, others but at 417. *Io* was the Daughter of this *Inachus*, whom the *Ægyptians* called *Iſis*.

Phoroneus,
Apis,
Argus,
Piraſus,
Phorbas,
Triopas,
Crotopus,
Sthenelus,
Danaus,
Lynceus,
Abas,
Acriſius,
Pelops.

After the Tranſlation to *Mycenæ*, *Mar. Scotus* finds theſe Kings.

Perſeus.
Sthenelus,
Euriſtheus.

Atreus and *Thyeſtes*, } The Sons of *Pelops* by *Hippodamia*; *Atreus* by *Europe* had *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*.

Agamemnon,
Ægyſthus,
Oreſtes,
Tiſamenus,
Penthilus and
Cometes.

Of theſe Kings *Mercator* and *Bunting* leave out the two firſt, and the laſt; beginning with *Euriſtheus*; and ending with *Penthilus*. In *Tiſamenus*'s time the *Heraclidæ* returned into *Peloponneſus*, of which hereafter.

The Contemporaries of *Barac* and *Debora*, were *Midas* who raigned in *Phrygia*; and *Ilus* who built *Ilium*; with others mentioned in our *Chronological* Table, as Contemporaries with *Debora*.

§. V.

Of Gideon, *and of* Dædalus, Sphinx, Minos, *and others that lived in this Age.*

Debora and *Barac* being dead; the *Midianites* aſſiſted by the *Amalekites* infeſted *Iſrael*. For when under a *Judge*, who had held them in the fear of the Lord, they had injoyed any Quiet or Proſperity; the *Judge* was no ſooner Dead, than they turned to their impious Idolatry. Therefore now the Neighbouring Nations did ſo maſter them in a ſhort time (the Hand of God being withheld from their Defence) as to ſave themſelves, they crept into Caves of the Mountains, and other the like Places of hardeſt acceſs; their Enemies poſſeſſing all the Plains and fruitful Valleys; and in Harveſt time by themſelves, and the multitude of their Cattle deſtroying all that grew up, covering the Fields as thick as Graſshoppers; which ſervitude laſted Seven Years. *Jud. 6.*

Then the Lord by his Angel ſtirred up *Gideon* the Son of *Joaſh*, afterward called *Jerubbaal*; whoſe fear and unwillingneſs, and how it pleaſed God to hearten him in his Enterprize, it is both largely and preciſely ſet down in the holy Scriptures: As alſo how it pleaſed God by a few ſelect Perſons, namely 300. out of 32000. Men, to make them know that he only was the Lord of Hoſts: Each of theſe 300. by *Gideon*'s Appointment carried a Trumpet, and Light in a Pitcher, Inſtruments of more Terrour than Force, with which he gave the great Army of their Enemies an Alarum; who hearing ſo loud a Noiſe, and ſeeing (at the crack of ſo many Pitchers broken) ſo many lights about them, eſteemed the Army of *Iſrael* to be infinite, and ſtrucken with a ſudden Fear, they all fled without a ſtroke ſtricken; and were ſlaughtered in great Numbers, two of their Princes being made Priſoners and ſlain. In his return the *Ephraimites* began to quarrel with *Gideon*, becauſe he made War without their Aſſiſtance, being then greedy of Glory, the Victory being gotten; who (if *Gideon* had failed and fallen in the Enterprize) would no doubt have held themſelves happy by being neglected. But *Gideon* appeaſing them with a mild anſwer followed after the Enemy, in which purſuit being tired with Travel, and weary even with the ſlaughtering of his Enemies, he deſired relief from the Inhabitants of *Succoth*, to the end that (his Men being refreſhed) he might over-take the other two Kings of the *Midianites*, which had ſaved themſelves by flight. For they were four Princes of the Nations which had invaded and waſted *Iſrael*; to wit, *Oreb* and *Zeeb*, which were taken already; and *Zebah* and *Salmunna* which fled. *Jud. 6. v. 5.* *Jud. c. 6. & 7.*

Gideon being denyed by them of *Succoth*, ſought the like relief from the Inhabitants of *Penuel*, who in like ſort refuſed to ſuccour him. To both of theſe Places he threatned therefore the Revenge, which in his return from the Proſecution of the other two Princes he performed; to wit, that he would tear the Fleſh of thoſe of *Succoth* with Thorns and Briars, and deſtroy the Inhabitants and

and City of *Penuel*: Now why the people of these two Cities should refuse relief to their Brethren the *Israelites*, especially after so great a Victory, if I may presume to make conjecture; it seems likely, first that those Cities set over *Jordan*, and in the way of all invasions to be made by the *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*, and *Midianites*, into *Israel*, had either made their own peace with those Nations, and were not spoiled by them: or else they knowing that *Zeba* and *Salmunna* were escaped with a great part of their Army, might fear their revenge in the Future. Secondly, it may be laid to the condition and dispositions of these men, as it is not rare to find of the like humour in all Ages. For there are Multitudes of Men, especially of those which follow the Wars, that both envy and maligne others, if they perform any praiseworthy Actions, for the Honour and Safety of their own Country, though themselves may be assured to bear a part of the smart of contrary Success. And such Malicious Hearts can rather be contented, that their Prince and Country should suffer hazard, and want, than that such Men as they mislike, should be the Authors or Actors of any Glory or Good to either.

Now *Gideon*, how or whersoever it were that he refreshed himself, and his weary and hungry Souldiers, yet he followed the opportunity, and pursued his former Victory to the utmost: and finding *Zebah* and *Salmunna* in *Karkor* (suspecting no farther attempt upon them) he again surprised them, and slaughtered those 15000. remaining; having put to the Sword in the former attempt 120000. and withal he took *Zebah* and *Salmunna* Prisoners; whom because themselves had executed *Gideons* brethren before at *Tabor*, he caused them both to be slain: or (as it is written) at their own request slew them with his own hands: His Son, whom he first commanded to do it, refusing it; and in his return from the consummation of this Marvellous Victory, he took revenge of the Elders of *Succoth*, and of the Citizens of *Penuel*: forgiving no offence committed against him, either by strangers or by his Brethren the *Israelites*. But such mercy as he shewed to others, his own Children found soon after his death, according to that which hath been said before. The debts of Cruelty and Mercy are never left unsatisfied; for as he slew the Seventy Elders of *Succoth* with great and unusual Torments, so were his own Seventy Sons all, but one, Murthered by his own Bastard *Abimelech*. The like *Analogy* is observed by the *Rabines*, in the greatest of the Plagues which God brought upon the *Ægyptians*, who having caused the Male Children of the *Hebrews* to be slain, others of them to be cast into the River and drowned: God rewarded them even with the like measure, destroying their own First-born by his *Angel*, and drowning *Pharaoh* and his Army in the Red Sea. And hereof a World of Examples might be given, both out of the Scriptures and other Histories.

A place in Basan as it is thought *Jud.* 8.10.

In the end so much did the People reverence *Gideon* in the present for this Victory, and their own Deliverance, as they offered him the Soveraignty over them, and to establish him in the Government; which he refused, answering; *I will not Reign over you, neither shall my Child Reign over you, but the Lord shall*, &c. But he desired the People that they would bestow on him the Golden Ear-rings, which every man had gotten. For the *Ismaelites* neighbours, and mixt with the *Midianites* used to wear them: the weight of all which was a Thousand and Seven Hundred Shekels of Gold, which makes of ours, 2380. pounds, if we follow the account of the Shekle Vulgar. And because he converted that Gold into an *Ephod*, a Garment of Gold, Blew Silk, Purple, Scarlet, and fine Linnen belonging to the High-Priest only, and set up the same in his own City of *Ophra* or *Ephra*, which drew *Israel* to Idolatry, the same was the destruction of *Gideon* and his House.

Jud. 8.23.

Exod. 28. *Judg.* 8. 28.

There was another kind of *Ephod* besides this of the High-Priests which the *Levites* used, and so did *David* when he danced before the *Ark*; and *Samuel* while he was yet young, which was made of Linnen only.

Now if any Man demand, how it was possible for *Gideon* with 300. Men to destroy 120000. of their Enemies; and afterward 15000. which remained, we may remember that although *Gideon* with 300. gave the first alarm, and put the *Midianites* in rout and disorder: yet all the rest of the Army came into the slaughter, and pursuit, for it is written; *That the men of* Israel *being gathered together out of* Nepthali, *and out of* Asher, *and out of* Manasse, *pursued after the* Midianites: For this Army *Gideon* left in the Tents behind him, when he went down to view the Army of his Enemies, who with the noise of his 300. Trumpets came after him to the Execution.

Jud. c. 7. v. 23.

There lived with *Gideon* *Ægeus* the Son of *Pandion*, who Reigned in *Athens*; *Euristhens* King of *Mycenæ*, *Atreus* and *Thyestes* the Sons of *Pelops*, who bare dominion over a great part of *Peloponnesus*, and after the death of *Euristhens*, the Kingdom of *Mycenæ* fell into the hand of *Atreus*. This is that *Atreus* who holding his Brother in Jealousie, as an Attempter both of his Wife and Crown, slew the Children of *Thyestes*, and causing their flesh to be drest did therewith Feast their Father. But this cruelty was not unrevenged. For both *Atreus* and his Son *Agamemnon* were slain by a base Son of *Thyestes*, yea the Grand-Children, and all the linage of *Atreus* died by the same Sword.

In *Gideons* time also those things were supposed to have been done, which are written of *Dædalus* and *Icarus*. *Dædalus* they say, having slain his Nephew *Attalus*, fled to *Minos* King of *Crete* for succour, where for his excellent workmanship he was greatly esteemed, having made for *Minos* a *Labyrinth* like unto that of *Ægypt*. Afward he was said to have framed an artificial Cow for *Pasiphae* the Queen, that she, being in Love with a fair Bull, might by putting her self into the Cow satisfie her lust, a thing no less unnatural than incredible, had not that shameless Emperour *Domitian* exhibited the like beastly spectacle openly before the People of *Rome* in his *Amphitheater*; of purpose as may seem to verifie the old Fable. For so it appears by those Verses of *Martial*, wherein the flattering Poet magnifieth the abominable Show as a goodly Pageant in those vicious times.

Junctam Pasiphaen Dicteo credite Tauro
Vidimus, accepit fabula prisca fidem.
Nec se miratur Cæsar longeva vetustas
Quicquid fama canit, donat arena tibi.

But concerning that which is reported of *Pasiphae*, *Servius* makes a less unhonest construction of it, thinking that *Dædalus* was of her Counsel, and her Pandar for the enticing of a *Secretary* of *Minos* called *Taurus*, which signifieth a Bull, who begat her with Child, and that she being delivered of two Sons, the one resembling *Taurus*, the other her Husband *Minos*, it was fained that she was delivered of the Monster *Minotaur* half a Man,

and half a Bull. But this practice being discovered, and *Dædalus* appointed to be slain, he fled out of *Crete* to *Cocalus* King of *Sicily*; in which passage he made such Expedition, as it was feigned that he fashioned Wings for himself, and his Son to transport them. For whereas *Minos* pursued him with Boats, which had Oars only, *Dædalus* framed Sails both for his own Boat, and for his Sons, by which he out-went those that had him in chase. Upon which new Invention, *Icarus* bearing himself over-bold was over-born and drowned.

It is also written of *Dædalus*, that he made *Images* that could move themselves, and go, because he carved them with Legs, Arms and Hands; whereas those that preceded him, could only present the Body and Head of those Men, whom they cared to counterfeit, and yet the Workmanship was esteemed very rare. But *Plutarch*, who had seen some of those that were called the Images of *Dædalus*, found them exceeding rude.

Varind. Plat. Pans. lib. 9. With *Gideon* also flourished *Linus* the *Theban*, the Son of *Apollo*, and *Terpsichore* who instructed *Thamaris*, *Orpheus*, and *Hercules*. He wrote of the Creation, of the *Sun* and *Moon*'s Course, and of the Generation of living Creatures, but in the end he was slain by *Hercules* his Scholar with his own Harp.

Strab. l. 9 Again, in this Age those things spoken of *Sphinx* and *Oedipus* are thought to have been performed. This *Sphinx* being a great Robber by Sea and Land, was by the *Corinthian* Army led by *Oedipus* overcome. But that which was written of her propounding of Riddles to those whom she mastered, was meant by the Rocky and unaccessible Mountain near *Thebes* which she defended, and by *Oedipus* dissolving her Problem, his Victory over her. She was painted with Wings, because exceeding Swift, and with the Body of a Lyon for her Cruelty. But that which *Palæphatus* reports of *Sphinx* were more probable, did not the time disprove it, for he calls her an *Amazonite*, and the Wife of *Cadmus*; who when by her help he had cast *Draco* out of *Thebes* (neglecting her) he married the Sister of *Draco*, which *Sphinx* taking in despightful part, with her own Troop she held the Mountain by *Thebes*, from whence she continued a sharp War upon the *Thebans*, till by *Oedipus* overthrown. About this time did *Minos* thrust his Brother out of *Crete*, and held sharp War with the *Megarians*, and *Athenians*, because his Son *Androgeus* was slain by them. He possest himself of *Megara* by the Treason of *Scylla*, Daughter of *Nisus* the King. He was long Master of the Sea, and brought the *Athenians* to the tribute of delivering him every Year seven of their Sons; which tribute *Theseus* released, as shall be shewed when I come to the time of the next Judge *Thola*. In the end he was slain at *Camerinus* or *Camicus* in *Sicilia* by *Cocalus* the King, while he pursued *Dædalus*; and was esteemed by some to be the first Law-giver to those Islands.

Arist. pol. l.

To this time are referred many deeds of *Hercules*, as the killing of *Antæus* the Gyant, who was said to have 60. and odd Cubits of length, which though *Plutarch* doth confirm, reporting that there was such a Body found by *Sertorius* the *Roman* in *Lybia*, where *Hercules* slew *Antæus*; yet for my self I think it but a lowd lye. That *Antæus* was of great strength, and a cunning Wrestler, *Eusebius* affirmeth; and because he cast so many Men to the Ground, he was feigned to be the Son of the Earth. *Pliny* saith, that he inhabited near the Gardens *Hesperides* in *Mauritania*. S. *Augustine* affirms, that this *Hercules* was not of *Greece*; but of *Lybia*; and the *Hydra* also which he overcame, *Plato* expoundeth to be a subtil Sophister.

Euseb. in Chr.

Aug. de ci. Dei l. 18. c. 12.

Euseb. in Chr.

§. VI.

Of the Expedition of the Argonauts.

ABout the Eleventh Year of *Gideon*, was that Famous Expedition of the *Argonauts*; of which many Fabulous Discourses have been written, the Summ of which is this.

Pelias the Son of *Neptune*, Brother by the Mother's side to *Æson*, who was *Jason*'s Father, reigning in *Iolcus* a Town of *Thessaly*, was warned by the Oracle of *Apollo* to take heed of him that wore but one Shoe. This *Pelias* afterward sacrificing to *Neptune*, invited *Jason* to him, who coming hastily, lost one Shoe in passing over a Brook: Whereupon *Pelias* demanded of him what course he would take (supposing he were able) against one of whom an *Oracle* should advise him to take heed? To which question, when *Jason* had briefly answered, that he would send him to *Colchos*, to fetch the Golden Fleece, *Pelias* immediately commanded him to undertake that Service. Therefore *Jason* prepared for the Voyage, having a Ship built by *Argus*, the Son of *Phryxus*, by the Counsel of *Pallas*: wherein he procured all the bravest Men of *Greece* to Sayl with him. As *Typhis* the Master of the Ship, *Orpheus* the Famous Poet, *Castor* and *Pollux* the Sons of *Tyndarus*, *Telamon* and *Peleus*, Sons of *Æacus*, and Fathers of *Aiax* and *Achilles*, *Hercules*, *Theseus*, *Zetes* and *Calais* the two winged Sons of *Boreas*, *Amphiaraus* the great South-sayer, *Meleager* of *Calidon* that slew the great Wild-Boar; *Ascalaphus* and *Jalmenus* or *Almenus* the Sons of *Mars*, who were afterwards at the last War of *Troy*, *Laertes* the Father of *Ulysses*, *Atalanta* a Warlike Virgin, *Idas* and *Lynceus* the Sons of *Aphareus*, who afterwards in fight with *Castor* and *Pollux* slew *Castor*, and wounded *Pollux*, but were slain themselves: *Lynceus* by *Pollux*, *Idas* by *Jupiter* with Lightning.

These and many other went with *Jason* in the Ship *Argo*; in whose Prow was a Table of the Beech of *Dodona*, which could Speak. They arrived first at *Lemnos*; the Women of which *Island*, having slain all the Males, purposing to lead an *Amazonian* Life, were nevertheless contented to take their Pleasure of the *Argonauts*. Hence they came to the Country about *Cyzicus*, where dwelt a People called *Doliones*, over whom then raigned one *Cyzicus*, who entertained them friendly; but it so fell out, that loosing thence by Night, they were driven by contrary Winds back into his Port, neither knowing that it was the same Haven, nor being known by the *Doliones*, to be the same Men; but rather taken for some of their Bordering Enemies, by which means they fell to blows, insomuch that the *Argonauts* slew the most part of the *Doliones*, together with their King *Cyzicus*; which when by day-light they perceived, with many Tears they solemnized his Funeral. Then departed they again and arrived shortly in *Mysia*, where they left *Hercules* and *Polyphemus* the Son of *Elates*, who went to seek *Hylas* the Darling of *Hercules*, that was ravished by the *Nymphs*.

Polyphemus built a Town in *Mysia*, called *Cios*, wherein he reigned. *Hercules* returned to *Argos*: From *Mysia* the *Argonautes* sailed into *Bythinia* which then was peopled by the *Bebryces* the Ancient

cient Inhabitants of the Country, over whom *Amycus* the Son of *Neptune* was then King. He being a ſtrong man, compelled all Strangers to fight with him, at Whirl-batts, in which kind of fight he had ſlain many, and was now himſelf ſlain by *Pollux*. The *Bebryces* in revenge of his death flew at *Pollux*, but his companions reſcued him, with great ſlaughter of the people. They ſailed from hence to *Salmydeſſus*, a Town in *Thrace* (ſomewhat out of their way) wherein *Phineus* a Sooth-ſayer dwelt, who was blind and vexed with the *Harpyes*. The *Harpyes* were ſaid to be a kind of Birds, which had the Faces of Women and foul long Claws, very filthy Creatures, which when the Table was furniſhed for *Phineus* came flying in, and devouring or carrying away the greater part of the Victuals, did ſo defile the reſt, that they could not be endured. When therefore the *Argonautes* craved his advice and direction for their Voyage: You ſhall do well (quoth he) firſt of all to deliver me from the *Harpyes*, and then afterwards to ask my Counſel. Whereupon they cauſed the Table to be covered, and Meat ſet on; which was no ſooner ſet down, then that preſently in came the *Harpyes*, and played their accuſtomed pranks; when *Zetes* and *Calais* the winged Young Men ſaw this, they drew their Swords, and purſued them through the Air; ſome ſay that both the *Harpyes* and the Young Men died of wearineſs in the flight, and purſuit. But *Apollonius* ſaith, that the *Harpyes* did covenant with the Youths, to do no more harm to *Phineus*, and were thereupon diſmiſſed. For this good turn *Phineus* gave them informations of the way, and adverti ed them withal of the dangerous Rocks, called *Symplegades*, which by force of Winds running together, did ſhut up the paſſage; wherefore he willed them to put a Pigeon before them into the paſſage; and if that paſſed ſafe, then to adventure after her, if not then by no means to hazard themſelves in vain. They did ſo, and perceiving that the Pigeon had only loſt a piece of her Tail, they obſerved the next opening of the Rocks and then rowing with all their might, paſſed through ſafe, only the end of the Poop was bruiſed.

From thence forward, (as the Tale goeth) the *Symplegades* have ſtood ſtill; for the Gods, ſay they, had decreed that after the paſſage of a Ship, they ſhould be fixed. Thence the *Argonautes* came to the *Mariandyni*, a people inhabiting about the Mouth of the River *Parthenius*, where *Lycus* the King entertained them courteouſly. Here *Idmon* a Sooth-ſayer of their Company was ſlain by a Wild Boar; alſo here *Tiphys* died, and *Anſæus* undertook to ſteer the Ship. So they paſſed by the River *Thermodon*, and Mount *Caucaſus*, and came to the River *Phaſis*, which runs through the Land of *Colchos*. When they were entred the Haven, *Jaſon* went to *Æetes* the King of *Colchos*, and told him the Commandment of *Pelias*, and cauſe of his coming; deſiring him to deliver the Golden Fleece, which *Æetes*, as the Fable goeth, promiſed to do, if he alone would yoak together two Brazen hoofted Bulls, and Plowing the Ground with them, ſow Dragons Teeth, which *Minerva* had given to him, being part of thoſe which *Cadmus* did ſow at *Thebes*. Theſe Bulls were great and fierce, and breathed out Fire; *Vulcan* had given them to *Æetes*.

Whileſt *Jaſon* was in a great perplexity about this task, *Medæa* the Daughter of *Æetes*, fell into a moſt vehement Love of him, ſo far forth, that being excellent in *Magick*, ſhe came privily to him, promiſing her help, if he would aſſure her of his Marriage. To this *Jaſon* agreed, and confirmed his promiſe by Oath. Then gave ſhe to him a Medicine, wherewith ſhe bad him to annoint both his Body and his Armor, which would preſerve him from their violence; further ſhe told him, that Armed Men would ariſe out from the Ground, from the Teeth which he ſhould ſow, and ſet upon him. To remedy which inconvenience, ſhe bad him throw Stones amongſt, them as ſoon as they came up thick, whereupon they would fall together to blows, in ſuch wiſe that he might eaſily ſlay them. *Jaſon* followed her Counſel; whereto when the event had anſwered, he again demanded the Fleece. But *Æetes* was ſo far from approving ſuch his deſire, that he deviſed how to deſtroy the *Argonautes*, and burn their Ship; which *Medæa* perceiving, went to *Jaſon*, and brought him by Night to the Fleece, which hung upon an Oak in the Grove of *Mars*, where they ſay it was kept by a Dragon, that never ſlept. This Dragon was by the *Magick* of *Medæa* caſt into a ſleep: ſo taking away the Golden Fleece, ſhe went with *Jaſon* into the Ship *Argo*: having with her, her Brother *Abſyrtus*.

Æetes underſtanding the practiſes of *Medæa*, provided to purſue the Ship; whom when *Medæa* perceived to be at hand, ſhe ſlew her Brother, and cutting him in pieces ſhe ſcattered his Limbs in divers places; of which *Æetes* finding ſome, was fain to ſeek out the reſt, and ſuffer his Daughter to paſs: the parts of his Son he Buried in a place, which thereupon he called *Tomi*; the *Greek* word ſignifieth *Diviſion*. Afterwards he ſent many of his Subjects to ſeek the Ship *Argo*, threatning that if they brought not back *Medæa*, they ſhould ſuffer in her ſtead. In the mean while the *Argonauts* were driven about the Seas, and were come to the River *Eridanus*, which is *Po* in *Italy*.

Jupiter offended with the ſlaughter of *Abſyrtus*, vexed them with a great Tempeſt, and carried them they knew not whither; when they came to the *Ilands Abſyrtides*, there the Ship *Argo* (that there might want no incredible thing in this Fable) ſpake to them, and ſaid, That the anger of *Jupiter* ſhould not ceaſe, till they came to *Auſonia*, and were cleanſed by *Circe*, from the Murther of *Abſyrtus*. Now they thereupon Sailing between the Coaſts of *Lybia*, and *Gallia*, and paſſing through the Sea of *Sardinia*, and along the Coaſt of *Hetruria*, came to the Ile of *Æea*, wherein *Circe* dwelt, who cleanſed them. Thence they Sailed by the coaſt of the *Syrens*, who ſung to allure them into danger; but *Orpheus* on the otherſide ſung ſo well that he ſtayed them. Only *Butes* ſwam out unto them, whom *Venus* raviſhed, and carried to *Lylibæum* in *Sicily* to dwell.

Having paſt the *Syrens*, they came between *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, and the ſtraging Rocks which ſeemed to caſt out great ſtore of Flames and Smoak. But *Thetis* and the *Nereides*, conveyed them ſafe through at the appointment of *Juno*. So they coaſted *Sicily* where the beeves of the Sun were, and touched at *Corcyra* the Iland of the *Phæaces*, where King *Alcinous* reigned. Mean while the Men of *Colchos*, that had been ſent by *Æetes* in queſt of the Ship *Argo*, hearing no news of it, and fearing his anger if they fulfilled not his Will, betook themſelves to new habitations; ſome of them dwelt in the Mountains of *Corcyra*, others in the Ilands *Abſyrtides*, and ſome coming to the *Phæaces*, there found the

Ship

Ship *Argo*, and demanded *Medæa* of *Alcinous*, whereto *Alcinous* made Answer, That if she were not *Jason*'s Wife they should have her, but if she were already Married, he would not take her from her Husband. *Arete* the Wife of *Alcinous* hearing this, Married them: wherefore they of *Colchos* not daring to return home, stayed with the *Phæaces*; so the *Argonauts* departed thence, and after a while came to *Crete*. In this Island *Minos* Raigned, who had a Man of Brass given to him (as some of the Fablers say) by *Vulcan*. This Man had one Vein in his Body reaching from the Neck to the Heel, the end whereof was closed up with a Brasen Nail, his Name was *Talus*, his Custom was to run thrice a day about the Island for the defence of it. When he saw the Ship *Argo* pass by, he threw Stones at it; but *Medæa* with her *Magick* destroyed him. Some say that she slew him by Potions, which made him Mad; others that promising to make him Immortal, she drew out the Nail that stopt his Vein, by which means all his Blood ran out, and he died; others there are that say he was slain by *Pæan*, who wounded him with an Arrow in the Heel. From hence the *Argonauts* sailed to *Ægina*, where they were fain to fight for fresh Water. And lastly from *Ægina* they sailed by *Eubæa* and *Locris* home to *Iolcos*, where they arrived, having spent four whole Months in the Expedition.

Some there are that by this Journey of *Jason*, understand the Mystery of the Phylosophers Stone, called the Golden Fleece; to which also other superfine *Chymists*, draw the twelve Labours of *Hercules*. *Suidas* thinks that by the Golden Fleece, was meant a Book of Parchment, which is of Sheeps-Skin, and therefore called Golden, because it was taught therein how other Mettals might be transmuted. Others would signifie by *Jason* Wisdom, and Moderation, which overcometh all Perils; but that which is most probable is the Opinion of *Dercilus*, That the story of such a passage was true, and that *Jason* with the rest went indeed to rob *Colchos*, to which they might arrive by Boat. For not far from *Caucasus* there are certain steep falling Torrents, which wash down many grains of Gold, as in many other parts of the World, and the People there inhabiting use to set many Fleeces of Wool in those descents of Waters, in which the Grains of Gold remain, and the Water passeth through; which *Strabo* witnesseth to be true. The many Rocks, Straits, Sands, and Currents, in the passage between *Greece* and the bottom of *Pontus*, are Poetically converted into those fiery Bulls, the Armed Men rising out of the Ground, the Dragon cast asleep, and the like. The Man of Brass, the *Syrens*, *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, were other hazards and adventures which they fell into in the *Mediterranean* Sea, disguised, as the rest, by *Orpheus*, under Poetical Morals; all which *Homer* afterward used (the Man of Brass excepted) in the Description of *Ulysses* his Travels on the same Inland-Seas.

§. VII.

Of Abimelech, Tholah, *and* Jair, *and of the* Lapythæ, *and* Theseus, Hyppolytus, *&c.*

After the Death of *Gideon*, *Abimelech* his base Son, begotten on a Concubine of the *Sechemites*, remembring what offers had been made to his Father by the People, who desired to make him and his their perpetual Princes; and as it seemeth, supposing (notwithstanding his Fathers Religious Modesty) that some of his Brethren might take on them the Soveraignty, practised with the Inhabitants of *Sechem*, (in which his Mother was Native) to make Election of himself, who being easily moved with the Glory, to have a King of their own, readily condescended; and the better to inable *Abimelech*, they borrowed 70. pieces of Silver of their Idol *Baalberith*, with which Treasure he hired a Company of loose and desperate Vagabonds, to assist his first detestable Enterprize, to wit, the slaughter of his 70. Brethren the Sons of *Gideon*, begotten on his Wives, of which he had many, of all which none escaped but *Jotham* the Youngest, who hid himself from his present Fury; all which he executed on one Stone, a Cruelty exceeding all that hath been written of in any Age. Such is Humane Ambition, a Monster that neither feareth God (though all powerful, and whose Revenges are without Date and for Everlasting) neither hath it respect to Nature, which laboureth the Preservation of every Being; but it rageth also against her, though garnished with Beauty which never dyeth, and with Love that hath no end. All other Passions and Affections by which the Souls of Men are tormented, are by their Contraries oftentimes resisted or qualified. But Ambition, which begetteth every Vice, and is it self the Child and Darling of *Satan*, looketh only towards the ends by it self set down, forgetting nothing (how fearful and inhumane soever) which may serve it; remembring nothing, whatsoever Justice, Piety, Right or Religion can offer and alledge on the contrary. It ascribeth the lamentable effects of the like attempts, to the errour or weakness of the Undertakers, and rather praiseth the Adventure than feareth the like success. It was the first Sin that the World had, and began in Angels, for which they were cast into Hell, without hope of Redemption. It was more Ancient than Man, and therefore no part of his natural Corruption. The Punishment also preceded his Creation, yet hath the Devil which felt the smart thereof, taught him to forget the one, as out of date, and to practise the other, as befitting every Age, and Mans Condition.

Jotham the youngest of *Gideon*'s Sons having escaped the present Peril, sought by his best Perswasions to alienate the *Sechemites*, from the assisting of this mercilesse Tyrant, letting them know, That those which were Vertuous, and whom Reason and Religion had taught the safe and happy Estate of moderate Subjection, had refused to receive as unlawful, what others had not power to give, without Direction from the King of Kings; who from the beginning (as to his own peculiar People) had appointed them by whom and how to be governed. This he taught them by the Olive, which contented it self with

Judg. 9.4

Verse 5.

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it's Fatneſs, the Fig tree with ſweetneſs, and the Vine with the good juice it had; the Bramble only, who was moſt baſe, cut down all the reſt, and accepted the Soveraignty. He alſo foretold them by a Prophetical Spirit, what ſhould befall them in the end, and how a Fire ſhould come out of the Bramble, and conſume the *Cedars* of *Libanon*.

Now (as it is an eaſie matter to call thoſe men back, whom Rage without right led on) *Gaal* the Son of *Ebed* withdrew the Citizens of *Sechem*, from the ſervice of *Abimelech*; who therefore after ſome aſſaults entred the place, and maſtered it; and in concluſion fired the Town, wherein their Idol *Baalberith* was worſhipped, and put all the people of all ſorts to the ſlaughter. Laſtly, in the Aſſault of the Caſtle or Tower of *Tebez*, himſelf was wounded in the Head with a Stone thrown over the Wall by a Woman, and finding himſelf was Mortally bruiſed, he commanded his own Page to pierce his Body, thereby to avoid the diſhonour of being ſlain by ſo feeble a hand.

While *Abimelech* uſurped the Government, the *Lapithæ* and *Centaurs* made War againſt the *Thebans*. Theſe Nations were deſcended of *Apollo*, and were the firſt in thoſe parts that deviſed to manage Horſes, to Bridle and to ſit them: inſomuch as when they firſt came down from the *Mountains* of *Pindus*, into the Plains, thoſe which had never ſeen Horſemen before, thought them Creatures compounded of Men and Horſes; ſo did the *Mexicans* when *Ferdinando Cortes* the *Spaniard* firſt invaded that Empire.

Palæphetus l. 1. de incredib.

After the Death of *Abimelech*, *Thola* of *Iſſachar* Governed *Iſrael* 23. years, and after him *Jair* the *Gileadite* 22. years, who ſeemeth to be deſcended of *Iair* the Son of *Manaſſe*, who in *Moſes* time conquered a great part of *Gilead*, and called the ſame after his own Name, *Haboth Iair*. For to this *Iair* there remained Thirty of thoſe Cities, which his Anceſtor had recovered from the *Amorites*. Of theſe Judges, becauſe there is nothing elſe written, it is an Argument that during all their times, *Iſrael* lived without diſturbance and in Peace.

Deut. 3. 14. Num. 32. 41.

Judg. 10.

When *Iair* judged *Iſrael*, *Priamus* began to reign in *Troy*, who at ſuch time as *Hercules* ſacked *Ilium*, was carried away Captive with his Siſter *Heſione* into *Greece*, and being afterward redeemed for Ranſom, he Re-built and greatly ſtrengthened, and adorned *Troy*; and ſo far inlarged his Dominions, as he became the Supream Lord in effect of *Aſia* the Leſs. He married *Hecuba* the Daughter of *Ciſſeus* King of *Thrace*, and had in all (ſaith *Cicero*) fifty Sons, whereof Seventeen by *Hecuba*, of whom *Paris* was one; who attempting to recover his Aunt *Heſione*, took *Helena* the Wife of *Menelaus*, the cauſe of the War which followed.

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In Tuſc.

Theſeus the Tenth King of *Athens* began likewiſe to reign in the beginning of *Iair*: ſome writers call him the Son of *Neptune* and *Æthra*; but *Plutarch* in the Story of his Life finds him begotten by *Ægeus*, of whom the *Græcian* Sea between it and *Aſia* the Leſs took name. For when *Minos* had maſtered the *Athenians*, ſo far as he forc't them to pay him Seven of their Sons every year for Tribute, whom he incloſed within a *Labyrinth*, to be devoured by the Monſter *Minotaur*; becauſe belike the Sons of *Taurus*, which he begat on *Paſiphae* the Queen, had the charge of them: Among theſe Seven *Theſeus* thruſt himſelf, not doubting by his Valour to deliver the reſt, and to free his Country of that ſlavery, occaſioned for the death of *Androgeus*, *Minos* his Son.

And having poſſeſt himſelf of *Ariadne's* affection, who was *Minos's* Daughter, he received from her a Bottom of Thred, by which he conducted himſelf through all the crooked and inextricable turnings of the *Labyrinth*, made in all like that of the City of *Crocodiles* in *Ægypt*; by mean whereof having ſlain the *Minotaur*, he found a ready way to return. But whereas his Father *Ægeus* had given order, that if he came back with Victory and in ſafety, he ſhould uſe a White Sail in ſign thereof, and not that Mournful Black Sail, under which they left the Port of *Athens*. This inſtruction being either forgotten or neglected, *Ægeus* deſcrying the Ship of *Theſeus* with a Black Sail, caſt himſelf over the Rocks into the Sea, afterwards called of his Name *Ægeum*.

One of the firſt famous Acts of *Theſeus*, was the Killing of *Scyron*, who kept a paſſage between *Megara* and the *Peloponneſian Iſthmus*, and threw all whom he maſtered into the Sea, from the High Rocks. Afterward he did the like to *Cercyon*, by Wreſtling, who uſed by that Art to kill others. He alſo rid the Country of *Procruſtes*, who uſed to bend down the ſtrong Limbs of Two Trees, and faſtened by Cords ſuch as he took, part of them to one, and part to the other Bough, and by their ſpringing back tare them aſunder. So did he root out *Periphetes*, and other miſchievous Thieves and Murtherers. He overthrew the Army of the *Amazons*, who after many Victories and Vaſtations, entred the Territory of *Athens*. *Theſeus* having taking their Queen *Hyppolita* Priſoner, begat on her *Hyppolitus*; with whom afterward his Mother-in-law *Phædra*, falling in Love, and he refuſing to abuſe his Fathers Bed, *Phædra* perſwaded *Theſeus* that his Son offered to force her; after which it is fained that *Theſeus* beſought *Neptune* to revenge this wrong of his Sons, by ſome violent Death. *Neptune* taking a time of advantage ſent out his Sea-Calves, as *Hippolitus* paſſed by the Sea-ſhore, and ſo affrighted his Horſes, as caſting the Coach over, he was (by being intangled therein) torn in pieces. Which miſerable and undeſerved Deſtiny, when *Phædra* had heard of, ſhe ſtrangled her ſelf. After which it is fained, that *Diana* entreated *Æſculapius* to ſet *Hyppolitus* his pieces together, and to reſtore him to Life; which done, becauſe he was chaſt, ſhe led him into *Italy*, to accompany her in her Hunting, and Field-Sports.

It is probable that *Hyppolitus*, when his Father ſought his Life, thinking to eſcape by Sea, was affronted thereat, and received many Wounds in forcing his Paſſage, and which Wounds *Æſculapius*, to wit, ſome skillfull Phiſician, or Chirurgeon, healed again; after which he paſt into *Italy*, where he lived with *Diana*, that is the Life of a Hunter, in which he moſt delighted. But of theſe ancient profane Stories, *Plutarch* ſaith well, That as *Coſmographers* in their Deſcriptions of the World, where they find many vaſt places, whereof they knew nothing, fill the ſame with ſtrange Beaſts, Birds, and Fiſhes, and with *Mathematical* Lines; ſo do the *Græcian* Hiſtorians and Poets, imbroider and intermix the Tales of Ancient times, with a World of Fictions and fabulous Diſcourſes. True it is, that *Theſeus* did many great things in imitation of *Hercules*, whom he made his Pat-

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tern, and was the first that gathered the *Athenians*, from being dispersed in thin and ragged Villages: in recompence whereof, and for devising them Laws to live under, and in order, he was by the beggerly, mutable, and ungrateful Multitude, in the end banished. Some say *per Ostracismum*, by the Law of Lots, or names written on Shells, which was a device of his own.

He stole *Helen* (as they say) when she was Fifteen Years Old, from *Aphidna*, which City *Castor* and *Pollux* over-turned, when they followed after *Theseus*, to recover their Sister. *Strab. lib. 9. Paus. in Con.* *Eratistratus* and *Pausanias* write, that *Theseus* begat her with Child at *Argos*, where she erected a Temple to *Lucina*; but her Age makes that Tale unlikely to be true, and so doth *Ovid*, *Non tamen ex facto fructum tulit ille petitum*, &c. The Rape *Eusebius* finds in the first of *Iair*, who governed *Israel* Twenty two Years, to whom succeeded *Jeptha* or *Jephte* Six Years, to whom *Ibzan*, who ruled Seven Years, and then *Habdon* Eight Years; in whose time was the fall of *Troy*. *In Epist. Helen.* *Jud. 10.3.* So as, if *Theseus* had a Child by her in the first of *Iair*, (at which time we must count her no less than Fifteen Years Old; for the Women did not commonly begin so young as they do now,) she was then at least two and Fifty Years old, at the Destruction of *Troy*; and when she was stolen by *Paris* eight and thirty; but herein the *Chronologers* do not agree. Yet *Eusebius* and *Bunting* with *Halicarnassens* do in effect consent, that the City was entred, and burnt in the first year of *Demophoon* King of *Athens*, the Successor of *Mnestheus*, the Successor of *Theseus*, Seventeen days before the *Summer Tropick*; and that about the Eleventh of *September* following, the *Trojans* crost the *Hellespont* into *Thrace*, and wintered there; and in the next Spring that they navigated into *Sicilia*, where wintering the second year, the next Summer they arrived at *Laurentum*, and builded *Lavinium*. But S. *Augustine* hath it otherwise, that when *Polyphides* governed *Sicyon*, *Mnestheus* *Athens*, *Tautanes* *Assyria*, *Habdon* *Israel*, then *Æneas* arrived in *Italy*, transporting with him in twenty Ships the remainder of the *Trojans*; but the difference is not great; and hereof more at large in the story of *Troy* at hand. *Bunt. Chron. Eus. Chron. Hal. lib. 1.* *Aug. de civ. dei l. 18. c. 19.*

In *Sicyona Phæstus* the two and twentieth King, reigned eight years, beginning by the common account in the time of *Thola*. His Successors, *Adrastus* who reigned four Years, and *Polyphides* who reigned thirteen, are accounted to the time of *Iair*; so is also *Mnestheus* King of *Athens*, and *Atreus*, who held a great part of *Peloponnesus*. In *Assyria*, during the Government of these two peaceable Judges, *Mitreus*, and after him *Tautanes*, reigned. In *Ægypt* *Amenophis*, the Son of *Ramses*, and afterwards *Amenemes*.

§ VII.

Of the War of Thebes *which was in this Age.*

IN this Age was the War of *Thebes*, the most Ancient that ever *Greek* Poet or Historian wrote of. Wherefore the *Romane* Poet *Lucretius*, affirming (as the *Epicures* in this point held truly against the *Peripateticks*) that the World had a beginning, urgeth them with this Objection.

——Si nulla fuit genitalis origo
Rerumque & mundi, semperque æterna fuere,
Cur supra bellum Thebanum, *& funera* Trojæ,
Non alias alij quoque res cecinere poetæ.

If all this World had no Original,
But things have ever been as now they are:
Before the siege of *Thebes* or *Troy's* last Fall,
Why did no Poet sing some elder War.

It is true, that in these times *Greece* was very Salvage, the Inhabitants being often chaced from place to place, by the Captains of greater Tribes; and no Man thinking the ground whereon he dwelt his own, longer than he could hold it by strong hand. Wherefore Merchandize and other Intercourse they used little, neither did they Plant many Trees, or sow more Corn than was necessary for their Sustenance. Money they had little or none, for it is thought that the name of Money was not heard in *Greece*, when *Homer* did write, who measures the value of Gold and Brass by the worth in Cattle; saying that the Golden Armour of *Glaucus*, was worth 100. Beeves, and the Copper Armour of *Diomedes* worth nine.

Robberies by Land and Sea were common and without shame, and to steal Horses or Kine was the usual Exercise of their great Men. Their Towns were not many, whereof those that were walled were very few, and not great. For *Mycenæ* the Principal City in *Peloponnesus* was a very little thing, and it may well be thought that the rest were proportionable; briefly, *Greece* was then in her Infancy, and though in some small Towns of that half Isle of *Peloponnesus*, the Inhabitants might have injoyed quietness within their narrow Bounds; as likewise did the *Athenians*, because their Country was so barren, that none did care to take it from them; yet that the Land in general was very rude, it will easily appear to such as consider, what *Thucydides*, the greatest of their Historians, hath written to this effect, in the Preface to his History. Wherefore, as in these latter times, idle Chroniclers use when they want good matter, to fill whole Books with reports of great Frosts, or dry Summers, and other such things which no Man cares to read; so did they, who spake of *Greece* in her beginnings, remember only the great floods which were in the times of *Ogyges*, and *Deucalion*; or else rehearse Fables of Men changed into Birds, of strange Monsters, of Adultery committed by their Gods, and the mighty Men which they begat; without writing ought that savoured of Humanity, before the time of the War

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of *Thebes*; the brief whereof is this:

OEdipus the Son of *Laius* King of *Thebes*, having been caſt forth when he was an Infant, becauſe an *Oracle* foretold what evil ſhould come to paſs by him, did afterwards in a narrow paſſage contending for the way, ſlay his own Father, not knowing either then or long after, who he was. Afterward he became King of *Thebes*, by Marriage of the Queen *Jocaſta*, called by *Homer Epicaſte*; on whom, not knowing her to be his Mother, he begat two Sons, *Eteocles* and *Polynices*. But when in proceſs of time, finding out by good circumſtances, who were his Parents, he underſtood the grievous Murther and Inceſt he had committed, he tore out his own Eyes for grief, and left the City. His Wife and Mother did hang her ſelf. Some ſay, that *OEdipus* having his Eyes pulled out, was expelled *Thebes*, bitterly curſing his Sons, becauſe they ſuffered their Father to be caſt out of the Town, and aided him not. Howſoever it were, his two Sons made this Agreement, that the one of them ſhould Reign one Year, and the other another Year; and ſo by courſe Rule interchangeably; but this appointment was ill obſerved. For when *Polynices* had after a Years Government reſigned the Kingdom to his Brother; or (according to others) when *Eteocles* had Reigned the firſt year, he refuſed to give over the Rule to *Polynices*. Hereupon *Polynices* fled unto *Argos*, where *Adraſtus* the Son of *Talaus* then Reigned, unto whoſe Palace coming by Night, he was driven to ſeek Lodging in an Out-Houſe, on the Back-ſide.

There he met with *Tydeus* the Son of *OEneus*, who was fled from *Calydon*; with whom ſtriving about their Lodging, he fell to blows. *Adraſtus* hearing the noiſe, came forth and took up the quarrel. At which time perceiving in the Shield of *Tydeus* a Boar, in that of *Polynices* a Lion, he remembred an old *Oracle*, by which he was adviſed to give his two Daughters in Marriage to a Lion and a Boar; and accordingly he did beſtow his Daughter *Argia* upon *Tydeus*, and *Deipyle* upon *Polynices*, promiſing to reſtore them both to their Countries. To this purpoſe levying an Army, and aſſembling as many Valiant Captains as he could draw to follow him, he was deſirous among others to carry *Amphiaraus*, the Son of *Oiclens*, a great Sooth-ſayer, and a Valiant Man, along with him. But *Amphiaraus*, who is ſaid to have foreſeen all things, knowing well that none of the Captains ſhould eſcape, ſave only *Adraſtus*, did both utterly refuſe to be one in that expedition, and perſwaded others to ſtay at home. *Polynices* therefore deale with *Eriphyle* the Wife of *Amphiaraus*, offering unto her a very fair Bracelet, upon condition that ſhe ſhould cauſe her Husband to aſſiſt him. The Sooth-ſayer knowing what ſhould work his deſtiny, forbad his Wife to take any Gift of *Polynices*. But the Bracelet was in her Eyes ſo precious a Jewel, that ſhe could not refuſe it. Therefore whereas a great controverſie, between *Amphiaraus* and *Adraſtus*, was by way of Compromiſe put unto the deciſion of *Eryphile*, either of them being bound by Solemn Oath to ſtand to her appointment: She ordered the matter ſo, as a Woman ſhould, that loved a Bracelet better than her Husband. He now finding that it was more eaſie to foreſee than avoid Deſtiny, ſought ſuch comfort as Revenge might afford; giving in charge to his Sons, that when they came to full age, they ſhould kill their Mother, and make ſtrong War upon the *Thebanes*.

Now had *Adraſtus* aſſembled all his Forces, of which, the Seven chief Leaders were, himſelf, *Amphiaraus*, *Capaneus*, and *Hippomedon* (inſtead of whom ſome name *Meciſteus*) all *Argives*, with *Polynices* the *Theban*, *Tydeus* the *Ætolian*, and *Parthenopæus* the *Arcadian*, Son of *Meleager* and *Atalanta*. When the Army came to the *Nemæan* Wood, they met a Woman, whom they deſired to help them to ſome Water, ſhe having a Child in her Arms, laid it down, and led the *Argives* to a Spring; but e're ſhe returned, a Serpent had ſlain the Child. This Woman was *Hypſipyle* the Daughter of *Thoas* the *Lemnian*, whom ſhe would have ſaved when the Women of the Iſle ſlew all the Males by Conſpiracy, intending to lead an *Amazonian* Life. For ſuch her piety, the *Lemnian* Wives did ſell her to Pyrats, and the Pyrats to *Lycurgus* Lord of the Country about *Nemæa*, whoſe young Son *Opheltes* or *Archemorus*, ſhe did nurſe, and loſt as is ſhewed before. When upon the Childs Death ſhe hid her ſelf for fear of her Maſter, *Amphiaraus* told her Sons where they ſhould find her; and the *Argives* did both kill the Serpent, which had ſlain the Child, and in Memory of the chance, did inſtitute Solemn Funeral Games called *Nemæan*, wherein *Adraſtus* won the prize with his Swift Horſe *Arion*, *Tydeus* with Whorl-bats, *Amphiaraus* at Running and Quoiting, *Polynices* at Wreſtling, *Parthenopæus* at Shooting, and one *Laodocus* in Darting. This was the firſt Inſtitution of the *Nemæan* Games, which continued after Famous in *Greece* for very many ages. There are who think, that they were ordained in Honour of one *Opheltus*, a *Lacedæmonian*. Some ſay by *Hercules*, when he had ſlain the *Nemæan* Lion: But the common Opinion agrees with that which is here ſet down.

From *Nemæa* the *Argives* marching onwards, arrived at *Citheron*, whence *Tydeus* was by them ſent Embaſſadour to *Thebes*, to require of *Eteocles* the performance of Covenants between him and *Polynices*. This meſſage was nothing agreeable to *Eteocles*, who was throughly reſolved to hold what he had, as long as he could: which *Tydeus* perceiving, and intending partly to get honour, partly to try what mettle was in the *Thebans*, he made many Challenges, and obtained Victory in all of them, not without much Envy and Malice of the People, who laid Fifty Men in Ambuſh, to intercept him at his return to the Army, of which Fifty he ſlew all but One, whom he ſent back to the City as a Reporter and Witneſs of his Valour. When the *Argives* underſtood how reſolved *Eteocles* was, they preſented themſelves before the City, and encamped round about it. *Thebes* is ſaid to have had at that time Seven Gates, which belike ſtood not far aſunder, ſeeing that the *Argives* (who afterward when they were very far ſtronger, could ſcarce Muſter up more Thouſands than *Thebes* had Gates) did compaſs the Town. *Adraſtus* quartered before the Gate *Homoloides*, *Capaneus* before the *Ogygian*, *Tydeus* before *Crenus*, *Amphiaraus*, at *Proetis*, *Hippomedon* at *Anchais*, *Parthenopæus* at *Electra*, and *Polynices* at *Hipſiſta*. In the mean Seaſon, *Eteocles* having Armed his Men, and appointed Commanders unto them, took Advice of *Tireſias* the Sooth-ſayer, who promiſed Victory to the *Thebans*, if *Menæcius* the Son of *Creon* a Principal Man of the City, would vow himſelf to be ſlain in Honour of *Mars* the God of War. So full of Malice and Pride is the De-

vil, and ſo envious at his Creators Glory, that he not only challengeth Honours due to God alone, as Oblations and Sacrifices with all Divine Worſhip, but commandeth us to offer our ſelves, and our Children unto him, when he hath ſufficiently clouded Mens Underſtandings, and bewitched their Wills with Ignorance and blind Devotion. And ſuch abominable Sacrifice of Men, Maids, and Children hath he exacted of the *Syrians*, *Carthaginians*, *Gauls*, *Germans*, *Cyprians*, *Ægyptians*, and of many other, if not of all Nations, when through Ignorance or Fear they were moſt filled with Superſtition. But as they grew more wiſe, ſo did he wax leſs impudent in Cunning, though not leſs malicious in deſiring the continuance of ſuch barbarous Inhumanity. For King *Diphilus* in *Cypres* without advice of any *Oracle*, made the Idol of that Country reſt contented with an Oxe inſtead of a Man. *Tiberius* forbad human Sacrifices in *Africk*; and crucified the Prieſts in the Groves where they had practiſed them. *Hercules* taught the *Italians* to drown Men of Hay inſtead of the living, yet among the Salvages in the *Weſt Indies* theſe cruel Offerings have been practiſed of late Ages; which as it is a ſufficient Argument, that *Satan*'s Malice is only covered and hidden by this ſubtilty among civil People: So may it ſerve as a probable Conjecture of the Barbariſms then reigning in *Greece*. For *Menæcius* as ſoon as he underſtood, that his Death might purchaſe Victory to his People, beſtowed himſelf (as he thought) upon *Mars*, killing himſelf before the Gates of the City. Then was a Battle fought, wherein the *Argives* prevailed ſo far at the firſt, that *Capaneus* advancing Ladders to the Walls, got up upon the Rampart; whence, when he fell or was caſt down, or (as Writers have it) was ſtricken down by *Jupiter* with a Thunder-bolt, the *Argives* fled. Many on each part were ſlain in this Battle, which cauſed both ſides to deſire that *Eteocles* and *Polynices* might try out the quarrel in ſingle fight; whereto the two brethren according, ſlew each other.

Another Battle was fought after their Deaths, wherein the Sons of *Aſtacus* behaved themſelves very valiantly: *Iſmarus* one of the Sons ſlew *Hyppomedon*, which was one of the ſeven Princes; *Parthenopæus* being another of the ſeven (who was ſaid to have been ſo fair, that none would hurt him when his Face was bare) was ſlain by *Amphidicus*, or as ſome ſay, by *Periclymenus* the Son of *Neptune*; and the Valiant *Tydeus* by *Menalippus*; yet ere *Tydeus* died, the Head of *Menalippus* was brought unto him by *Amphiaraus*, which he cruelly tore open and ſwallowed up the Brains. Upon which fact, it is ſaid, that *Pallas* who had brought from *Jupiter* ſuch remedy for his Wound, as ſhould have made him immortal, refuſed to beſtow it upon him; whereby perhaps was meant, that his Honour, which might have continued immortal, did periſh through the beaſtly Rage, that he ſhewed at his death.

The Hoſt of the *Argives* being wholly diſcomfitted, *Adraſtus* and *Amphiaraus* fled; of whom *Amphiaraus* is ſaid to have been ſwallowed quick into the Earth, near to the River *Iſmenus*, together with his Chariot, and ſo loſt out of Mens ſight, being peradventure overwhelmed with dead Carcaſes or drowned in the River; and his Body never found, nor greatly ſought for. *Adraſtus* eſcaped on his good Horſe *Arion*, and came to *Athens*; where ſitting at an Altar called the Altar of Mercy, he made Supplication for their Aid to recover their Bodies. For *Creon* having obtained the Government of *Thebes*, after the Death of *Eteocles*, would not ſuffer the Bodies of the *Argives* to be buried; but cauſed *Antigone*, the only Daughter then living of *Oedipus*, to be buried quick, becauſe ſhe had ſought out and buried the Body of her Brother *Polynices*, contrary to *Creon*'s Edict. The *Athenians* condeſcending to the requeſt of *Adraſtus*, did ſend forth an Army under the Conduct of *Theſeus*, which took *Thebes*, and reſtored the Bodies of the *Argives* to Sepulture; at which time *Evadne* the Wife of *Capaneus*, threw her ſelf into the Funeral Fire, and was burnt willingly with her Husband. But it little contented the Sons of thoſe Captains which were ſlain at *Thebes*, that any leſs revenge ſhould be taken of their Fathers Death, than the ruine of the City; wherefore ten years after having levied Forces, *Aegialeus* the Son of *Adraſtus*, *Dyomedes* of *Tydeus*, *Promachus* of *Parthenopæus*, *Sthenelus* of *Capaneus*, *Therſander* of *Polynices*, and *Eurypilus* of *Meciſteus*, marched thither under the conduct of *Alcmæon* the Son of *Amphiaraus*; with whom alſo went his Brother *Amphilochus*. *Apollo* promiſed Victory if *Alcmæon* were their Captain, whom afterward by another *Oracle* he commanded to kill his own Mother.

When they came to the City, they were incountred by *Laodamas* the Son of *Eteocles*, then King of the *Thebans*, (for *Creon* was only Tutor to *Laodamas*) who though he did valiantly in the Battle, and ſlew *Ægialeus*, yet was he put to the worſt, and driven to fly, or (according to *Apollodorus*) by *Alcmæon*. After this diſaſter the Citizens began to deſire Compoſition; but in the mean time they conveyed themſelves with their Wives and Children away from thence by Night, and ſo began to wander up and down, till at length they built the Town called *Eſtiæa*. The *Argives* when they perceived that their Enemies had quitted the Town, entring into it, ſacked it, threw down the Walls, and laid it waſte; howbeit it is reported by ſome, that the Town was ſaved by *Therſander*, the Son of *Polynices*, who cauſing the Citizens to return, did there reign over them. That he ſaved the City from utter Deſtruction, it is very likely, for he reigned there, and led the *Thebans* to the War of *Troy*, which very ſhortly after enſued.

§. VIII

§. VIII.

Of Jephta, *and how the Three hundred Years which he ſpeaketh of,* Jud. 11. verſ. 28. *are to be reconciled with the places,* Act. 13. 20. 1. Reg. 6. 1. *together with ſome other things touching Chronology about theſe times.*

AFter the Death of *Jair* (near about whoſe times theſe things happened in *Greece*, and during whoſe Government, and that of *Thola*, *Iſrael* lived in peace and in order) they revolted again from the Law, and Service of God, and became more wicked and Idolatrous than ever. For whereas in the former times they worſhipped *Baal* and *Aſteroth*, they now became followers of all the Heathen Nations adjoining, and imbraced the Idols of the *Aramites*, of the *Zidonians*, *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*; with thoſe of the *Philiſtims*. And as before it pleaſed God to correct them by the *Aramites*, by the *Amalekites*, and *Midianites*; ſo now he ſcourged them by the *Ammonites*, and afterward by the *Philiſtims*.

Jud. 10.

Now among the *Iſraelites*, thoſe of *Gilead* being moſt oppreſt, becauſe they bordered upon the *Ammonites*, they were inforc't to ſeek *Jeptha*, whom they had formerly deſpiſed and caſt from them, becauſe he was baſe Born; but he (notwithſtanding thoſe former injuries) participating more of Godly Compaſſion, than of deviliſh Hatred and Revenge, was content to lead the *Gileadites* to the War, upon Condition that they ſhould eſtabliſh him their Governour after Victory. And when he had diſputed with *Ammon* for the Land, diſproved *Ammon*'s Right, and fortified the Title of *Iſrael* by many Arguments, the ſame prevailing nothing, he began the War; and being ſtrengthened by God, over-threw them; and did not only beat them out of the Plains, but forc't them over the Mountains of *Arabia*, even to *Minnith*, and *Abel* of the Vineyards, Cities expreſt heretofore in the deſcription of the Holy-Land. After which Victory it is ſaid, that he performed the vain Vow, which he made, to Sacrifiſe the firſt living Creature he incountred, coming out of his Houſe to meet him; which happened to be his own Daughter, and only Child, who with all patience ſubmitted her ſelf, and only deſired two Months time to bewail her Virginity on the Mountains of *Gilead*; becauſe in her the Iſſues of her Father ended; but the other opinion that ſhe was not offered, is more probable, which *Borræus* and others prove ſufficiently.

The Perſecution of the *Ammonites* laſted 18. years and ended in the year of the World 2820. in which year *Jephta* began. *Jud.* 11.

Jud. 11. 33.

After theſe things the Children of *Iſrael*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, either envious of *Jephta*'s Victory, otherwiſe making way to their future Calamity, and to the moſt grievous Slavery that ever *Iſrael* ſuffered, quarrelled with *Jephta*, that they were not called to the War, as before time they had conteſted with *Gideon*. *Jephta* hereupon inforc't to defend himſelf againſt their Fury, in the incounter ſlew of them Two and Forty Thouſand, which ſo weakened the Body of the Land, as the *Philiſtims* had an eaſie Conqueſt of them all not long after: *Jephta* after he had Judged *Iſrael* Six years died; to whom ſucceeded *Ibzan*, who Ruled Seven years: After him *Elon* was their Judge Ten years: in all which time *Iſrael* had Peace. *Euſebius* finds not *Elon*, whom he calleth *Adon*, for in the *Septuagint*, approved in his time, this Judge was omitted.

Bor. in Jud.

Jud. 12.

2925.
2942.

Now before I go on with the reſt, it ſhall be neceſſary upon the occaſion of *Jephta*'s Account of the times *Jud.* 11. 28. (where he ſays that *Iſrael* had then poſſeſt the Eaſt ſide of *Jordan* 300. years) to ſpeak ſomewhat of the times of the *Judges*, and of the differing opinions among the Divines and Chronologers: there being found three places of Scriptures, touching this point, ſeeming repugnant, or diſagreeing: The firſt is in this diſpute between *Jephta* and *Ammon*, for the right and poſſeſſion of *Gilead*: the ſecond is that of St. *Paul Act.* 13. the third that which is in the Firſt of *Kings*. *Jephta* here challengeth the poſſeſſion of *Gilead* for 300. years: Saint *Paul* giveth to the *Judges*, as it ſeems, from the end of *Joſhua*, to the laſt of *Heli*, 450. years. In the firſt of *Kings* it is taught, that from the departing of *Iſrael* out of *Ægypt*, to the foundation of *Solomons* Temple, there were conſumed 480. years. To the firſt *Beroaldus* findeth *Jephta*'s 300. years to be but 266. years, to wit, 18. of *Joſhua*, 40. of *Othoniel*, 80. of *Aod* and *Samgar*, 40. of *Deborah*, 40. of *Gideon*, 3. of *Abimelech*, 23. of *Thola*, and 22. of *Jair*: But *Jephta* (ſaith *Beroaldus*) putteth or propoſeth a certain number, for an uncertain: *Sic ut dicat annum agi propè trecenteſimum, ex quo nullus item ea de re moverit* Iſraeli; *So he ſpeaketh* (ſaith he) *as meaning, that then it was about or well nigh the Three Hundreth year, ſince* Iſrael *poſſeſſed thoſe Countries, no man making queſtion of their right.* *Codoman* on the contrary finds more years than *Jephta* named by 65. to wit, 365. whereof 71. were ſpent in *Iſraels* Captivity, at ſeveral times, of which (as *Codoman* thinketh) *Jephta* forbare to repeat the whole Sum, or any great part, leſt the *Ammonite* ſhould have juſtly objected, that 71. of thoſe years, the *Iſraelites* were in Captivity and Vaſſals to their Neighbour Princes, and therefore knowing that to name Three Hundred years, it was enough for Preſcription, he omitted the reſt.

Jud. 11. 28.

Act. 13. 20.

1 *King.* 6. 1.

Id facit numero certo pro incerto propoſito.

To juſtifie this account of 365. years, beſides the 71. years of Captivity or Affliction, to be added to *Beroaldus* his 266. he addeth alſo 28. years more, and ſo maketh up the Sum of 365. Theſe 28. years he findeth out thus; 20. years he gives to the *Seniors* between *Joſhua* and *Othoniel*; and where *Beroaldus* alloweth but 18. years to *Joſhua* his Government, *Codoman* accounts that his rule laſted 26. according to *Joſephus*; whereas St. *Auguſtine* and *Euſebius* give him 27. *Melanchthon* 32. The Truth, is that this addition of 28. years, is far more doubtful than the other of 71. But though we admit not of this addition, yet by accounting of ſome part of the years of Affliction (to wit, 34. years of the 71.) if we add them to the 266. years of *Beroaldus*, which reckoneth none of theſe, we have the juſt number of 300. years. Neither is it ſtrange, that *Jephta* ſhould leave out more than half of theſe years of Affliction: ſeeing, as it is already ſaid, the *Ammonites* might except againſt theſe 71. years, and ſay that during theſe years, or at leaſt a good part of them, the *Iſraelites* had no quiet poſſeſſion of the Countries in queſtion. *Martin Luther* is the Author of a third opinion, making thoſe 300. years remembred by *Jephta*, to be 306. which odd years, ſaith he, *Jephta* omitteth. But becauſe the years of every *Judge* as they reigned, cannot make up this number of 306. but do only compound 266. therefore doth *Luther* add to this number, the whole time which *Moſes* ſpent in the *Deſarts* of *Arabia Petræa*; which Forty years of *Moſes*, added to the number which *Beroaldus* findeth of 266. make indeed 306.

But I ſee nothing in the Text to warrant *Luther*'s Judgment herein; for in the diſpute between *Jephta* and *Ammon* for the Land of *Gilead*, it is

written in the person of *Ammon* in these words. *Because* Israel *took my Land, when they came up from* Ægypt, *from* Arnon *unto* Jaboc, *&c. now therefore restore those Lands quietly or in peace.* So by this place it is plain, that the time is not to be accounted from *Moses* departure out of *Ægypt*; but from the time that the Land was possest. For it is said, *Quia cepit* Israel *terram meam*; *Because* Israel *took my Land*; and therefore the beginning of this account, is to be referred to the time of the taking: which *Jephtas* answer also confirmeth in these words. *When* Israel *dwelt in* Heshbon, *and in her Towns, and in* Aroer, *and in her Towns, and in all the Cities that are by the coast of* Arnon 300. *years*: *Why did ye not then recover them in that space?* So as this place speaks it directly, that *Israel* had inhabited and dwelt in the Cities of *Gilead* 300. years; and therefore to account the times from the hopes or intents, that *Israel* had to possess it, it seemeth somewhat strained to me; for we do not use to reckon the time of our conquests in *France*, from our Princes Intents or Purposes, but from their Victories and possessions.

Jud. 11. 28.

Junius nevertheless likes the Opinion of *Luther*, and says that this time of 300. Years had reference, and is to take beginning from the first of *Jephtas* Narration; when he makes a brief Repetition of *Moses*'s whole Journey; to wit, at the sixteenth Verse of the eleventh Chapter of *Judges* in our Translation in these Words. *But when* Israel *came up from* Ægypt, *&c.* And therefore *Moses* his 40. years (as he thinks) are to be accounted, which make the number of 305. years; and not only the time in which *Israel* possest *Gilead*, according to the Text and *Jephtas* own Words; of which I leave the Judgement to others; to whom also I leave to Judge, whether we may not begin the 480. years, from the deliverance out of *Ægypt* to the Temple, even from the first departure out of *Ægypt*, and yet find a more probable Reconciliation of St. *Pauls* and *Jephtas* account with this reckoning, than any of those that as yet have been signified. For first, touching *Jephtas*'s 300. years of Possession of the East side of *Jordan*, it is to be remembered, that for a good while before the *Israelites* possessed it, *Sehon* and Og had dispossessed *Moab* and *Ammon* thereof; so that when the *Israelites* had conquered *Sehon* and Og, the right of Possession, which they had, passed to *Israel*; and so *Jephta* might say, that they had possessed those Countries 300. years, reckoning 266. years of their own Possession, and the rest of the Possession of the two Kings *Sehon* and Og, whose Right the *Israelites* had by the Law of Conquest.

Junius in the 11. of *Jud.* note.

The second place disputed is this of St. *Paul. Act.* 13. that from the end of *Joshua* to the beginning of *Samuel*, there past 450. years. And this place *Luther* understandeth also besides the Letter, as I find his Opinion cited by *Functius Krentzemius*, and *Beza*, for I have not read his Commentaries. For he accounteth from the Death of *Moses*, to the last year of *Heli*, but 357. years; and this he doth the better to approve the times from the Egression out of *Ægypt* to the Building of the Temple, which in the first *King.* 6. is said to be 480. years.

Read the 24. of *Josh.* and 2. *Jud.* 7. *Funct. Chron. fol.* 4. *Beza* in his Annotations upon the 13. of the *Acts v.* 10.

Now for as much as St. *Paul* (as it seems) finds 450. years from the Death of *Joshua*, to the last of *Heli*, and leaves but 30. years for *Saul* and *Samuel*, who governed 40. for *David* who ruled 40. and for *Solomon* who wore the Crown three whole years ere the Foundation of the Temple was laid; therefore *Luther* takes it, that there was an errour in the Scribe, who wrote out this piece of Scripture of St. *Paul*; to wit, *Then afterward he gave unto them Judges about* 450. *years, unto the time of* Samuel *the Prophet*; the Words *then afterward*, being clearly referred to the Death or after the Death of *Joshua*, as shall be hereafter proved. But where St. *Luke* rehearsing the Words of St. *Paul* wrote 350. years (saith *Luther*) the *Scribe* in the Transcription being deceived, by the affinity of those two *Greek* Words, whereof the one signifieth 300. and the other 400. wrote *Tetracosiois* for *Triacosiois* 400. years, for 300. years, and 450. for 350. This he seeketh to strengthen by many Arguments; to which Opinion *Beza* in his great Annotations adhereth. A contrary Judgement to this hath *Codeman*; where *Luther* and *Beza* begin at *Moses*'s Death, he takes his account from the Death of *Joshua*, and from thence to the beginning of *Samuel* he makes 430. years; to wit, of the *Judges* (not reckoning *Sampson*'s years) 319. and of years of Servitude and Affliction under Strangers 111. The Reason why he doth not reckon *Sampson*'s 20. years, is, because he thinks that they were part of the 40. years, in which the *Philistims* are said to have oppressed *Israel*. For it is plain, that during all *Sampson*'s time they were Lords over *Israel*. So then of the *Judges*, besides the 111. years of Servitude, *Codoman* reckoneth (as I have said) 319. years, which two summs put together make 430. years, and whereas St. *Paul* nameth 450. years, he finds 20. years to make up St. *Pauls* number, to have been spent after the Death of *Joshua* by the *Seniors*, before the Captivity of *Chushan*, or the Election of *Othoniel*; which 20. years added to 430. make 450. according to St. *Paul*. To approve this time of the Elders, he citeth two places of Scriptures, namely the 24*th*. of *Joshua*, and the second of *Judges*, in each of which places it is written, that *Israel served the Lord all the days of* Joshua, *and all the days of the Elders that over-lived* Joshua, so as to these times of the Elders, *Codoman* giveth 20. years, which make as before 450. according to St. *Paul*. Neither would it breed any great difficulty in this Opinion, if here also the 20. years of the *Seniors*, between *Joshua* and *Othoniel*, should be denyed. For they which deny these years, and make *Othoniels* 40. to begin presently upon the Death of *Joshua*, as in the beginning of this reckoning they have 20. years less than *Codomon*, so toward the end of it (when they reckon the years of Affliction, apart from the years of the *Judges*) in the number of *Sampson*'s years, and of the 40. years of the *Philistims* oppressing the *Israelites*, they have 20. years more than *Codoman*. For they reckon these 40. years of Oppression, all of them apart from *Sampson*'s 20. but *Codoman* as is said makes *Sampsons* 20. to be the one half of the 30. of the *Philistims* Oppressions; so that if the 20. years of the *Seniors*, be not allowed to *Codoman*, then he may reckon (as the Letter of the Text seems to inforce) that the *Philistims* in an *Inter-regnum*, before *Sampson* judged *Israel*, vexed the *Israelites* 40. years, besides the 20. while *Sampson* was their *Judge*, and so the reckoning will come to 450. years between the end of *Joshua*, and the beginning of *Samuel*, though we admit not of any *Inter regnum* of the *Seniors*, between *Joshua* and *Othoniel*: For if the times of their Affliction be summed, they make 111. years, to which if we add the years of the *Judges*, which are 339. we have the just summ of 450. And this Computation, either one way or other, may seem to be much more probable, than theirs that correct the Text, although we should admit of their

Act. 13. 20.

Jud. 13. *Jud.* 25. 11.

Cor-

Correction thereof, and read with them 350. for 450. For whereas they conceive that this time of 350. years, is to begin immediately, or soon after the Death of *Moses*; certainly the place of St. *Paul* doth evidently teach the contrary, though it be received for true, that there was *vitium scriptoris* in the rest. For these be St. *Paul*'s Words; *And about the time of* 40. *years, God suffered their Manners in the Wilderness; And he destroyed seven Nations in the Land of* Canaan, *and divided their Land to them by Lot. Then afterward he gave unto them Judges about* 450. *years, unto the time of* Samuel *the Prophet.* So as first in the Eighteenth Verse he speaketh of *Moses*, and of his years spent in the Wilderness, then in the Nineteenth Verse he cometh to the Acts of *Joshua*; which were that he destroyed seven Nations in the Land of *Canaan*, and divided their Land to them by Lot. In the Twentieth Verse it followeth; *Then afterward he gave them Judges about* 450. *years, &c.* And therefore to reckon from the Death of *Moses*, is wide of St. *Paul*'s meaning, so far as my weak understanding can pierce it. The only inconvenience of any weight in the Opinion of *Codoman* touching this place in the *Acts*, is that, it seems irreconcileable with the account 1 *Reg.* 6. 11. For if indeed there were spent 450. years between the end of *Joshua* and the beginning of *Samuel*, certainly there must needs be more than 480. years between the beginning of the *Israelites* journying from *Ægypt*, and the foundation of the Temple by *Solomon*. To this difficulty *Codoman* answereth, that these 480. years 1. *Reg.* 6. 1. must begin to be reckoned, not in the beginning, but in the ending of their Journying from *Ægypt*, which he makes to be 25. years after the beginning of *Othoniels* Government; from whence if we cast the years of the *Judges*, with the years of Servitude (which Sums according to his account, of which we have already spoken, make 397. years) and so to these years add the 40. of *Samuel*, and *Saul*, and the 40. of *David*, and the Third of *Solomon*, we shall have the just sum of 480. years. Neither is it hard (saith he) that the *Annus egressionis*, 1 *Reg.* 6. 1. should be understood *egressionis non incipientis sed finitæ*, the year of their coming out of *Ægypt*, (for so it is in the Original) or the year after they came out of *Ægypt*, may well be understood for the year after they were come out thence, that is, after they had ended their wandring from thence. For so we find that things which were done 40. years after they had set foot out of *Ægypt*, are said to have been done in their going out of *Ægypt*, as *Psal.* 114. *When* Israel *came out of* Ægypt, Jordan *was driven back*, and *Deut.* 4, 45. *These are the Testimonies which* Moses *spake when they came out of* Ægypt. And thus far it seems we may very well agree with *Codoman*, for the interpretation of the word *ab exitu*, to be as much as *quùm exiviſſent*, or *ab exitu finito*: for if *Junius Deut.* 4. 45. do well read *quùm exiviſſent*, for *in exitu*, as it seems that herein he doth well, why may not we also, to avoid contradiction in the Scripture expound *ab exitu* to be, *poſtquàm exiviſſent*.

Jos. 14. 1.

The next point to be cleared is, how their journying should be said, not to have had end until the 25. year after the Victory of *Othoniel*. To this *Codoman* answereth, that then it had no end till when all the Tribes had obtained their portions, which happened not until this time; at which time the *Danites* at length seated themselves, as it is declared, *Jud.* 18. For doubtless to this time the expedition may most conveniently be referred. And thus without any great inconvenience to him appearing, doth *Codoman* reconcile the account of *Jephta* and St. *Paul*, with that in the first of *Kings* c. 6. Now whereas it is said, that the expedition of the *Danites* was, when there was no King in *Israel*: To this *Codoman* answereth, that it is not necessary, that we should suppose that *Othoniel* lived all those 40. years of rest, of which *Jud.* 3. 11. so that by the 25. years after his Victory, either he might have been dead, or at least, as *Gideon* did, he might have refused all Soveraignty; and so either way it might truly be said, that at this time (to wit, the 25. year after *Othoniels* Victory) there was no King in *Israel*. This opinion of *Codoman*, if it were as Consonant to other *Chronologers* grounding their opinions on the plain Text, where it is indisputable, as it is in it self round enough and coherent, might perhaps be received as good; especially considering that the speeches of St. *Paul*, have not otherwise found any interpretation, maintaining them as absolutely true, in such manner as they found, and are set down. But seeing that he wanteth all help of Authority, we may justly suspect the Supposition whereupon his opinion is grounded; it being such, as the Consent of many Authors would hardly suffice to make very probable. For who hath told *Codoman*, that the Conquest of *Laish*, by the Tribe of *Dan*, was performed in the Five and Twentieth year of *Othoniel*? Or what other probability hath he than his own Conjecture, to shew that *Othoniel* did so renounce the Office of a Judge after Five and Twenty years, that it might then be truly said, there was no King in *Israel*, but every man did that which was good in his own Eyes?

Jud. 18. 1.

Now concerning the rehearsal of the Law by *Moses*, and the stopping of *Jordan*, they might indeed be properly said to have been, when *Israel* came out of *Ægypt*; like as we say, that King *Edward* the first was Crowned, when he came out of the Holy Land; for so all Journies with their accidents commonly take name from the place, either whence or whither they tend. But I think he can find no such phrase of Speech in Scripture, as limiteth a journey by an Accident, or saith by converting the proposition, when *Jordan* was turning back, *Israel* came out of *Ægypt*. Indeed most unproper it were to give date unto Actions commenced long after, from an Expedition finished long before; namely to say, that King *Edward* at his arrival out of *Palæstina*, did win *Scotland*, or died at *Carlile*. How may we then believe, that enterprize performed so many years after the division of the Land (which followed the Conquest at the journeys end) should be said to have been at the time of the departure out of *Ægypt*? Or who will not think it most strange, that the most notable account of Time, serving as the only guide for certain ages in sacred *Chronology*, should not take name and beginning, from that illustrious Deliverance out of *Ægypt*, rehearsed often by God himself among the principal of his benefits to *Israel*, whereof the very day and month are recorded in Scripture (as likewise are the Year and Month wherein it expired) and the form of the year upon that occasion changed; but should have reference to the surprizing of a Town by 600. Men, that robbed a Chappel by the way, and stole from thence Idols to be their guides, as not going to work in Gods name? For this accident, whereupon *Codoman* buildeth, hath either no time given to it, or a time far different from that which he supposeth, and is indeed rather by him placed in such a year, because it best stood with his interpretation so to have it, than for any certainty or likelihood of the thing it self.

Wherefore we may best agree with such as affirm, that the Apostle St. *Paul* did not here in Labour

bour to set down the course of time exactly (a thing no way concerning his purpose) but only to shew that God, who had chosen *Israel* to be his People, delivered them out of Bondage, and ruled them by *Judges*, and *Prophets*, unto the time of *Saul*; did raise up our *Lord Jesus Christ* out of the seed of *David* the King, in whose Succession the Crown was established, and promise made of a Kingdom that should have no end. Now in rehearsing briefly thus much, which tended as a Preface to the Declaration following (wherein he sheweth Christ to have been the true *Messias*) the Apostle was so far from labouring to make an exact Calculation of Times (the History being so well known, and believed of the *Jews* to whom he preached) that he spake as it were at large of the 40. years consumed in the Wilderness, whereof no man doubted; saying, that God suffered their manners in the Wilderness about 40. years. In like manner he proceeded, saying, that from the division of the Land unto the days of *Samuel* the Prophet, in whose time they required to have a King, there passed about 450. years. Neither did he stand to tell them, that an 100 and 11. years of Bondage mentioned in this middle while, were by exact Computation to be included within the 339. years of the *Judges*; for this had been an impertinent Digression from the argument which he had in hand. Wherefore it is a work not so needful as laborious, to search out of this place, that which the Apostle did not here intend to teach, when the Sum of 480. years is so expresly and purposely set down,

Now that the Words of St. *Paul* (if there be no fault in the Copy through errour of some Scribe) are not so curiously to be examined in matter of *Chronology*, but must be taken as having reference to the memory and apprehension of the Vulgar; it is evident by his ascribing in the same place 40. years to the reign of *Saul*; whereas it is manifest, that those years were divided between *Saul* and *Samuel*, yea that far the greater part of them were spent under the Government of the Prophet, howsoever they are here included in the reign of the King. As for those that with so much Cunning forsake the general Opinion, when it favoureth not such Exposition, as they bring out of a good mind, to help where the need is not over-great; I had rather commend their Diligence, than follow their Example. The Words of *St. Paul* were sufficiently justifyed by *Beroaldus*, as having reference to a common Opinion among the Scribes in those days, that the 111. years of Servitude were to be reckoned apart from the 339. years ascribed to the *Judges*; which account the Apostle would not in this place stand to contradict, but rather chose to speak as the Vulgar, qualifying it with a *quasi*, where he saith, *quasi quadringentis & quinquaginta annis*; *as it were four hundred and fifty years.* But *Codoman* being not thus contented, would needs have it to be so indeed; and therefore dis-joins the members to make the account even. In so doing he dasheth himself against a notable Text, whereupon all Authors have builded (as well they might and ought) that purposely and precisely doth cast up the years from the departure out of *Ægypt*, unto the building of *Solomon*'s Temple, not omitting the very month it self.

Now (as commonly the first Apprehensions are strongest) having already given faith to his own Interpretation of St. *Paul*, he thinketh it more needful to find some new Exposition for that, which is of it self most plain, than to examine his own Conjecture upon a place that is full of Controversie. Thus by expounding, after a strange method, that which is manifest by that which is obscure, he looseth himself in those ways, wherein before him never man walked. Surely if one should urge him to give reason of these new Opinions, he must needs answer, That *Othoniel* could not govern above 25. years, because then was the taking of *Laish, at which time there was no King in* Israel: That the *Danites* must needs have taken *Laish* at that time, because else we could not reckon backwards, from the Foundation of the Temple, to any Action that might be termed the Coming of *Israel* out of *Ægypt*, without excluding the years of Servitude; And that the years of Servitude must needs be included, for that otherwise he himself should have spent his time vainly, in seeking to pleasure St. *Paul* with an Exposition. Whether this ground be strong enough to uphold a Paradox, I leave it to the Decision of any judicious Reader.

And now to proceed in our story. To the time of *Jephta* are referred the Death of *Hercules*, the Rape of *Helen* by *Paris*, and the Provisions which her Husband *Menelaus*, reigning then in *Sparta*, and his Brother *Agamemnon* King of *Mycenæ*, made for her recovery. Others refer this Rape of *Helen* to the fourth year of *Ibzan*; from which time, if the War of *Troy* (as they suppose) did not begin till the third of *Alon* or *Elon*, yet the *Greeks* had six years to prepare themselves; the rule holding not true in this War, *longa præparatio Belli celerem affert Victoriam*; *That a long Preparation begets a speedy Victory*; for the *Greeks* consumed ten years in the attempt; and *Troy* as it seems was entred, sackt and burnt in the third year of *Habdon*.

Three years after *Troy* was taken, which was in the sixth year of *Habdon*, *Æneas* arrived in *Italy*. *Habdon* in the eighth year of his rule died, after he had heen the Father of 40. Sons and 30. Grand-Children. And whereas it is supposed, that the 40. years of *Israel*'s Oppression by the *Philistims* (of which *Jud.* 13. *v.* 1.) took beginning from the ninth year of *Jair*, and ended with the last of *Habdon*; I see no great reason for that Opinion. For *Ephraim* had had little cause of quarrel against *Jephta*, for not calling them to War over *Jordan*, if the *Philistims* had held them in servitude in their own Territories; and if *Ephraim* could have brought 42000. armed Men into the Field, it is not likely that they were then oppress; and had it been true that they were, who will doubt but that they would rather have fought against the *Philistims*, with so powerful an Army, for their own deliverance, than against their own Brethren the *Israelites*? But *Ammon* being overthrown, it seemed at that time, that they feared no other Enemy. And therefore these 40. years must either be supplied elsewhere, as in the time of *Sampson*, and afterward; or else they must be referred to the *interregnum* between the death of *Habdon*, and the deliverance of *Israel* by *Sampson*, such as it was.

CHAP

CHAP. XIV.

Of the War of Troy.

§. I.

Of the Genealogy of the Kings of Troy, *with a note touching the ancient Poets how they have observed Historical Truth.*

THE War at *Troy*, with other Stories hereupon depending, (because the ruine of this City, by most *Chronologers* is found in the time of *Habdon*, *Judge* of *Israel*, whom in the last place I have mentioned) I rather chose here to intreat of in one intire Narration, beginning with the lineal Descent of their Princes, than to break the Story into pieces, by rehearsing a-part in divers years the diversity of Occurrents.

The History of the ancient Kings of *Troy* is uncertain, in regard both of their Original, and of their Continuance. It is commonly held that *Teucer* and *Dardanus* were the two founders of that Kingdom. This is the Opinion of *Virgil*; which if he (as *Reineccius* thinks) took from *Berosus*, it is the more probable; if *Annius* borrowed it from him, then it rests upon the Authority of *Virgil*, who saith thus.

Aneid. 3.

Creta Jovis *magni medio jacet insula Ponto:*
Mons Idæus *ubi, & gentis cunabula nostræ.*
Centum Urbes habitant magnas, uberrima Regna:
Maximus unde Pater (si rite audita recordor)
Teucrus *Rhœteas primum est advectus ad oras:*
Optavitque locum Regno. Nondum Ilium *& arces*
Pergameæ steterant; habitabant vallibus imis.
Hinc Mater Cultrix Cybele, *Corybantiaque æra,*
Idæumque nemus.

In the main Sea the Isle of *Creet* doth lie:
Where *Jove* was born, thence is our progeny.
There is mount *Ida*; there in fruitful Lrnd
An hundred great and goodly Cities stand.
Thence (if I follow not mistaken fame)
Teucer the eldest of our Grand-sires came
To the Rhætean shores; and raigned there
Ere yet fair *Ilion* was built, and ere
The Towers of *Troy*; their dwelling-place they sought
In lowest Vales. Hence *Cybel*'s rights were brought:
Hence *Corybantian Cymbales* did remove:
And hence the name of our *Idæan* Grove.

Thus it seems by *Virgil*, who followed surely good Authority, that *Teucer* first gave name to that Country, wherein he raigned ere *Troy* was built by *Dardanus*; of which *Dardanus* in the same Book he speaks thus.

Est locus Hesperiam Graij cognomine dicunt:
Terra antiqua, potens Armis atque ubere glebæ.
Oenotrij coluere viri, nunc fama minores
Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine, gentem.
Hæ nobis propriæ sed, hinc Dardanus *ortus:*
Jasiusque Pater, genus à quo Principe nostrum.

Hesperia the *Græcians* call the place;
An ancient fruitful Land, a War like Race.
Oenotrians held it, now the latter progeny
Gives it their Captain's name, and calls it *Italy*.
This seat belongs to us, hence *Dardanus*,
Hence came the Author of our stock, *Iasius*.

Atque equidem memini (fama est obscurior annis) *Æneid. l. 7.*
Auruncos ita ferre senes, his ortus ut agris
Dardanus *Idæas Phrygiæ penetravit ad urbes,*
Threiciamque Samum, quæ nunc Samothracia fertur.
Hinc illum Coryti Tyrrhenâ ab sede profectum
Aurea nunc solio stellantis regia cœli
Accipit, &c.

Some old *Auruncans*, I remember well
(Though time have made the Fame obscure) would tell
Of *Dardanus*, how born in *Italy*;
From hence he into *Phrygia* did flie.
And leaving *Tuscaine* (where he earst had place)
With *Corytus* did sail to *Samothrace*;
But now inthronized he sits on high,
In Golden Palace of the starry skie.

But contrary to this, and to so many Authors, approving and confirming it, *Reineccius* thinks that these names, *Troes*, *Teucri*, and *Thraces*, are derived from *Tiras* or *Thiras* the Son of *Japhet*; and that the *Dardanians*, *Mysians*, and *Ascanians*, mixt with the *Trojans*, were *German* Nations, descended from *Ashkenaz*, the Son of *Gomer*: of whom the Country, Lake, and River of *Ascanius* in *Asia* took Name. That *Ashkenaz* gave name to those places and people, it is not unlikely; neither is it unlikely that the *Ascanij*, *Dardani*, and many others, did in after-times pass into *Europe*; that the name of *Teucer* came of *Tiras*, the conjecture is somewhat hard. Concerning *Teucer*, whereas *Halicarnassens* makes him an *Athenian*, I find none that follow him in the same opinion. *Virgil* (as is before shewed) reporteth him to be of *Crete*, whose Authority is the more to be regarded, because he had good means to find the Truth, which it is probable that he carefully sought, and in this did follow; seeing it no way concerned *Augustus* (whom other-whiles he did flatter) whether *Teucer* were of *Crete* or no. *Reineccius* doth rather embrace the opinion of *Diodorus* and others, that think him a *Phrygian*, by which re-

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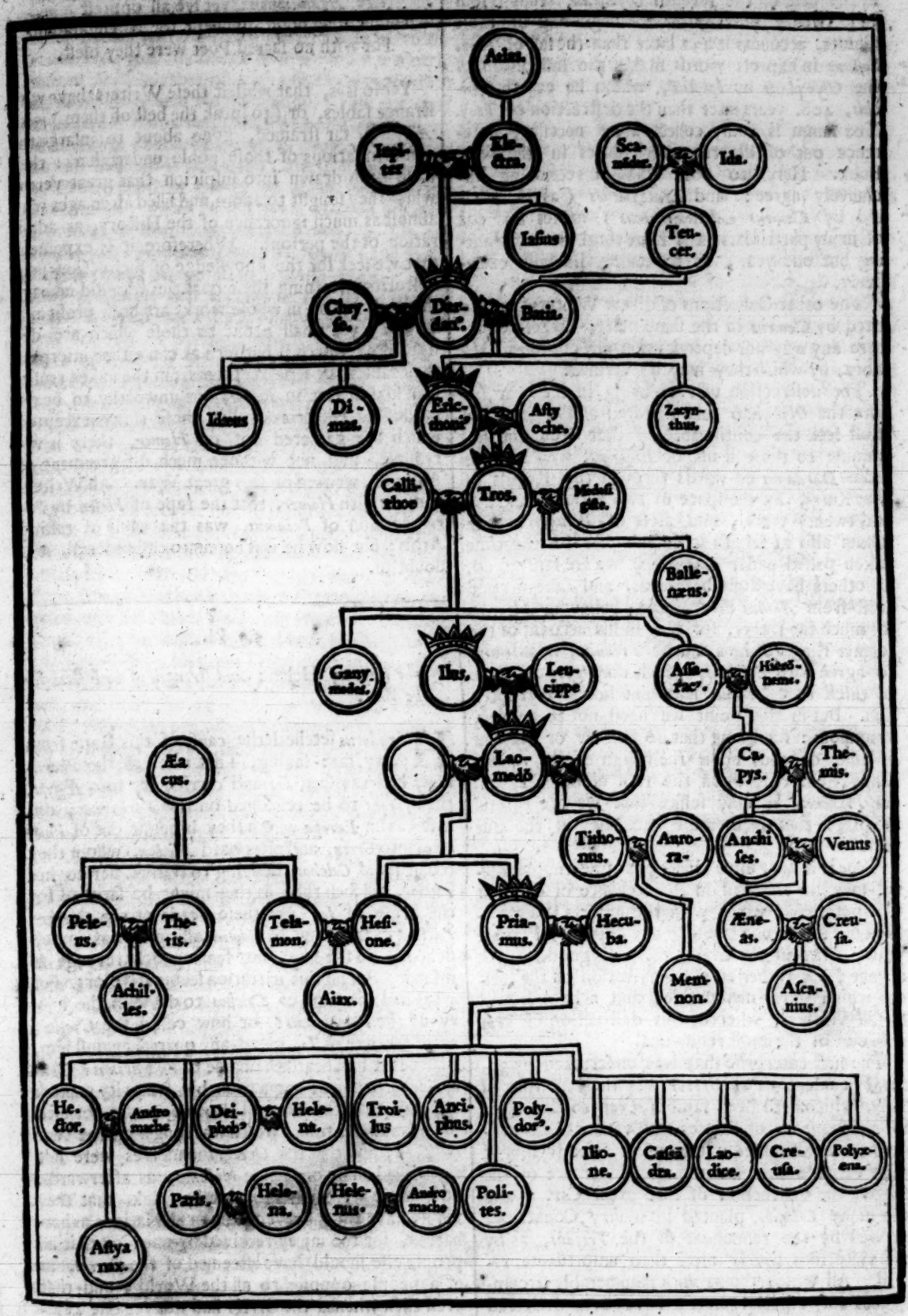
port he was the Son of *Scamander* and *Ida*, Lord of the Country, not Founder of the City; and his Daughter or Niece *Batia*, was the second Wife of *Dardanus*, Founder of *Troy*. *Reineccius* further thinks, that *Atlas* raigned in *Samothracia*, and gave his Daughter *Electra* to *Corytus*, or *Coritus*; and that these were Parents to *Chryse*, first wife to *Dardanus*. *Virgil* holds otherwise, and the common Tradition of Poets makes *Dardanus* the Son of *Electra* by *Jupiter*, which *Electra* was the Daughter of *Atlas*, and Wife to *Coritus* King of *Hetruria*, to whom she bare *Jasius*. *Annius* out of his *Berosus* finds the name of *Camboblascon*, to whom he gives the addition of *Coritus*, as a Title of Dignity, making him Father of *Dardanus* and *Jasius*; and further telling us very particularly of the Faction between these Brethren, which grew to such heat, that finally *Dardanus* killed his Brother, and thereupon fled into *Samothrace*. The obscurity of the History gives leave to *Annius* of saying what he list. I that love not to use such liberty, will forbear to determine any thing herein. But if *Dardanus* were the Son of *Jupiter*, it must have been of some elder *Jupiter*, than the Father of those that lived about the War of *Troy*. So is it likewise probable, that *Atlas* the Father of *Electra*, was rather an *Italian* than an *African*, which also is the opinion of *Boccace*. For (as hath often been said) there were many *Jupiters*, and many of almost every name of the Gods; but it was the Custom to ascribe to some one the Acts of the rest, with all belonging to them. Therefore I will not greatly trouble my self, with making any narrow search into these fabulous Antiquities, but set down the Pedigree according to the general fame; allowing to *Teucer* such Parents as *Diodorus* gives, because others give him none, and carrying the Line of *Dardanus* in manner following.

Boccace de gen. Deor. l. 4. c. 31.

Atlas



Concerning the beginning and continuance of the *Trojan* Kingdom, with the length of every Kings Reign, I have choſen good Authors to be my guides, that in a Hiſtory, whereon depends the moſt antient computation of times among the *Greeks*, I might not follow incertainties, ill cohering with the conſent of Writers, and general paſſage of things elſewhere done. And firſt for the deſtruction of *Troy*, which was of greater note than any accident befalling that City whilſt it ſtood, it is reckoned by *Diodorus* to be 780. years more ancient than the beginning of the 94*th* *Olympiad*. Whereas therefore 372. did paſs between the beginning of the *Olympiads*, and the firſt year of the 94*th*. it is manifeſt that the remainder of 780. that is 408. years went between the deſtruction of *Troy*, and the firſt inſtitution of thoſe games of *Iphitus*, if the authority of *Diodorus* be good proof, who elſewhere tells us, that the return of the *Heraclida*, which was eighty Years after the fall of *Troy*, was three hundred twenty eight years before the firſt *Olympiad*.

Diod. l. 4.

Diod. in Præf.

Dionys. Halic. Antiq. l. 2.

Hereunto agrees the authority of *Dionysius Halicarnasseus*, who placing the foundation of *Rome* in the first of the seventh *Olympiad*, that is four and twenty years after the beginning of those Games, accounts it 432 later than the fall of *Troy*.

Solin. Polihist. c. 2.

Solinus in expres's words makes the institution of the *Olympiads* by *Iphitus*, whom he calleth *Iphiclus*, 408. years later than the destruction of *Troy*. The summ is easily collected by necessary inference out of divers other places in the same Book. Hereunto doth *Eusebius* reckoning exclusively agree: and *Eratosthenes* (as he is cited by *Clemens Alexandrinus*) makes up out of many particulars, the same total summ, wanting but one year, as reckoning likewise exclusively.

Eusib. de prep: Evang. l. 10 c. 3. Clt. Alex. strom. lib. 1.

The other Collections of divers Writers that are cited by *Clemens* in the same place, do neither cohere any way nor depend upon any collateral History, by which they may be verified.

The destruction of *Troy* being in the year before the *Olympiads* four hundred and eight, we must seek the continuance of that from the beginning to the end out of *Eusebius*, who leads us from *Dardanus* on-wards through the Reigns of four Kings, by the space of two hundred and five and twenty years, and after of *Priamus*, with whom also at length it ended. As for the time which passed under *Laomedon*, we are fain to do, as others have done before us, and take it upon trust from *Annius* his Authors; believing *Manetho* so much the rather, for that in his account of the former Kings Reigns and of *Priamus*, he is found to agree with *Eusebius*, which may give us leave to think that *Annius* hath not herein corrupted him. But in this point we need not to be very scrupulous: for seeing that no History or account of time depends upon the Reign of the former Kings, but only upon the ruin of the City under *Priamus*, it may suffice that we are careful to place that memorable accident in the due year.

True it is that some objections appearing weighty, may be alledged in maintenance of different Computations, which with the answers I purposely omit, as not willing to dispute of those years, wherein the *Greeks* knew no good form of a year; but rather to make narration of the actions which were memorable, and acknowledged by all Writers, whereof this destruction of *Troy* was one of the most renowned.

The first enterprise that was undertaken by general consent of all *Greece* was the last War of *Troy*, which hath been famous even to this day, for the numbers of Princes and valiant Commanders there assembled: the great Battels fought with variable success: the long indurance of the Siege; the destruction of that great City; and the many *Colonies* planted in sundry Countries, as well by the remainder of the *Trojans*, as by the victorious *Greeks* after their unfortunate return. All which things with innumerable circumstances of especial note, have been delivered unto posterity, by the excellent wits of many Writers, especially by the *Poems* of that great *Homer*, whose Verses have given immortality to the Action, which might else perhaps have been buried in Oblivion, among other worthy Deeds done both before and since that time. For it is true which *Horace* saith;

Vixêre fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi, sed omnes illachrimabiles
Urgentur, ignotique longâ
Nocte: carent quia vate sacro.

Many by valour have deserv'd renown
Ere *Agamemnon*: yet lye all oppress
Under long night, unwept for and unknown:
For with no sacred Poet were they blest.

Yet so it is, that whilest these Writers have with strange fables, or (to speak the best of them) with *Allegories* far strained, gone about to inlarge the commendations of those noble undertakers: they have both drawn into suspicion that great vertue which they sought to adorn, and filled after-ages with almost as much ignorance of the History, as admiration of the persons. Wherefore it is expedient that we seek for the knowledge of such actions, in Histories; learning their qualities who did manage them of Poets, in whose works are both profit and delight: yet small profit to those which are delighted overmuch; but such as can either interpret their fables, or separate them from the naked truth, shall find matter in *Poems*, not unworthy to be regarded of Historians. For those things excepted which are gathered out of *Homer*, there is very little, and not without much disagreement of Authors, written of this great War. All Writers consent with *Homer*, that the rape of *Helen* by *Paris* the Son of *Priamus*, was the cause of taking Arms: but how he was hereunto emboldened, it is doubtful.

§. II.

Of the Rape of Helen: *and strength of both sides for the War.*

Herodotus fetcheth the cause of this Rape from very far: saying, That whereas the *Phœnicians* had ravished *Io*, and carried her into *Ægypt*, the *Greeks* to be revenged on the *Barbarians*, did first ravish *Europa* whom they brought out of *Phœnicia* into *Creta*, and afterward *Medea*, whom they fetcht from *Colchos*, denying to restore her to her Father, till such time as they might be satisfied for the Rape of *Io*. By these deeds of the *Greeks*, *Paris* (as the same *Herodotus* affirms) was imboldened to do the like; not fearing such revenge as insued. But all this narration seems frivolous. For what had the King of *Colchos* to do with the injury of the *Phœnicians*? or how could the *Greeks*, as in revenge of *Io*, plead any quarrel against him, that never had heard the name of *Phœnicians*? *Thucydides* a writer of unquestionable Sincerity maketh it plain, that the name of *Barbarians* was not used at all in *Homers* time, which was long after the War of *Troy*; and that the *Greeks* themselves were not then called all by one name *Hellenes*, as afterwards. So that it were unreasonable to think, that they should have sought revenge upon all Nations as barbarous, for the injury received by one: or that all people else should have esteemed of the *Greeks*, as of a people opposed to all the World; and that even then whenas the *Greeks* had not yet one common name among themselves. Others with more probability say, that the Rape of *Helen* was to procure the re-delivery of *Hesione*, King *Priamus* his Sister, taken formerly by *Hercules*, and given to *Telamon*. This may have been true. For *Telamon* (as it seems) was a cruel Man, seeing his own Son *Teucer* durst not come in his sight, after the War of *Troy*, but fled into *Cypres*, only because his Brother *Ajax* (which *Teucer* could not remedy) had slain himself. Yet, were it so that *Hesione* was ill intreated by *Telamon*, it was not therefore likely, that *Priamus* her Brother would seek to take her from

from her Husband, with whom she had lived about thirty years, and to whom she had born Children which were to succeed in his Dominion. Whereupon I think that *Paris* had no regard either to the Rape of *Europa*, *Medea*, or *Hesione*: but was meerly incited by *Venus*, that is by his lust, to do that which in those days was very common. For not only *Greeks* from *Barbarians*, and *Barbarians* from *Greeks*, as *Herodotus* discourseth, but all people were accustomed to steal Women and Cattel, if they could by strong hand or power get them; and having stollen them, either to sell them away in some far Country, or keep them to their own use. So did *Theseus* and *Pirythous* attempt *Proserpina*; and so did *Theseus* (long before *Paris*) ravish *Helen*. And these practices, as it appears in *Thucydides* were so common, that none durst inhabit near unto the Sea, for fear of pyracy, which was accounted a trade of Life no less lawful than Merchandise: wherefore *Tyndarus* the Father of *Helen*, considering the beauty of his Daughter, and the Rape which *Theseus* had made, caused all her Wooers who were most of the principal Men in *Greece*, to bind themselves by solemn Oath, that if she were taken from her Husband, they should with all their might help to recover her. This done, he gave free choice of a Husband to his Daughter, who chose *Menelaus* Brother to *Agamemnon*. So the cause which drew the *Greeks* unto *Troy* in revenge of *Helens* Rape, was partly the Oath which so many Princes had made unto her Father *Tyndarus*. Here unto the great power of *Agamemnon* was not a little helping; for *Agamemnon* besides his great Dominions in *Peloponnesus*, was Lord of many Islands: he was also rich in money, and therefore the *Arcadians* were well contented to follow his pay, whom he imbarked for *Troy* in his own Ships, which were more than any other of the *Greek* Princes brought to that Expedition.

Thus did all *Greece*, either as bound by Oath, or led by the reputation and power of the two Brethren, *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*, or desirous to partake of the profit and honour in that great enterprise, take Arms against the *Trojans*. The *Greeks* Fleet was (by *Homer's* account) 1200. sail or thereabouts: but the Vessels were not great: for it was not then the manner to build Ships with Decks; only they used (as *Thucydides* saith) small Ships, meet for robbing on the Sea; the least of which carried fifty Men, the greatest 120, every Man (except the Captains) being both a Mariner and a Souldier. By this proportion it appears that the *Grecian* Army consisted of 100000 Men or thereabout. This was the greatest Army that ever was raised out of *Greece*: and the greatness of this Army, doth well declare the strength and power of *Troy*, which ten whole years did stand out against such forces: yet were the *Trojans* which inhabited the City not the tenth part of this number, as *Agamemnon* said in the second of *Homer's Iliads*; but their followers and aids were very many and strong. For all *Phrygia*, *Lycia*, *Mysia*, and the greatest part of *Asia* the less, took part with the *Trojans*; the *Amazons* also brought them succour. And *Rhesus* out of *Thrace*, and *Memnon* out of *Assyria* (though some think out of *Aethiopia*) came to their defence.

§. III.

Of the Grecians journey, and Embassage to Troy, *and of* Helena's *being detained in* Egypt; *and of the Sacrificing of* Iphigenia.

WHerefore the *Greeks* unwilling to come to the tryal of Arms, if things might be compounded by Treaty, sent *Menelaus* and *Ulysses* Embassadors to *Troy*; who demanded *Helen* and the goods were taken with her out of *Menelaus* his house. What answer the *Trojans* made hereunto it is uncertain. *Herodotus* from the report of the *Aegyptian* Priests makes it very probable that *Helen* was taken from *Paris* before his return to *Troy*. The summ of his Discourse is this.

Paris in his return with *Helena*, being driven by foul weather unto the Coast of *Aegypt*, was accused for the Rape of *Helen* by some Bondmen of his, that had taken Sanctuary. *Proteus* then King of *Aegypt*, finding the accusation true by examination, detained *Helen*, and the Goods taken with her, till her Husband should require them: dismissing *Paris* without further punishment, because he was a Stranger. When therefore the *Greeks* demanding *Helen* had answer, that she was in *Aegypt*: they thought themselves deluded, and thereupon made the War, which ended with the ruin of *Troy*. But when after the City taken, they perceived indeed she had not been there, they returned home, sending *Menelaus* to ask his Wife of *Proteus*. *Homer* and the whole Nation of Poets (except *Euripides*) vary from this History, thinking it a matter more magnificent and more graceful to their *Poems*, for the retaining of a fair Lady, than that they endured all by force, because it lay not in their power to deliver her. Yet in the fourth of his *Odysses* *Homer* speaks of *Menelaus* his being in *Aegypt*, before he returned home to *Sparta*; which voyage it were not easily believed, that he made for pleasure: and if he were driven thither by contrary winds, much more may we think that *Paris* was likely to have been driven thither by foul weather. For *Paris* immediately upon the Rape committed, was enforced to fly, taking such winds as he could get, and rather enduring any storm, than to commit himself to any Haven in the *Greek* Seas; whereas *Menelaus* might have put into any Port in *Greece*, and there have remained with good entertainment, until such time as the wind had come about, and served for his Navigation.

One great argument *Herodotus* brings to confirm the saying of the *Aegyptian* Priests, which is, that if *Helen* had been at *Troy*, it had been utter madness for *Priamus* to see so many miseries befal him, during the War, and so many of his Sons slain for the pleasure of one, who neither was Heir to the Kingdom (for *Hector* was elder) nor equal in vertue to many of the rest. Besides, it may seem that *Lucian* spake not more pleasantly than truly, when he said that *Helen*, at the War of *Troy*, was almost as old as Queen *Hecuba*, considering that she had been ravished by *Theseus* the companion of *Hercules*, who took *Troy* when *Priamus* was very young; and considering further, that she was Sister to *Castor* and *Pollux* (she and *Pollux* being said by some to have been Twinns) who sailed with the *Argonauts*, having *Telamon* the Father of *Ajax* in their company before the time that *Hesione* was taken; on whom *Telamon* begat *Ajax*, that was a principal Commander in the *Trojan* War. But whether it were so, that the *Trojans* could not, or would not restore *Helen*, so it was that the Embassadors returned ill contented, and not very well intreated; for there wanted not some that advised to have them slain. The *Greeks* hereupon incensed, made all haste towards *Troy*: at which time *Calchas* (whom some say to have been a runnagate *Trojan*, though no such thing be found in *Homer*) filled the Captains and all the Host with many troublesome answers and divinations. For he would have *Agamemnon's* Daughter sacrificed to appease *Diana*, whose anger he said withstood their passage. Whether the young Lady were sacrificed, or whether (as some

write) the *Goddess* was contented with a Hind, it is not needful here to be disputed of. Sure it is that the malice of the Devil which awaits for all opportunities, is never more importunate than where mens ignorance is most. *Calchas* also told the *Greeks*, that the taking of *Troy* was impossible till some fatall impediments were removed: and that till ten years were past, the Town should hold out against them. All which notwithstanding the *Greeks* proceeded in their enterprise; under the command of *Agamemnon*, who was accompanied with his Brother *Menelaus*, *Achilles* the most valiant of all the *Greeks*, his friend *Patroclus*, and his Tutor *Phœnix*; *Ajax* and *Teucer* the Sons of *Telamon*; *Idomeneus*, and his companion *Meriones*; *Nestor*, and his Sons *Antilochus*, and *Thrasymedes*; *Ulysses*; *Mnesthens* the Son of *Petreus*, Captain of the *Athenians*: *Diomedes* the Son of *Tydeus*, a Man of singular Courage; the wise and learned *Palamedes*; *Ascalaphus*, and *Ialmenus*, the Sons of *Mars*, who had sailed with the *Argonauts*; *Philoctetes* also the Son of *Paan*, who had the Arrows of *Hercules*, without which *Calchas* said that the City could not be taken; *Ajax* the Son of *Oileus*, *Peneleus*, *Thoas*, *Eumelus*, *Tisandrus*, *Eurypilus*, *Athamas*, *Sthenelus*, *Tlepolemus* the Son of *Hercules*; *Podalyrius*, and *Machaon*, the Sons of *Æsculapius*: *Epeus* who is said to have made the wooden Horse, by which the Town was taken; and *Protesilaus*, who first leapt on shore, neglecting the *Oracle* that threatned death to him that landed first.

§. IV.

Of the Acts of the Grecians *at the Siege.*

THese and many other of less note, arriving at *Troy*, found such sharp entertainment, as might easily perswade them to think that the War would be more than one years work. For in the first encounter they lost *Protesilaus*, whom *Hector* slew, and many other, without any great harm done to the *Trojans*: save only that by their numbers of Men, they won ground enough to incamp themselves in, as appeareth in *Thucydides*. The principal impediment which the *Greeks* found, was want of victuals, which grew upon them by reason of their multitude, and the smallness of their Vessels, wherein they could not carry necessaries for such an Army. Hereupon they were compelled to send some part of their men, to labour the ground in *Chersonesse*: others to rob upon the Sea for the relief of the Camp. Thus was the War protracted nine whole years, and either nothing done, or if any skirmishes were, yet could the Town receive little loss by them, having equal numbers to maintain the Field against such *Greeks*, as continued the Siege, and a more safe retreat, if the Enemy got the better.

Wherefore *Ovid* saith, that from the first year till the tenth, there was no fighting at all: and *Heraclides* commends as very credible the report of *Herodotus*; That the *Greeks* did not lie before *Troy* the first nine years: but only did beat up and down the Seas, exercising their men, and inriching themselves, and so by wasting the enemies Country, did block up the Town, unto which they returned not until the fatal time drew near, when it should be subverted.

This is confirmed by the enquiry which *Priamus* made, when the *Greek* Princes came into the Field, the tenth year, for he knew none of them, and therefore sitting upon an high Tower (as *Homer* tells) he learned their names of *Helen*: which though it is like to be a fiction, yet could it not at all have been supposed that he should be ignorant of them, if they had shewed themselves before the Town so many years together. Between these relations of *Thucydides* and *Herodotus*, the difference is not much, the one saying that a few of the *Greeks* remained in the Camp before *Troy*, whilst the rest made purveyance by Land and Sea: the other that the whole Army did spend the time in wasting the Sea-coasts. Neither do the Poets greatly disagree from these Authors: for they make report of many Towns and Islands wasted, and the people carried into Captivity; in which actions *Achilles* was imployed, whom the Army could not well, nor would have spared if any service of importance had been to be performed before the City. Howsoever it was, this is agreed by general consent, that in the beginning of that Summer, in which *Troy* was taken, great booties were brought into the Camp, and a great Pestilence arose amongst the *Greeks*: which *Homer* saith that *Apollo* sent in revenge of his Priests Daughter, whom *Agamemnon* had refused to let go, for any Ransome: but *Heraclides* interpreting the place, saith that by *Apollo* was meant the Sun: who raised pestilent Foggs, by which the Army was infected, being lodged in a Mooriſh piece of ground. And it might well be that the Camp was over-pestered with those, who had been abroad, and now were lodged all close together: having also grounded their Ships within the Fortifications.

Hom. Iliad. 3.

About the same time arose much contention between *Agamemnon* and *Achilles* about the booty, whereof *Agamemnon*, as *General*, having first chosen for his part a captive Woman, and *Achilles* in the second place chosen for himself another, then *Ajax*, *Ulysses*, and so the rest of the Chieftains in order: When the Soothsayer *Calchas* had willed that *Agamemnon's* Woman should be restored to her Father, *Apollo's Priest*, that so the Pestilence might cease, then did *Agamemnon* greatly rage and say that he alone would not lose his part of the spoil, but would either take that which had been given to *Achilles*, or that which had fallen to *Ajax*, or to *Ulysses*. Hereupon *Achilles* defied him, but was fain to suffer all patiently, as not able to hold his Concubine by strong hand, nor to revenge her loss, otherwise than by refusing to fight, or to send forth his Companies. But the *Greeks* incouraged by their Captains, presented themselves before the City without him and his Troops.

The *Trojans* were now relieved with great succours, all the neighbour Countries having sent them aid: partly drawn to that War by their Commanders, who assisted *Priamus* for money, wherewith he abounded when the War began (as appears by his words in *Homer*) or for love of himself and his Sons, or hope of marriage with some of his many and fair Daughters; partly also (as we may well guess) incited by the wrongs received of the *Greeks*, when they wasted the Countries adjoyning unto *Troy*. So that when *Hector* issued out of the Town, he was little inferiour to his Enemies in numbers of Men, or quality of their Leaders. The principal Captains in the *Trojan* Army, were *Hector*, *Paris*, *Deiphobus*, *Helenus* and the other Sons of *Priamus*: *Æneas*, *Antenor*, and his Sons, *Polydamus*, *Sarpedon*, *Glaucus*, *Asius*, and the Sons of *Panthus*, besides *Rhesus*, who was slain the first night of his arrival, *Memnon*, Queen *Penthesilea*, and others who came towards the end of the War. Between these and the

the *Greeks* were many Battles fought: the greatest of which were, that at the Tomb of King *Ilus* upon the Plain; and another at the very Trenches of the Camp, wherein *Hector* brake through the Fortifications of the *Greeks*, and began to fire their Ships; at which time *Ajax*, the Son of *Telamon* with his Brother *Teucer*, were in a manner the only Men of note that remaining unwounded, made head against *Hector*, when the state of the *Greeks* was almost desperate.

Another Battel (for so Antiquity calls it) or rather the same renewed, was fought by *Patroclus*, who having obtained leave, drew forth *Achilles*'s Troops, relieving the weary *Greeks* with a fresh supply. *Agamemnon*, *Diomedes*, *Ulysses*, and the rest of the Princes, though sore wounded, yet were driven to put on Armour, and with help of *Patroclus*, repelled the *Trojans* very hardly. For in that fight *Patroclus* was lost, and his Body, with much contention recovered by his friends, was brought back into the Camp: the Armour of *Achilles* which he had put on, being torn from him by *Hector*. It was the manner of those Wars, having slain a Man, to strip him and hale away his Body, not restoring it without Ransome, if he were one of mark. Of the vulgar little reckoning was made: for they fought all on foot, slightly armed, and commonly followed the success of their Captains; who rode not upon Horses, but in Chariots, drawn by two or three Horses, which were guided by some trusty followers of theirs, which drave up and down the field, as they were directed by the Captains, who by the swiftness of their Horses presenting themselves where need required, threw first their Javelins, and then alighting fought on foot, with Swords and Battel-axes, retiring into the ranks of the footmen, or else returning to their Chariots when they found cause, and so began again with a new dart as they could get it, if their old were lost, or broken. Their Armes defensive were Helmets, Breast-plates, Boots of Brass or other Metal, and Shields commonly of Leather, plated over. The offensive were Swords and Battel-axes at hand; and Stones, Arrows or Darts when they fought at any distance. The use of their Chariots (besides the swiftness) was to keep them from weariness, whereto the Leaders were much subject, because of their Armour, which the strongest and stoutest ware heaviest: also that from them they might throw their Javelins downwards, with the more violence. Of which weapon I find not that any carried more than one or two into the Field: wherefore they were often driven to return to their Tents for a new one, when the old was gone. Likewise of Armours they had little change or none; every Man (speaking of the chief) carried his own compleat, of which if any piece were lost or broken, he was driven to repair it with the like if he had any fitting, taken from some Captain whom he had slain, and stripped: or else to borrow of them that had by such means gotten some to spare. Whereas therefore *Achilles* had lost his Armour which *Hector* (as is said before) had taken from the body of *Patroclus*, he was fain to await the making of new, ere he could enter the fight: whereof he became very desirous, that he might revenge the death of *Patroclus* his dear Friend.

At this time *Agamemnon* reconciled himself unto *Achilles*, not only restoring his Concubine *Briseis*, but giving him very great gifts, and excusing former matters as well as he might. In the next Battel *Achilles* did so behave himself, that he did not only put the *Trojans* to the worst, but also slew the valiant *Hector*, whom (if *Homer* may herein be believed) he chaced three times about the Walls of *Troy*. But great question may be made of *Homer*'s truth in this narration. For it is not likely that *Hector* would stay alone without the City (as *Homer* doth report of him) when all the *Trojans* were fled into it: nor that he could leap over the Rivers of *Xanthus* and *Simois*, as he must have done in that flight: nor that the *Trojans* perceiving *Hector* in such an extremity, would have forborn to open some of their Gates and let him in. But this is reported only to grace *Achilles*, who having (by what means soever) slain the Noble *Hector*, did not only carry away his dead body, as the custom then was, but boring holes in his feet, and thrusting leathern thongs into them, tyed him to his Chariot, and dragged him shamefully about the Field, selling the dead Body to his Father *Priamus* for a very great ransom. But his cruelty and covetousness were not long unrevenged; for he was shortly after slain with an Arrow by *Paris*, as *Homer* says, in the *Scæan* Gate, or as others in the Temple of *Apollo*, whither he came to have married *Polyxena* the Daughter of *Priamus*, with whom he was too far in love, having slain so many of her brethren, and his body was ransomed (as *Lycophron* saith) at the self same rate that *Hector*'s was by him sold for. Not long after this, *Penthesilea* Queen of the *Amazons* arrived at *Troy*; who after some proof given of her valour, was slain by *Pyrrhus* the Son of *Achilles*.

§. V.

Of the taking of Troy, *the wooden Horse, the Book of* Dares *and* Dictys, *the Colonies of the reliques of* Troy.

FInally after the death of many worthy persons, on each side, the City was taken by night, as all Writers agree: but whether by the Treason of *Æneas* and *Antenor*; or by a wooden Horse, as the Poets, and common fame (which followed the Poets) have delivered, it is uncertain. Some write that upon one of the Gates of *Troy* called *Scæa*, was the Image of a Horse, and that the *Greeks* entring by that Gate, gave occasion to the report, that the City was taken by an artificial Horse. It may well be that with some wooden Engin, which they called an Horse, they either did batter the Walls, as the *Romans* in after-times used to do with the Ramm: or scaled the Walls upon the sudden, and so took the City. As for the hiding of Men in the hollow body of a wooden Horse, it had been a desperate adventure, and serving to no purpose. For either the *Trojans* might have perceived the deceit, and slain all those Princes of *Greece*, that were incloſed in it (which also by such as maintain this report they are said to have thought upon) or they might have left it a few days without the City (for it was unlikely, that they should the very first day both conclude upon the bringing it into the Town, and break down their Walls upon the sudden to do it) by which means they who were shut into it, must have perished for hunger, if they had not by issuing forth unseasonably discovered the invention. Whereas further it is said, that this Horse was built so high and great, that it could not be brought into the Town through any of the Gates, and that therefore the *Trojans* were fain to pull down a part of their Wall, to make way for it, through which breach the *Greeks* did afterwards enter: it is hereby manifest that the incloſing of so many principal Men was altogether needless, considering that without

without their help there was way sufficient for the Army, so that the surprising of any Gate by them was now to no purpose.

John Baptista Gramay in his History of *Asia*, discoursing of this War, saith that the *Greeks* did both batter the Wall with a wooden Engin, and were also let into the City by *Antenor*, at the *Scean* Gate: the Townsmen sleeping and drinking without fear or care, because the Fleet of the *Grecians* had hoisted Sail, and was gon the day before to the Isle of *Tenedos*, thereby to bring the *Trojans* into security. That the City was betrayed, the Books of *Dares* and *Dictys* must prove, which whether we now have the same that were by them written, it may be suspected; for surely they who have made mention of these Writers in ancient times, would not, as they did, have followed the reports of *Homer* and others quite contradictory in most points to these two Authors, without once taking notice of the opposition, which they having served in that War made against the Common report: had it not been that either those Books were even in those times thought frivolous; or else contained no such repugnancy to the other Authors as now is found in them.

Also concerning the number of Men slain in this War which *Dares* and *Dictys* say to have been above 600000 on the *Trojan* side, and more than 800000 of the *Greeks*, it is a report meerly fabulous; forasmuch as the whole Fleet of the *Greeks* was reckoned by *Homer*, who extolled their Army and Deeds as much as he could, to be somewhat less than 1200 Sail, and the Army therein transported over the *Greek* Seas, not much above 100000 Men according to the rate formerly mentioned. But it is the common fashion of Men to extol the Deeds of their Ancients: for which cause both *Homer* magnified the Captains of the *Greeks*, that served in the War; and *Virgil* with others were as diligent in commending and extolling the *Trojans* and their City, from which the *Romans* descended. Yea the *Athenians* long after in the War which *Xerxes* the *Persian* King made against all *Greece*, did not forbear to vaunt of the great cunning which *Menestheus* the Son of *Peteus* had shewed, in marshalling the *Grecian* Army before *Troy*: whereupon, as if it had been a matter of much consequence, they were so proud, that they refused to yield unto *Gelon* King of almost all *Sicily*, the *Admiralty* of their Seas, notwithstanding that he promised to bring 200 good fighting Ships, and 30000 Men for their defence.

The like vanity possessed many other Cities of *Greece*, and many Nations in these parts of the World, which have striven to bring their descent from some of the Princes, that warred at *Troy*: all difficulties or unlikelihoods in such their Pedigree notwithstanding. But those Nations which indeed, or in most probability came of the *Trojans*, were the *Albanes* in *Italy*; and from them the *Romans*, brought into that Country by *Æneas*: the *Venetians* first seated in *Padua*, and the Country adjoyning by *Antenor*: the *Chaonians* planted in *Epirus* by *Helenus*, the Son of King *Priamus*. To which *Hellanicus* addeth that the Posterity of *Hector* did resemble such of the *Trojans* as were left, and Reigned over them about *Troy*.

§. VI.

Of the distress and dispersions of the Greeks *returning from* Troy.

COncerning the *Greeks*, they tasted as much misery as they had brought upon the *Trojans*. For *Thucydides* notes that by reason of their long abode at the Siege, they found many alterations when they returned: so that many were driven by their borderers from their ancient seats: many were expelled their Countries by faction; some were slain anon after their arrival; others were debarred from the Sovereignty among their people, by such as had staied at home. The cause of all which may seem to have been the dispersion of the Army which weakned much by the calamities of that long War, was of little force to repel injuries, being divided into so many pieces under several Commanders, not very well agreeing. For (besides other quarrels arising upon the division of the Booty, and the like occasions) at the time when they should have set sail, *Agamemnon* and his Brother fell out, the one being desirous to depart immediately, the other to stay and perform some Sacrifices to *Minerva*. Hereupon they fell to hot words, half the fleet remaining with *Agamemnon*, the rest of them sailing to the Isle of *Tenedos*; where when they arrived, they could not agree among themselves, but some returned back to *Agamemnon*; others were dispersed, each holding his own course. But the whole Fleet was sore vexed with tempests: for *Pallas* (as *Homer* saith) would not be perswaded in hast.

They who returned safe were *Nestor*, and *Pyrrhus*, whom *Orestes* afterwards slew: also *Idomeneus* and *Philoctetes*, who nevertheless, as *Virgil* tells, were driven soon after to seek new seats: *Idomeneus* among the *Salentines*, and *Philoctetes* at *Petilia* in *Italy*. *Agamemnon* likewise returned home, but was forthwith slain by his Wife and by the adulterer *Ægysthus*, who for a while after usurped his Kingdom. *Menelaus* wandring long upon the Seas, came into *Ægypt*, either with *Helen*, or (as may rather seem) to fetch her. *Ulysses*, after ten years, having lost all his company, got home in poor Estate, with much ado recovering the Mastership of his own house. All the rest either perished by the way, or were driven into exile, and fain to seek out new habitations.

Ajax the Son of *Oileus* was drowned; *Teucer* fled into *Cyprus*; *Diomedes* to King *Dauni*, who was Lord of the *Iapyges* in *Apulia*; some of the *Locrians* were driven into *Africk*, others into *Italy*, all the East part whereof was called *Magna Græcia*, by reason of so many Towns which the *Greeks* were driven to erect upon that Coast. Finally it appears in *Homer* that the *Grecian* Ladies, whose Husbands had been at the War of *Troy*, were wont to call it, The place where the *Greeks* suffered misery, and the unlucky City not to be mentioned. And thus much for *Troy* and those that warred there: the overthrow of which City, as hath been said, happened in the time of *Habdon* Judge of *Israel*, whom *Samson* after a vacancy or *Interregnum* for certain years succeeded.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

Of Samson, Eli, *and* Samuel.

§. I.

Of SAMSON.

2970. THE Birth and Acts of *Samson* are written at large in the 13, 14, 15, and 16. of *Judges*; and therefore I shall not need to make a repetition thereof. But these things I gather out of that Story. First that the *Angel* of God forbad the Wife of *Manoah* the Mother of *Samson*, to drink Wine or strong Drink, or to eat any unclean meat, after she was conceived with Child, because those strong Liquors hinder the strength, and as it were wither and shrink the Child in the Mothers Womb. Though this were even the counsel of *God* himself, and delivered by his Angel, yet it seemeth that many Women of this Age have not read, or at least will not believe this precept; the most part forbearing nor drinks, nor meats, how strong or unclean soever, filling themselves with all sorts of Wines, and with artificial drinks far more forcible: by reason whereof, so many wretched feeble bodies are born into the World, and the Races of the able and strong Men in effect decayed.

Secondly, its to be noted, that the *Angel of God* refused the sacrifice which *Manoah* would have offered him, commanding him to present it unto the Lord: and therefore those that profess divination by the help of *Angels*, to whom also they sacrifice, may assuredly know that they are Devils who accept thereof, and not good *Angels*, who receive no worship that is proper to *God*.

Thirdly, this *Samson* was twice betrayed by his Wives, to wit, by their importunity and deceitful Tears: by the first he lost but a part of his Goods: by the second his life. *Quem nulla vis superare potuit, voluptas evertit; Whom no force could overmaster, Voluptuousness overturneth.*

Fourthly, we may note, that he did not in all deliver *Israel* from the oppression of the *Philistims*; though in some sort he revenged, and defended them: for notwithstanding that he had slain 30 of them in his first attempt, burnt their Corn in harvest time, and given them a great overthrow instantly upon it: yet so much did *Israel* fear the *Philistims*, as they assembled 3000 Men out of *Juda*, to besiege *Samson* in the Rock or Mountain of *Etam*, using these words: *Knowest not thou that the* Philistims *are Rulers over us? &c.* After which they bound him, and delivered him unto the *Philistims*, for fear of their revenge; though he was no sooner loosened, but he gave them another overthrow and slew 1000 with the Jaw-bone of an *Asse*.

Lastly, being made Blind, and a Prisoner by the Treason of his Wife, he was content to end his own life, to be avenged of his Enemies, when he pulled down the pillars of the House at the Feast whereto they sent for *Samson*, to deride him, till which time he bare his affliction with patience: but it was truly said of *Seneca*; *Patientia sæpe læsa vertitur in furorem, Patience often wounded is converted into fury*: neither is it at any time so much wounded by pain and loss, as by derision and contumely.

§. II.

Of Eli, *and of the Ark taken, and of* Dagons *fall, and the sending back of the Ark.*

THE Story of *Eli* the Priest, who succeeded *Samson*, is written in the beginning of *Samuel*; who foretold him of the destruction of his House, for the wickedness of his Sons, which he suppressed not, neither did he punish them according to their deserts: whose sins were horrible, 1 *Sam.* 2. 22. both in abusing the Sacrifice, and prophaning and polluting the holy places: though *Levi Ben Gerson* to extenuate this filthy offence of forcing the Women by the Sons of *Eli*, hath a contrary opinion. In this time therefore it pleased *God* to cast the *Israelites* under the Swords of the *Philistims*; of whom there perished in the first incounter 4000 and in the second battel 30000 Footmen; among whom the Sons of *Eli* being slain, their Father (hearing the lamentable success) by falling from his Chair, brake his Neck. He was the first that obtained the High-Priesthood of the stock of *Ithamar* the Son of *Aaron*, before whose time it continued successively in the Race of *Eleazar* the eldest Brother of *Ithamar*: for *Aaron* was the first, *Eleazar* the second, *Phinees* the Son of *Eleazar* the third, *Abisue* the Son of *Phinees* the fourth, his Son *Bocci* the fifth, *Ozi* the Son of *Bocci* the sixth, and then *Eli*, as *Josephus* and *Lyranus* out of divers *Hebrew* Authors have conceived. In the race of *Ithamar* the Priesthood continued after *Eli* to the time of *Salomon* who cast out *Abiathar*, and established *Sadock* and *Achimaas* and their Successors. The *Ark of God* which *Israel* brought into the Field, was in this battel taken by the *Philistims*. For as *David* witnesseth, *God greatly abhorred Israel, so that he forsook the habitation of* Shilo: *even the Tabernacle where he dwelt among men, and delivered his power into captivity*, &c. 1 *King* 2. 27. *and* 1 *Chron.* 6. Psal. 78.

Now as it pleased *God* at this time, that the *Ark* whereby himself was represented, should fall into the hands of the Heathen, for the offences of the Priests and people: so did he permit the *Chaldeans* to destroy the Temple built by *Salomon*; the *Romans* to overthrow the second Temple; and the *Turks* to overthrow the *Christian Churches* in *Asia* and *Europe*. And had not the *Israelites* put more confidence in the Sacrament, or representation which was the *Ark*, than in God himself, they would have observed his Laws, and served him only: which whensoever they did, they were then victorious. For after the captivity they had no *Ark* at all, 1 *Sam.* 5. *vers.* 6. nor in the times of the *Maccabees*: and yet for their piety it pleased God to make that family as victorious, as any that guarded themselves by the sign in stead of the substance. And that the *Ark* was not made to the end to be carried into the Field as an Ensign; *David* witnessed when he fled from *Absalon*. For when the Priests would have carried the *Ark* with him; he for- 2 *Sam.* 15.

bad

had it, and caused it to be returned into the City, using these words. *If I shall find favour in the eyes of the Lord, he will bring me again: if not, let him do to me as seemeth good in his Eyes.*

The *Trojans* believed that while their *Palladium* or the Image of *Minerva* was kept in *Troy*, the City should never be overturned: so did the *Christians* in the last fatal Battel against *Saladine* carry into the Field, as they were made believe, the very *Cross* whereon *Christ* died, and yet they lost the Battel, their Bodies and the Wood. But *Chrysostom* upon Saint *Matthew* (if that be his work) giveth a good judgment, speaking of those that ware a part of Saint *John's* Gospel about their necks, for an amulet or preservative. *Si tibi ea non prosunt in auribus, quomodo proderunt in collo? If those words do not profit Men in their Ears* (to wit, the hearing of the Gospel preached) *how should it profit them by hanging it about their necks?* For it was neither the wood of the *Ark*, nor the wood of the *Cross*, but the reverence of the Father that gave the one for a memory of his Covenant: and the Faith in his Son, which shed his blood on the other for redemption, that could or can profit them and us, either in this life or after it.

The *Philistims* returning with the greatest Victory and Glory which ever they obtained, carried the *Ark of God* with them to *Azotus*, and set it up in the house of *Dagon* their *Idol*: but that night the *Idol* fell out of his place, from above to the ground, and lay under the *Ark*. The morning following they took it up, and set it again in his place. And it fell the second time, and the Head brake from the Body, and the Hands from the Arms, shewing that it had nor power nor understanding in the presence of God; for the Head fell off, which is the seat of reason, and knowledge, and the Hands (by which we execute strength) were sundred from the Arms. For God and the Devil inhabit not in one House, nor in one Heart. And if this Idol could not indure the representation of the true God, it is not to be marveled, that at such time as it pleased him to cover his only begotten with flesh, and sent him into the World, that all the *Oracles* wherein the the Devil derided and betrayed mortal Men lost power, speech, and operation at the instant. For when that true light which had never beginning of brightness, brake through the clouds of a Virgins Body, shining upon the Earth which had been long obscured by *Idolatry*, all those foul and stinking vapours vanished. *Plutarch* rehearseth a memorable accident in that Age concerning the death of the great *God Pan*, as he stileth him; where (as ignorant of the true cause) he searcheth his Brains for many reasons of so great an alteration: yet finds he none out but frivolous. For not only this old Devil did then dy as he supposed, but all the rest, as *Apollo*, *Jupiter*, *Diana*, and the whole rable became speechless.

Now while the *Philistims* triumphed after this Victory, God strook them with the grievous Disease of the *Hemorrhoids* of which they perished in great numbers. For it is written that *the Lord destroyed them.* It was therefore by general consent ordered that the *Ark* should be removed from *Azotus* to *Gath* or *Geth* another of the five great Cities of the *Philistims*; to prove, as it seemeth, whether this disease were fallen on them by accident, or by the hand of God immediately: but when it was brought to *Gath* and received by them, the plague was yet more grievous and mortal. *For the hand of the Lord was against the City with a very great destruction, and he smote the men of the City both small and great, &c.* And being not yet satisfied, they of *Gath* sent the *Ark* to *Ekron* or *Accaron*, a third City of the *Philistims*: but they also felt the same smart, and cryed out that themselves and their people should be slain thereby; *For there was a destruction and death throughout all the City.* In the end, by the advice of their Priests, the Prince of the *Philistims* did not only resolve to return the *Ark*, but to offer gifts unto the *God of Israel*, remembring the plague which had fallen on the *Ægyptians*, when their hearts were hardened to hold the people *of God* from their Inheritance, and from his Service by strong hand. Wherefore confessing the power of the *God of Israel* to be Almighty, and that their own *Idols* were subject thereunto, they agreed to offer a sin-Offering, using these words; *So ye shall give glory to the God of Israel that he may take his hand from you, and from your Gods and from your Land.* And what can be a more excellent witnessing, than where an Enemy doth approve our cause? according to *Aristotle*; *Pulchrum est testimonium, quo nostra probantur ab hostibus.* So did *Pharaoh* confess the living God, when he was plagued in *Ægypt*: and *Nabuchodonosor*, and *Darius*, when they had seen his miracles by *Daniel*.

1 Sam. 4. vers. 9.

c. 6. vers. 5.

This counsel therefore of the Priests being imbraced, and the golden *Hæmorrhoids*, and the Golden Mice prepared, they caused two milch kine to be chosen, such as had not been yoked, and a new Cart or Carriage to be framed: but they durst not drive or direct it to any place certain, thereby to make trial whether it were indeed the hand of God that had strucken them. For if the *Ark* of *God* were carried towards *Bethshemesh* and into the Territory of *Israel*: then they should resolve that from *God* only came their late destruction. For the *Philistims* knew that the milch Kine which drew the *Ark*, could not be forced from their Calves, but that they would have followed them wheresoever; much less when they were left to themselves, would they travel a contrary way. For in the darkest night in the World if Calves be removed from their Dams, the Kine will follow them through Woods, and Desarts by the Foot, till they find them. But the Kine travailed directly towards *Bethshemesh*: and when they came into the fields thereof, to wit, of one *Joshua* of the same City, they stood still there; which when the Princes of the *Philistims* perceived, they returned to *Ekron*: After which, *God* spared not his own people the *Bethshemites*, in that they presumed to look into the *Ark*. And because they knew *God* and his commandments and had been taught accordingly: He strook them more grievously than he did the *Heathen*, for there perished of them fifty thousand and seventy. From hence the *Ark* was carried to *Kiriath-jearim* and placed in the house of *Abinadab*; where it is written that it remained twenty year in the charge of *Eleazar* his Son, untill *David* brought it to *Jerusalem*.

Now whereas it is said, that in the mean while the *Ark* was in *Nob*, *Mispah* and *Galgala*, it was the Tabernacle, which was at this time severed from the *Ark*: or at least, it was for the † present occasion brought to these places, and anon returned to *Kiriath-jearim*.

2 Sam. c. 6. & 1 Chron. c. 12.

† See in this Book ch. 12. §. 1. in the Margent.

§. III.

§. III.

Of Samuel *and of his Government.*

THese Tragedies overpast and ended, *Samuel*, to whom God appeared while he was yet a Child, became now *Judge* and Governour of *Israel*. He was descended of the Family of † *Chore* or *Korach*. For *Levi* had three Sons; *Gerson*, *Cheath*, and *Merari*: *Cheath* had *Amram*, and *Izaar*: of *Amram* came *Moses* and *Aaron*; of *Izaar*, *Chore*: and of the Family of *Chore*, *Samuel*. His Father *Elcana* a *Levite*, was called an *Ephratæan*, not that the *Levites* had any proper inheritance, but because he was of * Mount *Ephraim*, like as *Jesse*, *David*'s Father was called an *Ephratæan*, because born at *Ephrata*, or *Bethleem*. *Hannah* his Mother being long fruitless, obtained him of God by Prayers and Tears: it being an exceeding shame to the Jewish Women, to be called barren in respect of the blessing of God both to *Abraham* that his Seed should multiply, as the Stars of Heaven, and the sands of the Sea, as in the beginning to *Adam*, *increase and multiply, &c.* and in *Deuteronomy* the seventh; *There shall be neither male nor female barren among you.*

† 1 *Chron.* 6. 22.

* Which region was called *Ephrata*, as appeareth *Jud.* 12. 5. whence for distinction we read *Ruth* 1. 2. *Ephratæi è Bethlehem Judæ*, the Town *Ephrata* which is *Bethleem* in *Juda Gen.* 35. 19. from the Region of *Ephrata*, which is in Mount *Ephraim*, whence *Ps.* 132. *v.* 6. *Ephrata* is put for *Silo*, which was in the Tribe of *Ephraim*.

Samuel was no sooner born, but that his Mother according to her former vow dedicated him to God, and his service, to which she delivered him even from the Dugg. For as the first-born of all that were called *Nazarites*, might be redeemed till they were five years old for five Sheckles, between five years and twenty for twenty Sheckles: so was it not required by the Law that any of the race of the *Levites* should be called to serve about the Tabernacle, till they were five and twenty years old.

Saint *Peter* reckons in the *Acts* the Prophets from *Samuel*, who was the first of the Writers of holy Scriptures, to whom usually this name of a *Prophet* was given, and yet did *Moses* account himself such a one, as in the 18. of *Deuter.* *The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet like unto me, &c.* But he is distinguished from those that preceded him, who were called *Seers*; as, *Before time in Israel, when a Man went to seek an answer of God, thus he spake; Come and let us go to the Seer*: for he that is now called a *Prophet*, was in old time called a *Seer*. And although it pleased God to appear by his *Angels* to *Moses*, as before to *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*: yet in the time of *Eli*, there was no manifest vision; not that God had altogether withdrawn his Grace from *Israel*: but as the *Chaldæan Paraphrast* hath it, those revelations before *Samuel*'s time, were more clouded and obscure. The places wherein *Samuel* judged were *Maspha* or *Mitspa*, seated on a Hill in *Benjamin* near *Juda*: also *Gilgal*, and *Bethel*, of which we have spoken elsewhere.

Vers. 15. 1 *Sam.* 9.

1 *Sam.* 13. See in this Book, *c.* 12. §. 1.

The *Philistims* taking knowledge of the assembly and preparation for War at *Mispa* in the beginning of *Samuel*'s Government, gathered their Army and marched towards the City: at whose approach the *Israelites* struck with fear, and with the memory of their former slaughters and servitude, besought *Samuel* to pray to God for them: who was * then performing his sacrifice when the *Philistims* were in view. But God being moved with *Samuel*'s prayers (as he was by those of *Moses*, when *Israel* fought against the *Amalekites* at their first entrance into *Arabia*) It pleased him with Thunder and Tempest to disperse and beat down the Army of the *Philistims*, according to the prophecy of *Hanna*, *Samuel*'s Mother. *The Lords adversaries shall be destroyed, and out of Heaven shall be thunder upon them*, &c. *Josephus* affirms that a part of the *Philistims* were swallowed with an Earth-quake: and that *Samuel* himself led the *Israelites* in the prosecution of their Victory. After which *Samuel* erected a Monument in memory of this happy success obtained by the miraculous hand of God, which *Josephus* called *lapidem fortem*: *Samuel*, *Ebenezer*, or the stone of assistance: and then following the opportunity and advantage of the Victory, the *Israelites* recovered divers Cities of their own formerly lost, and held long in possession of the *Philistims*, who for a long time after did not offer any invasion or revenge. And the better to attend their purposes, and to withstand any of their attempts: the *Israelites* made peace with the *Amorites*, or *Canaanites*, which lay on their backs, and to the North of them, that they might not be assaulted from divers parts at once; having the *Philistims* towards the West and Sea-coast, the *Canaanite* toward the North and East, and the *Idumite* on the South. The Estate being thus settled, *Samuel* for the ease of the people gave audience and judgment in divers places by turns, as hath been elsewhere said.

* *Plutarch* reports of *Numa* the second King of *Rome*, that when as he was sacrificing, it was told him that the enemies approached, he nothing dismaied, answered, *Ego autem sacrificio.* 1 *Sam.* 2. 10.

CHAP. XVI.

Of SAUL.

§. I.

Of the deliberation to change the Government into a Kingdom.

BUT when age now began to over-take *Samuel*, and that he was not able to undergo the burthen of so careful a Government, he put off from himself the weight of the affairs on his Sons, *Joel* and *Abijah*, who judged the people at *Beersheba*, a City, the very utmost towards the South of *Judæa*. And as the place was inconvenient and far away, so were themselves no less removed from the justice and vertue of their Father. For the thirst of Covetousness the more it swalloweth, the more it drieth, and desireth, finding taste in nothing but gain; to recover which they set the Law at a price, and sold justice and judgment to the best Chapmen. Which when the Elders of *Israel* observed, and saw that *Samuel* as a natural Man (though a Prophet) could not so well discern the errours of his own, they prayed him to consent to their change of Government, and to make them a King, by whom they might be judged as other Na-

tions were; who might alſo lead them to the War and defend them againſt their enemies. For after the ill and lamentable ſucceſs which followed the rule of *Eli* his Sons, when thoſe of *Samuel* by their firſt Bloſſoms promiſed to yield fruit no leſs bitter, they ſaw no way to put the Government from out his race, whom they ſo much reverenced, but by the choice of a King.

In a cauſe of ſo great conſequence and alteration, *Samuel* ſought counſel from God: which ſurely he did not for the eſtabliſhing of his own Sons; who being as they were, God would not have approved his election. Now as it appears by the Text, this ſpeech or motion diſpleaſing him, he uſed his beſt arguments to dehort them: which when he perceived to be over-feeble, he delivered unto them from Gods revelation, the inconveniences and miſeries which ſhould befall them. And yet, all which he fore-ſhewed was not intolerable, but ſuch as hath been born, and is ſo ſtill by free conſent of the Subjects towards their Princes. For firſt he makes them know that the King will uſe their Sons in his own ſervice to make them his Horſe-men, Charioteers, and Foot men; which is not only not grievous, but by the vaſſals of all Kings according to their birth and condition deſired: it being very agreeable to Subjects of the beſt quality to command for the King in his Wars; and to till the ground no leſs proper and appertaining to thoſe that are thereto bred and brought up: ſo are likewiſe the offices of Women-ſervants to dreſs meat, to bake Bread, and the like. But whereas immediately it is threatned: *He will take up your Fields, and your Vineyards, and your beſt Olive Trees, and give them to his Servants*; with other oppreſſions; this hath given, and gives daily occaſion to ſuch as would be ruled by their own diſcretion, to affirm that *Samuel* deſcribeth here unto them the power of a King, governed by his own affections, and not a King that feareth God. But others upon further examination conſtrue this Text far otherwiſe, as teaching us what Subjects ought with patience to bear at their *Soveraign*'s hand. The former opinion is grounded firſt upon that place of *Deuteronomy*, where God fore-ſheweth this change of Government from Judges to Kings, and after he had forbidden many things unto the Kings, as many Wives, Covetouſneſs, and the like: he commandeth that the Kings which were to raign over *Iſrael*, ſhould write the Law of *Deuteronomy*, or cauſe it to be written: and to ſhew how greatly the King ſhould honour the Law, he addeth, *It ſhall be with him, and he ſhall read therein all days of his life: that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, and to keep all the words of this Law, and theſe ordinances for to do them: that he may prolong his days in his Kingdom, he and his Sons.* But to take away any other mans field, ſay they, is contrary to the Laws of God: in the ſame book written. For it is ſaid, *That which is juſt and right ſhalt thou follow, that thou mayſt live.* Now if it be not permitted to carry away grapes more than thou canſt eat out of another mans Vineyard, but forbidden by God: it is much leſs lawful to take the Vineyard it ſelf from the owner, and give it to another. Neither are the words of the Text (ſay they) ſuch as do warrant the Kings of *Iſrael*, or make it proper unto them, to take at will any thing from their vaſſals. For it is not ſaid that it ſhall be lawful for the King, or the King may do this or that: but it is written, that the King will take your Sons: and again, this ſhall be the manner of the King that ſhall raign over you. God thereby fore ſhewing what power ſevered from piety, (becauſe it is accountable to God only) will do in the future. And hereof we find the firſt example in *Achab*, who took from *Naboth* both his Vineyard and his life, contrary to the truſt which God had put in him, of governing well his people. For God commmanded, *That his people ſhould be judged with righteous judgment.* Wherefore though the King had offered unto *Naboth* compoſition, as a Vineyard of better value, or the worth in Money which he refuſed: yet becauſe he was falſly accuſed and unjuſtly condemned (though by colour of Law) how grievouſly *Achab* was puniſhed by God, the Scriptures tell us. Neither was it a plea ſufficient for *Achab* againſt the all-righteous God, to ſay that it was done without his conſent, and by the Elders of *Iſrael*. For God had not then left his people to the Elders, but to the King, who is called a living Law, even as *David* teſtifieth of himſelf. *Poſuiſti me in caput gentium*: For this of S. *Auguſtine* is very true. *Simulata innocentia non eſt innocentia: ſimulata æquitas non eſt æquitas: ſed duplicatur peccatum in quo eſt iniquitas & ſimulatio*; *Feigned innocence, and feigned equity are neither the one nor the other: but the fault or offence is there doubled in which there is both iniquity and diſſimulation.* Such in effect is their diſputation who think this place to contain the deſcription of a Tyrant. But the arguments on the contrary ſide, as they are many and forcible, ſo are they well known to all; being excellently handled in that Princely diſcourſe of *The true Law of free Monarchies*, which Treatiſe I may not preſume to abridge, much leſs here to inſert. Only thus much I will ſay, that if practice do ſhew the greatneſs of authority, even the beſt Kings of *Juda* and *Iſrael* were not ſo tied by any Laws, but that they did whatſoever they pleaſed in the greateſt things; and commanded ſome of their own Princes, and of their own brethren to be ſlain without any trial of Law, being ſometime by Prophets reprehended, ſometime not. For though *David* confeſſed his offence for the death of *Uriah*, yet *Salomon* killing his elder brother and others, the ſame was not imputed unto him as any offence.

That the State of *Iſrael* ſhould receive this change of Government, it was not only foretold by *Moſes* in *Deuteronomy*, but propheſied of by *Jacob* in this Scripture: *The Scepter ſhall not depart from Juda, &c.* It was alſo promiſed by God to *Abraham* for a Bleſſing. For it was not only aſſured that his iſſues ſhould in number equal the Stars in Heaven, but that Kings ſhould proceed of him. Which ſtate ſeeing it is framed from the Pattern of his ſole rule, who is Lord of the Univerſal: and the excellency thereof in reſpect of all other Governments, hath been by many judicious Men handled and proved, I ſhall not need to over-paint that which is garniſhed with better colours already, than I can lay on.

In the time of the *Judges* every Man hath obſerved what civil War *Iſrael* had: what outragious ſlaughters they committed upon each other: in what miſerable ſervitude they lived for many years: and when it fared beſt with them, they did but defend their own Territories, or recover ſome parts thereof formerly loſt. The *Canaanites* dwelt in the beſt vallies of the Country. The *Ammonites* held much of *Gilead* over *Jordan*: the *Philiſtims* the Sea-Coaſts: and the *Jebuſites Hieruſalem* it ſelf, till *David*'s time: all which that King did not only conquer and eſtabliſh, but he maſtered and ſubjected all the Neighbour Nations, and Kings, and made them his tributaries and vaſſals. But whether

Deut. 17.

Deut. 6.

Deut. 23. *v.* 24. *Loyſe.*

Deut. 16.

Gen. 49. *Gen.* 15.

Gen. 17.

whether it were for that the *Israelites* were moved by those reasons, which allure the most of all Nations to live under a *Monarch*, or whether by this means they sought to be cleared from the Sons of *Samuel*, they became deaf to all the perswasions and threats which *Samuel* used, insisting upon this point that they would have a King, both to judge them and defend them: whereunto when *Samuel* had warrant from God to consent, he sent every Man to his own City and abiding.

1 Sam. 8.

§. II.

Of the election of Saul.

After that *Samuel* had dismissed the assembly at *Mizpah*, he forbare the election of a King, till such time as he was therein directed by God: who fore-told him the day before, that he would present unto him a Man of the Land of *Benjamin*, whom he commanded *Samuel* to anoint. So *Samuel* went unto *Ramath Sophim*, to make a feast for the entertainment of *Saul* (whom yet he knew not, but knew the truth of Gods promises) and *Saul* also having wandred divers days to seek his Fathers Asses, at length by the advice of his servant travailed towards *Ramath*, to find out a *Seer* or *Prophet*, hoping from him to be told what way to take, to find his Beasts. In which journey it pleased God (who doth many times order the greatest things by the simplest passages and persons) to elect *Saul*, who sought an Ass, and not a Kingdom: like as formerly it had pleased him to call *Moses*, while he fed the sheep of *Jethro*; and after to make choice of *David* the youngest of eight Sons, and by the Scriptures called a little one, who was then keeping of Beasts, and changed his sheep-hook into a Scepter, making him of all other the most victorious King of *Juda* and *Israel*. So *John* and *Jacob* were taken from casting their nets, to become Fishers of Men, and honoured with the titles of *Apostles*, a dignity that died not in the grave, as all worldly Honours do: but permanent and everlasting in Gods endless Kingdom.

1 Sam. 16.

When *Samuel* was entred into *Ramath*, he prepared a banquet for the King, whom he expected and staid his arrival at the gate. Not long after came *Saul*, whom God shewed to *Samuel*, and made him know that it was the same whom he had foretold him of, that he should rule the people of God. *Saul* finding *Samuel* in the gate, but knowing him not, though a Prophet and Judge of *Israel*, much less knowing the Honour which attended him: asked *Samuel* in whar part of the City the *Seer* dwelt, *Samuel* answered that himself was the Man he sought, and prayed *Saul* to go before him to the high place, where *Samuel* setting him according to his degree, above all that were invited, conferred with him afterwards of the affairs of the Kingdom, and of Gods graces to be bestowed on him, and the morning following anointed him King of *Israel*.

After this he told him all that should happen him in the way homeward; that two Men should encounter him by *Rachel's* Sepulcher, who should tell him that his Asses were found; and that his Fathers cares were changed from the fear of losing his Beasts, to doubt the loss of his Son: that he should then meet three other Men in the plain of *Tabor*; then a company of Prophets: and that he should be partaker of Gods Spirit and Prophecy with them: and that thereby his condition and disposition should be changed from the vulgar into that which became a King elected and favoured by God.

But the Prophets here spoken of, Men indued with spiritual gifts, were not of the first and most reverenced number, who by divine revelation fore-told things to come, reprehended without fear the errors of their Kings, and wrought miracles; of which number were *Moses*, *Joshua*, *Samuel*, and after them *Gad*, *Nathan*, *Ahias*, *Elias*, *Eliseas*, *Isay*, *Jeremy*, and the rest; for these Prophets, saith S. *Chrysostome*, *Omnia tempora percurrunt, praterita, presentia & futura*: but they were of those of whom S. *Paul* speaketh 1 *Cor.* 1. 14. who inriched with Spiritual gifts expounded the Scriptures and the Law.

Chrys. in psal. 43.

At *Mispeth Samuel* assembled the people that he might present *Saul* to them, who as yet knew nothing of his election: neither did *Saul* acquaint his own Uncle therewith, when he asked him what had past between him and *Samuel*: for either he thought his estate not yet assured, or else that it might be dangerous for him to reveal it, till he were confirmed by general consent. When the Tribes were assembled at *Mizpeth*, the general opinion is, that he was cholen by lot. *Chimhi* thinks by the answer of * *Urim* and *Thummim*: that is, by the answer of the Priest, wearing that mystery upon his breast when he asked counsel of the Lord. But the casting of lots was not only much used among the *Jews*, but by many others, if not by all Nations. The Land of promise was divided by lot: God commanded lots to be cast on the two Goats, which should be sacrificed, and which turned off: a figure of Christs suffering, and our deliverance, for whose garments the *Jews* also cast lots. † *Cicero*, *Plautus*, ‖ *Pausanias*, and others have remembred divers sorts of lots, used by the *Romans*, *Gracians*, and other Nations: as in the division of Grounds or honours; and in things to be under-taken: the two first kinds were called divisory; the third divinatory; and into one of these three all may be reduced: all which kinds howsoever they may seem chanceful, are yet ordered and directed by God: as in the *Proverbs*. *The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposition is of the Lord.* And in like sort fell the Kingdom of *Israel* on *Saul*, not by chance, but by Gods ordinance, who gave *Samuel* former knowledge of his election: from which election *Saul* withdrew himself in modesty, as both *Josephus* construe it, and as it may be gathered by his former answers to *Samuel*, when he acknowledged himself the least of the least Tribe. But *Samuel* inlightened by God, found where *Saul* was hidden, and brought him among the people, and he was taller than all the rest by the shoulders. And *Samuel* made them know that he was the chosen King of *Israel*, whereupon all the multitude saluted him King, and prayed for him; yet some there were that envied his glory (as in all estates there are such) who did not acknowledge him by offering him Presents as the manner was: of whom *Saul*, to avoid sedition, took no notice.

* The *Urim* and Thummim in the ornaments of the High Priest were inserted within the pectoral, which therefore was *duplicatum*, they were placed in the pectoral over against the heart of the High Priest. It is plain that they were not the pretious Stones nor any thing made by the Artificers. See *Exod.* c. 28.

† *Cic. de divin.*

‖ *Paus. in Bel.*

1 *Sam.* c. 10.

§. III.

Of the eſtabliſhing of Saul *by his firſt victories.*

NO ſooner was *Saul* placed in the Kingdom, but that he received knowledge that *Nahas* King of the *Ammonites* prepared to beſiege *Jabes Gilead*: which Nation ſince the great overthrow given them by *Jephta*, never durſt attempt any thing upon the *Iſraelites*, till the beginning of *Saul* his rule. And although the *Ammonites* did always attend upon the advantage of time, to recover thoſe Territories which firſt the *Amorite*, and then *Iſrael* diſpoſſeſt them of: which they made the ground of their invaſion in *Jephta*'s time; yet they never perſwaded themſelves of more advantage than at this preſent. For firſt they knew that there were many of the *Iſraelites* that did not willingly ſubmit themſelves to this new King: ſecondly, they were remembred that the *Philiſtims* had not long before ſlain 34000. of their Men of War: and beſides had uſed great care and policy that they ſhould have no Smiths to make them Swords or Spears: neither was it long before that of the *Bethſhemeſites* and places adjoyning, there periſhed by the hand of God more then 50000. and therefore in theſe reſpects, even occaſion it ſelf invited them to inlarge their Dominions upon their borderers: *Jabes Gilead* being one of the neareſt. Beſides it may further be conjectured that the *Ammonites* were imboldened againſt *Jabes Gilead*, in reſpect of their weakneſs, ſince the *Iſraelites* deſtroyed a great part of them, for not joyning with them againſt the *Benjamites*: at which time they did not only ſlaughter the Men and Male-children, but took from them their young Women, and gave them to the *Benjamites*: and therefore they were not likely to have been increaſed to any great numbers: And if they had recovered themſelves of this great calamity, yet the *Ammonite* might flatter himſelf with the opinion, that *Iſrael* having for long time been diſarmed by the *Philiſtims*, was not apt to ſuccour thoſe whom they had ſo deeply wounded and deſtroyed. But contrariwiſe when the tidings came to *Saul* of their danger, and that the *Ammonites* would give them no other condition to ranſome themſelves, but by pulling out their right eyes, by which they ſhould be utterly diſabled for the War, as elſewhere hath been ſpoken: *Saul*, both to value himſelf in his firſt years raign, and becauſe perchance he was deſcended of one of thoſe 400. Maids taken from the *Gileadites*, and given to the *Benjamites*, gave order to aſſemble the forces of *Iſrael*: hewing a yoke of Oxen into pieces, and ſending them by meſſengers over all the Coaſts, proteſting thus. *That whoſoever came not forth after Saul and after Samuel, ſo ſhould his Oxen be ſerved*: threatning the people by their Goods, and not by their lives at the firſt. Seven days had *Saul* to aſſemble an Army, by reaſon that the *Gileadites* had obtained the reſpite of theſe ſeven days to give *Nahas* the *Ammonite* an anſwer: who, could they have obtained any reaſonable condition, were contented to have ſevered themſelves from *Iſrael*, and to become Vaſſals and Tributaries to the Heathen. In the mean while *Saul* aſſembled the forces, which repaired unto him at *Bezec*, near *Jordan*, that he might readily paſs the River; which done he might in one day with a ſpeedy march arrive at *Jabes*, under the Hills of *Gilead*.

Jud. 21.

1 *Sam.* 11. 8. The Army by *Saul* led conſiſting of three hundreth and thirty thouſand: he returned an anſwer to thoſe of *Jabes*, that they ſhould aſſure themſelves of ſuccour by the next day at noon. For as it ſeemeth *Saul* marched away in the latter part of the day, and went on all night; for in the morning watch he ſurprized the Army of *Nahas* the *Ammonite*. And to the end that he might ſet on them on all ſides, he divided his force in three parts, putting them to the Sword, until the heat of the day, and the wearineſs of *Saul*'s troups, inforc'd them to give over the purſuit. Now the *Ammonites* were become the more careleſs and ſecure, in that thoſe of *Jabes* promiſed the next morning to render themſelves and their City to their mercy. After this happy ſucceſs the people were ſo far in love with their new King, that they would have ſlain all thoſe *Iſraelites* that murmured againſt his election, had not himſelf forbidden and reſiſted their reſolutions. Such is the condition of worldly Men, as they are violent lovers of the proſperous, and baſe vaſſals of the time that flouriſheth: and as deſpightful and cruel without cauſe againſt thoſe, whom any miſadventure, or other worldly accident hath thrown down.

After the Army removed, *Samuel* ſummoned the people to meet at *Gilgal*, where *Saul* was now a third time acknowledged, and as ſome Commenters affirm, anointed King: and here *Samuel* uſed an exhortation to all the aſſembly, containing precepts, and a rehearſal of his own Juſtice during the beginning of his government to that day. After *Saul* had now raigned one year before he was eſtabliſhed in *Gilgal* or *Galgala*, he ſtrengthened himſelf with a good guard of 3000. choſen Men, of which he aſſigned 1000. to attend on *Jonathan* his Son at *Gibeah*, the City of his nativity: the reſt he kept about his own perſon in *Micmas*; and in the Hill of *Bethel*.

1 *Sam.* 11.

1 *Sam.* 13.

§. IV.

Of Saul's *diſobedience in his proceedings in the Wars with the* Philiſtims *and* Amalekites, *which cauſed his final rejection.*

Jonathan with his ſmall Army or Regiment, that attended him, taking a time of advantage, ſurprized a Garriſon of *Philiſtims*: the ſame, as ſome think, which *Saul* paſt by, when he came from *Rama* where he was firſt annointed by *Samuel*, which they think to have been *Cariath-jearim*: becauſe a place where the *Philiſtims* had a Garriſon 1 *Sam.* 10. is called the Hill of God, which they underſtand of *Cariath-jearim*: but *Junius* underſtands this Garriſon to have been at *Gebah*, in *Benjamin* near *Gibha* where *Jonathan* abode with his thouſand followers. Howſoever by this it appeareth that the *Philiſtims* h.ld ſome ſtrong places, both in the times of *Samuel*, and of *Saul*, within the Territory of *Iſrael*: and now being greatly inraged by this ſurprize they aſſembled 30000. armed Chariots, and 6000. Horſe, wherewith they invaded *Judæa*, and incamped at *Machmas* or *Michmas*, a City of *Benjamin*, in the direct way from *Samaria* to *Hieruſalem*, and in the midſt of the Land between the Sea and *Jordan*. With this ſuddain invaſion the *Iſraelites* were ſtrucken in ſo great a fear, as ſome of them hid themſelves in the caves of the Mountains, other fled over *Jordan* into *Gad* and *Gilead*: *Saul* himſelf with ſome 2000. men of ordinary, and many other people, ſtaid at *Galgala* in *Benjamin*, not far from the paſſage of *Joſhua* when he led *Iſrael* over *Jordan*. Here *Saul* by *Samuel*'s appointment was to attend the coming of *Samuel* ſeven days: but when the laſt day was in part ſpent, and that *Saul* perceived his forces to diminiſh greatly, he preſumed (as ſome expound the place 1 *Sam.* 13. 9.) to exerciſe the office which appertained

tained not unto him, and to offer a burnt-offering and a peace-offering unto God, contrary to the *Eccleſiaſtical* Laws of the *Hebrews*, and *God's* Commandments: others expound the word, *obtulit*, in this place, by *obtulit per Sacerdotem*, and ſo make the ſin of *Saul* not to have been any intruſion into the Prieſts office, but firſt a diſobedience to Gods Commandment, in not ſtaying according to the appointment 1 *Sam.* 10. 8. ſecondly a diffidence or miſtruſt in Gods help, and too great relying upon the ſtrength of the people, whoſe departing from him he could not bear patiently; and laſtly a Contempt of the Holy Prophet *Samuel*, and of the help which the prayers of ſo godly a Man might procure him. But whatſoever was his ſin, notwithſtanding his excuſes, he was by *Samuel* reprehended moſt ſharply, in terms unfitting his eſtate, had not extraordinary warrant been given to *Samuel* ſo to do, from God himſelf, at which time alſo *Samuel* feared not to let him know, that the Kingdom ſhould be conferred to another (a Man after Gods own heart) both from *Saul* and his Poſterity.

1 *Sam.* c. 13.

Verſ. 14.

After this *Samuel* and *Saul* returned to *Gibeah*, where *Saul* when he had taken view of his Army found it to conſiſt of 600. Men: for the moſt were fled from him and ſcattered, yea and among thoſe that ſtaid, there was not any that had either Sword or Spear, but *Saul* and his Son *Jonathan* only. For the *Philiſtims* had not left them any *Smith* in all *Iſrael*, that made weapons; beſides they that came to *Saul* came haſtily, and left ſuch weapons and armour as they had, behind them in the garriſons: for if they had had none at all, it might be much doubted how *Saul* ſhould be able the year before, or in ſome part of this very year, to ſuccour *Jabes Gilead* with 300. and thirty thouſand Men, if there had not now been any Iron weapon to defend themſelves withal, ſave only in the hand of *Saul* and *Jonathan* his Son. But howſoever, all the reſt of the people were formerly diſarmed by the *Philiſtims* and all thoſe craftſmen carried out of the land that made weapons: there being left unto the *Iſraelites* only files to ſharpen and amend ſuch ſtuff as ſerved for the plough, and for nought elſe: yet that they had ſome kind of arms it is manifeſt, or elſe they durſt not have attempted upon the *Philiſtims* as they did. And it is not ſaid in the Text that there was not any Sword in all *Iſrael*, but only that there was not any found amongſt thoſe 600. Souldiers which ſtayed with *Saul* after *Samuel's* departure: and it ſeemeth that when *Samuel* had publickly reprehended *Saul*, that his own guards forſook him, having but 600. remaining of his 3000. ordinary Souldiers, and of all the reſt that repaired unto him, of which many were fled from him before *Samuel* arrived.

1 *Sam.* 13. 7.

1 *Sam.* 13. 22.

With this ſmall troop he held himſelf, to his own City of *Gibeah*, as a place of more ſtrength and better aſſured unto him, than *Gilgal* was. Neither is it obſcure how it ſhould come to paſs that the *Philiſtims* ſhould thus diſarm the moſt part of the *Iſraelites*, howſoever in the time of *Samuel* much had been done againſt them. For the victories of *Samuel* were not got by Sword or Spear, but by Thunder from Heaven: and when theſe craftſmen were once rooted out of the Cities of *Iſrael*, no marvail if they could not in a ſhort peace under *Samuel*, be replanted again. For this tyranny of the *Philiſtims* is to be underſtood, rather of the precedent times, than under *Samuel*: and yet under him it is to be thought that by their crafts they proceeded in the policy, not ſuffering their artificers to teach the *Iſraelites*, and ſo even to the times of *Saul* kept them from having any ſtore of armour. The ſame policy did *Nabuchodonoſor* uſe after his Conqueſt in *Judea*: *Dionyſius* in *Sicily*; and many other Princes elſewhere in all ages. But theſe loſt weapons in part the *Iſraelites* might repair in *Gilead*, for over *Jordan* the *Philiſtims* had not invaded. The reſt of their defences were ſuch as antiquity uſed, and their preſent neceſſity miniſtred unto them; to wit, Clubs, Bows, and ſlings. For the *Benjamites* exceeded in caſting ſtones in ſlings: and that theſe were the natural weapons, and the firſt of all Nations, it is manifeſt; and ſo in the firſt of *Chronicles* the twelfth Chapter, it is written of thoſe that came to ſuccour *David* againſt *Saul*; while he lurked at *Siklag*, *That they were weaponed with bows, and could uſe the right and the left hand with ſtones*; and with a ſling it was, that *David* himſelf ſlew the Giant *Goliah*.

While the State of *Iſrael* ſtood in theſe hard terms, the *Philiſtims* having parted their army into three troops, that they might ſpoil and deſtroy many parts at once; *Jonathan* ſtrengthened by *God*, and followed with his Eſquire only, ſcaled a Mountain, whereon a company of *Philiſtims* were lodged: the reſt of their Army (as may be gathered by the ſucceſs) being incamped in the Plain adjoyning. And though he were diſcovered before he came to the Hill top, and in a kind of deriſion called up by his enemies: yet he ſo behaved himſelf, as with the aſſiſtance of God he ſlew twenty of the firſt *Philiſtims* that he incountered. Whereupon the next companies taking the alarm, and being ignorant of the cauſe, fled away amazed altogether. In which confuſion, fear, and jealouſie, they ſlaughtered one another in ſtead of enemies: whereupon thoſe *Hebrews* which became of their party, becauſe they feared to be ſpoiled by them, took the advantage of their deſtruction, and ſlew of them in great numbers. And laſtly *Saul* himſelf taking knowledge of the rout and diſorder, together with thoſe *Iſraelites* that ſhrouded themſelves in mount *Ephraim*, ſet upon them, and obtained (contrary to all hope and expectation) a moſt happy and glorious victory over them. Here was that Prophecy in *Deuteronomy* fulfilled by *Jonathan*, *That one of thoſe which feared God, ſhould kill a thouſand, and two of them ten thouſand.*

1 *Sam.* 14. 12.

1 *Sam.* 14.

This done, the ſmall army of *Iſrael* made retreat from the purſuit. And though *Saul* had bound the people by an oath not to take food till the evening, yet his Son *Jonathan* being infeebled with extreme labour and emptineſs, taſted a drop of Hony in his paſſage: for which *Saul* his Father would have put him to death, had not the people delivered him from his cruelty.

The late miraculous victory of *Saul* and *Jonathan* ſeems to have reduced unto the *Philiſtims* remembrance their former overthrow likewiſe miraculous in the days of *Samuel*; ſo that for ſome ſpace of time they held themſelves quiet. In the mean while *Saul* being now greatly encouraged, undertook by turns all his bordering enemies; namely the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*, and the *Arabians* of *Zobah*, againſt all which he prevailed. He then aſſembled all the forces he could make, to wit, 210000. Men, and receiving the commandment of *God* by *Samuel*, he invaded *Amalec*, waſting and deſtroying all that part of *Arabia Petræa*, and the *Deſart*, belonging to the *Amalekites*, from *Havilah* towards *Tigris* unto *Shur*, which bordereth *Ægypt*; in which War he took *Agag* their King priſoner. But whereas he was inſtructed by *Samuel* to follow this Nation without compaſſion, becauſe they firſt of all other attempted *Iſrael*, when they left *Ægypt* in *Moſes's* time: he notwithſtanding did not only ſpare the life of *Agag*, but reſerved the beſt of the beaſts and ſpoil of the Country, with pretence to offer them in ſacrifice to the living God. Therefore did *Samuel* now a ſecond time make him know, that God would caſt him from

1 *Sam.* 14.

Exod. 17.

from his Royal Estate to which he was raised, when he was of base condition, and as the Text hath it, *little in his own eyes.* And though the Offence was great in *Saul* for not obeying the voice of God by *Samuel*, had there been no former Precept to that effect: yet seeing *Saul* could not be ignorant how severely it pleased God to injoyn the *Israelites* to revenge themselves upon that Nation, he was in all unexcusable. For God had commanded that the *Israelites should put out the remembrance of Amalec from under Heaven.* For the cruelty which the Predecessors of this *Agag* used against the *Israelites*, especially on those which were overwearied, sick, faint and aged People, was now to be revenged on him, and his Nation above 400. Years afterward; and now he was to pay the debt of blood, which his Forefathers borrowed from the innocent: himself having also sinned in the same kind, as these words of *Samuel* witness: *As thy Sword hath made other Women Childless, so shall thy Mother be Childless among other Women*; at which time *Samuel* himself (after he had been by many bootless intreaties perswaded to stay a while with *Saul*) did cut *Agag* in pieces before the Lord in *Gilgal*, and soon after he departed to *Ramath*, and *came no more to see Saul, until the day of his death.*

Deut. 25. 15.

1 Sam. 15. 33.

§. V.

Of the Occurrents between the rejection of Saul *and his death.*

NOW while *Samuel* mourned for *Saul*, God commanded him to choose a King for *Israel*, among the Sons of *Ishai*: which *Samuel* (doubting the violent hand of *Saul*) feared in a sort to perform, till it pleased God to direct him, how he might avoid both the suspition, and the danger. And if *Samuel* knew that it was no way derogating from the providence of God, that by his cautious care and wisdom he sought to avoid the inconvenience or dangers of this Life, then do those Men mistake the nature of his divine Ordinance, who neglecting the Reason that God hath given them, do no otherwise avoid the perils and dangers thereof, than as Men stupified in the opinion of Fate, or Destiny, neglecting either to beg counsel at God's hand, by Prayer, or to exercise that Wisdom or Fore-sight, wherewith God had inriched the mind of Man, for his preservation. Neither did the all-powerful God (who made, and could destroy the World in an instant) disdain here to instruct *Samuel*, to avoid the fury of *Saul* by the accustomed cautious ways of the World.

Of the Sons of *Ishai*, *Samuel* by God directed, made choice of *David*, the youngest, having refused *Eliab*, the first-born; who though he were a Man of a comely Person and great strength; yet unto such outward appearance the Lord had no respect. For as it is written, *God seeth not as man seeth*, &c. *but the Lord beholdeth the heart.* He also refusing the other six Brethren, made choice of one whom his Father had altogether neglected, and left in the field to attend his Flock, for of him *the Lord said to Samuel, arise and anoint him, for this is he*: which done, *Samuel* departed and went to *Ramath*. Neither was it long after this that *Saul* began to seek the Life of *David*: in which bloody mind he continued till he died, overcome in Battel by the *Philistims*.

1 Sam. 16.

The *Philistims* having well considered (as it seems) the increase of *Saul* his Power through many Victories by him obtained, while they had sitten still and forborn to give impediment to his prosperous Courses, thought it good to make new trial of their Fortune, as justly fearing that the wrongs which they had done to *Israel*, might be repayed with advantage, if ever opportunity should serve their often injured Neighbours against them, as lately it had done against *Moab*, *Ammon*, and the rest of their ancient Enemies. Now for the quality of their Souldiers, and all Warlike Provisions, the *Philistims* had reason to think themselves equal, if not superiours to *Israel*. The success of their former Wars had for the most part been agreeable to their own wishes; as for late disasters, they might, according to humane wisdom, impute them to second causes, as to a tempest happening by chance, and to a mistaken alarm, whereby their Army possessed with a needless fear had fallen to rout. Having therefore mustered their Forces and taken the Field, encamping so near to the Army which King *Saul* drew forth against them, that they could not easily depart without the trial of a Battel, each part kept their ground of advantage for a while, not joyning in gross, but maintaining some Skirmishes, as refusing both of them to pass the Valley that lay between their Camps. Just causes of fear they had on both sides; especially the *Philistims*, whose late attempts had been confounded by the angry hand of God. Upon this occasion perhaps it was, that they sought to decide the matter by single Combat, as willing to try in one Man's Person, whether any stroak from Heaven were to be feared. *Goliah* of *Gath* a strong Giant, fearing neither God nor man, undertook to defie the whole Host of *Israel*, provoking them with despightful words, to appoint a Champion that might fight with him hand to hand, offering Condition, that the Party vanquished in Champion, should hold it self as overcome in gross, and become Vassal to the other. This gave occasion to young *David*, whom *Samuel* by God's appointment had anointed, to make a famous entrance into publick notice of the People. For no Man durst expose himself to encounter the great strength of *Goliah*, until *David* (sent by his Father of an Errand to the Camp) accepted the Combat, and obtained the Victory, without other Arms offensive or defensive than a Sling, wherewith he overthrew that haughty Giant, and after with his own Sword strook off his Head. Hereupon the *Philistims*, who should have yielded themselves as Subjects to the Conquerour, according to the Covenant on their own side propounded, fled without stay; and were pursued and slaughtered even to their own Gates. By this Victory the *Philistims* were not so broken, that either any of their Towns were lost, or their People discouraged from infesting the Territories of *Israel*. But *David*, by whom *God* had wrought this Victory, fell into the grievous indignation of his Master *Saul*, through the Honour purchased by his well deserving. For after such time as the Spirit of God departed from *Saul* and came upon *David*, he then became a cruel Tyrant, faithless and irreligious. Because the High-Priest *Abimelech* fed *David* in his necessity with hallowed Bread, and armed him with the Sword of his own Conquest taken from *Goliah*; *Saul* not only by his wicked *Edomite Doeg* murthered this *Abimelech*, and 85. Priests of *Nob*, but also he destroyed the City, *and smote with the edge of the Sword both Man and Woman, both Child and Suckling, both Ox and Ass, and Sheep.* And he that had compassion on *Agag* the *Amalekite*, who was an enemy to God and his People, and also spared and preserved the best of his Cattel, contrary to the Commandment and Ordinance of God, both by *Moses* and *Samuel*, had not now any mercy in store, for the innocent, for the Lord's servants the Priests of *Israel*.

1 Sam. 16. vers. 13.

1 Sam. 22. 18.

Israel. Yea he would have slain his own Son *Jonathan*, for pitying and pleading *David*'s innocency, as also once before for tasting the Hony, when his fainting for hunger made him forget his Father's unreasonable Commination. The Companions of 1 Sam. 24. 23. Cruelty are breach of Faith towards Men, and impiety towards God. The former he shewed in denying *David* his Daughter, whom he had promised him: and again in taking her away from him, to whom he had given her; also in that when as *David* had twice spared his Life in the Territory of *Ziph*, and *Saul* twice sworn to do him no hurt, and confessed his errours, yet he sought still to destroy him, by all the means he could. His impiety towards God he shewed, in that he sought Counsel of the Witch of *Endor*, which was the last preparative for his destruction. For whereas when he sought Counsel from God he had been always Victorious: from the Oracle of the Devil this success followed, that both himself, and his three Sons, with his neerest and faithfullest Servants, were all slaughtered by the *Philistims*: his Body with the Bodies of his Sons (as a spectacle of shame and dishonour) were hung over the Walls of *Bethsan*: and there had remained till they had found Burial in the Bowels of ravenous Birds, had not the grateful *Gileadites of Jabes* stoln their Carcases thence and interred them. This was the end of *Saul*, after he had governed *Israel*, together with *Samuel*, 40. Years, and by himself after *Samuel* 20. Years, according to Act. 13. 31. *Cedrenus*, *Theophilus*, and *Josephus*. But yet it seemeth to me that after the death of *Samuel*, *Saul* did not rule very long. For in the beginning of the 25. Chapter, it is written that *Samuel* died: and in the rest of the same Chapter the passages are written of *David*, *Nabal* and *Abigail*, after which the death of *Saul* quickly ensued.

Cedren. pa. 69. Theoph. l. 3. p. 3. Joseph. l. 28.

An exceeding valiant Man he was, and gave a fair entrance to all those Victories which *David* afterward obtained, for he had beaten the *Ammonites* with their neighbouring Nations; crusht the *Syrians*, and their Adherents; broken the strength of the *Amalekites*; and greatly wasted the Power and Pride of the *Philistims*.

§. VI.

Of such as lived with Samuel *and* Saul; *of* Hellen *and* Hercules, *and of their Issues: upon occasion of the* Dores, *with the* Heraclidæ, *entring* Peloponnesus *about this time.*

IN the second Year of *Samuel*, according to *Eusebius*, was *David* born; after *Codoman* later, and in the ninth Year: after *Bunting* in the tenth. For *David*, saith he, was thirty Years old when he began to Reign: whence it followeth, that he was born in the tenth of the forty Years, which are given to *Samuel* and *Saul*. About the eleventh of *Samuel*, *Æneas Silvius* the Son of *Posthumus* began his Reign over the *Latines* in *Alba*, who governed that State 31. Years. There are who place before him *Latinus Silvius*, as Brother to *Posthumus*, calling him the fifth from *Æneas*, and fourth King of *Alba*, whereof I will not stand to dispute. In the eleventh of *Samuel*, *Dercilus* sate in the Throne of *Assyria*, being the one and thirtieth King; he ruled that Empire 40. Years. In this Age of *Samuel* the *Dores* obtained *Peloponnesus*, and at once with the *Heraclidæ*, who then led and commanded the Nation, possest a great part thereof 328. Years before the first *Olympiad*, according to *Diodorus* and *Eratosthenes*. For all *Greece* was anciently possessed by three Tribes or Kindreds, *viz.* the *Ionians*, *Dorians*, and *Æolians*: at length it was called *Helles*, and the people *Hellens*, of *Hellen*, the Son of *Deucalion*, Lord of the Country of *Phthiotis* in *Thessalie*. But before the time of this *Hellen*, yea and long after, *Greece* had no Name common to all the Inhabitants, neither were the People called *Hellens*, till such time as partly by trading in all parts of the Land, partly by the Plantation of many *Colonies*, and sundry great Victories obtained, the issues of *Hellen* had reduced much of the Country under their Obedience, calling themselves generally by one Name, and yet every several Nation after some one of the Posterity of *Hellen*, who had reigned over it. And because this is the furthest Antiquity of *Greece*, it will not be amiss to recount the Pedigree of her first Planters.

Iapetus (as the Poets fable) was the Son of Heaven and Earth, so accounted, either because the Names of his Parents, had in the *Greek* Tongue such signification: or perhaps for his knowledge in *Astronomy* and *Philosophy*.

Iapetus begat *Prometheus*, and *Epimetheus*: of whom all Men have read that have read Poets. *Prometheus* begat *Deucalion*: and *Epimetheus*, *Pyrrha*. *Deucalion* and his Wife *Pyrrha* reigned in *Thessaly*, which then was called *Pyrrha* (as *Cretensis Rhianus* affirmeth) of *Pyrrha* the *Queen*. In *Deucalion*'s time was that great Flood, of which we have spoken elsewhere. *Deucalion* begat *Hellen*: whose Sons were *Xuthus*, *Dorus* and *Æolus*, of *Dorus* and *Æolus*, the *Dores* and *Æolians* had name. The *Æoles* inhabited *Bœotia*. The *Dores* having first inhabited sundry parts of *Thessaly*, did afterward seat themselves about *Parnassus*: and finally became Lords of the Countries about *Lacedæmon*: *Xuthus* the eldest Son of *Hellen*, being banished by his Brethren, for having diverted from them to his own use some part of their Fathers Goods, came to *Athens*: where marrying the Daughter of King *Erictheus*, he begat on her two Sons, *Achæus* and *Ion*. Of these two *Achæus*, for a slaughter by him committed, fled into *Peloponnesus*: and seating himself in *Laconia*, gave Name to that Region: from whence (as some write) he afterwards departed; and levying an Army recovered the Kingdom of his Grand-father in *Thessaly*.

Ion being General for the *Athenians*, when *Eumolpus* the *Thracian* invaded *Attica*, did obtain a great Victory, and thereby such Love and Honour of the People, that they committed the ordering of their State into his hands. He divided the Citizens into Tribes, appointing every one to some Occupation, or good course of Life. When the People multiplied he planted *Colonies* in *Sycionia*, then called *Ægialos*, or *Ægialia*: In which Country *Solinus* then reigning, thought it safer to give his Daughter *Helice* in marriage to *Ion*, and make him his Heir, than to contend with him. So *Ion* married *Helice*, and built a Town called by his Wives Name in *Ægialia*, where he and his Posterity reigned long, and (though not obliterating the old Name) gave to that Land the denomination. But in after-times the *Dores* assisting the Nephews of *Hercules*, invaded *Peloponnesus*, and overcoming the *Achæans* possessed *Laconia*, and all those parts which the *Achæi* had formerly occupied. Hereupon the *Achæi* driven to seek a new Seat, came unto the *Iones*, desiring to inhabit *Ægialia* with them, and alledging in vain, that *Ion* and *Achæus* had been Brethren. When this request could not be obtained, they sought by force to expel the *Ionians*, which they performed; but they lost their King *Tisamenes*, the Son of *Orestes*, in that War.

Thus

Thus were the *Iones* driven out of *Peloponnesus*, and compelled to remove into *Attica*, from whence after a while they sailed into *Asia*, and peopled the Western Coast thereof, on which they built twelve Cities, inhabited by them, even to this day, at the least without any universal or memorable transmigration. This expedition of the *Iones* into *Asia* hath been mentioned of all which have written of that Age, and is commonly placed 140. years after the War of *Troy*, and 60. years after the descent of the *Heraclida* into *Peloponnesus*. These *Heraclida* were they of whom the Kings of *Sparta* issued; which race held that Kingdom about 700. years. Of their Father *Hercules* many strange things are delivered unto us by the Poets, of which some are like to have been true, others perhaps must be *allegorically* understood. But the most approved Writers think that there were many called *Hercules*, all whose exploits were by the *Greeks* ascribed to the Son of *Alcmena*, who is said to have performed these twelve great labours.

First, he slew the *Nemæan* Lyon: secondly, he slew the Serpent *Hydra*, which had nine Heads, whereof one being cut off, two grew in the place: The third was the over-taking a very swift Hart: The fourth was the taking of a wild Bore alive, which haunted Mount *Erymanthus* in *Arcady*: The fifth was the cleansing of *Augeas* his Ox-stall in one day, which he performed by turning the River *Alpheus* into it: The sixth was the chasing away of the Birds from the Lake *Stymphalis*: The seventh was the fetching a Bull from *Crete*: The eighth was the taking of the Mares which *Diomedes* King of *Thrace* fed with humane flesh: The ninth was to fetch a Girdle of the Queen of the *Amazons*: The three last were, to fetch *Geryons* Beeves from *Gades*, the Golden Apples of the *Hesperides*, and *Cerberus* from Hell. The *Mythological* interpretation of these I purposely omit as both over-long to be here set down, and no less perplexed than the labours themselves. For some by *Hercules* understand Fortitude, Prudence, and Constancy, interpreting the Monsters, Vices. Others make *Hercules* the *Sun*, and his travels to be the twelve signs of the *Zodiac*. There are others who apply his works historically to their own conceits; as well assured, that the exposition cannot have more unlikelihood, than the fables: That he took *Elis*, *Pylus*, *Oechalia*, and other Towns, being assisted by such as either admired his vertues, or were beholding unto him. Also that he slew many Thieves, and Tyrants, I take to be truly written, without addition of Poetical vanity. His travels through most parts of the World are, or may seem, borrowed from *Hercules Lybicus*. But sure it is that many Cities in *Greece* were greatly bound to him: for that he (bending all his indeavours to the common good) delivered the Land from much oppression. But after his death no City of *Greece* (*Athens* excepted,) requited the vertue and Deserts of *Hercules*, with constant protection of his Children, persecuted by the King *Eurystheus*. This *Eurystheus* was Son of *Sthenelus*, and Grandchild of *Perseus*; he raigned in *Mycena*, the mightiest City then in *Greece*. He it was that imposed those hard tasks upon *Hercules*, who was bound to obey him (as Poets report) for expiation of that Murther, which in his madness he had committed upon his own Children, but as others say, because he was his Subject and Servant: wherefore there are who commend *Eurystheus* for imploying the strength of *Hercules* to so good a purpose. But it is generally agreed by the best writers, that *Hercules* was also of the stock of *Perseus*, and holden in great jealousie by *Eurystheus*, because of his vertue, which appeared more and more in the dangerous services, wherein he was imployed, so that he grew great in reputation and power through all *Greece*, and had by many Wives and Concubines above threescore Children. These Children *Eurystheus* would fain have got into his power, when *Hercules* was dead: but they fled unto *Ceyx* King of *Trachinia*, and from him (for he durst not withstand *Eurystheus*) to *Athens*. The *Athenians* not only gave them entertainment, but lent them aid, wherewith they encountred *Eurystheus*. *Iolaus* the brothers Son of *Hercules*, who had assisted him in many of his travels, was captain of the *Heraclida*. It is said of him, that being dead, he obtained leave of *Pluto* to live again till he might revenge the injuries done by *Eurystheus*: whom when he had slain in battel, he died again. It seems to me, that whereas he had led *Colonies* into *Sicily*, and abode there a long time forgotten: he came again into *Greece* to assist his Cosins, and afterwards returned back. When the *Peloponnesians* understood that *Eurystheus* was slain, they took *Atreus* the Son of *Pelops* to their King; for he was rich, mighty, and favoured of the people. Against him the *Heraclida* marched under *Hyllus* the Son of *Hercules*. But to avoid effusion of blood, it was agreed, that *Hyllus* should fight with *Echemus* King of the *Tegeata* a people of *Arcadia*, who assisted *Atreus*, with condition that if *Hyllus* were victor, he should peaceably enjoy what he challenged as his right: otherwise the *Heraclida* should not enter *Peloponnesus* in 100. years. In that combat *Hyllus* was slain, and the *Heraclida* compelled to forbear their Country, till the third generation: at which time they returned under *Aristodemus* (as the best authority shews, though some have said, that they came under the conduct of his Children) and brought with them the *Dores*, whom they planted in that Country, as is before shewed, having expelled the *Achai*, over whom the issue of *Pelops* had reigned after the death of *Eurystheus* four generations.

§. VII.

Of Homer *and* Hesiod, *and many changes in the World, that happened about this age.*

ABout this time that excellent learned Poet *Homer* lived, as many of the best *Chronologers* affirm. He was by race of the *Maones*, descended (as * *Functius* imagineth) of *Berosus* his *Anamæon*, who gave name to that people. But this *Functius* imagineth *Homer* the Poet to have been long after these times, rashly framing his *Æra* according to † *Archilochus* in the tract, or rather fragment *de temporibus*; and makes seven more of this name to have flourished in divers Cities in *Greece*. Whence, perhaps, sprang the diversity of opinions, both of the time and of the native City of *Homer*. According to this *Archilochus*, *Functius* finds *Homer* about the time of *Manasse* King of *Juda*, and *Numa* of *Rome*. He was called *Melesigenes* from the place of his birth, and at length *Homer*, because blind Men follow a guide, which signification among others, is in the verb ὁμηρεῖν: for this *Homer* in his latter time was blind. * *Clemens Alexandrinus* recites many different opinions touching the question of the time when *Homer* lived. So also † *Aulus Gellius*, and *Tatianus Assyrius* in his Oration *ad gentes*. *Paterculus* reckons that *Homer* flourished 950. years before

* *Fun. Chr. fol* 11. *col.* D.

† This author set out with *Berosus* and others, first at *Basil*, and after with *Fryar Annius* his Comment at *Antwerp* is *incerta fidei*. *Naucler. f.* 147. placeth *Homer* in the 32. generation in the time of *Samuel*.

* *Stromatum l.* 5.

† *Noct. Attic. l.* 3. *c.* 11. *item l.* 17. *c.* 21.

before the *Consulship* of *Marcus Vinutius*: which *Mercator* casteth up in the Worlds year 3046. and after *Troy* taken, about 260. years: and about 250. years before the building of *Rome*; making him to have flourished about the time of *Jehosaphat* King of *Juda*. But *Clemens Alexandrinus* and *Tatianus* above named, mention Authors that make him much ancienter. The difference of which Authors in this point is not unworthy the Readers consideration, that by this one instance he may guess of the difficulty, and so pardon the errors in the computations of ancient time: seeing in such diversity of opinions a Man may hardly find out what to follow. For *Crates* the *Grammarian* (as *Clemens Alexandrinus* reports) gave being to *Homer* about 80. years after *Troy* taken, near the time that the *Heraclidæ* returned into *Peloponnesus*: and * *Eratosthenes* after *Troy* 100. years. *Theopompus* 500. years after the Army of *Greece* sailed into *Phrygia* for the War of *Troy*. *Euphorion* makes him contemporary with *Gyges*, who began to Reign in the 18. *Olympiad* (which was 45. years after *Rome* was built) and *Sosibius* saith, that he was 90. years before the first *Olympiad*: which he seeks to prove by the times of *Charillus* and his Son *Nicander*; *Philocorus* placeth him 180. after *Troy*: *Aristarchus* 140. in the time of the seating of the *Colonies* in *Ionia*. *Apollodorus* affirms that he lived while *Agesilaus* governed *Lacedæmon*; and that *Lycurgus* in his young years, about 100. years after the *Ionian* Plantations, came to visit him, near 240. years after *Troy* taken. *Herodotus* finds *Homer* flourishing 622. years before *Xerxes*'s enterprise against the *Gracians*: which *Beroaldus* accounteth at 168. years after the Trojan War. *Eusebius* seems to make him to have been about the time of *Joas* King of *Juda* 124. years before *Rome* built: though elsewhere in his *Chronology* he notes, that some place him in the time of *Samuel*, and others in the end of *David*, and others in other ages. In his *Evangelical* preparation where out of *Tatianus Assyrius* he citeth sundry opinions touching the time when *Homer* lived, he reckoneth many other *Greek* Writers more ancient than *Homer*; as *Linus*: *Philammon*, *Epimenides*, *Phemius*, *Aristæus*, *Orpheus*, *Musæus*, *Thamyras*, *Amphion* and others.

* As both *Cle. Alex.* and *Tatian. Assyr.* report his opinions, *verum Phil.* 43. *Ros. in disc. temporum. Phil. in comm. in Archilog.*

Her. in vita Ho.

Now whether *Homer* or *Hesiodus* were the Elder, it is also much disputed. *Aulus Gellius* reports that *Philochorus* and *Xenophanes* affirm, that *Homer* preceded *Hesiod*: and on the contrary, that *Luc. Accius* the Poet, and *Ephorus* the *Historian* make *Hesiod* of an elder time than *Homer*. *Varro* leaves it uncertain which of these learned Fablers was first born: but he finds that they lived together some certain years, wherein he confirms himself by an *Epigram*, written upon a Trevit, and left by *Hesion* in *Helicon*.

Noct. Attic. l. 3. c. 11.

Varro de imag. lib. 1.

Cornelius Nepos reports that they both lived 160. years before *Rome* built: while the *Silvii* Reigned in *Alba*, about * 140. years after the fall of *Troy*. † *Euthymenes* finds them both 200. years after *Troy* taken, in the time of *Acastus* the Son of *Pelias*, King of *Thessaly*. For my self, I am not much troubled when this Poet lived; neither would I offend the Reader with these opinions, but only to shew the uncertainty and disagreement of Historians, as well in this particular, as in all other questions and dispute of time. For the curiosity of this Mans age is no less ridiculous, than the Inquisition why he began his *Iliads* with the word *Menin*, as perhaps containing some great mystery. In derision whereof *Lucian* feigning himself to have been in Hell, and to have spoken with *Homer*, there asked him the cause why he began his Book with that word? who answered, That he began in that sort, because it came in his head so to do.

Nep. in Chron. Cassiel. 1. annal. * This number *Mercator* corrects, and reads 240 for it. † *Euthym. in Chr. apud Clem. Alex. Strom. 4.*

It seemeth that *Senyes*, or after *Macrobius Sennemires*, ruled *Ægypt* at this time: for *Tanephersobris* was his successour who preceded *Vaphres*, Father-in-Law to *Salomon*.

About the end of *Saul*'s government, or in the beginning of *David*'s time according to *Cassiodorus*, the *Amazones* with the *Cymmerians* invaded *Asia*, *Latinus Sylvius* then ruling in *Italy*. And besides the overthrow of that famous State of *Troy* (which fell 103. years before *David*'s time) there were many other changes in the middle part of the World, not only by reason of those Northern Nations: but there sprung up, somewhat nearly together, six Kingdoms into greatness not before erected. In *Italy*, that of the *Latines*: in the South part of *Greece*, those of *Lacedæmon*, *Corinth*, and the *Achai*. In *Arabia*, *Syria*, *Soba*, and *Damascus*, the *Adads* made themselves Princes, of which there were ten Kings, which began and ended with the King of *Israel* in effect: and somewhat before these, the State of the *Israelites* having now altered their form of Government, began to flourish under Kings, of which *David*, in a few years, became Master of all those neighbouring Nations, who by interchange of times had subjected the *Judæans*, corrupted their Religion, and held them under in a most abject, and grievous slavery; to wit, the *Edumæans*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Madeanites*, *Ituræans*, and the rest of the *Arabians*, with the *Philistims*, *Jebusites*, *Geshurites*, *Machathites*, all which acknowledged *David* for their Soveraign Lord, and paid him tribute.

Euf. & Cass. in Chron.

CHAP. XVII.

Of DAVID.

§. I.

Of David's *estate in the time of* Saul.

THE hazzards which *David* ran into while he was yet only designed King, and living as a private Man, expected the Empire, were very many. The first personal act of fame, was his killing of *Goliah* in the view of both Armies, whereby he became known to *Saul*, and so highly affected of *Jonathan* the Son of *Saul*, that he loved him as his own Soul: In so much as when *Saul* sought to perswade his Son, that *David* would assuredly be the ruin of his House, and Estate, and offered him violence when he pleaded his cause, *Jonathan* could never be perswaded, never forc'd, nor ever wearied from the care of *David*'s life, and well doing. It was not long after this signal act of *David*'s, but that *Saul* became exceeding jealous of him, though he were become as his houshold Servant, and his Esquire, or Armour-bearer. *Saul* being vexed with an evil spirit, was advised to procure some cunning Musician to play before him upon the Harp; whereby it was thought that he might find ease, which came to pass accordingly. He entertained *David*, for this purpose, and began to favour him, giving him a place of Command among the Men of War. But the jealous Tyrant soon waxed weary of his good affections, and sought to kill *David*, being thereunto moved only through envy of his vertue. This passion first brake forth in the midst of his raving fit, at which time he threw a Spear at *David* that was then playing on his Harp to do him ease.

Censorinus remembreth one *Asclepius* a *Physician*, who practised the curing of the Frenzy, by the like Musick: and tempered thereby those diseases which grew from passion. That *Pythagoras* did also the like by such a kind of harmony, *Seneca* in his third Book of Anger witnesseth. But the madness of *Saul* came from the cause of causes, and was thereby incurable, howsoever it sometimes left him, and yielded unto that musick, which God had ordained to be a mean of more good to the Musician than to the King.

Cens. c. 12. & 14.

Saul having failed in such open attempts, gave unto *David* the Commandment of 1000. Soldiers, to confront the *Philistims* withal. For he durst not trust him as before, about his person, fearing his revenge. Now the better to cover his hatred towards him, he promised him his Daughter *Merab* to Wife: but having married her to *Adriel*, he gave to *David* his younger Daughter *Michol*, but with a condition, to present him with an hundred foreskins of the *Philistims*: hoping rather (in respect of the valour of that Nation) that the *Philistims* would take *David*'s head, than he their foreskins. This hope failing, when as now *David*'s victories begat new fears and jealousies in *Saul*, he practised with *Jonathan*, and afterwards with his own hands attempted his life, but his purposes were still frustrated. After all this he sought to murther him in his own House, but *Michol* his Wife delivered him. So *David* sought *Samuel* at *Ramah*, and being pursued by *Saul*, fled thence unto *Nob* in *Benjamin*, to *Abimilech*, then to *Achis* the *Philistim*, Prince of *Geth*: where to obscure himself, he was forc'd to counterfeit both simplicity and distraction. But being ill assured among the *Philistims* he covered himself in the *Cave of Adullam*: and after conveying such of his kinsfolks as were not fit to follow him into *Moab*, he hid himself in the *deserts of Ziph*, *Maon*, and the Hills of *Engaddi*, where he cut off the lap of *Saul*'s garments, and spared his life: as he did a second time in the *desert of Ziph*, after his passage with *Nabal* and *Abigail*. After which he repaired to *Achis of Geth* the second time, and was kindly entertained in regard of the hatred, with which his Master *Saul* was known to prosecute him.

1 *Sam.* 19.
1 *Sam.* 21.
1 *Sam.* 24.
1 *Sam.* 26.
Jansen. in Psal.

Of *Achis David* obtained * *Siklag* in *Simeon*, pretending to invade *Judea*: but he bent his forces another way and strook the *Amalekites*, with other enemies of *Israel*, letting none live to complain upon him. *Achis* supposing that *David* had drawn blood of his own Nation, thought himself assured of him: and therefore preparing to invade *Israel*, summoneth *David* to assist him, who dissembling his intent, seemeth very willing thereto. But the rest of the *Philistim* Princes knowing his valour, and doubting his disposition, liked not his company, and therefore he withdrew himself to *Siklag*. At his return he found the Town burnt, his two Wives with the Wives and Children of his people taken by the *Amalekites*: Hereupon his fellows mutinied, but God gave him comfort, and assurance to recover all again: which he did.

* It seemeth that *Simeon* never obtained *Siglag* till this time, for it is said in the 1 of *Sam. c.* 27. *v.* 6. therefore *Siglag* pertaineth unto the King of *Judah* unto this day.

This Army of the *Philistims* commanded by *Achis*, encountred *Saul* at *Gilboa*, in which he and his three Sons were slain. The news with *Saul*'s Crown and Bracelets were brought to *David*, at *Siklag*, in his return from being victorious over *Amalech*, by a Man of the same Nation, who avowed (though falsly) that himself at *Saul*'s request had slain him. *David*, because he had accused himself, made no scruple to cause him to be slain at the instant: and the sooner, because the probabilities gave strong evidence withal. Otherwise it followeth not that every Man ought to be believed of himself to his own prejudice. For it is held in the Law; *Confessio reorum non habenda est pro exclorato crimine, nisi approbatio alia instruit Religionem cognoscentis. The prisoners confession must not be taken for an evidence of the crime, unless some other proof inform the Conscience of the Judge.* For a Man may confess those things of himself, that the Judge by examination may know to be impossible. But because it is otherwise determined in the title *de custodia reorum l. si confessus, & in cap. de pœnis l. qui sententiam*, therefore doth the *Glos* reconcile these two places in this sort. *Si quis in judicio sponte de seipso confiteatur, & postea maneat in confessione, id est satis. If any Man in judgment do confess of himself, of his own accord, and after doth persevere in his confession, it is enough.* That *David* greatly bewailed *Saul* it is not improbable, for death cutteth asunder all competition: and the lamentable end that

2 *Sam.* 1.
In F. de quæst. l. prim.

that befell him, being a King, with whom in effect the ſtrength of *Iſrael* alſo fell, could not but ſtir up ſorrow and move compaſſion in the heart of *David*.

The Victory which the *Philiſtims* had gotten was ſo great, that ſome Towns of the *Iſraelites*, even beyond the River of *Jordan*, were abandoned by the Inhabitants, and left unto the Enemy, who took poſſeſſion of them without any reſiſtance made. Wherefore it may ſeem ſtrange, that a Nation ſo warlike and ambitious as were the *Philiſtims*, did not follow their fortune with all diligence, and ſeek to make the Conqueſt entire. Moſt like it ſeems, that the Civil War immediately breaking out between *David* and the houſe of *Saul*, wherein *Juda* was divided from the reſt of *Iſrael*, gave them hope of an eaſie Victory over both; and thereby cauſed them to attempt nothing at the preſent, leſt by ſo doing they ſhould inforce their diſagreeing enemies to a neceſſary reconciliation; but rather to permit that the one part ſhould conſume the other, by which means, both the Victors, and the Vanquiſhed, would become a prey to the violence of ſuch as had beaten them, when their forces were united.

§. II.

Of the beginning of David's *Reign, and the War made by* Abner *for* Iſhboſheth.

After the death of *Saul*, *Abner*, who commanded for *Saul* in the War, ſought to advance *Iſhboſheth* (or *Jeboſtus* according to *Joſephus*) though he had no right to the Kingdom of *Iſrael*: for *Mephiboſheth* the firſt Son of *Jonathan* lived. Againſt this *Abner*, and *Iſhboſheth*, *David* made a defenſive War, till *Abner* paſt *Jordan*, and entred the border of *Juda*; at which time he ſent *Joab* with ſuch forces as he had, to reſiſt *Abner*: *Iſhboſheth* remaining in *Gilead*, and *David* in *Hebron*. The Armies encountred each other near *Gibeon*, where it ſeemeth, that *Abner* made the offer to try the quarrel by the hands of a few; like to that Combat between the *Lacedemonians*, and the *Argives*, remembred by *Herodotus*, 300. being choſen of each Nation, of which number three perſons were only left unſlain. The like trial by a far leſs number was performed by the *Horatii* and *Curiatii* for the *Romans* and *Latines*. The ſame challenge *Goliah* the *Philiſtim* made, whom *David* ſlewe a cuſtom very ancient. *Edward* the Third offered the like trial in his own perſon to the French King; and *Francis* the French King to *Charles* the Emperor. There were twelve choſen of each part, in this War of *David* with the Houſe of *Saul*, to wit, ſo many of *Benjamin*, and as many of *Juda*: whoſe force and valour was ſo equal, as there ſurvived not any one to challenge the Victory. But the quarrel ſtaid not here: for the Army of *Juda* preſt *Abner* in groſs, and brake him. Three hundred and ſixty Men of *Abner's* Companions were ſlain, and but twenty of *Juda*; whereof *Aſahel* the Brother of *Joab* was one: who when he would needs purſue *Abner*, and by *Abner's* perſwaſions could not be moved to quit him, he was forced to turn upon him, wounding him to death, with the ſtroke of his Spear. For though *Aſahel* were an excellent Footman, and as it is written in the Text, as light as a wild *Roe*, and as *Joſephus* reporteth, contended not only with Men, but with Horſes; and hoped to have gotten great fame, if he could have maſtered *Abner* (who as *Aſahel* perſwaded himſelf, had by being overthrown and flying away loſt his courage)

2 Sam. 2.

yet here it fell out true; *That the Race is not to the ſwift.* Eccleſ.

That this Civil War laſted two years, we find it written in the ſecond of *Samuel* the ſecond Chapter; though in the beginning of the third it is again made probable, that this contention dured longer; and therefore the matter reſteth ſtill in diſpute, and ſome of the *Rabbins* conceive that *Iſhboſheth* had then reigned two years, when this was written, the War as yet continuing a longer time. For *Abner* held for the party of *Iſhboſheth* after this, and till ſuch time as there grew jealouſie between him and *Iſhboſheth* for *Saul's* Concubine: neither did the death of *Iſhboſheth* inſtantly follow; but how long after the murther of *Abner* it happned, the ſame doth not certainly appear. Verſ. 10.

§. III.

Of the death of Abner *ſlain by* Joab, *and of* Iſhboſheth *by* Rechab *and* Baanah.

Abner, reconciled to *David*, was anon by *Joab* murthered; for *Joab* could not endure a companion in *David's* favour, and in the commandment of his Forces, by which he was grown ſo powerful, as *David* forbare to call him to account; for thus much he confeſſeth of himſelf: *I am this day weak, and theſe men the Sons of Zerviah be too hard for me.* In this ſort *David* complained after *Abner's* death, and to make it clear that he hated this fact of *Joab*, he followed him with this publick imprecation; *Let the blood fall on the head of Joab, and on all his Fathers houſe: and let them be ſubject to Ulcers, to the Leproſie, to lameneſs, to the ſword, and to poverty*, &c. For could any thing have withſtood the Ordinance of *God*, this murther committed by *Joab* might greatly have indangered *David's* Eſtate, *Abner* being the mouth and truſt of all the reſt of the Tribes, not yet reconciled. This miſchance therefore *David* openly bewailed, ſo that all *Iſrael* perceived him to be innocent of that fact. The place which *Abner* held being General of the Men of War, was of ſuch importance, that the Kings themſelves were fain to give them great reſpect, as hath been already ſhewed more at large. This Office *Joab* held in the Army of *Judæ*, and thought himſelf worthy to hold the place entire, if once his Lord might obtain the whole Kingdom. For he was near to *David* in Kindred, and had been partaker of all his adverſity; wherefore he did not think it meet, that an old enemy ſhould in reward of new benefits, be made his partner. Indeed he was by nature ſo jealous of his dignity and place, that he afterward ſlew *Amaſa* his own Kinſman, and the Kings, upon the ſame quarrel, taking it in high diſdain to ſee him joyned with himſelf as Captain of the Hoſt of *Juda*; much leſs could he brook a ſuperiour, and ſuch a one as had ſlain his Brother, and been beaten himſelf in battel. But howſoever *Joab* did hate or deſpiſe *Abner*, *David* eſteemed highly of him as of a Prince, and a great Man in *Iſrael*, excuſing the overſight by which he might ſeem to have periſhed, by affirming that he died not like a fool, nor a Man vanquiſhed, *But as a Man falleth before wicked men, ſo* (ſaid he) *diddeſt thou fall.* And certainly it is no error of Wit, nor want of Valour and Vertue in him whom a ſtronger hand deſtroyeth unawares, or whom ſubtilty in free truſt bringeth to confuſion. For all under the Sun are ſubject to worldly miſeries and miſadventures. Howſoever *Iſhboſheth* meant to have dealt with *Abner*, yet when

2 Sam. 3. 27.

2 Sam. 3. 39.

Verſ. 29.

2 Sam. 3. Verſ. 34.

he heard of his death, he despaired greatly of his Estate, and with him all *Israel* were possest with great fear: insomuch as two of *Ishbosheth*'s own Captains, *Rechab* and *Baanah*, murthered *Ishbosheth*, and presenting his Head to *David*, received the same reward that the *Amalekite* lately did, for pretending to have slain *Saul*. *Ishbosheth* being dead, all the Elders of *Israel* repaired to *David* at *Hebron*, where he was the third and last time anointed by general consent.

2 *Sam.* 4.

§. IV.

Of the flourishing time of David's *Kingdom, the taking of* Jerusalem, *with two overthrows given to the* Philistims, *and the conduction of the Ark to the City of* David.

WHen *David* was now established in the Kingdom, his first enterprise was upon the *Jebusites*, who in derision of his force, and confident in the strength of the place (as is thought) manned their Walls with the Blind and Lame of their City; which *David* soon after entered: all their other forces notwithstanding. For having mastered the fort of *Zion* (which was afterward the City of *David*) he became Lord of *Jerusalem*, without any great danger, expelling thence the *Jebusites*, who had held it from the foundation, to the times of *Moses* and *Joshua*, and after them almost 400. years: There are who expound this place otherwise. *Except thou take away the blind and the lame, thou shalt not come in hither.* For some think that it was meant by the *Idols* of the *Jebusites*: others, that it had reference to the Covenant made long before with *Isaac* and *Jacob*: the one blind by nature and age, the other made lame by wrestling with the *Angel*, and that therefore till those (that is till that Covenant) be broken, *David* ought not to molest them. But for my self I take it with *Josephus*, that they armed their Walls with certain impotent people at first, in scorn of *David*'s attempt. For they that had held their City about 400. years against all the Children of *Israel*, *Joshua*, the *Judges*, and *Saul*: did not doubt but to defend it also against *David*.

2 *Sam.* 5.

When he had now possest himself of the very heart and Center of the Kingdom, and received congratulatory Embassadors and Presents from *Hiram* King of *Tyre*: he entertained divers other Concubines and married more Wives, by whom he had ten Sons in *Jerusalem*, and by his former Wives he had six in *Hebron* where he Reigned 7. years.

The *Philistims* hearing that *David* was now anointed King as well of *Juda* as of *Israel*, they thought to try him in the beginning, before he was fully warm in his seat. And being encountred by *David* at two several times in the *Valley of Rephaim*, or of the *Giants*, they were at both times overthrown. After which he called the place *Baalperazim*.

2 *Sam.* 5.

Then *David* assembled 30000. choice *Israelites* to conduct the *Ark of God* from the house of *Abinadab* in *Gibea*, to the City of *David*, which business was interrupted by the death of *Uzzah* the Son of *Aminadab*, whom the Lord slew for presuming to touch the *Ark*, though it were with intent to stay it from taking harm, when it was shaken. But after three years it was with great solemnity brought into the City with Sacrifices, Musick, Dances, and all signs of joyfulness, in which *David* himself gladly bare a part. Hereupon *Michol* derided him for dancing before the *Ark*, and afterward told him in scorn, *That he was uncovered as a fool in the eyes of the maidens his servants*; namely that he forgat his regal dignity both in apparel and behaviour; and mixed himself among the base multitude, dancing as fools do in the ways and Streets: not that she disliked *David*'s behaviour (as I take it) though she made it the colour of her derision. But rather the abundant grief, which this spectacle stirred up, beholding the glory of her Husband to whom she was delivered lastly by force, and remembring the miserable end of her Father and Brethren, out of whose ruins she conceived that the Son of *Ishai* had built this his greatness, together with the many new Wives and Concubines imbraced since his possession of *Jerusalem*, made her break out in those despiteful terms, for which she remained barren to her death.

This done, *David* consulted with the Prophet *Nathan* for the building of the Temple or House of *God*: but was forbidden it, because he was a Man of War, and had shed blood. So greatly doth the Lord and King of all detest homicide; having threatned, not in vain, that he would require the blood of Man, at the hand of Man and Beast. The Wars which *David* had made were just, and the blood therein shed was of the enemies of God, and his Church: yet for this cause it was not permitted that his hands should lay the foundation of that holy Temple. Hereby it appears how greatly those Princes deceive themselves, who think by bloodshed and terrour of their Wars, to make themselves in greatness like to the *Almighty*, which is a damnable pride; not caring to imitate his mercy and goodness, or seek the blessedness promised by our *Saviour* unto the peacemakers.

1 *Chron.* c. *v.* 3.

Now although it was not pleasing to the Lord to accept a Temple of *David*'s founding, yet was his religious intent so well accepted, that hereupon he received both a confirmation of the Kingdom to him and his Heirs, and that happy promise of the everlasting Throne, that should be established in his Seed.

§. V.

The overthrow of the Philistims *and* Moabites.

SOon after this *David* overthrew the *Philistims*, which made them altogether powerless, and unable to make any invasion upon *Israel* in hast. For it is written, *accepit frænum Amgaris è manu Philistæorum*; which place our *English Geneva* converts in these words. *And David took the bridle of bondage out of the hand of the Philistims.* The Latin of *Junius* giveth another and a better sense; for by that bridle of *Amgar* was meant the strong City of *Gath*, or *Geth*, and so the *Geneva* hath it in the marginal Note. This City of *Gath* was the same which was afterward *Dio-Cæsaria*, set on the Frontier of *Palestina* at the entrance into *Judæa* and *Ephraim*. From thence they made their incursions, and thereinto their retreat in all their invasions, which being taken by *David* and demolished, there was left no such Frontier Town of equal strength to the *Philistims* on that part. The hill whereon *Geth* or *Gath* stood the *Hebrews* call *Amma*, whereof and of the word *Gar* is made *Amgar*, of which *Pliny* in his first Book, and thirteenth Chap. This exposition is made plain and confirmed in the first of *Chron.* the 18.

2 *Sam.* 8. *v.* 1.

Junius in 1 *c.* of the second of *Sam.*

There was no Nation bordering the *Jews* that so greatly afflicted them as the *Philistims* did, who before the time of *Saul*, (to the end they might not sharpen any weapon against them) did not leave one Smith in all their Cities and Villages of that kind, but

but inforc'd them to come down into their ter-
1 Sam. 13. ritory, for all Iron work whatſoever they need-
ed; ſo as the *Iſraelites* till this time of *David* were ſeldom free from paying tribute to the *Philiſtims*.

After this he gave them four other overthrows: but the War of the *Moabites* and *Arabians* came between. In the firſt of which he was indangered by *Iſhbi-benob*, the head of whoſe ſpear weighed 300. Shekles of Braſs, which make nine pound three quarters of our poizes: at which time *Abiſhai* ſuccoured *David* and ſlew the *Philiſtim*, whereup-
2 Sam. 21. on the Counſellors and Captains of *David* (leſt
v. 17. the light of *Iſrael* might by his loſs be quenched) vowed that he ſhould not thenceforth hazard himſelf in any battel. The ſecond and third incounter and overthrow of the *Philiſtims* was at *Gob* a place near *Geſar*, and the laſt at *Gath* or *Geth*. And being now better aſſured of the *Philiſtims* by the taking of *Geth*, he invaded *Moab*, from whom notwithſtanding in his adverſity he fought ſuccour, and left his Parents with him in truſt. But whether it were the ſame King or no it is not known.

The *Rabins* feign that *Moab* ſlew thoſe kinſfolks of *David*, which lived under his protection in *Saul*'s time, but queſtionleſs *David* well knew how that Nation had bin always enemies to *Iſrael*, and took all the occaſions to vex them that were offered. And he alſo remembred that in the 23. of *Deuter.* God commanded *Iſrael* not to ſeek the peace or proſperity of the *Moabites*, which *David* well obſerved, for he deſtroyed two parts of all the people, leaving a third to till the ground. This victory obtained, he led his Army by the border of *Ammon* towards *Syria Zobah*, the region of *Adadezer* the Son of *Rehob* King thereof. The place is ſet down in the deſcription of the holy Land: to which I refer the Reader.

§. VI.

The War which David *made upon the* Syrians.

IT is written in the Text: *David ſmote alſo Hadadezer &c. as he went to recover his border at the River Euphrates.* Now whether the words [*as he went to recover his border*] be referred to *David* or *Hadadezer* it is not agreed upon. *Junius* thinks that the article [*he*] hath relation to *David*, who finding *Tohu* oppreſt by *Hadadezer*, overthrew the one and ſuccoured the other. But the ancient and moſt received opinion, that this recovery hath reference to the *Syrian*, is more probable. For if *David* had intended any ſuch enterprize towards *Euphrates*, he was in far better caſe to have proceeded after his victory than before: ſeeing that (*Adadezer* being taken) he had now left no enemy on his back, either to purſue him, to take victuals and ſupplies from him, or to ſtop the paſſages of the Mountains upon him at his return.

Again, ſeeing *David* was either to paſs through a part of *Arabia* the Deſart, or by the Plains of *Palmyrena*, his Army conſiſting of Footmen, for the moſt, if not all: He had now both Horſe and Chariots good ſtore to carry his proviſions through thoſe uncultived places, by which he was to have marched before he could have reached *Euphrates* or any part thereof. But we find that *David* returned to *Hieruſalem*, after he had twice overthrown the *Syrian* Army, not bending his courſe towards the River *Euphrates*, but ſeeking to eſtabliſh his purchaces already made. Whereby it may appear, that it was the *Syrian*, and not King *David*, that was going to inlarge his border, as afore is ſaid.

The King of *Syria Damaſcena*, and of *Damaſcus*, whereof that region is ſo called, hearing that *Adadezer* was overthrown by the *Iſraelites*, fearing his own eſtate, and the loſs of his own Country which adjoyned to *Syria Zobah* of *Hadadezer*, ſent for an Army of *Aramites* or *Syrians* to his ſuccour: but theſe, as it appeareth, came too late for *Adadezer*, and too ſoon for themſelves: for there periſhed of thoſe ſupplies 22000. This King of *Damaſcus*, *Joſephus* (out of *Nicolaus* an ancient Hiſtorian) calleth *Adad*, who was alſo of the ſame name and family as all thoſe other *Adads* were: which now began to grow up in greatneſs, and ſo continued for ten deſcents, till they were extinguiſhed by the *Aſſyrians*, as is ſhewed heretofore. *David* having now reduced *Damaſcus* under his obedience, left a garriſon therein as he did in *Edom*: having alſo ſackt the adjoyning Cities of *Betah*, and *Berai*, belonging to *Adadezer*, of which Cities *Ptolomy* calleth *Betah*, *Tauba*; and *Berathi* he nameth *Barathena*. *Tohu* or *Thoi* whoſe Country of *Hamath* joyned to *Adadezer* (as in the deſcription of the Holy land the Reader may perceive) ſent his Son *Joram* to congratulate this ſucceſs of *David*: partly becauſe he had War with *Adadezer*, and partly becauſe he feared *David* now victorious. He alſo preſented *David* with veſſels of Gold, Silver, and Braſs, all which together with the Golden Shields of the *Aramites*, and the beſt of all the ſpoils of other Nations *David* dedicated unto God at his return. 2 Sam. 8.
Junius tranſlated the words [*clypeos aureos*] by *umbones*, as if all the parts of the Targets were not of Gold but the boſſes only. The *Septuagint* call them Bracelets: *Aquila*, Golden Chains. But becauſe *Roboam* made Shields of Braſs in place of theſe of *Adadezer*, at ſuch time as *Shicah* the *Ægyptian* ſackt the Temple of *Hieruſalem*, it may be gathered thereby, that thoſe of *Adadezer* were Golden Shields.

This done *David* ſent Embaſſadors to *Hanun* King of the *Ammonites* to congratulate his eſtabliſh- 2 Sam. 1.
ment in his Fathers Kingdom: for *David* in the time of his affliction under *Saul*, had been relieved by *Nahaſh*, the Father of *Hanun*. But this *Ammonite* being ill adviſed, and over-jealous of his eſtate, uſed *David*'s Meſſengers ſo barbarouſly, and contemptuouſly (by curtailing their Beards, and their garments) as he thereby drew a War upon himſelf, which neither his own ſtrength, nor all the aids purchaſed could put off, or ſuſtain. For notwithſtanding that he had waged three and thirty thouſand Souldiers of the *Amalekites*, and their Confederates; to wit, of the vaſſals of *Adadezer* twenty thouſand, and of *Maachah* and *Iſhtob* thirteen thouſand (for which he diſburſed a thouſand Talents of Silver) yet all theſe great Armies together with the ſtrength of the *Ammonites*, were by *Joab* and his brother *Abiſhai* eaſily broken and put to ruin: and that without any great loſs or ſlaughter at that time. And it is written that when the *Aramites* fled, the *Ammonites* alſo retreated into their Cities, the one holding themſelves within the Walls, the other in their Deſarts adjoyning, till *Joab* was returned to *Hieruſalem*.

Maachah the North part of *Traconitis* remembred in *Deut.* 3. 14.
Iſhtob or *Thob* a country near *Gad* under the rocks of *Arnon*.

Hadadezer hearing that *Joab* had diſmiſſed his 2 Sam. 10.
Army, aſſembled his forces again, and ſent for all the companies that he could levy out of *Meſopotamia*, who under the command of *Shobach* paſſed *Euphrates*, and incamped at **Helam*, on the South ſide thereof. *David* hearing of this new preparation, aſſembled all the ableſt Men of *Iſrael* and marched towards the *Syrian* Army in *Palmyrena*, not yet entred into *Arabia*: to wit, at *Helam*, a place

**Helam* or *Chelam* which *Ptolomy* calleth *Alamatha* near the foords of *Euphrates*.

place no less distant from *Damascus*, towards the North-east, than *Hierusalem* was towards the
2 *Sam.* 10. South-west. Now *David* (speaking humanely) might with the more confidence go on towards *Euphrates* (which was the farthest-off Journey that ever he made) because he was now Lord of *Damascus*, which lay in the mid-way. He also possest
* See *c.* 18. §. 2. himself of * *Thadmor* or *Palmyrena*, which *Salomon* afterward strongly fortified, and this City was but one days Journey from *Helam*, and the River *Euphrates*. So had he two safe Retreats, the one to *Thadmor*, and the next from thence to *Damascus*. In this encounter between *David* and the *Syrians*, they lost 40000. Horsemen, and 700. Chariots, together with *Shobach* General of their Army. The Chronicles call these 40000. Souldiers Footmen, and so *Junius* converts it, and so is it very probable. For the Army of *Israel* consisting of Footmen, could hardly have slaughtered 40000. Horsemen, except they quitted their Horse and fought on Foot. So are the Chariots taken in this Battel, numbred at 7000. in the first of *Chron.* the 9. in which number, as I conceive, all the Souldiers that served in them with the Conductors are included: so as there died of the *Syrians* in this War against *David* before he forc'd them to Tribute, 100000. Footmen, besides all their Horsemen and Waggoners, and besides all those that *Joab* slew, when they fled at the first encounter, together with the *Ammonites* before *Rabba*. Notwithstanding all which, the *Adads* in following ages gathered strength again, and afflicted the Kings of *Juda* often: but the Kings of *Israel* they impoverished, even to the last end of that State.

David having now beaten the *Arabians* and *Mesopotamians* from the Party and Confederacy of *Ammon*: He sent out *Joab* the Lieutenant of his Armies to forrage and destroy their Territory, and to besiege *Rabbah*, afterward *Philadelphia*, which after a while the *Israelites* mastered and possest. The King's Crown which weighed a Talent of Gold, garnished with precious Stones, *David* set on his own Head, and carried away with him the rest of the Riches and Spoil of the City. And though *David* stayed at *Hierusalem*, following the War of *Uriah* his Wife, till such time as the City was brought to extremity, and ready to be entred: yet *Joab* in honour of *David* forbare the last assault, and entrance thereof, till his Masters arrival. To the People he used extream rigor (if we may so call it being exercised against Heathen Idolaters) for some of them he tare with Harrows, some he sawed asunder, others he cast into burning Kilns, in which he baked Tile and Brick.

§. VII.

Of David's *Troubles in his Reign, and of his Forces.*

BUT as Victory begettth security, and our present worldly felicity a forgetfulness of our former miseries, and many times of God himself the giver of all goodness: so did these Changes, in the Fortune and State of this good King, change also the zealous care which formerly he had to please God in the precise observation of his Laws and Commandments. For having now no dangerous apparent Enemy (against whom he was wont to ask Counsel from the Lord) he began to be advised by his own humane affections and vain desires. For he was not only satisfied to take *Uriah*'s Wife from him, and to use her by stealth: but he imbroidered his Adultery with *Uriah*'s slaughter, giving Order to his trusty Servant *Joab* to marshal him in the front or point of those *Israelites*, 2 *Sam.* 11. 14, 15. which gave an assault upon the Suburbs of *Rabba*, when there was not as yet any possibility of prevailing. And, that which could no less displease God than the rest, he was content that many others of his best Servants and Souldiers should perish together with *Uriah*, hoping thereby to cover his particular ill intent against him. After which he began by degrees to fall from the highest of Happiness; and his days then to come were filled with joys and woes interchangeable, his trodden down sorrows began again to spring; and those perils which he had pulled up by the roots (as he hoped) gave him an after-harvest of many cares and discontentments. And if it had pleased God to take the witness of *David*'s own mouth against him, as *David* himself did against the *Amalekite*, which pretended to have slain *Saul*, he had then appeared as worthy of reprehension as the other was of the death he suffered. For when *Nathan* the Prophet propounded unto him his own errour, in the person of another, to wit, of him that took the poor Man's Sheep that had none else, the bereaver being Lord of many: He then vowed it to the living Lord, that such a one should die the death. And hereof, although it pleased God to pardon *David*, for his life, which remission the Prophet *Nathan* pronounced: yet he delivered him God's Justice together with his Mercy in the Tenour following; *Now therefore the Sword shall never depart from thy* 2 *Sam.* 12. *vers.* 9. & 10. *House*, &c. *Because thou hast taken his Wife to be thy Wife, and hast slain Uriah with the Sword of the Children of Ammon.* Soon after this *David* lost the Child of Adultery which he begot on *Bersheba*. Secondly, his own Son *Amnon* being in Love with his half Sister *Thamar*, by the advice of his Cousin German the Son of *Shimeah David*'s Brother, possest her by force: which when he had performed, he thrust her from him in a careless and despightful manner. Two Years after which foul and incestuous act, *Absalom* caused him to be murthered, at the Feast of his Sheep-shearing; not perchance in revenge of *Thamar*'s Ravishment alone: but having it in his Heart to usurp the Kingdom; in which, because he could not in any sort be assured of *Amnon*, he thought his Affair greatly advanced by his destruction. So the one Brother having ravished his own Sister, and then despised her; the other after a long dissembled malice, first, made his own Brother drunken, and then slaughtered him; which done he fled away, and lived under the safeguard of *Talmai* King of *Gessur*, near *Damascus*, who was his Grandfather by the Mother, but a Heathen King. Thirdly, when *Absalom* by the invention of *Joab*, (but chiefly because of the great affection of *David* towards his Son) was brought again: first to the King's favour, and then 2 *Sam.* 14. to his presence. He began instantly to practise against *David* his Father, seeking by the pretence of common Justice, and by lowly and familiar manner to all Men, and by detracting from his Father's Equity, to win unto himself a popular Reputation. Here began the great affliction, threatned by the Lord as a punishment of *David*'s sin.

The company which *Absalom* gathered at the 2 *Sam.* 15. first were but 200. Men: which he carried with him from *Hierusalem* to *Hebron*; pretending, though impiously, the performance of a Vow to God. There when *Achitophel* repaired unto him, and many troops of People from all places, he proclaimed himself King, and was by the People (whose Hearts God had turned from their lawful Prince) accepted so readily, that *David* doubting to be set upon on the sudden, durst not trust himself in his own City of *Hierusalem*, nor in any other walled

Town

Town for fear of surprise: but incamped in the Fields, and Desarts with some 600. of his guards, and few else. The Priests he left in *Hierusalem*, with the Ark of God, from whom he desired to be advertised of those things that chanced, to whom he directed *Hushai* his trusty friend, and Servant, praying him to make himself in all his
2 *Sam.* 15. outward actions and counsels of *Absalom*'s party and confederacy, thereby the better to discover unto him the purposes of *Achitophel*, a revolted Counsellor, whose practices he greatly doubted. And now when Treason was in fashion, *Ziba* also sought to betray his master *Mephibosheth* the Son of *Jonathan*: And *Shimei* of the house of *Saul* (the fire of whose hatred *David*'s prosperity had smothered, but his adversity illightened) holding himself upon the advantage of a Moun-
2 *Sam.* 16. tain side, cast stones at *David*, and most despightfully cursed him to his face: but *David* attending no private revenges, forbad *Abishai* to pursue him for the present, yet left him among others in the roll of his revenge, to his Son *Salomon*. *Absalom* being now possest of *Hierusalem*, was advised by *Achitophel* to use his fathers Concubines in some such publick place, as all *Israel* might assure themselves, that he was irreconcileable to his Father: whereof being perswaded they would then resolvedly adhere to *Absalom* and his cause, without fear of being given up upon a reconcilia-
2 *Sam.* 17. tion between them. This salvage and impious (though crafty counsel) *Achitophel* indeed urged for his own respect, as fearing that this rebellion might take end to his destruction; who most of all other inflamed *Absalom* against his Father. And now was it fulfilled that *Nathan* had directly foretold *David*: *I will raise up evil against thee out of thine own house, and will take thy Wives before thine eyes, and give them unto thy neighbour, and he shall lye with thy Wives in the sight of the Sun:*
2 *Sam. c.* 12. *v.* 11. *for thou didst it secretly, but I will do this thing before all Israel, and before the Sun.* He also gave advice to *Absalom*, that himself with an army of 12000 Men might be imployed at the instant for the surprizing of *David*, which had willingly been imbraced by *Absalom*, had not *Hushai David*'s faithful
2 *Sam.* 17. *v.* 14. Servant given counter-advice, and swayed it: perswading *Absalom*, that it was surer and more safe for him with all the strength of *Israel*, to pursue his Father: than by such a troop, which *David*'s valour, and those of his attendants, might either indanger or resist. This delay in *Absalom*, and advantage of time gained by *David*, was indeed, after God, the loss of the one and delivery of the other. Whereupon *Achitophel* rightly fearing (by
2 *Sam.* 17. 23. the occasion fore-shewed) the success which followed, disposed of his own estate, and then forsook both the party and the care of *Absalom*, and of his own life.

David being advertised of this enterprize against him, marched away all night, and past *Jordan*, possessing himself of *Mahanaim* in the tribe of *Gad*: the same wherein *Ishbosheth*, himself in the War against *David* after *Saul*'s death seated himself. To which place there repaired unto him *Shobi*, the Son of *Nahash* the *Ammonite*, whom *David* loved, the same which *Josephus* calleth *Shiphar*. And though it be greatly disputed, what this *Shobi* was, yet the most general and probable opinion makes him a second brother to *Hanum*, whom *David* for his Fathers sake established in the Kingdom, after *Hanum*'s overthrow. In thankfulness whereof he relieved *David* in this his extremity. There came also to *David*'s assistance *Machir* of *Lodabar*, Guardian in former times to *Mephibosheth*, and among others *Barzillai* the *Gileadite*, who willingly fed *David* and all his company.

In the mean time both the King and *Absalom* prepared to fight; *Absalom* made *Amasa* Commander of the army of *Israel*, the same place which *Joab* held with *David*; an office next the King himself, like unto that of the Majors of the Pallace anciently in *France*. *David*, perswaded by his company, stayed in *Mahanaim*, and disposed the forces he had to *Joab*, *Abishai*, and *Ittai*, giving them charge in the hearing of all that issued out of the port of *Mahanaim*, that they should spare the life of *Absalom*. But *Joab*, besides that he was very cruel by Nature, remembred that *Absalom* had lately disposed of his Government to *Amasa*, and therefore the victory being obtained, and news 15.
brought him that *Absalom* hung by the hair of his head on a Tree, when he could not perswade the 16.
messenger to return and kill him, he himself with 2 *Sam.* 18.
his own Servants dispatcht him. It appeared also by the sequel that *Joab* affected *Adonijah* whom 14.
he afterward acknowledged, *David* yet living; 2 *Sam.* 18.
and fearing the disposition of *Absalom*, he imbraced the present advantage offered.

Hereof, together with news of the victory, when knowledge was brought to *David*, he mourned and sorrowed, not only as a Man that had lost a Son, but as one that had outlived all his worldly joys, and seen every delight of life interred. For he so hid himself from his people, as those which hoped for honour and reward after so great a victory, covered themselves also in the City, as if they had committed the greatest offences, and had rather deserved death than recompence. Whereupon *Joab* presenting himself before *David*, perswaded him to dissemble his sorrow for the present, and to shew himself to the Army. For first he told him that he had discountenanced his faithful Servants, who had that day preserved his life; inferring that nothing could be more dangerous to a King, than not only to not acknowledge so great a love and constancy in his people, who being but few in number, did yet resolvedly expose themselves to great perils for his sake: but on the contrary grieve and lament at their good success. For, no doubt, they might all have bought their peace of *Absalom* at an easie rate. Secondly, he urged that it was generally believed, that he loved his enemies and hated his Friends, and that he witnessed by this his mourning, that he had not any respect of his Princes, and others his faithful Servants, but would more have joyed if they had all perished, and *Absalom* lived, than in the victory by their faithfulness and approved valour gotten.

Lastly he used this prevalent argument, that if the King came not out and shewed himself publickly to his Men of War, that they would all that very night abandon him, and return: concluding with this fearful threatning: *And that will be* 2 *Sam.* 19.
worse unto thee than all the evil that fell on thee from thy youth hitherto. By these overbold and arrogant speeches (though perchance uttered with a good Intent) *Joab* raised *David* from his bed of sorrow, and bronght him to the gates of the City among the people, whom he assured of his love and affection, especially *Amasa* who commanded the Army of *Absalom*, to whom he promised the office of Lieutenantship; the same which *Absalom* had given him, and which *Joab* now enjoyed. For *David* doubted that if *Amasa* were not satisfied, he might draw from him a great part of the strength of *Israel*, now under his commandment.

This

This done, the King marched towards *Jordan* homeward, where in his passage he pardoned *Shimei*, who had lately reviled him to his face; but this remission was but external, as appeared afterward. He also accepted of *Mephibosheth* his excuse, whom *Ziba* had formerly falsly accused and betrayed.

2 *Sam.* 19. 23.

He also intreated *Barzillai* the *Gileadite*, his late liberal host, to follow him to *Jerusalem*, that he might reward his service done him; who excusing himself by his age, appointed his Son *Chimham* to attend the King.

2 *Sam.* 19. 38.

At *Gilgal* on this side *Jordan*, all the Tribes assembled, and after some contention which of them ought to have most interest in *David*, the Army brake, and *David* returned to *Jerusalem*. But *Sheba*, the Son of *Bichri* a *Benjamite* of the faction of the House of *Saul*, finding some discontentment among the *Israelites*, withdrew them from *David*, as from a stranger in whom they had no interest; and it seemeth that many of the People of the out-tribes, and in effect of all but *Juda*, bare still a good affection to the issues of their first King. *David* imployed his reconciled Captain *Amasa*, to give him contentment, and to witness his trust, as also because he conceived that *Amasa* had interest in those revolts of *Israel* more than *Joab* had. He received commandment from *David* to assemble the Army within three days, which he foreslowed: but being onward on his way, *Abishai Joab*'s Brother, was sent after him, with *David*'s Guard and best Soldiers, whom also *Joab* accompanied: and overtaking *Amasa* near *Gibeon*, pretending to imbrace him, gave him a wound, whereof he fell dead, being no less jealous of *Amasa* than he was of *Abner*, whom he murdered in the same manner, and out of the same impatient ambition. This done he pursued *Sheba*, and finding him incloſed in *Abel*, assaulted the City with that fury, that the Citizens by the perswasions of a wise Woman there inhabiting, cut off *Sheba* his Head, and flung it to *Joab* over the Walls: which done, he retreated his Army to *Jerusalem*, and commanded as before all the Host of *Israel*.

2 *Sam.* 20. 10.

2 *Sam.* 20. 22.

The next act of *David*'s, was the delivery of *Saul*'s Sons or Kinsmen to the *Gibeonites*, whom those Citizens hung up in revenge of their Fathers cruelty. *David* had knowledge from the *Oracle of God*, that a Famine which had continued on the Land three Years, came by reason of *Saul* and his House; to wit, for the slaughter of the *Gibeonites*: and therefore he willingly yielded to give them this satisfaction, both because he had warrant from God himself, as also, if we may judge humanly, to rid himself of *Saul*'s Line, by whom he and his might, as well in the present as in the future, be greatly molested and endangered; only he spared *Mephibosheth* the Son of *Jonathan*, both for the love he bare to his Father, as for his Oath and vow to God.

Now where it is written in the Text; *The King took the two Sons of Rispah whom she bare unto Saul, and the five Sons of Michol the daughter of Saul, whom she bare to Adriel, and delivered them to the Gibeonites.*

2 *Sam.* 21.

Junius calls this *Michol* the Sister of her that was *David*'s Wife, she whom *Saul* married to *Phaltiel*; but *Michol* here named had *Adriel* to her Husband: the same which is named *Merab* in the first of *Samuel* the eighteenth, who was first promised to *David*, when he slew *Goliah* in the Vally of *Raphaim*: and because it is written that *Michol* loved *David*, which perchance *Merab* did not, whether *David* had any human respect in the delivery of her Children, it is only known to God.

Now whereas the *Geneva* nameth *Michol* for *Merab* the Wife of *Adriel*: the better translation were out of the *Hebrew* word here used, having an eclipsis or defect, and signifieth, as I am informed, one of the same Kindred, as in the 19. verse of the same 21. Chapter it is said of *Goliah*, whose Spear was weighty as a Weavers Beam, when as by the same Eclipsis it must be understood by the Brother of *Goliah*: *Goliah* himself being formerly slain.

As by the death of *Saul*'s Children God secured the House of *David*, leaving no head unto Rebellion; so did he strengthen both the King and Nation against Foreign Enemies, by the valour of many brave Commanders, the like of whom, for number and quality, that People of *Israel* is not known to have had at any time before or after. Thirty Captains of thousands there were, all Men of mark, and great reputation in War. Over these were six Colonels, whose valour was so extraordinary, that it might well be held as miraculous. These Colonels had some difference of place and honour, which seemeth to have been given upon meer consideration of their vertue. For *Abishai* the Brother of *Joab*, who in the War against the *Ammonites* and *Aramites* was Lieutenant and commanded half the Army, could not attain to the honour of the first Rank, but was fain to rest contented with being principal of the three Colonels of the second order, notwithstanding his nearness in Blood unto the King, the flourishing estate of his own House, and his well approved services. All these Colonels and Captains, with the Companies belonging to them, may seem to have been such as were continually retained, or at the least kept in readiness for any occasion, considering that the numbers which were mustered and drawn out, if need required, into the Field, very far exceeded thirty thousand, yea or thirty times as many. They were most of them such as had followed the King in *Saul*'s time, and been hardened with his adversities. Others there were very many, and principal Men in their several Tribes, that repaired unto him after the death of *Saul*; but these Captains and Colonels, (who with *Joab*, that was General of all the Kings Forces, make up the number of 37.) were the especial Men of War, and reckoned as *David*'s worthies. The long Reign of *David*, as it is known to have consumed many of these excellent Men of War, so may it probably be guessed to have wasted the most of those whose deaths we find no where mentioned. For the Sons of *Zervia*, who had been too hard for *David*, were worn away, and only *Joab* left in the beginning of *Salomon*, who wanted his Brother *Abishai* to stand by his side in his last extremity.

2 *Sam.* 23. 8. &c.

By the actions forepassed in the time of *David*, it is gathered that he had reigned now 33. years, or thereabout, when the Posterity of *Saul* was rooted out, so that he enjoyed about seven years of entire quiet and security, wherein it pleased God to remove all impediments that might have troubled the succession of *Salomon* in his Fathers Throne. In this time also *David* having established all things in *Juda* and *Israel*, and the borders thereof, he again displeased God by numbring the People, as in ostentation of his Power: in which he imployed *Joab* with other Captains of his Army, who after nine Months and twenty days travel, returned with the Account and Register of all the People, able and fit to bear Arms, and they amounted to the number of thirteen hundred thousand, besides *Levi* and *Benjamin*; whereof in *Juda* and the Cities thereof five hundred thou-

2 *Sam.* 24. 1 *Chron.* 21.

thousand, and in *Israel* eight hundred thousand.

For this, when by the Prophet *Gad* he was offered from God the choice of three punishments, whereof he might submit himself to which he pleased; to wit, seven Years famine; three Months War, wherein he should be unprosperous in all attempts, and be chased by his enemies; or a general Pestilence to last three days: *David* made choice to bow himself under the hand of God only, and left himself subject to that cruel disease, which hath no compassion of respect of persons, of which there perished seventy thousand. And hereby he hath taught all that live, that it is better to fall into the hands of God than of Men; whereof he giveth us this Divine reason,
2 Sam. 14. *For his mercies are great.*

§. VIII.

Of the last acts of David: Adonijah's *faction*: *the revenge upon* Joab *and* Shimei.

LAstly, when he grew weak and feeble, and past the acts and knowledge of Women, he was yet advised to lie in the Arms of a young and well complexioned Maiden, to keep him warm. In this his weak estate of body, when he was in a manner bed-rid, *Adonijah* his eldest Son (*Amnon* and *Absalom* being now dead) having drawn unto his party that invincible, renowned and feared *Joab*, with *Abiathar* the Priest, began manifestly to prepare for his establishment in the Kingdom after his Father. For being the eldest now living of *David*'s Sons, and a Man of a goodly personage, *Salomon* yet young and born of a Mother formerly attainted with adultery, for which her name was omitted by S. *Matthew* (as *Beda*, *Hugo*, *Thomas*, and others suppose) he presumed to carry the matter without resistance. Hereof when *David* had knowledge by *Bersabe* the Mother of *Salomon*, who did put him in mind of his faithful promise, that *Salomon* her Son should reign after him (*Nathan* the Prophet affirming the same thing unto the King, and seconding her report of *Adonijah* his presumption) the King calling unto him *Zadoc* the Priest, *Nathan* the Prophet, and *Benaiah* the Captain of his Guard, gave charge and commission to anoint *Salomon*, and to set him on the Mule whereon himself used to ride in his greatest state: which done, *Salomon* attended and strongly guarded by the ordinary and choice Men of War, the *Cherethites* and *Pelethites*, shewed himself to the people. Those tydings being reported to *Adonijah*, he presently abandoned his Assistants, and for the safety of his life he held by the horns of the Altar,
1 King. 1. whom for the present *Salomon* pardoned. After this, *David* had remaining two especial cares, whereof he was desirous to discharge his thoughts; the one concerning the peace of the land, which might be disturbed by some rebellion against *Salomon*; the other concerning the building of the Temple, which he sought by all means to advance, and make the business publick. To bring these
1 Chron. c. 28. v. 1. intentions to good effect he summoned a Parliament, consisting of all the Princes of *Israel*, the Princes of the several Tribes, all the Captains and Officers, with all the mighty, and Men of power; who repaired unto *Jerusalem*.

In this Assembly the King stood up, and signified his purpose of building the Temple, shewing how the Lord had approved the motion. Herein he took occasion to lay open his own title to the Crown, shewing that the Kingdom was by Gods ordinance due to the Tribe of *Juda* (as *Jacob* in his blessing prophetically bequeathed it) and that God himself was pleased to make choice of him among all his Fathers Sons. In like manner he said that God himself had appointed *Salomon* by name to be his Successor: whereupon he earnestly charged both the people and his Son, to conform themselves unto all that God had commanded, and particularly to go forward in this work of the Lords house which *Salomon* was chosen to build. Then produced he the pattern of the work according to the form which God himself had appointed; and so laying open his own preparations, he exhorted all others to a voluntary contribution. 1 Chron. 29. 9.

The King's proposition was so well approved by the Princes and people, that whereas he himself had given three thousand talents of gold, and seven thousand of Silver, they added unto it seven thousand of Gold, and ten thousand of Silver, besides Brass, Iron and Jewels, heartily rejoycing in the advancement of so religious a work. This business being well dispatched, a solemn feast with great Sacrifice was made, at which time *Salomon* was again anointed King, and received fealty of all the Princes and people of the land, and of all the Princes his brethren the Sons of King *David*. *Salomon* being thus established King, his Father *David* finding himself even in the hands of death, first exhorted his Son to exercise the same courage and strength of mind, which himself had done in all his attempts, and to the end that a happy end might follow the beginning of all his enterprizes, he uttered these mighty words; *Take heed to the charge of the Lord thy God, to walk* 1 Kin. 2. 3. *in his ways, and keep his statutes and his commandments, and his judgments, and his testimonies, as it is written in the Law of Moses, &c.* to the performance of which God fastened the succession, and prosperity of his issues. For this done (saith God himself) 1 Kin. 1. 20. *Thou shalt not want one of thy posterity to sit upon the throne of Israel.*

Secondly, he advised him concerning *Joab*, who out of doubt had served *David* from the first assault of *Jerusalem* to the last of his Wars, with incomparable valour and fidelity, saving that he fastened himself to *Adonijah* (his master yet living) and thereby vexed him in his feeble age. But as God hath never left cruelty unrevenged, so was it his will that *Joab* should drink of the same cup, whereof he had enforced other Men to taste, and suffer the same violence which himself had unjustly strucken others with all, *qui gladio percutit, gladio peribit*: for he had bereaved *Abner* and *Amasa* of their lives, having against the one the pretence only of his brothers slaughter, whom *Abner* had slain in the time of War, and could not avoid him: against the other but a meer jealousie of his growing great in the favour of *David*. And though *Joab* assured himself that *Abner* and *Amasa* being dead, there was none left either to equal him or supplant him, yet God (deriding the policies of wicked Men) raised up *Benaiah* the Son of *Jehojadah*, to pull him from the Sanctuary, and to cut him in pieces. For *David* giveth this cause to *Salomon* against *Joab*, that he slew the Captains of the host of *Israel*, and shed Blood of battel in peace; and to this apparent and just cause, it is not improbable but that *David* remembred the ill affection of *Joab* towards *Salomon*, which *Joab* made manifest by the untimely setting up of *Adonijah*, *David* yet living. Some other offence *Joab* had committed against *David*, of which in these words he put his Son *Salomon* in mind; *Thou knowest also* 1 King. 2. *what Joab the Son of Zeruiah did to me, &c.* 1 King. 2.

Now whether this were meant by the killing of *Abſalom*, contrary to the King's deſire, or by the proud words uſed to him when he mourned in *Mahanaim* for *Abſalom*; or whether it were the publiſhing of *David*'s Letter unto him for the killing of *Uriah*: thereby to diſgrace *Salomon* as deſcended of ſuch a Mother, the Scriptures are ſilent. True it is that thoſe great Men of War do oftentimes behave themſelves exceeding inſolently towards their Princes, both in reſpect of their ſervice done, as alſo becauſe they flatter themſelves with an opinion, that either their Maſters cannot miſs them, or that they dare not offend them. But this kind of pride hath overthrown many a worthy Man otherwiſe deſerving great honour and reſpect.

He alſo gave order to *Salomon*, to rid himſelf of *Shimei*, who not long before had caſt Stones at *David* and curſed him to his face. And albeit by reaſon of his oath and promiſe *David* ſpared *Shimei* all the time himſelf lived, yet being duſt and in the grave he ſlew him, by the hand of *Salomon* his Son. Hence it ſeemeth that King *Henry* the ſeventh of *England* had his pattern, when he gave order to *Henry* the eighth to execute *Pool* as ſoon as himſelf was buried, having made promiſe to the King of *Spain* when he delivered *Pool* unto him, that while he lived he would never put him to death, nor ſuffer violent hands to be laid upon him.

1 King. 2.

And yet did not the execution of *Joab* yeild unto *Salomon* any ſuch great profit or aſſurance as he hoped for. For he found a young *Adad* of *Idumæa*, and *Rezin* of *Damaſcus* to vex him: who, as the Scriptures witneſs, were emboldened to enterprize upon *Salomon*, hearing that *David* ſlept with his Fathers, and that *Joab* the Captain of the hoſt was dead. Now when *David* had raigned in all forty years, to wit, in *Hebron* ſeven years, and in *Jeruſalem* three and thirty, he died.

1 King. 11.

For his perſon, he was of ſmall ſtature, but exceeding ſtrong. For his internal gifts and graces he ſo far exceeded all other Men, as putting his humane frailty apart, he was ſaid by God himſelf to be a Man according to his own heart. The *Pſalms* which he wrote witneſs his piety, and his excellent learning: of whom *Hieron* to *Paulinus*. *David Simonides noſter, Pindarus & Alcæus, Flaccus, quoque Catullus, & Sereno, Chriſtum lyra perſonat, & in decachordo Pſalterio ab inferis ſuſcitat reſurgentem.* *David* (ſaith he) *our Simonides, Pindarus, Alcæus, Horace, Catullus and Serenus, he playeth Chriſt on his harp, and on a ten-ſtringed Pſalter he raiſeth him up riſing from the dead.* And being both a King and a Prophet, he foretelleth Chriſt more lightſomely and lively than all the reſt.

The book of the *Pſalms*, ſaith *Glycas*, were divided, ordered and diſtinguiſhed, by *Ezekias*: but whether all the *Pſalms* were written by *David* it is diverſly diſputed. For *Athanaſius, Cyprian, Lyranus*, and others conceive divers authors, anſwering the titles of the ſeveral *Pſalms*, as *Moſes, Salomon*, and the reſt hereafter named, and that only 73. *Pſalms* were compoſed by *David* himſelf, namely thoſe which are intituled *ipſius David*. For the 50. and 72. with the ten that follow are beſtowed on *Aſaph* the Son of *Barachia*, eleven other on the Sons of *Korah*, and eleven are aſcribed to *Moſes*, to wit, the 89. and the 10. following, and ſo they are intituled in the old *Hebrew* copies, though the Vulgar and *Septuagint* (three excepted) ſtile them otherwiſe. The ſuppoſed nine authors of theſe *Pſalms* which *David* wrote not, *Sixt. Senenſis* nameth as followeth; *Salomon, Moſes*, whom *Aben Ezra* contrary to *Hierome*, maketh one of *David*'s Singers) *Aſaph, Ethan-Eziachi, Eman-Eziaira, Idithum*, and the three Sons of *Chore*. But S. *Chryſoſtome* makes *David* the ſole author of all the *Pſalms*, and ſo doth S. *Auguſtine*, reaſoning in this manner. Although (ſaith he) ſome there are that aſcribe thoſe *Pſalms* only unto *David*, which are over written *ipſius David*, and the reſt intituled *ipſi David* to others, this opinion (ſaith he) *Voce Evangelica ſalvatoris ipſius refutatur, ubi ait quòd ipſe David in ſpiritu Chriſtum dixerit eſſe ſuum Dominum, quoniam Pſalmus 109. ſic incipit: Dixit Dominus Domino meo, Sede à dextris meis, &c.* The voice of the Goſpel refutes this opinion, where it ſaith, that *David* himſelf in the Spirit called Chriſt his Lord, becauſe the 109. *Pſalm* begins thus, *The Lord ſaid unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, &c.* Laſtly, his teſtimonies are uſed both by Chriſt and the Apoſtles, and he was as a pattern to all the Kings and Princes that ſucceeded him.

Athan in Synop. Hier. epiſt. 134. Lyr. in exp. i. pſ.

Vid. Sixt. Senen. Bib. ſanct. l. 1. fol. 10. & 11.

Aug. de civ. dei, l. 13. c.

His Story and all his particular actions, were written by the Prophets, *Samuel, Nathan* and *Gad*, as it is in the firſt of *Chron.* 29. *ver.* 19. For the ſeveral parts of the books of *Samuel* which intreat chiefly of *David*, were as it ſeems written by theſe three Holy Men.

Conſtantine Manaſſes hath an opinion, that the *Trojans* during the time of the ſiege, fought for ſuccour from *David*, and that he ſtayed neuter in that War. But it ſeemeth that *Manaſſes* did miſcaſt the time 'twixt *David* and the *Trojan* War. For it is generally received that *Troy* fell between the times of *Abdon* and *Samſon* Judges of *Iſrael*, about the Worlds year 2848. and *David* died in the year 2991.

c. 17. §. 6, 7. In his Annales tranſlated out of Greek into Latin by *Joannes Leunclaius*.

§. IX.

Of the treaſures of David *and* Salomon.

HIS Treaſures were exceeding great. For it is written in the 22. of the firſt of *Chronicles*, that he left *Salomon* for the building of the Temple a hundred thouſand talents of Gold, and a thouſand thouſand talents of Silver, and of braſs and Iron paſſing all weight, which is more than any King of the World poſſeſt beſides himſelf, and his Son to whom he left it. For it amounteth to three thouſand three hundred thirty and three cartload and a third of a cartload of Silver, allowing two thouſand weight of Silver or ſix thouſand pound ſterling to every cartload, beſides threeſcore and ſeventeen Millions of French Crowns, or of our Money twenty three Millions and a thouſand pound: a matter but for the teſtimony of the Scriptures, exceeding all belief. For that any riches were left him it doth not appear, ſeeing that the Judges had not any treaſure, nor any ſoveraign power to make levies: but when they went to the Wars, they were followed by ſuch Voluntiers as the ſeveral Tribes by turns gave them: ſeeing alſo that *Saul* who was of a mean parentage, and perpetually vexed and invaded by the *Philiſtims*, could not in all likelihood gather great riches (if any at all) his territories being exceeding narrow, and thereof the better part poſſeſt by his enemies.

Ver. 14.

Therefore it were not amiſs to conſider how *David* within the ſpace of not very many years, might amaſs up ſuch mighty treaſures. For though parſimony be it ſelf a great revenue, yet needs there muſt have been other great means. It ſeems that he made the uttermoſt profit of all that he had, that was profitable. *Euſebius* in his ninth book

book and last Chapter *de præparatione Evangelica*, citeth the words of *Eupolemus*, who reporteth that *David* among other preparations for the Temple, built a Navy in *Melanis* (or as *Villalpandus* corrects it *Achanis*) a City of *Arabia*, and from thence sent Men to dig for Gold in the Island *Urphe*, which *Ortelius* thinks, was *Ophir*, though *Eupolemus* in his place of *Eusebius* (erring perhaps in this circumstance) saith that this Island is in the Red Sea; from whence saith this *Eupolemus*, they brought Gold into *Jury*. *Pineda lib.* 4. *de rebus Salomonis c.* 1. thinks that *David* did this way also enrich himself, and citeth this testimony of *Eupolemus*: and yet certainly *David* had many other ways to gather great riches. Much land doubtless he gained by conquest, from the *Canaanites* and *Philistims*, besides those fruitful vallies near *Jordan* in *Traconitis* and *Basan*, and the best of *Syria*, and other Countries bordering the *Israelites*. These Demains belike he kept in his own hands, and with his infinite number of Captives, which he took in his Wars, which were not able to redeem themselves, husbanded those grounds for his greatest advantage. For it is written 1 *Chron.* 17. that *Jehonathan* was over his Treasures in the field, in the Villages, in the Cities, in the Towns; that *Ezri* was over the labourers that tilled his ground; *Simei* over the Vineyards; and *Sabdi* over the store of the Wine; *Baal Hanan* over the Olive Trees, and *Joash* over the store of the Oyl, also that he had Herdmen that had charge over his cattel, both in the high lands, and in the Plains, over his Sheep, Camels and Asses. And this custom of enriching themselves by husbandry and Cattle the ancient Kings every where held, both before and after *David*'s time. For we read of *Pharaoh* that he spake to *Joseph* to appoint some of his brethren or of their Servants, to be Rulers over his Cattel. Gen. 47. We read of *Uzzia*, that he loved husbandry, had much cattel, and plough-men, and dressers of Vines: likewise we read 2 Chron. 26. it in all *Greek* Poets, that the wealth of the ancient Kings did especially consist in their Herds and flocks, whereof it were needless to cite *Augeas* and *Admetus* or any other for examples, the rule holding true in all. Now concerning *David* it is not unlikely, but that those captives which were not imployed in husbandry, were many of them used by him in all sorts of gainful professions, as the ancient *Romans* in like manner used their slaves.

To these profits (besides the Tributes and impositions which doubtless were great, and besides the innumerable Presents which yearly were brought him, or extraordinarily sent him, by *Tebu* and others) we may add the great spoils which he found in the Cities and Countries which he conquered: also the head-money which was gathered *per legem capitationis*; *By the law of capitation or head-Money*, every Man rich or poor paying half a Sickle of the Sanctuary, which is about as much as fourteen pence, and so in all it amounted to a wondrous summ in that Kingdom: wherein one thousand thousand five hundred and seventy thou-1 Chron. 21. sand fighting Men were numbred by *Joab*. Now although this Law of capitation be thought by some very learned not to have been perpetual (which opinion of theirs nevertheless they confess is against the *Hebrew* expositions) yet *David* upon this occasion is not unlikely to have put it in practice. And by these means might he be able to leave those huge Treasures to *Salomon*. Yet it may seem that of this great mass of Gold and Silver left by *David*, the least part was his own in private, and so will it appear the less wonderful that he left so much. Of his own liberality we find, that he gave to the building of the Temple three thousand Talents of Gold, and seven thousand Talents of Silver, a great summ: but holding a very small proportion to the other. Wherefore we are to consider, that the Treasures of the Sanctuary it self were exceeding great, as needs they must have been, having received continual encrease, without any loss or diminution ever since the time of *Moses* and *Joshua*. The revenues of the Sanctuary (besides all manner of tithes and oblations, which defrayed the daily expences, and maintained the Priest and *Levites*) were partly raised out of the head-money before mentioned; partly out of the spoils gotten in War. For all the booty was divided into two parts, whereof the Souldiers had one, and the People which re- Numb. 31. mained at home, had the other half; whereby all the 27. Country received benefit of the Victory, yet so that the Souldiers had a far greater proportion than the rest, as being fewer, and therefore receiving more for every single share.

Out of this purchace was deducted the Lords tribute, which was one in fifty, of that which the people received, and one in five hundred, of that which was given to the Souldiers; namely one hundred and one thousand part of the whole booty. So in the spoil of *Midian*, thirty two thousand Women being taken, the Army had sixteen thousand of them for slaves, and the Congregation had Num. 31. other sixteen thousand; but out of the sixteen 40. thousand given to the Army were exempted two and thirty for the Lords tribute. Out of the peoples number were taken three hundred and twenty. By this means the lesser that the Army was which had exposed it self to danger, the greater profit had every Souldier; but when it consisted of many hands, they who remaining at home were fain to undergo more than ordinary travel in domestical affairs, did receive by so much the greater portion. But the Lords tribute was always certain, yea many times it was increased, either by some especial commandment, as when all the Gold, and Silver, and other metals found in *Jericho*, were consecrated unto God; or by thankfulness of the Rulers and People, as when af- Jos. 6. 19. ter the victory obtained against the *Midianites* without the loss of one Man, all Jewels, Bracelets, Ear-rings, and the like, were offered up, as vo- Numb. 31. luntary Presents. 50.

Now howsoever the *Israelites* were many times oppressed, and trodden down by other Nations, yet were not these Treasures robbed or spoiled; for the enemies never gat possession of the Tabernacle that was in *Shilo*. Wherefore it cannot otherwise be, than that the wealth of the Sanctuary must have been exceeding great; as containing above one hundreth part of all the money and other goods found by the *Israelites* in the whole Land of *Canaan*; 1 Chron. c. and of all that was purchased by so many victories, 26. v. 27. as they obtained against the bordering Nations. & 28. For that this Treasury was not defrauded of the due portion, it is evident; seeing that before the time of *David* and his Lieutenant *Joab* it is recorded that *Saul* and *Abner*, and before them *Samuel*, had used to dedicate of the spoils obtained in War, to maintain the house of the Lord: the like whereof may be well presumed of the former Judges and Captains in other Ages. Certain it is, that the Conquest of *David* brought into the Land far greater abundance of riches, than any former victories had purchased, those of *Joshua* perhaps excepted: but these vast summs of an hundred thousand Talents of Silver, may seem rather to have been made up, by the addition of his winnings and liberality,

to the treasures laid up in many former Ages, than to have been the meer fruits of his own industry.

A Talent of Gold is 770. French Crowns, 1 *King.* 10. 14.

Now concerning the riches of *Salomon*, it is more manifest how he gathered them; for he received of yearly Revenues with his Tributes six hundred sixty six Talents of Gold, besides the Customs of Spices. He had also six rich Returns from the East *India*, which greatly increased his store. For his Ships performed that Voyage every three years, and he began that trade in the two and twentyeth year of his Reign, and ruled forty years. Besides this, all *Judæa* and *Israel* were now mastered to his hands; all the *Arabians* his borderers, the *Syrians* of *Zobah*, of *Damascena*, of *Palmyra*, of

1 *King.* c. 9. v. 20. & c. 10. v. 29.

Ituræa; all of *Idumæa*, *Moab*, and *Ammon*, paid him Tribute; as likewise did the *Hittites*, who with the *Perizzites*, *Hevites*, *Jebusites*, and other races of the *Canaanites*, were not as yet extinguished, though subjected.

Into this flourishing Estate was the Kingdom of *Israel* reduced by *David*, who after forty years Reign, and seventy years of life, died in a good age, full of days, riches, and honour, and was buried in the City of *David*. It is written

1 *Chron.* 29. 28.

by *Josephus* that there was hid in *David*'s Tomb a marvelous quantity of Treasures, in so much

Joseph. Antiq. l. 7.

as *Hyrcanus* (who first of the *Chasmanæi*, or race of the *Maccabees*, called himself King) one thousand and three hundred years after, drew thence three thousand Talents, to rid himself of *Antiochus* then Besieging *Jerusalem*, and afterward *Herod* opening another Cell, had also an exceeding Mass of Gold and Silver therein. And it was an ancient custom to bury Treasure with the Dead. So the *Peruvians* and other *Americans* did the like, which being discovered by the *Spaniards*, they inriched themselves by nothing so much in their first Conquest. That *Salomon* did bury so much Treasure in his Fathers Grave, it would hardly be believed, in regard of the great exactions with which he was fain to burthen the People, notwithstanding all the riches which he got otherwise, or which were left unto him: were it not withall considered that his want of Money grew from such magnificent imployments. Particularly of the Sepulcher of *David* the Scriptures have no mention, but only the Sepulchres of the Kings of *Juda*, as of an honourable place of Burial. Yet

Peregrinat. Hierosol. D. N. Ch. Radz. Epist. 2.

the Monuments of those Kings, as (by Relation of the Duke of *Ulika*) they remained within these thirty years, and are like to remain still, are able to make any report credible, of the cost bestowed upon them.

§. X.

Of the Philistims, *whom* David *absolutely mastered: and of sundry other contemporaries with* David.

OF the *Philistims*, whose pride *David* was the first that absolutely mastered, in this conclusion of *David*'s time somewhat here may be spoken.

Ibid. l. 9. 19.

They descended of *Casloim*, who according to *Isidore* and *Josephus*, was one of the Sons of *Misraim*,

Jos. l. 1. *ant.* 17.

and was surnamed *Philistim*, as *Esau* was surnamed *Edom*, and *Jacob Israel*. There were of them five Cities of petty Principalities; namely, *Azotus*

1 *Sam.* 6.

or *Asdod*, *Gaza* or *Aczaph*, *Ascalon*, *Geth* or *Gath*, and *Accaron*. It seemeth that *Casloim* was the first founder of this Nation, because of his Kindred on either hand, the *Canaanites* and the *Ægyptians*.

The first King of these *Philistims*, which the Scriptures have named, was that *Abimelech* which loved *Sara*, *Abraham*'s Wife. *Gen.* 20.

The second *Abimelech* lived at once with *Isaac*, to whom *Isaac* repaired in the time of Famine, *Abimelech* then residing at *Gerar* in the border of *Idumæa*, which *Abimelech* fancied *Isaac* his Wife: as his Father had done *Sara*. *Gen.* 26.

After *Abimelech* the second, the *Philistims* Kings are not remembred in the Scriptures, till *David*'s time: perhaps the Government was turned into *Aristocratical*. For they are afterwards named Princes of the *Philistims*, howsoever *Achis* be named King of *Gath*, the same to whom *David* fled, and who again gave him *Siklag* to inhabit in *Saul*'s time. *Judg.* 16. 1 *Sam.* 18. 29. 1 *Sam.* 21. 11.

After him we read of another *Achis* who lived with *Salomon*, to whom *Shimei* travelled to fetch back his fugitive Servant, what time the seeking of his Servant was the loss of his Life. *Jeremy* the Prophet speaketh of the Kings of *Palæstin* or *Philistim*. *Amos* nameth the King of *Ascalon*: *Zacharias*, a King of *Gaza*. The rest of the Wars of the *Philistims* are remembred in the Catalogue of the *Judges*, of *Saul* and *David*, and therefore I shall not need to collect the particulars in this place. 1 *King.* 1.

There lived at once with *David*, the third of the *Silvii* King of *Alba* called *Latinus Silvius*, who is said to have ruled that part of *Italy* fifty years. And about his fourteenth year *Codrus* the last King of the *Athenians* died, to whom succeeded the first Prince of those, who being called after *Medon*, *Medontidæ*, without regal name governed *Athens* during their life.

The reasons which moved the *Athenians* to change their Government, were not drawn from any inconvenience found in the rule of Soveraignty, but in honour of *Codrus* only. For when the *Græcians* of *Doris*, a Region between *Phocis* and the Mountain *Oeta*, sought counsel from the Oracle, for their success in the Wars against the *Athenians*, it was answered that then undoubtedly they should prevail and become Lords of that State, when they could obtain any Victory against the Nation, and yet preserve the *Athenian* King living. *Codrus* by some intelligence being informed of this answer, withdrew himself from his own forces, and putting on the habit of a common Soldier, entred the Camp of the *Dorians*, and killing the first he encountred, was himself forthwith cut in pieces.

Eupales the 31. King of *Assyria*, which others account but the 30. began to rule that Empire, about the 13. year of *David*, and held it 38. years.

Near the same time began *Ixion* the second King of the *Heraclidæ*, the Son of *Eurysthenes* in *Corinth*; and *Agis* the second of the *Heraclidæ* in *Lacedæmon*: in honour of which *Agis*, his Successours were called *Agidæ*, for many years after. He restored the *Laconians* to their former liberty: He overcame the Citizens of *Helos* in *Laconia*, who had refused to pay him Tribute: He condemned them and theirs to perpetual slavery; whereof it came, that all the *Messenians*, whom at length they brought into the like bondage, were after called *Helotes*.

In like sort from the *Sclavi* came the word *Slave*. For when that Nation issuing out of *Sarmatia*, now called *Russia*, had seised upon the Country of *Illyria* and made it their own by Conquest, their victory pleased them so highly, that thereupon they called

called themselves by a new name, *Slavos*, which is in their language *Glorious*. But in after-times (that warmer Climate having thawed their Northern hardiness, and not ripened their Wits) when they were trodden down, and made Servants to their Neighbours; the *Italians* which kept many of them in Bondage began to call all their bondmen *Slaves*, using the word as a name of reproach: in which sense it is now currant through many Countries.

Other Chronologers make this *Agis*, the third King of *Sparta*, and somewhat later, about the 23. year of *David*, and say that *Acheſtratus* was the fourth King of this Race, the same whom *Eusebius* calls *Labotes*, and sets him in the thirteenth year of *Salomon*. *Euſeb. in Chron.*

In the tenth year of *Acheſtratus Androclus* the third Son of *Codrus* assisted by the *Iones*, built *Epheſus* in *Caria*, who after the adjoyning of the Isle of *Samos* to his Territory was slain by the *Carians* whose Country he usurped. He was buried (saith *Pausanias*) in one of the Gates of *Epheſus* called *Magnetes*, his armed *Statua* being set over him. *Strabo* reports that after *Androclus* had subdued the *Ionians* (the next Province to *Epheſus* on the Sea Coast of *Asia* the less) he inlarged his Dominions upon the *Æoles*, which joyneth to *Ionia*: and that his Posterity governed the Cities of *Epheſus* and *Erythræ* by the name of *Basilidæ* in *Strabo* his own time. Of the expedition of the *Iones* how they came hither out of *Peloponneſus*, I have * spoken already upon occasion of the return of the *Heraclidæ* into *Peloponneſus*, wherein with the *Dores*, they expelled the *Achæi*, and inhabited their places in that Land: though this of the *Iones* succeeded that of the *Heraclidæ* 100. years.

The Gate of Epheſus toward Magneſia upon the River Meander.

Ariſt. l. 5. pol. c. 6.

* See Ch. in this 17. Ch. 9. 1. poſt. medium.

The City of *Epheſus* became exceeding famous: First, for the Temple of *Diana* therein built: which had in length 425. foot, and 220. in breadth, sustained with 127. Pillars of Marble, of 70. foot high: whereof 27. were most curiously graven, and all the rest of choice marble polisht, the work being first set out by *Cteſiphon* of *Gnoſſos*. Secondly, it became renowned by being one of the first that received the Christian Faith, of which *Timothy* was Bishop; to whom, and to the *Epheſians* Saint *Paul* wrote his Epistles so intituled. The other City possest by *Androclus* in *Æolis* was also universally spoken of by reason of *Sibylla*, surnamed *Erythræa*: who lived seven hundred and forty years before Christ born. Saint *Augustin* avoweth that a *Roman Proconsul* shewed him in an ancient Greek Copy certain verses of this Propheteſs: which began (as Saint *Augustin* changed them into Latin) in these words: *Jeſus Chriſtus Dei filius ſalvator. Jesus Christ Son of God the Saviour.*

Plin. l. 2. c. 58. & l. 7. c. 37.

About the time that *Joab* belieged *Rabba* in *Moab*, *Vaphres* began to govern in *Ægypt*, the same that was Father-in-Law to *Salomon*, whose Epistles to *Salomon*, and his to *Vaphres*, are remembred by *Eusebius* out of *Polemon*. In the 21. of *David*, was the City of *Magneſia* in *Asia* the less founded, the same which is seated upon the River *Meander*, where *Scipio* gave the great overthrow to *Antiochus*. In this Territory are the best Horses of the lesser *Asia* bred, whereof *Lucan*,

Et Magnetis equis, Minyæ gens cognita remis.

About the same time *Cuma* in *Campania* was built by the inhabitants of *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*, according to *Servius*, with whom *Strabo* joyneth the *Cumæans* of *Æolis*, saying that to the one of these people the government was given, with condition that the other should give name to the City. Of this *Cuma* was *Ephorus* the famous Scholar of *Isocrates*. *Serv. in Æneid. 3. Strabo l. 5.*

Euſebius and *Cassiodor* find the building of *Carthage* at this time, to wit, in the 31. year of *David*, but much mistaken. For the Father of *Dido* was *Metinus* the Son of *Badezor* Brother to *Jezabel*, who married *Achab* King of *Israel*; and between the death of *David*, and the first of *Achab*, there were wasted about 95. years.

In this time also *Acaſtus* lived, the second of the *Athenian* Princes after *Codrus*, of which there were thirteen in descent before the State changed into a *Magistracy* of ten years. Some Writers make it probable that the *Æolians* led by *Gras*, the Grand nephew of *Oreſtes*, who possest the City and Island of *Lesbos* about this time. In the 32. year of *David*, *Hiram* began to Reign in *Tyre*, according to *Josephus*, who saith that in his twelfth year *Salomon* began the work of the Temple. But it is a familiar errour in *Josephus*, to misreckon times, which in this point he doth so strangely, as if he knew not how at all to cast any Account. For it is manifest that *Hiram* sent Messengers, and Cedars to *David*, soon after his taking of *Jeruſalem*, which was in the very beginning of *David*'s reign over *Israel*, when as yet he had Reigned only seven years in *Hebron*, over the House of *Juda*. Wherefore it must needs be that *Hiram* had Reigned above 30. years before *Salomon*; unless more credit should be given to those *Tyrian* Records which are cited by *Josephus*, than to the plain words of Scripture contradicting them. For that it was the same *Hiram* which lived both with *David* and with *Salomon*, the Scriptures make it plainly manifest. *Euſeb. in Chron.* *Herod. in vit. Hom. & Strab. l. 14.* *Antiq. 8. & cont. Ap. l. 1.* *2 Sam. 5.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of SALOMON.

§. I.

Of the eſtabliſhing of Salomon : *of birth-right, and of the cauſe of* Adonijah's *death, and of* Salomon's *Wiſdom.*

SAlomon, who was brought up under the Prophet *Nathan*, began to Reign over *Juda* and *Iſrael*, in the year of the World 2991. He was called *Salomon* by the appointment of God : he was alſo called *Jedidias*, or *Theophilus*, by *Nathan*, becauſe the Lord loved him.

Hiram King of *Tyre*, after *Salomon*'s anointing, diſpatched Embaſſadors toward him, Congratulating his eſtabliſhment : a cuſtom between Princes very ancient. Whence we read that *David* did in like ſort ſalute *Hanum* King of the *Ammonites*, after his obtaining the Kingdom.

2 *Sam.* 10.

The beginning of *Salomon* was in Blood, though his Reign were peaceable. For ſoon after *David*'s death, he cauſed his Brother *Adonijah* to be ſlain by *Benaiah* the Son of *Jehoiada*, taking occaſion from *Adonijah* his deſiring by *Berſheba*, that the young Maid *Abiſhag*, which lay in *David*'s boſom in his latter days, to keep him warm, might be given him. Whatſoever he pretended, it was enough that *Adonijah* was his elder Brother, and ſought the Kingdom contrary to the will of *David*, whom God inclined towards *Salomon*. And yet it is ſaid that a word is enough to the wiſe, and he that ſees but the Claw, may know whether it be a Lion or no : ſo it may ſeem that to the quick-ſighted wiſdom of *Salomon*, this motion of *Adonijah*'s, was a demonſtration of a new Treaſon. For they which had been Concubines to a King, might not after be touched but by a King : whence *Achitophel* wiſhed *Abſalon* to take his Fathers Concubines as a part of the Royalty. And *David* after that wrong determining to touch them no more, did not give them to any other, but ſhut them up, and they remained widowed untill their death. And this it ſeems was the depth of *Iſhboſheth*'s quarrel againſt *Abner*, for having his Fathers Concubine. And ſome ſignification of this cuſtom may ſeem too in the words of God by *Nathan* to *David* ; *I have given thee thy maſters houſe, and thy maſters wives.* And in the words of *Saul*, upbraiding *Jonathan* that he had choſen *David* to the ſhame of the nakedneſs of his Mother. Hereunto perhaps was ſome reference in this purpoſe of *Adonijah*, to marry with her that was always preſent with *David* in his latter days, and who belike knew all that was paſt, for the conveying of the Kingdom to *Salomon*. There might be divers farther occaſions, as either that he would learn ſuch things by her as might be for the advantage of his ambition, or that he would perſwade her to forge ſome ſtrange tale about *David*'s laſt Teſtament, or any thing elſe that might prejudice the title of *Salomon*.

2 *Sam.* 16. 21.

2 *Sam* 20. 3.

1 *Sam.* 20. 30.

1 *King.* 2. 15.

As for the right of an elder Brother which *Adonijah* pretended, though generally it agreed both with the Law of Nations, and with the cuſtoms of the *Jews* : yet the Kings of the *Jews* were ſo abſolute, as they did therein, and in all elſe what they pleaſed. Some examples alſo they had (though not of Kings) which taught them to uſe this paternal authority in transferring the birthright to a younger Son : namely of *Jacob*'s diſheriting *Reuben*, and giving the birth-right (which was twice as much as any Portion of the other Brethren) to *Joſeph* : of whom he made two Tribes. And that it was generally acknowledged that this power was in *David*, it appears by the words of *Berſabe* and *Nathan* to *David*, and of *Jonathan* to *Adonijah*. For as for popular election, that it was neceſſary to confirm, or that the refuſal of the people had authority to fruſtrate the elder Brothers right to the Kingdom, it no where appears in the ſtories of the *Jews*. It is ſaid indeed that the people made *Saul* King at *Gilgal* : that is, they acknowledged and eſtabliſhed him. For that he was King long before no Man can doubt. In like manner elſewhere the phraſe of chuſing or making their King, is to be expounded : as where in the prohibition, that they ſhould not make themſelves a King, it is ſaid, *Thou ſhalt make him King whom the Lord ſhall chuſe.*

Deut. 21. 15. *Filium tuoſe agnoſcito, dando ei partionem duarum : nam ipſius eſt jus primogenitorum.*

1 *Reg.* 1. *v.* 17. & 20. & *v.* 29. & 34.

1 *King.* 1. *v.* 20. & 27.

1 *Sam.* 11. 14.

Deut. 28. 30.

But to proceed with the Acts of *Salomon* : at the ſame time that he put *Adonijah* to death, he rid himſelf alſo of *Joab*, and three years after of *Shimei*, as *David* had adviſed him : he diſplaced alſo the Prieſt *Abiather*, who took part with *Adonijah* againſt him : but in reſpect of his office, and that he followed *David* in all his afflictions, and becauſe he had born the *Ark of God* before his Father, he ſpared his life. And thus being eſtabliſhed in his Kingdom, he took the Daughter of *Vaphres* King of *Ægypt* to Wife : for ſo *Euſebius* out of *Eupolemus* calls him. He offered a thouſand ſacrifices at *Gibeon*, where God appearing unto him in a dream, bad him ask what he would at his hands ; Salomon *chooſeth wiſdom, which pleaſed God. And God ſaid unto him, Becauſe thou haſt asked this thing, and haſt not asked for thy ſelf long life, neither haſt thou asked riches for thy ſelf, nor haſt asked the life of thine enemies, behold, I have done according to thy words* : by which we may inform our ſelves what deſires are moſt pleaſing to God, and what not. For the coveting after long life, in reſpect of our ſelves, cannot but proceed of ſelf-love, which is the root of all impiety : the deſire of private riches is an affection of covetouſneſs which God abhorreth ; to affect revenge, is as much as to take the Sword out of Gods hand, and to diſtruſt his Juſtice. And in that it pleaſed God to make *Salomon* know that it liked him, that he had not asked the life of his Enemies, it could not but put him in mind of his Brothers ſlaughter, for which he had not any warrant either from *David*, or from the Law of God. But becauſe *Salomon* deſired wiſdom only, which taught him both to obey God, and to rule Men, it pleaſed God to give him withall that which he deſired not. *And I have alſo given thee* (ſaith God) *that which thou haſt not asked, both riches and honour.* This gift of Wiſdom our *Commentators* ſtretch to

1 *King.* 2.

almoſt

almost all kinds of Learning: but that it comprehended the knowledge of the nature of Plants and living Creatures the Scripture testifieth, though
1 Kin. 4. 33. 2 King. 3. 9. no doubt the chief excellency of *Salomon*'s wisdom, was in the knowledge of governing his Kingdom: whence, as it were for an example of his wisdom, the Scripture telleth how soon he judged the Controversie between the two Harlots.

§. II.

Of Salomon's *Buildings and Glory.*

HE then entred into League with *Hiram*, King of *Tyre*, from whom he had much of his Materials, for the King's Pallace and the Temple of God: for the building whereof he had received a double charge, one from his Father *David*, and another from God.
1 Chr. 22. 6. For like as it is written of *David* that *He called Salomon his Son, and charged him to build a House for*
Tost. 9. 26. in 1 Chron. *the Lord God of Israel:* so doth *Tostatus* give the force of a divine Precept to these words, *Behold; a Son is born unto thee*, &c. *He shall build an House for my Name.*

1 King. c. 6. v. He began the Work of the Temple, in the beginning of the fourth Year of his Reign, at which time also he prepared his Fleet at *Esiongaber* to trade for Gold in the East *Indies*, that nothing might be wanting to supply the charge of so great a Work. For that the Temple was in building, while his Fleets were passing to and fro, it is manifest. For the Pillars of the Temple were made of the *Almaggim* Trees brought from
1 Chron. 28. 29. *Ophir*. Of this most glorious Building, of all the particulars (whereof the Form and Example was given by God himself) many learned Men have written, as *Salmeron*, *Montanus*, *Ribera*, *Barradas*, *Azorius*, *Villalpandus*, *Pineda*, and others, to whom I refer the Reader.

For the cutting and squaring of the Cedars which served that Building, *Salomon* employed thirty thousand Carpenters, ten thousand every Month by Course: he also used eighty thousand Masons in the Mountain, and seventy thousand Labourers that bare Burdens, which, it is conceived,
1 King. 5. he selected out of the *Proselytes*, besides three thousand three hundred Masters of his Work, so as he paid and employed in all one hundred eighty three thousand and three hundred Men, in which number the *Zidonians* which were more skilful in hewing Timber than the *Israelites*, may (as I think)
1 King. 5. vers. 9. be included. For *Hiram* caused his Servants to bring down the Cedars and Firrs from *Libanon* to the Sea, and thence sent them in Raffs to *Joppe* or the next Port to *Hierusalem*. For in the second of *Chronicles* the second Chapter, it is plain that all but the thirty thousand Carpenters, and the Overseers, were Strangers, and as it seemeth the Vas-
1 King. 5. 11. sals of *Hiram*, and of *Vaphres* King of *Ægypt*. In recompence of all this Timber and Stone, *Salomon* gave *Hiram* twenty thousand Measures of Wheat, and twenty Measures of pure Oyl yearly. *Eusebius* out of *Eupolemus* in the ninth Book of his Preparation the last Chapter, hath left us a Copy of *Salomon*'s Letter to *Suron* (which was the same as *Huram* or *Hiram*) King of *Tyre* in these words.

REX Salomon Suroni, Tyri, Sydonis, atque Phœnicia regi, Amico paterno salutem. Scias me à Deo magno David patris mei regnum accepisse, cuique mihi pater præcepit templum Deo, qui terram creavit, condere, ut etiam ad te scriberem præcepit: Scribo igitur, & peto à te ut artifices atque fabros ad ædificandum Templum Dei mittere velis.

King Salomon *to King* Suron, *of* Tyre, Sydon, *and* Phœnicia *King, and my Father's Friend, sendeth greeting. You may understand that I have received of the great God of my Father* David, *the Kingdom: and when my Father commanded me to build a Temple to God which created Heaven and Earth, he commanded also that I should write to you. I write therefore to you, and beseech you, that you would be pleased to send me Artificers and Carpenters to build the Temple of God.*

To which the King *Suron* made this Answer.

SUron, Tyri, Sydonis, & Phœnicia rex, Salomoni regi salutem. Lectis literis gratias egi Deo, qui tibi regnum patris tradidit: & quoniam scribis fabros ministrosque ad condendum Templum esse tibi mittendos, misi ad te millia hominum octoginta, & Architectum Tyrium hominem ex matre Judæa, virum in rebus architecturæ mirabilem. Curabis igitur ut necessariis non egeant, & Templo Dei condito ad nos redeant.

SUron *of* Tyre, Sydon, *and* Phœnicia *King, to King* Salomon *greeting: when I read your Letters, I gave God thanks, who hath installed you in your Father's Kingdom. And because you write, that Carpenters and Workmen may be sent to build God's Temple, I have sent unto you fourscore thousand Men, and a Master Builder a* Tyrian, *born of a Jewish Woman, a Man admirable in Building. You will be careful that all Necessaries be provided for them, and when the Temple of God is built, that they come home to us.* Jos. Ant. l. 8. c. 2.

The Copies of these Letters were extant in *Josephus*'s his time as himself affirmeth, and to be seen, saith he, *tam in nostris quam in Tyriorum annalibus, as well in our own as in the* Tyrian *Annals*. But he delivereth them somewhat in different terms, as the Reader may find in his Antiquities. But were this intercourse between *Salomon* and *Hiram* either by Message or by Writing, it is somewhat otherwise delivered in the Scriptures, than either *Eupolemus*, 1 King. 5. from the 1. v. to the 9. or *Josephus* set it down, but, so that in substance there is little difference between the one and the other.

The like Letter in effect *Salomon* is said to have written to *Vaphres* King of *Ægypt*, and was answered as from *Hiram*.

But whereas some *Commentors* upon *Salomon* find that *Hiram* King of *Tyre*, and *Vaphres* King of *Ægypt*, gave *Salomon* the Title of *Rex magnus*, and cite *Eupolemon* in *Eusebius*; I do not find any such addition of *magnus* in *Eusebius* in the last Chapter of that ninth Book; neither is it in *Josephus* in the eighth Book and second Chapter of the *Jews* Antiquities: it being a vain Title used by some of the *Assyrian* and *Persian* Kings, and used likewise by the *Parthians*, and many other after them, insomuch as in later times it grew common, and was usurped by mean Persons in respect of the great *Hermes* the first, which was honoured by that Name for his noble Qualities, as much or more than for his Mightiness.

After the finishing and dedication of the Temple and House of the Lord, *Salomon* fortified *Jerusalem* with a treble Wall, and repaired *Hazor* which had been the ancient Metropolis of the *Canaanites* before *Joshua*'s time: so did he *Gaza* of the *Philistims*: he built *Bethoron*, *Gerar* and the *Millo* or Munition of *Hierusalem*. For *Pharaoh* (as it setmeth in favour of *Salomon*) came up into the edge of *Ephraim*, and took *Gerar* which the *Canaanites* yet held, and put them to the Sword and burnt their City. The place and Territory he gave *Salomon*'s Wife for a Dowry. And it is probable that because *Salomon* Jos. Ant. l. 8. c. 2.

was

was then busied in his magnificent Buildings, and could not attend the War, that he entreated his Father-in Law to rid him of those Neighbours, which *Pharaoh* performed. But he thereby taught the *Ægyptians* to visit those parts again before they were sent for; and in his Son *Rehoboam*'s time *Sheshack* this Man's Successor did sack *Jerusalem* it self.

Salomon also built *Megiddo* in *Manasse*, on this side *Jordan*; and *Balah* in *Dan*: also *Thadmor*, which may be either *Ptolemie*'s *Thameron* in the Desart of *Juda* (or as *Josephus* thinks *Palmyra* in the Desart of *Syria*,) which *Palmyra* because it stood on the utmost Border of *Salomon*'s Dominion to the North-east of *Libanus*, and was of *David*'s Conquest when he wan *Damascus*; it may seem that *Salomon* therefore bestowed thereon the most Cost, and fortified it with the best Art, that that Age had.

Joseph. l. 8. ant. c. 2. *Josephus* calls this place *Thadamora*, by which Name (saith he) given by *Salomon*, the *Syrians* as yet call it. *Hierom* in his Book of *Hebrew* places calls it *Thermeth*. In after-times, when it was rebuilt by *Adrian* the Emperour it was honoured with his Name, and called *Adrianopolis*. In respect of this great Charge of Building *Salomon* raised Tribute through all his Dominions, besides an hundred and twenty Talents of Gold received from *Hiram*'s Servants, *Salomon* offered *Hiram* twenty Towns in or near the upper *Galilee*, but because they stood in an unfruitful and marish ground *Hiram*, refused them, and thereof was the Territory called *Chabull*.

These Towns, as it is supposed, lay in *Galilee* of the *Gentiles*, *Non quod gentes ibi habitarent: sed quia sub ditione regis gentilis erat*, *Not that it was possest by Gentiles* (saith *Nauclerus*) *but because it was under the rule of a King that was a Gentile*. However it were, it is true that *Salomon* in his twenty first Year fortified those places, which *Hiram* refused. Further, he made a Journey into *Syria Zobah* and established his Tributes; the first and last War (if in that Expedition he were driven to fight) that he made in person in all his Life. He then visited the Border of all his Dominions passing from *Thadmor* to the North of *Palmyrena*, and so to the Desarts of *Idumæa*, from whence he visited *Eziongaber* and *Eloth*, the uttermost place of the South of all his Territories, bordering to the Red Sea: which Cities I have described in the Story of *Moses*.

§. III.

Of Salomon's *sending to* Ophir, *and of some seeming contradictions about* Salomon's *Riches, and of* Pineda's *conceit of two strange passages about* Africk.

HEre *Salomon* prepared his Fleet of Ships for *India* with whom *Hiram* joyned in that Voyage, and furnished him with Mariners and Pilots, the *Tyrians* being of all other the most expert Seamen. From this part of *Arabia*, which at this time belonged to *Edom* and was conquered by *David*, did the Fleet pass on to the East *India*, which was not far off, namely to *Ophir*, one of the Islands of the *Moluccas*, a place exceeding rich in Gold: witness the *Spaniards*, who notwithstanding all the abundance which they gather in *Peru*, do yet plant in those Islands of the East at *Manilia*; and recover a great quantity from thence, and with less labour than they do in any one part of *Peru*, or new *Spain*.

The Return which was made by these Ships amounted to four hundred and twenty Talents, but in the second of *Chronicles* the eighth, it is written four hundred and fifty Talents: whereof thirty Talents went in expence for the charge of the Fleet, and wages of Men, and four hundred and twenty Talents, which makes five and twenty hundred and twenty thousand Crowns, came clear. And thus must those two places be reconciled. As for the place 1 *Reg.* 10. 14. which speaketh of six hundred sixty and six Talents of Gold, that Summ, as I take it, is of other Receipts of *Salomon*'s which were yearly, and which came to him besides these Profits from *Ophir*.

My opinion of the Land of *Ophir*, that it is not *Peru* in *America* (as divers have thought) but a Countrey in the East *Indies*; with some reason why at those times they could not make more speedy Return to *Jerusalem* from the East *Indies* than in three Years; and that *Tharsis* in Scripture is divers times taken for the Ocean; hath been already declared in the first Book. *C. 8. §. 9, 10. & 5. Lib. 4. de rebus Salomonis c. 6. & 15.*

Only it remaineth that I should speak somewhat of *Pineda* his strange Conceits, who being a *Spaniard* of *Batica* would fain have *Gades* or *Calismalis*, in old times called *Tartessius*, which is the South-west corner of that Province, to be the *Tharsis* from whence *Salomon* fetcht his Gold; for no other reason, as it seems, but for love of his own Country, and because of some affinity of sound between *Tharsis* and *Tartessius*. For whereas it may seem strange that it should be three Year ere they, that took Ship in the Red Sea, should return from the East *Indies* to *Jerusalem*, this hath been in part answered already. And further the intelligent may conceive of sundry letts, in the digging and refining of the Mettal, and in their other Traffick, and in their Land-carriages between *Jerusalem* and the Red Sea, and perhaps also elsewhere: so that we have no need to make *Salomon*'s Men to go many thousand Miles out of their way to *Gades*, round about all *Africk*, that so they might be long a coming home.

For the direct way to *Gades* (which if *Salomon* and the *Israelites* knew not, the *Tyrians* which went with them, could not have been ignorant of) was along the *Mediterran Sea*, and so (besides many wonderful inconveniences and terrible Navigation in rounding *Africa*) they should have escaped the troublesome Land-carriage between *Jerusalem* and the Red Sea through dry, desart, and thievish Countries: and within 30. Mile of *Jerusalem* at *Joppe*, or some other Haven in *Salomon*'s own Country, have laden and unladen their Ships.

But this direct course they could not hold (saith *Pineda*) because the huge Island of *Atlantis* in largeness greater than all *Africk* and *Asia* being swallowed up in the *Atlantick Ocean* hindered *Salomon*'s Ships from passing through the Straits of *Gibraltar*: for this he alledgeth *Plato* in *Timæo*. But that this calamity happened about *Salomon*'s time, or that thereby the Straits of *Gades* were filled with mudd and made unpassable, that there could be no coming to *Gades* by the *Mediterran Sea*: or that this indraught where the Sea runneth most violently, and most easily scoureth his channel, should be filled with mudd, and not also the great Ocean in like manner, where this huge Island is supposed to have stood: or that *Salomon*'s Ships being in the Red Sea, should neglect the Golden Mines of the East *Indies* (which were infinitely better and nearer to the Red Sea, than any in *Spain*) to seek Gold at *Cadyz* by the way of compassing *Africa*, it is most ridiculous to imagine. For the *Spaniard* himself that hath also the rich *Peru* in the West, fortifieth in the East *Indies* and inhabits some part thereof, as in *Manilia*, finding in those parts no less quantity of Gold (the small Territory which he there possesseth considered) than in *Peru*.

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De rebus Sal. l. 4. c. 12. 11. The same *Pineda* hath another strange passage round about all *Africa*, which elsewhere he dreams of: supposing whereas *Jonas* sailing to *Tharsis* the City of *Cilicia* was cast out in the *Mediterran Sea*, and taken up there by a Whale, that this Whale in three days swimming above twelve thousand English Miles, along the *Mediterran Seas*, and so through the Straits of *Gades*, and along all the huge Seas round about *Africa*, cast up *Jonas* upon the shore of the Red Sea, that so he might have perhaps some six Miles the shorter (though much the worse) way to *Ninevie*. This Conceit he grounds only upon the ambiguity of the word *Suph*, which oftentimes is an Epitheton of the Red Sea (as if we should call it *mare algosum*, *the Sea full of Weeds*) for the Red Sea. But in *Jonas* 2. 5. it is generally taken in the proper signification for Weeds, and not as *Pineda* would have it, who in this place against his own Rule (which elsewhere he giveth us) supposeth strange Miracles without any need. For this long Voyage of the Whale finished in three days, is a greater Miracle, than the very preservation of *Jonas* in the Belly of the Whale: and therefore seeing there is no necessity of this Miracle, we send it back unto him, keeping his own Rule which in this place he forgets; *Miracula non sunt multiplicanda.* And again, *Non sunt miracula gratis danda, nec pro arbitrio nova singenda, Miracles are not to be multiplied without necessity, nor delivered without cause, nor feigned at pleasure.* Therefore to leave this Man in his Dreams, which (were he not otherwise very learned and judicious) might be thought unworthy the mentioning. But to proceed with our Story of *Salomon*.

Ap. P.

As it appears he took Ship at Japho or Joppe. c. 1. Vers. 3.

The Queen of *Saba*'s coming from far to *Salomon*, (as it seems from *Arabia Felix*, and not as some think from *Æthiopia*) and her rich Presents, and *Salomon*'s reciprocal magnificence, and his resolving of her difficult Questions, those are set down at large in the text. But herein *Josephus* is greatly mistaken, who calls this Queen of *Saba Nicaules*, the Successour (saith he out of *Herodotus*) of those thirty and eight *Ægyptian* Kings which succeeded *Mineus* the Founder of *Memphis*; adding that after this *Ægyptian*, and the Father-in-Law of *Salomon*, the Name of *Pharaoh* was left off in *Ægypt*. For as it is elsewhere proved that the Queen was of *Arabia*, not of *Ægypt* and *Æthiopia*; so were there other *Pharaohs* after the Father-in-Law of *Salomon*. Yea, above three hundred Years after *Salomon*, *Pharaoh Necho* slew *Josias* King of *Juda*.

Joseph. ant. 8. 1. 2.

2 Kin. c. 23. & 2 Chron. cap. 25. Jer. c. 46. Vers. 2.

It is also written of *Salomon* that he kept in Garrisons fourteen thousand Chariots and twelve thousand Horsemen; that he spent in Court every day thirty Measures of fine Flower, threescore Measures of Wheat, one hundred Sheep, besides Stags and fallow Deer, Bugels and Fowl; four thousand stalls of Horses he had for his Chariots and other uses, and for the twelve thousand Horsemen of his Guard. For, the ten thousand stalls in the first of *Kings* the fourth, are to be taken but for so many Horses, whence in the second of *Chronicles* the ninth, it is written but four thousand stalls or teams, and in every team ten Horses, as *Junius* and the *Geneva* understand it. He was said to be wiser than any Man, yea than were *Ethan* the *Ezrahite*, than *Heman*, *Chalcol*, or than *Darda*, to which *Junius* addeth a fifth, to wit, *Ezrack*. For the *Geneva* maketh *Ethan* an *Ezrahite* by Nation. *Josephus* writes them *Athan*, *Æman*, *Chalceus* and *Doran* the Sons of *Hemon*. He spake three thousand Proverbs, and his Songs were one thousand and five, whereof either the most part perished in the Captivity of *Babylon*, or else because many Acts of *Salomon*'s were written and kept among the publick Records of Civil Causes and not Ecclesiastical; therefore they were not thought necessary to be inserted into God's Book.

1 Kin. 4. 31.

§. IV.

Of the fall of Salomon, *and how long he lived.*

NOW as he had plenty of all other things; so had he no scarcity of Women. For besides his seven hundred Wives he kept three hundred Concubines, and (forgetting that God had commanded that none of his People should accompany the daughters of Idolaters) he took Wives out of *Ægypt*, *Edom*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Zidon* and *Heth*: and when he fell a doating, his Wives turned his Heart after other Gods, as *Ashteroth* of the *Zidonians*, *Milcom* or *Molech* of the *Ammonites*, and *Chemosh* of *Moab*.

These things God punished by *Adad* of *Idumea*, *Rezin* of *Damascus*, and by *Jeroboam* his own servant, and one of the Masters of his Works, who by the Ordinance of God tare from his Son *Roboam*, ten of the twelve parts of all the Territory he had. *Deus dum in peccatores animadvertit, aliorum peccatis utitur, qua ipse non fecit.* God in punishing sinners, useth the sins of others, which he himself wrought not. *P. Mart. in reg.*

In the Reign of *Salomon* (as in times of long Peace) were few memorable Actions by him performed, excepting his Buildings with other Works of Magnificence and that great *Indian* Voyage already mentioned. Forty Years he reigned: how many he lived, it is not written, and must therefore be found only by conjecture. The most likely way to guess at the truth in this case, is by considering the actions of *David* before and after *Salomon*'s Birth, whereby we may best make estimation of the Years which they consumed, and consequently learn the true, or most likely Year of his Nativity. Seven Years *David* reigned in *Hebron*: in his eighth Year he took *Jerusalem*, and warred with the *Philistims*, who also troubled him the Year following. The bringing home of the Ark seems to have been in the tenth Year of *David*, and his intention to build the Temple in the Year ensuing, at which time he had sufficient leisure, living in rest. After this he had Wars with the *Philistims*, *Moabites*, *Aramites* and *Edomites*, which must needs have held him five Years, considering that the *Aramites* of *Damasco* raised War against him, after such time as he had beaten *Hadadezer*; and that in every of these Wars, he had the entire Victory. Neither is it likely that these Services occupied any longer time, because in those days and places there were no Wintering Camps in use, but at convenient seasons of the Year, Kings went forth to War, dispatching all with violence, rather than with temporizing; as maintaining their Armies, partly upon the Spoil of the Enemies Country, partly upon the private Provision which every Souldier made for himself. The 17. Year of *David* in which he took *Mephibosheth* the Son of *Jonathan* into his Court, appeareth to have passed away in quiet; and the Year following to have begun the War with *Ammon*; but somewhat late in the end of Summer perhaps, it came to trial of a Battel (for *Joab* after the Victory, returned immediately to *Jerusalem*) the causes and preparations for that War having taken up all the Summer. *Davia's* personal expedition against the *Aramites* wherein he brought all the Tributaries of *Hadadezer* under his own Allegiance, appears mani-

1 Kin. c. 7. Vers. 1.

2 Sam. c. 11. v. 1.

1 Sam. c. 17. v. 17, & 18.

festly to have been the next Year's Work, wherein he did cut off all means of Succour from the *Ammonites*; all *Syria*, *Moab* and *Idumæa* being now at his own devotion. By this reckoning it must have been the twentieth Year of *David*'s Reign, and about the fiftieth of his Life, in which he sent forth *Joab* to besiege *Rabba*, and finished the War of *Ammon*: wherein also fell out the matter of *Uriah*'s Wife. So one half of *David*'s Reign was very prosperous: in the other half he felt great sorrow by the expectation, execution, and sad remembrance of that heavy judgment laid upon him by God, for his foul and bloudy offence.

Now very manifest it is that in the Year after the death of that Child, which was begotten in Adultery, *Salomon* was born, who must needs therefore have been nineteen years old or thereabout, when he began to reign at the decease of his Father, as being begotten in the 21. Year of his Father's Reign, who reigned in all forty.

This account hath also good coherence with the following times of *David*, as may be collected out of ensuing actions: for two years passed ere *Absalom* slew his Brother *Amnon*; three years ere his Father pardoned him; and two years more ere he came into the King's presence. After this he prepared Horses and Men, and laid the Foundation of his Rebellion, which seems to have been one Years Work. So the Rebellion it self with all that happened thereupon, as the Commotion made by *Sheba*, the death of *Amasa* and the rest, may well seem to have been in the thirtieth Year of *David*'s Reign.

Whether the three Years of Famine should be reckoned apart from the last Years of War with the *Philistims*, or confounded with them, it were more hard than needful to conjecture. Plain enough it is, that in the ten remaining Years of *David* there was time sufficient, and to spare, both for three Years of Famine, for four years of War, and for numbring the People, with the Pestilence ensuing; as also for his own last infirmity, and disposing of the Kingdom. Yet indeed it seems that the War with the *Philistims*, was but one Years Work, and ended in three or four Fights, of which the two or three former were at *Gob* or *Nob* near unto *Gezer*, and the last at *Gath*. This War the *Philistims* undertook, as it seemeth, upon confidence gathered out of the Tumults in *Israel*, and perhaps emboldened by *David*'s old Age, for he fainted now in the Battel, and was afterwards hindered by his Men from exposing himself unto danger any more. So *David* had six or seven Years of rest, in which time it is likely, that many of his great Men of War died (being of his own Age) whereby the stirring Spirit of *Adonijah* found little Succour in the broken Party of *Joab* the Son of *Zerviah*.

1 *King.* c. 2. v. 9. & c. 3. v. 7. At this time it might both truly be said by *David* to *Salomon*, *Thou art a wise Man*, and by *Salomon* to God, *I am but a young Child*; for nineteen Years of Age might well agree with either of these two Speeches.

Nevertheless there are some that gather out of *Salomon*'s professing himself a Child, that he was but eleven years old when he began to reign. Of these *Rabbi Salomon* seems the first Author, whom others of great learning and judgment have herein followed: grounding themselves perhaps upon that 2 *Sam.* 15. 7. which is said of *Absalom*'s Rebellion, that it was after forty years, which they understand as years of *David*'s Reign. But whereas *Rehoboam* the Son of *Salomon* was one and forty years old when he began to reign, it would follow hereby that his Father had begotten him, being himself but a Child of nine or ten years old; the difference between their Ages being no greater, (if *Salomon* who reigned forty years) were but eleven years old when his Reign began. To avoid this inconvenience, *Josephus* allows eighty years of Reign to *Salomon*; a report so disagreeing with the Scriptures, that it needs no confutation. Some indeed have in favour of this Opinion construed the words of *Josephus*, as if they included all the Years of *Salomon*'s Life. But by such reckoning he should have been forty years old at his Father's death; and consequently should have been born long before his Father had won *Jerusalem*; which is a manifest untruth. Wherefore the forty years remembred in *Absalom*'s Rebellion, may either seem to have reference to the space between *David*'s first Anointment, and the trouble which God brought upon him for his wickedness, or perhaps be read (according to *Josephus*, *Theodoret*, and the *Latine* Translation) four years; which passed between the return of *Absalom* to *Jerusalem* and his breaking out.

§. V.

Of Salomon's *Writings.*

THere remain of *Salomon*'s Works, the *Proverbs*, the *Preacher*, and the Song of *Salomon*. In the first he teacheth good Life, and correcteth Manners, in the second the vanity of Humane Nature, in the third he singeth as it were the *Epithalamion* of Christ and his Church. For the Book intituled the Wisdom of *Salomon*, (which some give unto *Salomon*, and some make the elder *Philo* the Author thereof:) *Hierome* and many others of the best learned make us think it was not *Salomon* that wrote it. *Stylus libri Sapientiæ* (saith *Hierom*) *qui Salomonis inscribitur, Græcam redolet eloquentiam*; *The Stile of the Book of Wisdom, which is ascribed to* Salomon, *savoureth of the Grecian Eloquence*; and of the same Opinion was S. *Augustine*, and yet he confesseth in the nineteenth Book and twentieth Chapter of the City of God, that the Author of that Book hath a direct fore-telling of the Passion of Christ in these words. *Circumveniamus justum quoniam insuavis est nobis, &c. Let us circumvent the righteous for he is unpleasing to us, he is contrary to our doings, he checketh us for offending against the Law, he makes his boast to have the knowledge of God, and he calleth himself the Son of the Lord,* &c. and so doth the course of all the following words point directly at Christ. The Books of *Ecclesiastes*, *Proverbs*, and *Cantica Canticorum*, *Rabbi Moses Kimchi* ascribeth to *Isay* the Prophet. *Suidas* and *Cedrenus* report that *Salomon* wrote of the Remedies of all Diseases, and graved the same on the sides of the Porch of the Temple, which they say *Ezechias* pulled down, because the People neglecting help from God by Prayer, repaired thither for their recoveries.

Hier. ad Cromatium.

Sap. 2.

S. Aug. fol. 62.

Reinett. in ful. Hist.

Of *Salomon*'s Books of Invocations and Inchantments to cure Diseases, and expel evil Spirits, *Josephus* hath written at large, though as I conceive, rather out of his own invention, or from some uncertain report, than truly.

He also speaketh of one *Eliazarus*, who by the Root in *Salomon*'s Ring dispossest divers persons of evil Spirits in the presence of *Vespasian*, and many others, which I will not stand to examine.

Certainly so strange an example of humane frailty hath never been read of as this King: who having received wisdom from God himself, in honour of whom, and for his only service, he built the

the first and most glorious Temple of the World: he that was made King of *Israel* and *Judea*, not by the Law of nature, but by the love of God, and became the wisest, richest, and happiest of all Kings, did in the end, by the perswasion of a few weak and wretched Idolatrous Women, forget and forsake the Lord of all the World, and the giver of all goodness, of which he was more liberal to this King, than to any that ever the World had. Of whom *Siracides* writeth in this manner. *Salomon raigned in a peaceable time and was glorious, for God made all quiet round about, that he might build a house in his name, and prepare the Sanctuary for ever; How wise wast thou in thy youth, and wast filled with understanding, as with a Flood! Thy mind covered the whole earth, and hath filled it with grave and dark sentences. Thy name went abroad in the Isles, and for thy peace thou wast beloved, &c.* but thus he concludeth. *Thou didst bow thy loyns to Women, and wast overcome by thy body, thou didst stain thine honour, and hast defiled thy posterity, and hast brought wrath upon thy Children, and felt sorrow for thy folly.* cap. 27.

§. VI.

Of the Contemporaries of Salomon.

NEar the beginning of *Salomon*'s raign, *Agelaus* the third of the *Heraclida* in *Corinth*; *Labotes* in *Lacedemon*; and soon after *Sylvius Alba* the fourth of the *Sylvii*, swayed those Kingdoms: *Laosthenes* then governing *Assyria*: *Agastus* and *Archippus* the second and third Princes after *Codrus*, ruling the *Athenians*.

In the six and twentieth of *Salomon*'s raign *Hiram* of *Tyre* died, to whom *Baliastrus* succeeded, and raigned seventeen years, after *Mercator*'s accompt, who reckons the time of his rule by the age of his Sons. *Josephus* gives him fewer years. *Ant. lib. 3.* *Theophilus Antiochenus* against *Autolicus* finds *Bozorius* the next after *Hiram*, if there be not some Kings omitted between the death of *Hiram*, and the raign of *Bozorius*.

Vaphres being dead, about the twentieth of *Salomon*, *Sesac* or *Shisak* (as our *English Geneva* terms him) began to govern in *Ægypt*, being the same with him whom *Diodorus* calleth *Sesachis*; *Josephus*, *Susac*; *Cedrenus*, *Susesinus*; *Eusebius* in the column of the *Ægyptian* Kings *Smendes*, and in that of the *Hebrews Susac*. *Josephus* in the eight of his Antiquities reproveth it as an errour in *Herodotus*, that he ascribeth the acts of *Susac* to *Sesostris*, which perchance *Herodotus* might have done by comparison, accounting *Sesac* another *Sesostris*, for the great things he did.

Of the great acts and vertues of King *Sesostris* I have spoken already in the Story of the *Ægyptian* Princes: only in this he was reproved that he caused four of his captive Kings to draw his Caroch, when he was disposed to be seen, and to ride in triumph: one of which four, saith *Eutropius*, at such time as *Sesostris* was carried out to take the Air, cast his head continually back upon the two fore-most wheels next him; which *Sesostris* perceiving, asked him what he found worthy the admiration in that motion; to whom the captive King answered, that in those he beheld the instability of all worldly things; for that both the lowest part of the wheel was suddainly carried about, and became the highest, and the upmost part was as suddainly turned down-ward and under all: which when *Sesostris* had judiciously weighed, he dismissed those Princes, and all other from the like servitude in the future. Of this *Sesostris*, and that he could not be taken for *Sesac*, I have spoken at large in that part of the *Ægyptian* Kings preceding. *Hist. Miscel. l. 17.*

CHAP. XIX.

Of Salomon's *Successors until the end of* Jehosaphat.

§. I.

Of Rehoboam *his beginnings: the defection of the ten Tribes, and* Jeroboam's *Idolatry.*

REhoboam the Son of *Salomon* by *Nahama* an *Ammoniteſſe*, now forty years old, succeeded his Father *Salomon*, and was anointed at *Sichem*, where the ten Tribes of *Israel* were assembled: who attended a while the return of *Jeroboam* as yet in *Ægypt*, since he fled thither, fearing *Salomon*. After his arrival the people presented a Petition to *Rehoboam*, to be eased of those great Tributes laid on them by his Father. *Sic enim firmius ei fore Imperium, si amari mallet quàm metui*; *So should his Empire* (saith *Josephus*) *be more assured if he desired rather to be beloved than feared*: whereof he took three days to deliberate before his answer, of whom therefore it could not be said as of *David*, that he was wiser than all his Teachers. For as of himself he knew not how to resolve, so had he not the judgment to discern of counsels, which is the very test of wisdom in Princes, and in all Men else. But notwithstanding that he had consulted with those grave and advised Men, that served his Father, who perswaded him by all means to satisfy the multitude: he was transported by his familiars and favorites, not only to continue on the backs of his Subjects those burdens which greatly crusht them; but (vaunting falsly of greatness exceeding his Fathers) he threatned in sharp, or rather in terrible terms, to lay yet heavier, and more unsupportable loads on them. But as it appeared by the success, those younger advisers greatly mistook the nature of severity, which without the temper of clemency is no other than cruelty it self: they also were ignorant that it ought to be used for the help, and not for the harm of Subjects. For what is the strength of a King left by his people? and what cords or fetters have ever lasted long, but those which have been twisted and forged by love only; His witless parasites could well judge of the Kings disposition: and being well learned therein, though ignorant in all things else, it sufficed and inabled them sufficiently for the places they held. But this answer of *Rehoboam* did not a little advance *Jeroboam*'s designs. For being fore-told by the Prophet *Achiah* of his future advancement, these the Kings threats (changing the peoples love into fury) confirmed and gave

Ant. l. 8. c. 5.

courage to his hopes. For he was no ſooner arrived, than elected King of *Iſrael*: the people crying out, What portion have we in *David*? we have no inheritance in the Son of *Iſhai*. Now though themſelves, even all the Tribes of *Iſrael*, had conſented to *David*'s anointing at *Hebron* the ſecond time, acknowledging that they were his bones and his fleſh: yet now after the manner of Rebells, they forgat both the bonds of nature, and their duty to God, and, as all alienated reſolved hearts do, they ſerved themſelves for the preſent with impudent excuſes. And now overlate, and after time, *Rehoboam* ſent *Adoram*, one of the Taxers of the people, a Man moſt hateful to all his Subjects, to pacifie them: whom they inſtantly beat to death with ſtones. Whereupon the King affrighted, got him from *Sichem* with all ſpeed, and recovered *Jeruſalem*, where preparing to invade *Iſrael*, with an hundred and fourſcore thouſand choſen Men, *Shemai* in the perſon of God commanding to the contrary, all was ſtaied for the preſent. In the mean time *Jeroboam* the new King fortified *Sechem* on this ſide, and *Penuel* on the other ſide of *Jordan*; and fearing that the Union and exerciſe of one Religion would alſo joyn the peoples hearts again to the Houſe of *David*; and having in all likelihood alſo promiſed the *Ægyptians* to follow their Idolatry: he ſet up two Calves of Gold for the Children of *Iſrael* to worſhip, impiouſly perſwading them that thoſe were the Gods, or at leaſt by theſe he repreſented thoſe Gods, which delivered them out of *Ægypt*: and refuſing the ſervice of the *Levites*, he made Prieſts fit for ſuch gods. It muſt needs be that by baniſhing the *Levites* which ſerved *David* and *Salomon* through all *Iſrael*, *Jeroboam* greatly inriched himſelf: as taking into his hands all thoſe Cities which were given them by *Moſes* and *Joſhua*; for as it is written, *The Levites left their ſuburbs, and their poſſeſſion, and came to Juda, &c.* This irreligious policy of *Jeroboam* (which was the foundation of an Idolatry that never could be rooted out, until *Iſrael* for it was rooted out of the Land) was by prophecy and miracles impugned ſufficiently when it firſt began; but the affections maintaining it, were ſo ſtrong that neither Prophecy nor Miracle could make them yield. *Jeroboam* could not be moved now by the authority of *Abia*, who from the Lord had firſt promiſed unto him the Kingdom; nor by the withering of his own hand as he ſtretched it over the Altar, which alſo clave aſunder, according to the ſign, which the Man of God had given by the commandment of God, who again recovered and cured him of that defect; yet he continued as obſtinate an Idolater as before, for he held it the ſafeſt courſe in policy to proceed as he had begun. This impious invention of *Jeroboam*, who forſook God, and the Religion of his forefathers, by God and his Miniſters taught them, was by a modern Hiſtorian compared with the policies of late Ages, obſerving well the practice of his Nation, being an Italian born. *Sic qui hodiè* (ſaith he) *politici vocantur, & propria commoda, præſenteſq; utilitates ſibi tanquàm ultimum finem conſtituunt, cauſam quam vocant ſtatus in capite omnium ponunt: pro ipſa tuenda, promovenda, conſervanda, ampliandâ, nihil non faciendum putant. Si injuria proximo irroganda, ſi juſtitia honeſtatiſq; leges ſubvertendæ, ſi religio ipſa peſſundanda, ſi denique omnia jura divina, & humana violanda, nihil intentatum, nihil per fas nefaſq; relinquendum cenſent, cuncta ruant, omnia pereant, nihil ad ipſos, modò id, quod ère ſua eſſe ſibi perſuadent, obtineant, ac ſi nullus ſit qui talia curet, caſtigareve poſſit Deus*; So they who are now called *Politicians, propounding to themſelves, as their utmoſt end and ſcope, their own commodity and preſent profit, are wont to alledge the caſe of ſtate forſooth, as the principal point to be regarded: for the good of the ſtate, for advancing, preſerving, or encreaſing of the ſtate, they think they may do any thing. If they mean to oppreſs their neighbour, to over-turn all laws of juſtice and honeſty, if religion it ſelf muſt go to wrack, yea if all rights of God and Man muſt be violated, they will try all courſes, be it right, be it wrong, they will do any thing; let all go to ruine, what care they, ſo long as they may have what they would; as who ſhould ſay, there were no God that would offer to meddle in ſuch matters, or had power to correct them.*

1 *Sam.* c. 5. 1.

1 *King.* 12. 21.

1 *Kings* 13. *V.* 4.

V. 5.

V. 6.

Indeed this allegation of *raggione del ſtato*, did ſerve as well to uphold, as at the firſt it had done to bring in this vile Idolatry of the ten Tribes. Upon this ground *Amazia* the Prieſt of *Bethel*, counſelled the Prophet *Amos*, not to propheſie at *Bethel*; *For* (ſaid he) *it is the Kings Court*. Upon this ground even *Jehu* that had maſſacred the Prieſts of *Baal*, in zeal for the Lord, yet would not in any wiſe depart from that politick ſin of *Jeroboam* the Son of *Nebat*, which made *Iſrael* to ſin. It was reaſon of ſtate that perſwaded the laſt famous *French King Henry* the fourth to change his religion; yet the Proteſtants whom he forſook obeyed him, but ſome of the Papiſts whom he followed murdered him. So ſtrongly doth the painted vizzor of wiſe proceeding delude even thoſe that know the ſoul face of impiety lurking under it, and behold the wretched ends that have ever followed it; whereof *Jehu* and all the Kings of *Iſrael* had, and were themſelves, very great examples.

Amos 7. 13.

2 *Kings* 10. 16.

2 *Kings* 10. 29.

§. II.

Of Rehoboam *his impiety; for which he was puniſhed by* Seſac: *of his end and Contemporaries.*

WHile *Jeroboam* was occupied in ſetting up his new Religion, *Rehoboam* on the other ſide having now little hope to recover the Provinces loſt, ſtrengthened the principal places remaining with all endeavour: for he fortified and victualled fifteen Cities of *Judah* and *Benjamin*: not that he feared *Jeroboam* alone, but the *Ægyptians*, to whom *Jeroboam* had not only faſtned himſelf, but withal invited them to invade *Judæa*: laying perchance before them the incountable riches of *David* and *Salomon*, which might now eaſily be had, ſeeing ten of the twelve Tribes were revolted, and become enemies to the *Judæans*. So as by thoſe two ways (of late years often trodden) to wit, change of religion, and invitation of foregin force, *Jeroboam* hoped to ſettle himſelf in the ſeat of *Iſrael*, whom yet the powerful God for his Idolatry in a few years after rooted out with all his. *Rehoboam* alſo having, as he thought, by fortifying divers Places, aſſured his eſtate, forſook the Law of the living God, and made high Places, and Images, and Groves on every high Hill, and under every green Tree.

2 *Chron.* 11.

1 *Kings* 14. 13.

And therefore in the fifth year of his raign, *Seſac* or *Shiſhac* before ſpoken of, being now King of *Ægypt*, and with whom as well *Adad* of *Idumæa*, as *Jeroboam*, were familiar and his inſtruments, entred *Judæa* with twelve thouſand Chariots, and threeſcore thouſand Horſe, beſides foot-men, which *Joſephus* numbers at four hundred thouſand. This Army was compounded of four Nations, *Ægyptians*, *Lubæans*, *Succæans*, and *Cuſites*. The *Lubæans* were *Lybians*, the next bordering Region to *Ægypt*, on the Weſt ſide. The *Cuſites* were

2 *Chron.* 12. 3.

Joſ. Ant. 8. c. 4.

were of *Petræa*, and of the *Desart Arabia*, which afterward followed *Zerah* against *Asa* King of *Juda*. The *Succæans*, according to *Junius* his opinion, were of *Succoth*, which signifieth Tents: he doth suppose that they were the *Troglodítæ*, mentioned often in *Pliny*, *Ptolomy*, and other Authors. The *Troglodites* inhabited not far from the banks of the red Sea, in 22. degrees from the line Northward about six hundred *English* mile from the best and Maritimate part of *Ægypt*: and therefore I do not think that the *Succims* or *Succai* were those *Troglodítæ*, but rather those *Arabians* which *Ptolomy* calls *Arabes Ægyptii* or *Ichthyophagi*, which possess that part of *Ægypt* between the Mountains called *Alabastrini*, and the Red Sea far nearer *Ægypt*, and readier to be levied than those removed *Savages* of the *Troglodítæ*.

2 Chron. 12. 2 Kings 14. Annot in 12. Chron. Plin l. 6. c. 29. Ptol. Asiæ tab. 3. Cap. 47. v. 23.

With this great and powerful Army, *Sesac* invaded *Judæa*, and (besides many other strong Cities) wan *Jerusalem* it self, of which, and of the Temple, and Kings house, he took the spoil, carrying away (besides other Treasures) the golden shields which *Salomon* had made, in imitation of those which *David* recovered from *Adadezer*, in the *Syrian* War: these *Rehoboam* supplied with Targets of Brass, which were fit enough to guard a King of his quality: whom *Siracides* calleth The foolishness of the people.

From this time forward the Kings of *Ægypt* claimed the soveraignty of *Judæa*, and held the *Jews* as their Tributaries: *Sesac*, as it seems, rendring up to *Rehoboam* his places on that condition. So much may be gathered out of the Words of God, where promising the deliverance of *Juda* after their humiliation, he doth notwithstanding leave them under the yoke of *Ægypt*, in these words. *Nevertheless they* (to wit, the *Judæans*) *shall be his Servants, that is, the Servants of* Sesac.

After this overthrow and dishonour, *Rehoboam* raigned twelve years, and his losses received by *Sesac* notwithstanding, he continued the War against *Jeroboam* all his life time. After his death *Jeroboam* governed *Israel* four years.

Rehoboam lived 58. years, and raigned 17. his story was written at large by *Shemeiah* and *Hiddon* the Prophets, but the same perished with that of *Nathan* and the rest.

With *Rehoboam*, *Archippus*, and *Tersippus*, the third and fourth *Archontes* or Governours for life after *Codrus*, governed in *Athens*. *Abdastrartus* or *Abstrartus*, in *Tyre*. *Doristhus* the fifth of the *Heraclidæ* in *Sparta*, according to *Eusebius* (others make him the sixth) and *Priminas* the fourth in *Corinth*. Over the *Latines* raigned *Sylvius Alba* and *Sylvius Atys*, the fourth and fifth of the *Sylvii*.

Euseb. Chron.

About the 12. of *Rehoboam* *Abdastrartus* King of *Tyre* was murthered by his Nurses Sons, or foster brethren, the elder of which usurped the Kingdom twelve years.

Towards his latter times *Periciades*, or *Pyrithiades*, began to govern *Assyria*, the 34. King thereof: and not long after *Astartus* the Son of *Baleastartus* recovered the Kingdom of *Tyre* from the *Usurpers*.

§. III.

Of the great battail between Jeroboam *and* Abija, *with a Corollary of the examples of Gods judgments.*

Abijah the Son of *Rehoboam*, inherited his Father's Kingdom, and his vices. He raised an Army of four hundred thousand, with which he invaded *Jeroboam*, who encountred him with a double number of eight hundred thousand; both Armies joyned near to the Mount *Ephraim*, where *Jeroboam* was utterly overthrown, and the strength of *Israel* broken; for there fell of that side five hundred thousand, the greatest overthrow that ever was given or received of those Nations. *Abijah* being now master of the field, recovered *Bethel*, *Jeshanah*, and *Ephron*, soon after which discomfiture, *Jeroboam* died: who raigned in all 22. years. *Abijah*, the better to strengthen himself, entred into league with *Hesion*, the third of the *Adads* of *Syria*; as may be gathered out of the 2. of *Chron.* he raigned but three years and then died: the particulars of his acts were written by *Iddo* the Prophet, as some part of his Fathers were. 2 Chron. 16. 23.

Here we see how it pleased God to punish the Sins of *Salomon* in his Son *Rehoboam*: first, by an Idolater and a Traitor: and then by the successor of that *Ægyptian*, whose daughter *Salomon* had married, thereby the better to assure his estate, which while he served God, was by God assured against all and the greatest neighbouring Kings, and when he forsook him, it was torn asunder by his meanest Vassals; Not that the Father wanted strength to defend him from the *Ægyptian Sesac*. For the Son *Abijah* was able to levy four hundred thousand Men, and with the same number he overthrew eight hundred thousand *Israelites*, and slew of them five hundred thousand, God giving Spirit, courage, and invention, when and where it pleaseth him. And as in those times the causes were expresst, why it pleased God to punish both Kings and their People: the same being both before and at the instant delivered by Prophets; so the same just God who liveth and governeth all things for ever, doth in these our times give victory, courage, and discourage, raise, and throw down Kings, Estates, Cities, and Nations, for the same offences which were committed of old, and are committed in the present: for which reason in these and other the afflictions of *Israel*, always the causes are set down, that they might be as precedents to succeeding ages. They were punished with famine in *David*'s time for three years, *For Saul and his bloody house*, &c. And *David* towards his latter end suffered all sorts of afflictions, and sorrows in effect, for *Uriah*. *Salomon* had ten Tribes of twelve torn from his Son for his Idolatry. *Rehoboam* was spoiled of his riches and honour by *Sesac* of *Ægypt*, because the people of *Juda* made images, high places and groves, &c. And because they suffered *Sodomites* in the land. *Jeroboam* was punished in himself and his posterity for the Golden *Calves* that he erected. *Joram* had all his Sons slain by the *Philistims*, and his very bowels torn out of his body by an excoriating flux, for murthering his brethren. *Ahab* and *Jezabel* were slain, the blood of the one, the body of the other eaten with dogs: for the false accusing and killing of *Naboth*. So also hath God punished the same and the like sins in all after times, and in these our days by the same Famine, Plagues, War, loss, vexation, death, sickness, and calamities, howsoever the wise Men of the World raise these effects no higher than to 2 Sam. 21. 1.

second

second causes, and such other accidents, which, as being next their eyes and ears, seem to them to work every alteration that happeneth.

§. IV.

Of Asa *and his Contemporaries.*

2 *Chron.* 14. TO *Abijah* succeeded *Asa*, who enjoyed peace for his first ten years, in which time he established the Church of God, breaking down the Altars dedicated to strange Gods, with their Images, cutting down their groves, and taking away their high places. He also spared not his own Mother who was an Idolatress, but deposing her from her Regency, brake her Idol, stampt it, and burnt it. He also fortified many Cities and other places, providing (as provident Kings do) for the troubles of War in the leisure of peace. For not long after he was invaded by *Zerah*, who then commanded all the *Arabiani* bordering *Judæa*, and with such a multitude entred the Territory of *Asa*, as (for any thing that I have read) were never assembled of that Nation either before or since. For it is written, that there came against the *Judæans Zerah* of *Æthiopia* with an host of ten hundred thousand, and three hundred Chariots, which *Asa* encountred with an Army of five hundred and fourscore thousand, levied out of those two Tribes of *Juda* and *Benjamin* which obeyed him, and with which he overthrew this fearful multitude, and had the spoil both of their Cities and Camp.

2 *Chron.* 15. 16.

2 *Chron.* 14. 9.

That this *Zerah* was not an *Æthiopian* I have *proved already, and were it but the length between *Æthiopia* and *Judæa*, and the strong flourishing Regions of *Ægypt* interjacent (who would not suffer a million of strangers to pass through them) it were sufficient to make it appear how foolish the opinion is that these invaders were *Æthiopians*. But in that the Scriptures acknowledge that *Gerar* was belonging to *Zerah*, and the Cities thereabouts were spoiled by the *Judæans* in following their Victory, as places belonging to *Zerah*, and that all Men know that *Gerar* standeth upon the torrent of *Besor*, which *David* past over when he surprised the *Amalekites* or *Arabians*, this proveth sufficiently that *Zerah* was leader of the *Arabians*, and that *Gerar* was a frontier Town standing on the uttermost South-border of all *Judæa*, from all parts of *Æthiopia* six hundred miles. Also the spoils which *Asa* took, as the Cattel, Camels, and Sheep, whereof he sacrificed five thousand, shew them to be *Arabians* adjoining, and not far off, and not unknown *Æthiopians*. And if it be objected that these desart Countries can hardly yield a million of Men fit for the Wars, I answer, that it is as like that *Arabia Petræa*, and the *Desart* which compass two parts of the Holy Land, should yield ten hundred thousand, as that two Tribes of the twelve, should arm five hundred and fourscore thousand. Besides it answereth to the Promise of *God* to *Abraham*, that these Nations should exceed in number; for *God* spake it of *Israel*, that he would make him fruitful, and multiply him exceedingly, that he should beget twelve Princes, *&c.*

* In the former Book *c.* 4. § 14. *item c.* 8. § 10. * 6.

3 *Chron.* 14.

Baasha a King of *Israel*, began to Reign in the third of *Asa*, and fearing the greatness of *Asa* after his great Victory, entertained *Benhadad* King of *Syria*, of the race of *Adadezer*, to joyn with him against *Asa*; and to the end to block him up, he fortified *Rama* which lieth in the way from *Jerusalem* towards *Samaria*.

This War began according to the Letter of the *Scriptures* in the 36. year of *Asa* his Reign: but because in the first of *Kings* the 16. it is said that *Baasha* died in the 26. year of *Asa*, therefore could not *Baasha* begin this War in the 35. of *Asa* his Reign, but in the 35. year of the division of *Juda* and *Israel*: for so many years it was from the first of *Rehoboam*, who reigned 17. years, to the 16. of *Asa*. It may seem strange that *Asa* being able to bring into the field an Army of five hundred and fourscore thousand good Soldiers, did not easily drive away *Baasha*, and defeat him of his purposes, the victories of *Abia* against *Jeroboam*, and of *Asa* himself against *Zerah* being yet fresh in mind, which might well have emboldened the men of *Juda* and as much disheartened the enemies. Questionless there were some important Circumstances, omitted in the Text, which caused *Asa* to fight at this time with money. It may be that the employment of so many hundred thousands of hands in the late service against *Zerah*, had caused many Mens private businesses to lie undispatched, whereby the people being now intentive to the culture of their Lands and other Trades, might be unwilling to stir against the *Israelites*, chusing rather to wink at apparent inconvenience, which the building of *Rama* would bring upon them in after-times. Such backwardness of the people might have deterred *Asa* from adventuring himself with the least part of his Forces, and committing the success into the hands of God. Howsoever it were, he took the Treasures remaining in the Temple, with which he waged *Benhadad* the *Syrian* against *Baasha*, whose imployments *Benhadad* readily accepted, and brake off confederary with *Baasha*. For the *Israelites* were his borderers and next neighbours, whom neither himself (after his invasion) nor his Successors after him ever gave over till they had made themselves masters of that Kingdom. So *Benhadad* being now entered into *Nephthalim* without resistance, he spoiled divers principal Cities thereof, and enforced *Baasha* to quit *Rama*, and to leave the same to *Asa* with all the materials which he had brought thither, to fortifie the same: which done *Benhadad* who loved neither party, being loaden with the spoils of *Israel*, and the Treasures of *Juda*, returned to *Damascus*. After this, when *Hanani* the Prophet reprehended *Asa* in that he now relied on the strength of *Syria*, and did not rest himself on the favour and assistance of God, he not only caused *Hanani* to be imprisoned, but he began to burden and oppress his people, and was therefore strucken with the grievous pains of the Gout in his Feet, wherewith after he had been two years continually tormented, he gave up the Ghost when he had Reigned 41. years.

2 *Chron.* 16. 4. 1 *King.* 15.

2 *Chron.* 16.

There lived with *Asa* *Agesilaus* the sixth of the *Heraclidæ*, and *Bacis* the fifth King of the same race in *Corinth*, of whom his Successors were afterward called *Bacidæ*. *Astartus* and *Astarimus* were Kings in *Tyre*. *Astarimus* took revenge on his Brother *Phelletes*, for the murther of *Ithobalus* Priest of the Goddess *Astarta*, whom *Salomon* in dotage worshipped. *Atys* and *Capys* ruled the *Latins*. *Pyrithiades* and *Ophrateus* the *Assyrians*: *Tersippus* and *Phorbas* the *Athenians*: *Chemmis* Reigned in *Ægypt*; who dying in the 36. year of *Asa*, left *Cheops* his Successor that Reigned fifty six years, even to the 16. of *Joas*.

Euseb. in *Chron.*

§. V.

§. V.

Of the great alteration falling out in the Ten Tribes during the Reign of Asa.

IN the Reign of *Asa*, the Kingdom of *Israel* felt great and violent Commotions, which might have reduced the Ten Tribes unto their former Allegeance to the house of *David*, if the wisdom of God had not otherwise determined. The wickedness of *Jeroboam* had, in his latter days, the sentence of heavy Vengeance laid upon it, by the mouth of *Ahia*, the same Prophet which had foretold the division of *Israel*, for the sin of *Salomon*, and his reign over the ten Tribes. One Son *Jeroboam* had, among others, in whom only God found so much piety, as (though it sufficed not to with-hold his wrath from that Family) it procured unto him a peaceable end; an honourable Testimony of the peoples love, by their general Mourning and Lamentation at his death; and (wherein he was most happy) the favourable approabation of God himself.

After the loss of this good Son, the ungodly Father was soon taken away: a miserable Creature, so conscious of his vile unthankfulness to God, that he durst not suffer his own name to be used in consulting with an holy Prophet, assured of the ruin hanging over him and his, yea of Gods extreme hatred; yet forbearing to destroy those accursed Idols that wrought his confusion. So loth he was to forsake his worldly wisdom, when the World was ready to forsake him, and all belonging to him, his hateful memory excepted.

Nadab the Son of *Jeroboam*, Reigned in the second and third years of *Asa*, which are reckoned as two years, though indeed his Fathers last year of two and twenty did run along (how far is uncertain) with the second of *Asa*, whose third year was the first of *Baasha*; so that perhaps this *Nadab* injoyed not his Kingdom one whole year. He did not alter his Fathers courses, neither did God alter his sentence. It seems that he little feared the judgments denounced against his Fathers house: for as a Prince that was secure of his own Estate, he armed all *Israel* against the *Philistims*, and besieged one of their Towns. There (whether it were so, that the people were offended with his ill success, and recalled to mind their grievous loss of five hundred thousand under *Jeroboam*, counting it an unlucky Family to the Nation; or whether by some particular indiscretion, he exasperated them) slain he was by *Baasha*, whom the Army did willingly accept for King in his stead. *Baasha* was no sooner proclaimed King, than he began to take order with the house of *Jeroboam*, that none of them might molest him, putting all of them without mercy, to the Sword. That he did this for private respects, and not in regard of Gods will to have it so, it is evident, by his continuing in the same form of Idolatry Which *Jeroboam* had begun. Wherefore he received the same sentence from God that had been laid upon *Jeroboam*; which was executed upon him also in the same sort. He began to infest *Asa*, by fortifying *Ramah*; but was diverted from thence by the *Syrian Benhadad*, who did wast his Country, destroying all the Land of *Nephthalim*. Four and twenty years he reigned: and then dying, left the Crown to *Ela* his Son; who enjoyed it, as *Nadab* the Son of *Jeroboam* had done, two years current, perhaps not one compleat.

1 *King.* 15. 25.

Ela was as much an Idolater as his Father: and withall a riotous person. He sent an Army against *Gebbethon*, the same Town of the *Philistims*, before which *Nadab* the Son of *Jeroboam* perished; but he sate at home the whilst, feasting and drinking with his Minions, whereby he gave such advantage against himself, as was not neglected. *Zimri*, an ambitious Man, remaining with the King at *Tirza*, finding his Master so dissolute, and his behaviour so contemptible, conceived hope of the like fortune as *Baasha* had found, by doing as *Baasha* had done. Wherefore he did set upon *Ela* in his drunkenness, and slew him. Presently upon which fact, he stiled himself King of *Isral*: and began his Reign with Massacring all the house of *Baasha*; extending his cruelty not only to his Children, and kinsfolk, but unto all his friends in *Tirza*. These news were quickly blown to the Camp at *Gibbethon*, where they were not welcomed according to *Zimri* his expectation. For the Soldiers instead of proclaiming him King, proclaimed him Traitor: and being led by *Omri*, whom they saluted King, they (quitting the Siege of *Gibbethon*) presented themselves before *Tirza*; which in short space they may seem to have forced. *Zimri* wanting strength to defend the City, not courage to keep himself from falling alive into his enemies hands, did set fire on the Palace: consuming it and himself together to ashes. Seven days he is said to have Reigned: accounting (as is most likely) to the time that *Omri* was proclaimed in the Camp. For *Zimri* was also an Idolater, *Walking in the way of Jeroboam*; and therefore is likely to have had more time wherein to declare himself, than the Reign of seven days, and those consumed partly in murthering the friends of *Baasha*, partly in seeking to have defended his own life. After the death of *Ela*, there arose another King to oppose the faction of *Omri*; whereby it may seem, that *Zimri* had made his party strong, as being able to set up a new head, who doubtless would never have appeared, if there had not been ready to his hand, some strength, not unlikely to resist and vanquish the Army which maintained *Omri*. How long this *Tibni*, the new Competitor of *Omri*, held out, I do not find; only it appears that his side was decay'd, and so he died, leaving no other Successor than his concurrent.

1 *King.* 16. 19.

§. VI.

A conjecture of the causes hindring the re-union of Israel *with* Juda, *which might have been effected by these troubles.*

ANy Man that shall consider the state of *Israel*, in those times, may justly wonder how it came to pass, that either the whole Nation, wearied with the calamities already suffered under these unfortunate Princes, and with the present Civil Wars, did not return to their ancient Kings, and re-unite themselves with the mighty Tribes of *Juda* and *Benjamin*; or that *Zimri* and *Tibni*, with their oppressed factions, did not call in *Asa*, but rather chose, the one to endure a desperate necessity of yielding, or burning himself, the other to languish away, a Man forsaken: than to have recourse unto a remedy, so sure, so ready, and so honourable. To say that God was pleased to have it so, were a true, but an idle answer (for his secret will is the cause of all things) unless it could be proved, that he had forbidden *Asa* to deal in that business, as he forbad *Rehoboam* to force the rebellious people to obedience. That the restraint laid by God upon *Rehoboam*, did only bind his hands

hands from attempting the ſuppreſſion of that preſent Inſurrection, it appears by the War continued between *Iſrael* and *Juda*, ſo many years following: wherein *Abia* ſo far prevailed, that he wan a great Battel, and recovered ſome Towns belonging to the other Tribes, which he annexed to his own Dominion. Wherefore we may boldly look into the ſecond cauſes, moving the People and Leaders of the ten Tribes, to ſuffer any thing under new upſtarts, rather than to caſt their eyes upon that Royal Houſe of *David*, from which the ſucceſſion of five Kings in lineal deſcent, had taken away all imputation, that might formerly have been laid upon the mean beginnings thereof. To think that *Omri* had prevented his Competitors, in making Peace with *Aſa*, were a conjecture more bold than probable. For *Omri* was not only an Idolater, *but did worſe than all that were before him*, which as it might ſerve alone to prove, that *Aſa*, being a godly King, would not adhere to him, ſo the courſe which he profeſſed to take at the very firſt, of revenging the Maſſacre committed upon the Family and Friends of *Baaſha*, (*Aſa* his mortal Enemy) gives manifeſt reaſon, why *Zimri*, who had wrought that great execution, ſhould more juſtly than he have expected the Friendſhip of *Juda* in that Quarrel. Wherefore, in ſearching out the reaſon of this backwardneſs in the ten Tribes (which was ſuch that they may ſeem to have never thought upon the matter) to ſubmit themſelves to their true Princes; it were not amiſs to examine the cauſes, moving the People to revenge the death of *Ela*, an idle drunkard, rather than of *Nadab* the Son of *Jeroboam*, who followed the Wars in Perſon, as a Man of Spirit and Courage. Surely it is apparent, that the very firſt defection of the ten Tribes, was (if we look upon humane Reaſon) occaſioned by deſire of breaking that heavy yoak of bondage wherewith *Salomon* had galled their Necks. Their deſire was to have a King that ſhould not oppreſs them; not to have no King at all. And therefore when the arrogant folly of *Rehoboam* had cauſed them to renounce him, they did immediately chooſe *Jeroboam* in his ſtead, as a Man likely to afford that Liberty unto them, for which he had contended in their behalf. Neither were they (as it ſeems) herein altogether deceived. For his affectation of Popularity appears in his building of decayed Towns, and in the inſtitution of his new deviſed Idolatry; where he told the People, that it was too much for them, to travel ſo far as to *Jeruſalem*. But whether it were ſo, that his moderation, being voluntary, began to ceaſe, towards the latter end of his Reign, and in the Reign of his Son, when long time of poſſeſſion had confirmed his Title, which at the firſt was only good by courteſie of the People: or whether the People (as often happens in ſuch caſes) were more offended by ſome Prerogatives of a King that he ſtill retained in his own hands, than pleaſed with his remiſſion of other Burdens: it is clearly apparent, that the whole Army of all *Iſrael* joyned with *Baaſha*, taking in good part the death of *Nadab*; and eradication of *Jeroboam*'s Houſe.

1 *Kings* 16. 25.

Now the Reign of *Baaſha* himſelf, was (for ought that remaineth in Writing of it) every way unfortunate; his labour and coſt at *Rama* was caſt away; the other ſide of his Kingdom harried by the *Syrians*; neither did he win that one Town of *Gibbethon* from the *Philiſtims*, but left that Buſineſs to his Son, who likewiſe appears an unprofitable ſluggard. Wherefore it muſt needs be, that the favour of the People toward the Houſe of *Baaſha* grew from his good Form of Civil Government, which happily he reduced to a more temperate method than *Jeroboam* ever meant to do. And ſurely he that ſhall take pains to look into thoſe examples, which are extant of the different courſes, held by the Kings of *Iſrael* and *Juda*, in adminiſtration of Juſtice, will find it moſt probable, that upon this ground it was that the ten Tribes continued ſo averſe from the Line of *David*; as to think all adverſity more tolerable than the weighty Scepter of that Houſe. For the death of *Joab* and *Shimei* was indeed by them deſerved; yet in that they ſuffered it without form of Judgement, they ſuffered like unto Men innocent. The death of *Adonijah* was both without Judgment, and without any Crime objected, other than the King's jealouſie: out of which by the ſame rule of Arbitrary Juſtice (under which it may be ſuppoſed that many were caſt away) he would have ſlain *Jeroboam* (if he could have caught him) before he had yet committed any Offence, as appears by his confident return out of *Ægypt*, like one that was known to have endured wrong having not offered any.

The like and much more barbarous execution, to wit, without Law, *Jehoram* did upon his Brethren, and upon ſundry of his greateſt Men; as alſo *Joaſh* did ſo put to death *Zachariah* the Son of *Jehoiada*, who had made him King, *even in the Court of the Houſe of the Lord: and Manaſſes did ſhed innocent blood exceeding much, till he repleniſhed Jeruſalem from corner to corner:* and this was imputed to him as another fault; *beſides his ſin wherewith he made Juda to ſin.* Contrariwiſe, among the Kings of *Iſrael* we find no Monument of ſuch Arbitrary Proceeding, unleſs perhaps the words of *Jehoram* the Son of *Ahab* (which were but words) may be taken for an inſtance, when he ſaid, *God do ſo to me, and more alſo, if the Head of Eliſha the Son of Shaphat ſhall ſtand on him this day*: whereby it is not plain whether he meant to kill him without more ado, or to have him condemned as a falſe Prophet, that had made them hold out againſt the *Aramites*, till they were fain to eat their own Children, which he thought a ſufficient Argument to prove, that it was not God's purpoſe to deliver them. The death of *Naboth* ſheweth rather the Liberty which the *Iſraelites* enjoyed, than any peremptory execution of the King's Will. For *Naboth* did not fear to ſtand upon his own Right, though *Ahab* were even ſick for anger, neither was he for that cauſe put to death, as upon commandment, but made away by conſpiracy, the matter being handled after a judicial form, which might give ſatisfaction to the People, ignorant of the device, though to God it could not.

2 *Chron.* 24. 21.

2 *Kings* 21. 16.

2 *King.* 6. 31.

The murther of the Prophets is continually aſcribed to *Jezebel*, an impotent Woman, and not unto the King her Husband. Neither is it certain, that there was no Law made, whereby their Lives were taken from them; but certain it is that the People, being Idolaters, were both pleaſed with their death, and laboured in the execution. So that the doings of the Kings of *Juda* (ſuch as are Regiſtred) prove them to have uſed a more abſolute manner of command, than the Kings of the ten Tribes. Neither do their ſufferings witneſs the contrary. For of thoſe which reigned over *Juda*, from the diviſion of the Kingdom, to the Captivity of the ten Tribes, three were ſlain by the People, and two were denied a place of Burial amongſt their Anceſtors. Yea, the death of *Ahaziah* and his Brethren, ſlain by *Jehu*, with the deſtruction of all the Royal Seed by *Athalia*, did not (for ought that we can read) ſtir up in the People any ſuch thirſt of revenge, as might by the ſuddenneſs and uniformity teſtifie the affection to be general, and

2 *Kings* 19. 10.

proceeding

proceeding from a loving remembrance of their Princes; unleſs we ſhould think that the death of *Athalia*, after ſeven Years Reign, were occaſioned rather by the memory of her ill purchaſing, than by the preſent ſenſe of her tyrannical abuſing the Government, whereon ſhe had ſeiſed. On the other ſide, ſuch of the Kings of *Iſrael* as periſhed by treaſon (which were ſeven of the twenty) were all ſlain by conſpiracy of the great Men, who aſpired by Treaſon to the Crown: the People being ſo far from embruing their hands in the Blood of their Sovereigns that (after *Nadab*) they did never forbear to revenge the death of their Kings, when it lay in their power, nor approve the good ſucceſs of Treaſon, unleſs fear compelled them. So that the death of two Kings, being throughly revenged upon other two, namely the death of *Ela* and *Zacharia*, upon *Zimri* and *Shallum*, who traiterouſly got and uſurped, for a little while, their places; only three of the ſeven remain, whoſe ends how the People took, it may be doubtful. Though indeed it is preciſely ſaid of the ſlaughter, committed on *Ahab*'s Children by *Jehu*, that the People durſt not fight with him that did it, becauſe *they were exceedingly afraid*: and the ſame fear might be in them at the death of *Peka*, whoſe Hiſtory (as others of that time) is curſorily paſſed over. The like may be pronounced, and more abſolutely, of the Kings of *England*, that never any of them periſhed by fury of the people, but by Treaſon of ſuch as did ſucceed them, neither was there any motive urging ſo forcibly the death of King *Edward* and King *Richard* when they were in Priſon, as fear leſt the people ſhould ſtir in their quarrel. And certainly (howſoever all that the Law calls Treaſon, be interpreted, as tending finally to the Kings deſtruction) in thoſe treaſonable inſurrections of the vulgar, which have here moſt prevailed, the fury of the multitude hath quenched it ſelf, with the Bloud of ſome great Officers; no ſuch Rebellions, howſoever wicked and barbarous otherwiſe, thirſting after the ruine of their natural Sovereign, but rather forbearing the advantages gotten upon his Royal Perſon: which if any Man impute unto groſs ignorance, another may more charitably, and, I think, more truly, aſcribe to a reverent affection. Wherefore that Fable of *Briareus*, who, being looſened by *Pallas*, did with his hundred hands give aſſiſtance to *Jupiter*, when all the reſt of the Gods conſpired againſt him, is very fitly expounded by Sir *Francis Bacon*, as ſignifying, that Monarchs need not to fear any curbing of their Abſoluteneſs by mighty Subjects, as long as by Wiſdom they keep the Hearts of the People, who will be ſure to come in on their ſide. Though indeed the Story might very well have born the ſame interpretation, as it is rehearſed by *Homer*, who tells us that *Pallas* was one of the Conſpiracy, and that *Thetis* alone did mar all their Practice, by looſening *Briareus*. For a good Form of Government ſufficeth by it ſelf to retain the People, not only without aſſiſtance of a laborious Wit, but even againſt all Devices of the greateſt and ſhrewdeſt Politicians: every Sheriff and Conſtable, being ſooner able to arm the multitude, in the Kings behalf, than any over-weening Rebel how mighty ſoever, can againſt him.

2 *Kings* 10. 4.

This Declaration of the Peoples Love, being ſeldom found in *Juda*, makes it very likely, that the Rule it ſelf of Government there was ſuch, as neither gave occaſion of contentment unto the Subjects, nor of confidence in their good affection to the Kings. Upon which Reaſons it may ſeem that the multitude was kept uſually diſarmed. For otherwiſe it would have been almoſt impoſſible, that *Athalia* the Siſter of *Ahab*, a ſtranger to the Royal Blood of *Juda*, ſhould by the only Authority of a Queen Mother have deſtroyed all the Seed of *David*, and uſurped the Kingdom very near ſeven years without finding any reſiſtance. Yea when *Jehoiada* the high Prieſt had agreed with the Captains and principal Men of the Land to ſet up *Joaſh* their lawful King, whereunto the whole Nation were generally well affected; he was fain to give to theſe Captains and their Men, *the Spears and the Shields that were King David's, and were in the houſe of the Lord.* But we need not enter into ſuch particulars. Queſtionleſs, the Tribes which thought obedience to their Princes to be a part of their duty toward God, would endure much more with patience, than they which had Kings of their own choice or admiſſion, holding the Crown by a more uncertain Tenure.

And this, in my opinion, was the Reaſon, why the ten Tribes did never ſeek to return to their ancient Lords: but after the deſtruction of their ſix firſt Kings, which died in the Reign of *Aſa*, admitted a ſeventh of a new Family, rather than they would conſubject themſelves, with thoſe of *Juda* and *Benjamin*, under a more honourable, but more heavy Yoak.

So, *Aſa* having ſeen the death of ſeven Kings of *Iſrael*, died himſelf after one and forty years Reign, leaving *Jehoſhaphat* his Son to deal with *Ahab* the Son of *Omri*, who was the eighth King over the ten Tribes.

§. VII.

Of Jehoſhaphat *and his Contemporaries.*

Jehoſhaphat, who ſucceeded *Aſa*, was a Prince Religious and happy, he deſtroyed all the Groves, Altars, and high places dedicated to Idolatry, and ſent Searchers to all places and People wanting inſtruction, he recovered the Tribute due unto him by the *Arabians* and *Philiſtims*: from the one he had Silver, from the other Sheep and Goats to the number of fifteen thouſand and four hundred. The numbers of his Men of War were more than admirable: for it is written that *Adnah* had the Command of three hundred thouſand, *Jehohanan* of two hundred and fourſcore thouſand, and *Amaſia* of two hundred thouſand; alſo that he had, beſides theſe, in *Benjamin* of thoſe that bare Shields, which we call *Targiiers*, and of Archers under *Eliada* two hundred thouſand, and under the Commandment of *Jehozabad* a hundred and fourſcore thouſand: which numbred together, make eleven hundred and ſixty thouſand, all which are ſaid to have waited upon the King beſides his Garriſons. 2 *Chron.* 17.

That *Juda* and *Benjamin*, a Territory not much exceeding the County of *Kent*, ſhould muſter eleven hundred and ſixty thouſand fighting Men, it is very ſtrange, and the number far greater than it was found upon any other view. *Joab* in *David*'s time found five hundred thouſand: *Rehoboam* found but an hundred and fourſcore thouſand: *Abia* four hundred and eight thouſand: *Aſa* five hundred and four ſcore thouſand: *Amaziah* inrolled all that could bear Arms, and they amounted to three hundred thouſand: *Uzziah* three hundred and ſeven thouſand and five hundred. Surely, whereas it is written that when news 2 *Sam.* 14. 4.

was brought to *Jehoshaphat* that *Moab* and *Ammon* were entred his Territory to the West of *Jordan*, and that their numbers were many, he feared (to wit) the multitude, it is not likely that he would have feared even the Army of *Xerxes*, if he could have brought into the Field eleven hundred and threescore thousand fighting Men, leaving all his strong Cities manned. I am therefore of opinion (referring my self to better Judgment) that these numbers specified in the second of *Chronicles* the seventeenth, distributed to several Leaders, were not all at one time, but that the three hundred thousand under *Adnah*, and the two hundred and fourscore thousand under *Jehohanan*, were afterward commanded and mustered by *Amasia*, *Eliada*, and *Jehosabad*: for the gross and total is not in that place set down, as it was under the other Kings formerly named. Again as the Aids which *Jehoshaphat* brought to *Ahab* did not shew that he was a Prince of extraordinary Power, so the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* which he feared could never make the one half of those numbers, which he that commanded least among *Jehoshaphat*'s Leaders had under him.

This mighty Prince notwithstanding his greatness, yet he joyned in Friendship with *Ahab* King of *Israel*, who had married that wicked Woman *Jezebel*. Him *Josaphat* visited at *Samaria*, and caused his Son *Joram* to marry *Athaliah*, this *Achab*'s Daughter.

Ahab perswaded *Josaphat* to assist him in the War against the *Syrians*, who held the City of *Ramoth Gilead* from him, and called together four hundred of his Prophets, or *Baalites* to foretel the Success: who promised him Victory. But *Jehoshaphat* believed nothing at all in those Diviners, but resolved first of all to confer with some one Prophet of the Lord God of *Israel*. Hereupon *Achab* made answer that he had one called *Michaiah*, but he hated that Prophet, because he always foretold of evil, and never of any good towards him. Yet sent for *Michaiah* was to the King, but by the way the Messenger prayed him to consent with the rest of the Prophets: and to promise Victory unto them as they did. But *Michaiah* spake the Truth, and repeated his Vision to both Kings, which was that *God asked who shall perswade Ahab, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth Gilead?* to whom a Spirit that stood before the Lord answered, that he would enter into his Prophets, and be in them a false Spirit to delude. For as it is said by Christ, *Non enim vos estis qui loquimini, sed spiritus patris vestri loquitur in vobis*: it is not you that speak, but the Spirit of your Father speaks in you: so in a contrary kind did the Devil in the Prophets of *Baal*, or *Satan*, incourage *Achab* to his destruction. And as *P. Martyr* upon this place well observeth, these evil Spirits are the Ministers of God's Vengeance, and are used as the Hangmen and tormentors, which Princes sometime imploy. For as it pleaseth God by his good Angels, to save and deliver from destruction, of which the Scriptures have many examples: so on the contrary, it is by the evil that he punisheth and destroyeth, both which are said to perform the Will of their Creator, *licet non eodem animo*. *Ecclesiasticus* remembreth a second sort of malignant Natures, but they are every where visible. There are Spirits, saith he, created for Vengeance, which in their rigour lay on sure strokes. In the time of destruction they show forth their Power, and accomplish the wrath of him that made them.

Now *Michaias* having by this his Revelation greatly displeased the King, and the Prophets whose Spirit he discovered, was strucken by *Zedekiah* one of *Baal*'s Prophets, and by *Achab* himself committed to Prison: where he appointed him to be reserved and fed with Bread of affliction till he returned in Peace. But *Michaiah*, not fearing to reply, answered, *If thou return in Peace, the Lord hath not spoken by me.* Nevertheless *Achab* went on in that War, and was wounded to death. *Jehoshaphat* returned to *Jerusalem*, where he was reprehended by *Jehu* the Prophet for assisting an idolatrous Prince, and one that hated God.

After this the *Aramites* or *Damascens*, joyned 2 Chron. 18.
with the *Moabites*, *Ammonites* and *Idumæans* to invade *Judæa*: who pass *Jordan*, and encamp at *Engaddi*, and when *Jehoshaphat* gathered his Army, the Prophet *Jahaziel* foretold him of the Victory, which should be obtained without any bloud-shed of his part: and so when *Jehoshaphat* approached, this assembly of Nations, the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*, disagreeing with the *Idumæans*, and quarrelling for some causes among themselves: those of *Ammon* and *Moab* set upon the *Idumeans*, and brake them utterly, which done, they also invaded each other; in which broil *Jehoshaphat* arriving took 2 Chron. 20.
the Spoil of them all without any loss of his part, as it was foretold and promised by God. Notwithstanding this Victory, *Jehoshaphat* forgetting that he was formerly reprehended for assisting an Idolatrous King, did notwithstanding joyn with *Ochazias* the Son of *Achab*, in preparing a Fleet to send to *Ophir*, hoping of the like return which *Salomon* had: but as *Eliezer* the Prophet foretold him, his Ships perished and were broken in the Port of *Ezion Gaber*, and so that Enterprize was 2 Chron. 20.
overthrown.

Yet he taketh part with *Jehoram* the Brother of *Ochazias*, against the *Moabites*, with which Kings of *Juda* and *Israel* the *Edomites* joyn their Forces, not forgetting, it seems, that the *Moabites*, assisted by the *Ammonites*, had not long before destroyed their Army.

The *Moabites*, Subjects to *David* and *Salomon*, forsaking the Kings of *Juda*, gave themselves for Vassals to *Jeroboam*, and so they continued to his Successors till the death of *Achab*: but *Josaphat*, notwithstanding the Idolatry of his Collegue, yet as it seemeth, he was drawn into this War both to be avenged of the *Moabites* for their defection from *Juda* to *Israel*, as also because they had lately joyned themselves with the *Syrians* against *Josaphat*, and thirdly to punish their double Rebellion who first forsook *Juda* and now *Israel*.

Both Kings resolved to pass by the way of *Idumæa*, thereby the better to assure that Nation, for we find that both *Moab*, *Ammon* and *Edom* were all in the Field together at *Engaddi* against *Jehoshaphat*: But whether they had then declared themselves against *Jehoshaphat*, it is not certain, for in the 2 of *Chronicles* 11. Vers. 8. it is written that in the time of *Jehoram*, the Son of *Josaphat*, *Edom* rebelled, and therefore it seemeth to me that the *Edomites*, when they were slain by *Moab* and *Ammon*, not finding themselves satisfied in such Conditions as they required, offered to turn from them, and to joyn themselves with the Army of *Juda*. For that they were numbred among the Enemies of *Josaphat* it is plain in the 2 of *Chron.* the 20. and as plain *c.* 2 *v.* 8. that they were not declared, nor had made them a King, till *Jehoshaphat*'s death. Now in the passage of the Kings towards *Moab*, whether it were by the extraordinary heat of the year, or whether the *Idumæans* having a purpose to rebell, misled the Army of *Juda* and *Israel* with intent to infeeble them for want

of

of Water; true it is, that they ſuffered the ſame, if not a greater thirſt than the Armies of *Craſſus* and *M. Antonius* did in their *Parthian* Expeditions; and had, in all likelihood, utterly periſhed, had not *Eliſha* taught them to cut Trenches whereinto the Water ſprang, by which not only *Jehoſhaphat* and his Army, but *Jehoram* King of *Iſrael* an Idolater was relieved: the great mercy and goodneſs of God, having ever been prone to ſave the evil for the good, whereas he never deſtroyed the good for the evil.

2 *King.* 3. The miſerable iſſue of this War, and how *Moab* burnt his Son, or the Son of the King of *Edom* for Sacrifice on the Rampire of his own City, I have 2 *Chron.* 20. already written in the Life of *Jehoram* among the Kings of *Iſrael*. *Jehoſhaphat* reigned twenty five Years and died, he was buried in the Valley of *Jehoſhaphat*, and a part of the *Pyramis* ſet over his Grave is yet to be ſeen, ſaith *Brochard.* His Acts are written at large by *Jehu* the Son of *Hanani*. *Broch. ter. ſanct.*

There lived with *Jehoſhaphat*, *Ophratenes* in *Aſſyria*, *Capetus* and *Tiberinus* Kings of the *Albans* in *Italy*; of the latter the River *Tiber* (formerly *Albula*) took Name.

In *Jehoſhaphat's* time alſo ruled *Mecades* or *Mezades* in *Athens*: *Agelas* or *Ageſilaus* in *Corinth*; and *Archilaus* of the ſame Race, of the *Heraclida* the ſeventh in *Lacedamon*. *Badeſorus* ruled the *Tyrians*; *Achab*, *Ochazias* and *Jehoram* the *Iſraelites*.

CHAP. XX.

Of Jehoram *the Son of* Jehoſhaphat, *and* Ahazia.

§. I.

That Jehoram *was made King ſundry times.*

JEHORAM the Son of *Jehoſhaphat* King of *Juda* began to reign at thirty two years of Age, and lived until he was forty years old, being eight years a King: but of theſe eight years, which *Jehoram* is ſaid to have reigned four are to be reckoned in the Life of his Father, who going to the *Syrian* War with *Ahab*, 1 *King.* 22. *verſ.* 51. left this *Jehoram* King in his ſtead, as *Ahab* did his Son *Ahazia*. This appears by the ſeveral beginnings, which are given in Scripture to the two *Jehorams* Kings of *Iſrael* and *Juda*, and to *Ahazia* the eldeſt Son of *Ahab*. For *Ahazia* is ſaid to have begun his Reign, in the ſeventeenth year of *Jehoſhaphat*. *Jehoram* the Brother of *Ahazia* ſucceeded him in the ſecond year of *Jehoram* the Son 2 *King.* 1. 17. of *Jehoſhaphat* King of *Juda*, that is in the next year after that *Jehoram* of *Juda* was deſigned King by his Father; it being (as we find elſewhere) the 2 *King.* 3. *v.* 1. & 9. eighteenth year of *Jehoſhaphat* himſelf, who went with the *Iſraelite* againſt *Moab*. Hereby it appears that the full power and execution of the Royal Office was retained ſtill by *Jehoſhaphat*, who governed abſolutely by himſelf, not communicating the Rule with his Son. But in the fifth year of *Jeho-* 2 *King.* 8. 16. *ram* King of *Iſrael*, which was the two and twentieth of *Jehoſhaphat*, the old King took unto him, as Partner in the Government, this his eldeſt Son, who was at that time thirty two years old, his Father being fifty ſeven. Now foraſmuch as *Je-* 1 *King.* 22. 42. *hoſhaphat* reigned twenty five years, it is evident that his Son did not reign alone till the eighth of *Joram* King of *Iſrael*. The like regard is to be had in accounting the times of other Kings of *Juda* and *Iſrael*, who did not always reign preciſely ſo long as the bare Letter of the Text may ſeem at firſt to affirm: but their years were ſometimes compleat, ſometimes only current, ſometimes confounded with the years of their Succeſſors or Foregoers, and muſt therefore be found by comparing their times with the years of thoſe others, with whom they did begin and end.

It were perhaps a thing leſs needful than curious, to enquire into the Reaſons moving *Jehoſhaphat* either to aſſume unto him his Son as Partner in the Kingdom, whilſt he was able himſelf to command both in Peace and in War, the like having never been done by any of his Progenitors, or having once (in the ſeventeenth of his Reign) vouchſafed unto him that honour, to reſume it unto himſelf, or at leaſt-wiſe to defer the confirmation of it, until four or five years were paſſed. Yet foraſmuch as to enter into the examination of theſe Paſſages, may be a mean to find ſome light, whereby we may more clearly diſcover the cauſes of much extraordinary Buſineſs enſuing, I hold it not amiſs to make ſuch Conjecture, as the Circumſtances of the Story briefly handled in the Scriptures may ſeem to approve.

We are therefore to conſider; that this King *Jehoſhaphat* was the firſt of *Rehoboam's* iſſue that ever entred into any ſtreight League with the Kings of the ten Tribes. All that reigned in *Juda* before him, had with much Labour and long War, tired themſelves in vain, making ſmall Profit of the greateſt Advantages that could be wiſhed. Wherefore *Jehoſhaphat* thought it the wiſeſt way, to make a League offenſive and defenſive between *Iſrael* and *Juda*, whereby each might enjoy their own in quiet.

This Confederacy made by a religious King, with one that did *hate the Lord*; could not long 2 *Chron.* 19. 2, & 3. proſper, as not iſſuing from the true *Root and Fountain of all Wiſdom*: yet as a piece of ſound Policy, doubtleſs it wanted not fair Pretences of much common good thereby likely to ariſe, with mutual fortification of both thoſe Kingdoms, againſt the uncircumciſed Nations their ancient Enemies. This apparent Benefit, being ſo ineſtimable a Jewel that it might not eaſily be loſt, but continue as Hereditary from Father to Son, it was thought a very good courſe to have it confirmed by ſome ſure Bond of Affinity, and thereupon was *Athalia* the Daughter of *Omri* and Siſter of *Ahab* King of *Iſrael*, given in Marriage to *Jehoram*, who was Son and Heir apparent to the King of *Juda*. This Lady was of a maſculine Spirit, and had learned ſo much of Queen *Jezabel* her Brothers Wife, that ſhe durſt undertake, and could throughly perform a great deal more in *Jeruſalem*, than the other knew how to compaſs in *Samaria*. She was indeed a fire-brand, ordained by

God to consume a great part of the noblest houses in *Juda*, and perhaps of those Men or their Children, whose worldly wisdom, regardless of Gods pleasure, had brought her in.

The first-fruits of this great League, was the *Syrian* War at *Ramoth Gilead*, wherein *Juda* and *Israel* did adventure equally, but the profit of the victory should have redounded wholly to *Ahab*: as godly Princes very seldom thrive by matching with Idolaters, but rather serve the turns of those false friends, who being ill affected to God himself, cannot be well affected to his servants. Before their setting forth, *Ahab* designed, as King, his Son *Ahazia*; not so much perhaps in regard of the uncertain events of War (for none of his predecessors had ever done the like upon the like occasions) nor as fearing the threatnings of the Prophet *Michaia* (for he despised them) as inviting *Jehoshaphat* by his own example, to take the same course, wherein he prevailed.

§. II.

Probable conjectures of the motives inducing the old King Jehoshaphat *to change his purpose often, in making his Son* Jehoram *King.*

MAny arguments do very strongly prove *Jehoram* to have been wholly over-ruled by his Wife; especially for his forsaking the religion of his godly ancestors, and following the abominable superstitions of the house of *Achab*.

That she was a Woman of intolerable pride, and abhorring to live a private life, the whole course of her actions witnesseth at large. Much vain matter she was able to produce, whereby to make her husband think that his brethren and kindred were but mean and unworthy persons in comparison of him, and of his Children, which were begotten upon the daughter and sister of two great Kings, not upon base Women and meer Subjects. The Court of *Ahab*, and his famous victories obtained against the *Syrian Benhadad*, were matter sufficient to make an insolent Man think highly of himself, as being allied so honourably; who could otherwise have found in his heart well enough, to despise all his brethren, as being the eldest, and heir apparent to the Crown, whereof already he had, in a manner, the possession.

How soon his vices brake out, or how long he dissembled them and his Idolatrous religion, it cannot certainly be known. Like enough it is, that some smoak, out of the hidden fire, did very soon make his Fathers eyes to water; who thereupon caused the young Man to know himself better, by making him fall back into rank among his younger brethren. And surely the doings of *Jehoshaphat* about the same time, argue no small distemper of the whole Country, through the misgovernment of his ungodly Son. For the good old King was fain to make his progress round about the land, reclaiming the people unto the service of God, and appointing Judges *throughout all the strong Cities of Juda City by City*. This had been a needless labour, if the religion taught and strongly maintained by *Asa*, and by himself, had not suffered alteration, and the course of Justice been perverted by the power of such as had born authority. But the necessity that then was of reformation, appears by the charge which the King did give to the Judges; and by his commission given to one of the Priests in spiritual causes, and to the steward of his house in temporal matters, to be general overseers.

2 Chron. 19. v. 4, 5, &c.

This was not till after the death of *Ahazia* the Son of *Ahab*; but how long after it is uncertain. For *Jehoram* the brother of *Ahazia* began his raign (as hath been already noted) in the eighteenth of *Jehoshaphat*, which was then accounted the second of *Jehoram Jehoshaphat's* Son, though afterward this *Jehoram* of *Juda* had another first and second year, even in his Fathers time, before he reigned alone, as the best Chronologers and expositors of the holy text agree. So he continued in private estate, until the two and twentieth of his Fathers raign, at which time, though the occasions inducing his restitution to former dignity are not set down, yet we may not think, that motives thereto, appearing substantial, were wanting. *Jehoram* of *Israel* held the same correspondency with *Jehoshaphat*, that his Father had done; and made use of it. He drew the *Judæan* into the War of *Moab*, at which time it might well be, that the young Prince of *Juda* was again ordained King by his Father, as in the *Syrian* expedition he had been. Or if we ought rather to think, that the preparations for the enterprize against *Moab* did not occupy so much time, as from the eighteenth of *Jehoshaphat*, in which year that Nation rebelled against *Israel*, unto his two and twentieth; yet the daily negotiations between the two Kings of *Juda* and *Israel*, and the affinity between them contracted in the person of *Jehoram*, might offer some good occasions thereunto. Neither is it certain how the behaviour of the younger Sons, in their elder brothers disgrace, might cause their Father to put him in possession, for fear of tumult after his death; or the deep dissimulation of *Jehoram* himself, might win the good opinion both of his Father and Brethren; it being a thing usual in mischievous fell Natures, to be as abject and servile in time of adversity, as insolent and bloody upon advantage. This is manifest, that being repossessed of his former estate, he demeaned himself in such wise towards his brethren, as caused their Father to enable them, not only with store *of Silver, and of Gold, and of pretious things*, (which kind of liberality other Kings doubtless had used unto their younger Sons) but with the custody of *strong Cities in Juda*, to assure them, if it might have been, by unwonted means, against unwonted perils.

2 Chron. 21. 3.

§. III.

The doings of Jehoram *when he raigned alone; and the rebellion of* Edom *and* Libna.

BUt all this providence availed nothing; for an higher providence had otherwise determined of the sequel. When once the good old Man, their Father, was dead, the younger Sons of *Jehoshaphat* found strong Cities, a weak defence, against the power of him to whom the Citizens were obedient. If they came in upon the Summons of the King their brother, then had he them without more ado; if they stood upon their guard, then were they Traitors, and so unable to hold out against him, who besides his own power, was able to bring the forces of the *Israelitish* Kingdom against them, so that the apparent likelihood of their final overthrow, sufficed to make all forsake them in the very beginning. Howsoever it was, they were all taken and slain, and with them for company many great Men of the Land; such belike, as either had taken their part, when the Tyrant sought their lives, or had been appointed Rulers of

of the Country, when *Jehoram* was deposed from his Government; in which Office they, without forbearing to do justice, could hardly avoid the doing of many things, derogatory to their young Master, which if he would now call treason, saying that he was then King, who durst say the contrary?

After this *Jehoram* took upon him, as being now Lord alone, to make innovations in religion; wherein he was not contented as other Idolatrous Princes, to give way and safe-conduct unto superstition and Idolatry, nor to provoke and encourage the people to that sin, whereto it is wonderful that they were so much addicted, having such knowledge of God, and of his detesting that above all other sins; but he used compulsion, and was (if not the very first) the first that is registred, to have set up irreligion by force.

Whilst he was thus busied at home, in doing what he listed, the *Edomites* his Tributaries rebelled against him abroad; and having hitherto, since *David*'s time, been governed by a *Viceroy*, did now make unto themselves a King. Against these *Jehoram* in person made an expedition, taking along with him his Princes, and all his Chariots, with which he obtained victory in the field, compelling the Rebels to flie into their places of advantage, whereof he forced no one, but went away contented with the honour that he had gotten in beating and killing some of those, whom he should have subdued, and kept his Servants. Now began the Prophecy of *Isaac* to take effect, wherein he fore-told, that *Esau* in procels of time should break the yoke of *Jacob*. For after this the *Edomites* could never be reclaimed by any of the Kings of *Juda*, but held their own so well, that when, after many civil and foreign Wars, the *Jews* by sundry Nations had been brought low; *Antipater* the *Edomite*, with *Herod* his Son, and others of that race following them, became Lords of the *Jews*, in the decrepit age of *Israel*, and reigned as Kings, even in *Jerusalem* it self.

The Freedom of the *Edomites*, though purchased somewhat dearly, encouraged *Libna*, a great City within *Juda*, which in the time of *Josuah* had a peculiar King, to rebel against *Jehoram*, and set it self at liberty. *Libna* stood in the confines of *Benjamin* and of *Dan*, far from the assistance of any bordering enemies to *Juda*, and therefore so unlikely it was to have maintained it self in liberty, that it may seem strange how it could escape from utter destruction, or at the least from some terrible vengeance, most likely to have been taken, by their powerful, cruel, and throughly incensed Lord. The *Israelite* held such good intelligence at that time with *Juda*, that he would not have accepted the Town, had it offered it self unto him: neither do we read that it sought how to cast it self into a new Subjection, but continued a free Estate.

2 Chron. 21. 10. The Rebellion of it against *Jehoram*, was, *Because he had forsaken the Lord God of his Fathers*; which I take to have not only been the first and remote cause, but even the next and immediate reason, moving the inhabitants to do as they did: For it was a Town of the *Levites*: who must needs be driven into great extremities, when a religion contrary to God's law, had not only some allowance to countenance it by the King, but compulsive authority to force unto it all that were unwilling. As for the use of the Temple at *Jerusalem* (which being devout Men they might fear to lose by this Rebellion) it was never denyed to those of the ten revolted Tribes by any of the religious Kings,

2 Chron. 30. who rather invited the *Israelites* thither, and gave them kind entertainment: under Idolaters they must have been without it whether they lived free or in subjection. Yet it seems that private reasons were not wanting, which might move them rather to do than to suffer that which was unwarrantable. For in the general visitation before remembred, wherein *Jehosaphat* reformed his Kingdom, the good old King appointing new Governours, and giving them especial charge to do justice without respect of persons, used these words; *The Levites shall be Officers before you; Be of Good courage and do it, and the Lord shall be with the good.* By these phrases, it seems, that he encouraged them against the more powerful, than just proceedings of his Son; whom if the *Levites* did (according to the trust reposed in them) neglect, in discharging their duties, likely it is that he meant to be even with them, and make them now to feel, as many Princes of the Land had done, his heavy indignation. How it happened that *Libna* was not hereupon destroyed, yea that it was not (for ought that we can read) so much as besieged or molested, may justly seem very strange. And the more strange it is in regard of the mighty Armies which *Jehosaphat* was able to raise, being sufficient to have over-whelmed any one Town, and buried it under the earth, which they might in one Month have cast into it with shovels, by ordinary approaches.

But it seems that of these great numbers which his Father could have levied, there were not many whom *Jehoram* could well trust; and therefore perhaps he thought it an easier loss, to let one Town go, than to put weapons into their hands, who were more likely to follow the example of *Libna*, than to punish it. So desperate is the condition of Tyrants, who thinking it a greater happiness to be feared, than to be loved; are fain themselves to stand in fear of those, by whom they might have been dreadful unto others.

§. IV.

Of the miseries falling upon Jehoram, *and of his death.*

THese afflictions not sufficing to make any impression of Gods displeasure in the mind of the wicked Prince; a prophecy in writing was delivered unto him, which threatned both his people, his Children, his Wives, and his own body. Hereby likewise it appears that he was a cruel Persecutor of Gods servants; in as much as the Prophets durst not reprove him to his face, as they had done many of his Predecessors, both good and evil Kings, but were fain to denounce Gods judgments against him by letters, keeping themselves close and far from him. This Epistle is said to have been sent unto him from *Elias* the Prophet. But *Elias* was translated, and *Elizeus* prophesied in his stead before this time, even in the days of *Jehosephat*. Wherefore it may be that *Elias* left this prophecy in writing, behind him, or that (as some conjecture) the errour of one letter in writing, was the occasion that we read *Elias* for *Elizeus*. Indeed any thing may rather be believed than the Tradition held by some of the *Jewish Rabbins*, that *Elias* from Heaven did send this Epistle; a tale somewhat like to the fable of our Ladies letters, devised by *Erasmus*, or of the Verse that was sent from Heaven to St. *Giles*.

2 Chron. 21. 12.

2 Kings c. 2. & c. 3. v. 11.

But whosoever was the Author of this threatning Epistle, the accomplishment of the prophecy was as terrible, as the sentence. For the *Philistims* and *Arabians* brake into *Judaa*, and took the Kings House,

Houſe, wherein they found all, or many of his Children, and Wives, all which they ſlew, or carried away, with great part of his goods. Theſe *Philiſtims* had not preſumed ſince the time of *David*, to make any offenſive War till now; for they were by him almoſt conſumed, and had loſt the beſt of their Towns, maintaining themſelves in the reſt of their ſmall Territory, by defenſive arms, to which they were conſtrained at *Gibbethon* by the *Iſraelites*. The *Arabians* were likely to have been then as they are now, a naked people, all Horſemen, and ill appointed; their Country affording no other furniture, than ſuch as might make them fitter to rob and ſpoil in the open fields, than to offend ſtrong Cities ſuch as were thick ſet in *Juda*. True it is that in ages long after following, they conquered all the South parts of the World then known, in a very ſhort ſpace of time, deſtroying ſome, and building other ſome very ſtately Cities. But it muſt be conſidered, that this was when they had learned of the *Romans* the art of War; and that the proviſions which they found, together with the arts which they learned, in one ſubdued Province, did make them able and skilful in purſuing their conqueſt, and going onward into Regions far removed from them. At this day having loſt in effect all that they had gotten, ſuch of them as live in *Arabia* it ſelf are good Horſemen, but ill appointed, very dangerous to paſſengers, but unable to deal with good Souldiers, as riding ſtark naked, and rather truſting in the ſwiftneſs of their horſes, than in any other means of reſiſtance, where they are well oppoſed. And ſuch, or little better, may they ſeem to have been, that ſpoiled *Judæa* in the time of *Jehoram*. For their Country was always barren and Deſart, wanting manual arts whereby to ſupply the naturals with furniture: neither are theſe bands named as chief in that action, but rather adherents of the *Philiſtims*. Out of this we may infer, that one half, yea or one quarter of the numbers found in the leaſt muſter of *Juda* and *Benjamin* under *Jehoſaphat* (wherein were inrolled three hundred and eighty thouſand fighting Men) had been enough to have driven away far greater forces than theſe enemies are likely to have brought into the field, had not the people been unable to deal with them, for lack of weapons, which were now kept from them by their Princes jealouſie, as in *Saul*'s time by the policy of the *Philiſtims*.

It may ſeem that the houſe of the King which theſe invaders took, was not his Palace in *Jeruſalem*, but rather ſome other houſe of his abroad in the Country, where his Wives and Children at that time lay for their recreation: becauſe we read not that they did ſack the City, or ſpoil the Temple, which would have invited them as a more commodious booty, had they got poſſeſſion thereof. Yet perhaps they took *Jeruſalem* it ſelf by ſurpriſe, the people being diſarmed, and the Kings guards too weak to keep them out; yet had not the courage to hold it, becauſe it was ſo large and populous; and therefore having done what ſpoil they could, withdrew themſelves with ſuch purchace as they were able ſafely to convey away.

The ſlaughter committed by *Jehu* upon the two and forty brethren of *Ahazia*, or (as they are called elſewhere) ſo many of his Brothers Sons, and the cruel maſſacre wherein all the Royal ſeed periſhed (only *Joas* excepted) under the tyranny of *Athalia* following within two years after this invaſion of the *Philiſtims*, and *Arabians*, make it ſeem probable, that the Sons of *Jehoram* were not all ſlain at once, but that rather the firſt murther began in his own time, and was ſeconded by many other heavy blows, wherewith his houſe was inceſſantly ſtricken, until it was in a manner quite hewed down.

After theſe calamities, the hand of God was extended againſt the body of this wicked King, ſmiting him with a grievous diſeaſe in his bowels, which left him not until his guts fell out, and his wretched Soul departed from his miſerable carcaſs. The people of the Land, as they had ſmall cauſe of comfort in his life, ſo had they not the good manners to pretend ſorrow for his death; wherefore he was denyed a place of burial among his Anceſtors the Kings of *Juda*, though his own Son ſucceeded him in the Kingdom, who was guided by the ſame Spirits that had been his Fathers evil Angels. *Athalia* had other matters to trouble her head, than the pompous interring of a dead huſband. She was thinking how to provide for the future, to maintain her own greatneſs, to retain her favorites in their authority, and to place about her Son ſuch *Counſellers, of the houſe of Ahab*, as were fitteſt for her turn. Wherefore ſhe thought it unſeaſonable to make much a-do about a thing of nothing, and offend the peoples eyes, with a ſtately funeral of a Man by them deteſted: but rather choſe to let the blame of things paſſed be laid upon the dead, than to procure an ill opinion of her ſelf, and hers, which it now did concern her to avoid. Such is the quality of wicked inſtigators, having made greedy uſe of bad imployments, to charge, not only with his own vices, but with their faults alſo, the Man whoſe evil inclinations their miniſter counſels have made worſe, when once he is gone and can profit them no longer. The death of *Jehoram* fell out indeed in a buſy time; when his friend and Coſin the *Iſraelite*, who had the ſame name, was entangled in a difficult War againſt the *Aramite*; and therefore could have had no better leiſure to help *Athalia* in ſetting of things according to her own mind, than he had (perhaps through the ſame hindrance) to help her husband, when he was diſtreſſed by the *Philiſtims*. Yea rather he needed and craved the aſſiſtance of the Men of *Juda*, for the taking in of *Ramoth Gilead*, where they had not ſped ſo well the laſt time, that they ſhould willingly run thither again, unleſs they were very fairly intreated. 2 *Chron.* 22. 4.

The acts of this wicked Man I have thought good to handle the more particularly (purſuing the examination of all occurrences, as far as the circumſtances remembred in holy Scripture, would guide me by their directions) to the end that it might more plainly appear, how the corrupted affections of men, impugning the revealed will of God, accompliſh nevertheleſs his hidden purpoſe, and without miraculous means, confound themſelves in the ſeeming-wiſe devices of their own folly: as likewiſe to the end that all men might learn, to ſubmit their judgments to the ordinance of God, rather than to think, that they may ſafely diſpenſe with his commandments, and follow the prudent conceits which worldly wiſdom dictateth unto them. For in ſuch kind of unhappy ſubtilties, it is manifeſt that *Athalia* was able to furniſh both her Husband and her Son, but the Iſſue of them partly hath appeared already, and partly will appear, in that which immediately followeth.

§. V.

§. V.

Of the raign of Ahazia, *and his busines with the King of* Israel.

OChazias, or *Ahazia*, the Son of *Jehoram* and *Athalia*, began his raign over *Juda* in the twelfth year of *Jehoram*, the Son of *Ahab* King of *Israel*, and raigned but that one year. Touching his age, it is a point of more difficulty than importance to know it; yet hath it bred much disputation, whereof I see no more probable conclusion, than that of *Tornellus*, alledging the Edition of the *Septuagint* at *Rome*, *Anno Domini* 1588. which saith that he was twenty years old in the beginning of his Kingdom, and the Annotations thereupon, which cite other Copies, that give him two years more. Like enough he is to have been young: for he was governed by his Mother, and her Ministers, who gave him counsel by which he perished. In matter of Religion he altered none of his Fathers courses. In matter of State, he likewise upheld the League made with the House of *Ahab*. He was much busied in doing little, and that with ill success. He accompanied his Cosen the *Israelite* against *Ramoth Gilead*, which they wan, but not without blows: for the *Aramites* fought so well, that the King of *Israel* was fain to adventure his own person, which scaped not unwounded. The Town being won was manned strongly, in expectation of some attempt likely to be made by *Hazael* King of *Aram*: which done, *Jehoram* King of *Israel* withdrew himself to the City of *Izreel*, where with more quiet he might attend the curing of his wounds; and *Ahazia* returned to *Jerusalem*. It seems that he was but newly come home (for he raigned in all scantly one year, whereof the former expedition, with the preparations for it, had taken up a great part) when he made a new journey, as it were for good manners sake, to visit the King of *Israel*, who lay sore of his wounds. Belike *Athalia* was brewing some new plots, which his presence would have hindred, and therefore sought every occasion to thrust him abroad: for otherwise it was but a vain piece of Work so to leave his Kingdom, having no other business than by way of complement to go to see one whom he had seen yesterday. Certain it is that the Lord had resolved at this time to put in execution that heavy judgment, which he had laid by the mouth of *Elias* the Prophet, upon the house of *Ahab*. And hereunto at this time had he disposed not only the concurrence of all other things, which in mans eyes might seem to have been accidental; but the very thoughts and affections of such persons, as intended nothing less than the fulfilling of his high pleasure. Of these *Athalia* doubtless was one; whose mischievous purposes it will shortly be needful for explanation of some difficulties arising, that we diligently consider and examine.

§. VI.

How Ahazia *perished with the house of* Ahab: *and how that Family was destroyed by* Jehu.

THe whole Army of *Israel*, with all the principal Captains lying in *Ramoth Gilead*, a Disciple of *Elizeus* the Prophet came in among the Captains that were sitting together, who calling out from among them *Jehu*, a principal Man, took him apart, and anointed him King over *Israel*, rehearsing unto him the propnecy of *Elias* against the house of *Ahab*, and letting him understand that it was the pleasure of God to make him executioner of that sentence. The fashion of the Messenger was such as bred in the Captains a desire to know his errand, which *Jehu* thought meet to let them know, as doubting whether they had overheard all the talk or no. When he had acquainted them with the whole matter, they made no delay, but forthwith proclaimed him King. For the prophecy of *Elias* was well known among them, neither durst any one oppose himself against him, that was by God ordained to perform it.

Jehu who had upon the suddain this great honour thrown upon him, was not slow to put himself in possession of it, but used the first heat of their affections who joyned with him, in setting on foot the business which nearly concerned him, and was not to be foreslowed, being no more his own than Gods.

The first care taken was that no news of the revolt might be carried to *Izreel*, whereby the King might have had warning either to fight or flee: this being foreseen he marched swiftly away, to take the Court while it was yet secure. King *Jehoram* was now so well recovered of his wounds, that he could endure to ride abroad, for which cause it seems that there was much feasting, and joy made, especially by Queen *Jezabel*, who kept her state so well, that the brethren of *Ahazia* coming thither at this time, did make it as well their errand to salute the Queen, as to visit the King.

Certain it is, that since the rebellion of *Moab* against *Israel*, the house of *Ahab* did never so much flourish as at this time. Seventy Princes of the blood Royal there were that lived in *Samaria*; *Jehoram* the Son of Queen *Jezabel* had won *Ramoth Gilead*, which his Father had attempted in vain, with loss of his life; and he won it by valiant fight, wherein he received wounds, of which the danger was now past, but the honour likely to continue. The amity was so great between *Israel* and *Juda*, that it might suffice to daunt all their common enemies, leaving no hope of success, to any rebellious enterprizer: so that now the prophecy of *Elias* might be forgotten, or no otherwise remembred, than as an unlikely tale, by them that beheld the majestical face of the Court, wherein so great a friend as the King of *Juda* was entertained, and forty Princes of his blood expected.

In the midst of this security, whilst these great Estates were (perhaps) either consulting about prosecution of their intents, first against the *Aramites*, and then against *Moab*, *Edom*, and other rebells and enemies; or else were triumphing in joy of that which was already well atchieved, and the Queen-Mother dressing her self in the bravest manner to come down amongst them; tidings were brought in, that the watchman had from a Tower discovered a company coming. These news were not very troublesome: for the Army that lay in *Ramoth Gilead*, to be ready against all attempts of the *Aramites*, was likely enough to be discharged upon some notice taken that the enemy would not, or could not stir. Only the King sent out an Horse-man to know what the matter was, and to bring him word. The messenger coming to *Jehu*, and asking whether all were well, was retained by him, who intended to give the King as little warning as might be. The seeming negligence of this fellow in not returning with an answer, might argue the matter to be of small importance: yet the King to be satisfied, sent out another,

that

that ſhould bring him word how all went; and he was likewiſe detained by *Jehu*. Theſe dumb ſhows bred ſome ſuſpicion in *Jehoram*, whom the Watchmen certified of all that happened. And now the compay drew ſo near that they might, though not perfectly, be diſcerned, and notice taken of *Jehu* himſelf by the furious manner of his marching. Wherefore the King that was loth to diſcover any weakneſs, cauſed his Chariot to be made ready, and iſſued forth with *Ahazia* King of *Juda* in his company, whoſe preſence added Majeſty to his Train, when ſtrength to reſiſt, or expedition to flee had been more needful. This could not be done ſo haſtily, but that *Jehu* was come even to the Towns end, and there they met each other in the field of *Naboth*. *Jehoram* began to ſalute *Jehu* with terms of Peace, but receiving a bitter anſwer, his heart failed him, ſo that crying out upon the Treaſon to his fellow King, he turned away to have fled. But *Jehu* ſoon overtook him with an Arrow, wherewith he ſtrook him dead, and threw his carcaſs into that field, which, purchaſed with the blood of the rightful owner, was to be watered with blood of the unjuſt poſſeſſour. Neither did *Ahazia* eſcape ſo well, but that he was arreſted by a wound, which held him till death did ſeize upon him.

The Kings Palace was joyning to the Wall, by the gate of the City, where *Jezebel* might ſoon be advertiſed of this calamity, if ſhe did not with her own eyes behold it. Now it was high time for her to call to God for mercy, whoſe judgment, pronounced againſt her long before, had overtaken her, when ſhe leaſt expected it. But ſhe, full of indignation, and proud thoughts, made her ſelf ready in all haſt, and painted her face, hoping with her ſtately and imperious looks to daunt the Traitour, or at the leaſt to utter ſome *Apophthegm*, that ſhould expreſs her brave ſpirit, and brand him with ſuch a reproach as might make him odious for ever. Little did ſhe think upon the hungry Dogs, that were ordained to devour her, whoſe paunches the *ſtibium*, with which ſhe beſmeared her eyes, would more offend, than the ſcolding language wherewith ſhe armed her tongue, could trouble the ears of him that had her in his power. As *Jehu* drew near ſhe opened her window, and looking out upon him, began to put him in mind of *Zimri*, that had not long injoyed the fruits of his Treaſon, and murther of the King his Maſter. This was in meer humane valuation ſtoutly ſpoken, but was indeed a part of miſerable folly, as are all things, howſoever laudable, if they have an ill relation to *God the Lord of all*. Her own *Eunuchs* that ſtood by and heard her, were not affected ſo much as with any compaſſion of her fortune; much leſs was her enemy daunted with her proud ſpirit. When *Jehu* ſaw that ſhe did uſe the little remainder of her life in ſeeking to vex him; he made her preſently to underſtand her own eſtate, by deeds and not by words. He only called to her Servants to know which of them would be of his ſide, and ſoon found them ready to offer their ſervice, before the very face of their proud Lady. Hereupon he commanded them to caſt her down head-long: which immediately they performed without all regard of her greatneſs and eſtate, wherein ſhe had a few hours before ſhined ſo gloriouſly in the eys of Men; of Men that conſidered not the judgments of God that had been denounced againſt her.

So periſhed this accurſed Woman by the rude hands of her own Servants, at the commandment of her greateſt Enemy, that was yeſterday her Subject, but now her Lord: and ſhe periſhed miſerably ſtrugling in vain with baſe Grooms, who contumelioufly did hale and thruſt her, whilſt her inſulting Enemy ſate on Horſe-back, adding indignity to her grief by ſcornfully beholding the ſhameful manner of her fall, and trampling her body under foot. Her dead carcaſs that was left without the Walls was devoured by Doggs, and her very memory was odious. Thus the vengeance of God rewarded her Idolatry, Murther, and oppreſſion, with ſlow, but ſure payment, and full intereſt.

Ahazia King of *Juda* fleeing a-pace from *Jehu*, was over-taken by the way where he lurked, and receiving his deadly wound in the Kingdom of *Samaria*, was ſuffered to get him gone (which he did in all haſt) and ſeek his burial in his own Kingdom: and this favour he obtained for his Grand-fathers ſake, not for his Fathers, nor his own. He died at *Megiddo*, and was thence carried to *Jeruſalem*, where he was interred with his Anceſtors, having reigned about one year.

CHAP. XXI.

Of Athalia, *and whoſe Son he was that ſuceeded unto her.*

§. I.

Of Athalia *her uſurping the Kingdom, and what pretences ſhe might forge.*

2 Chron. 22. 9.

After the death of *Ahazia*, it is ſaid that his houſe *was not able to retain the Kingdom*: which note, and the proceedings of *Athalia* upon the death of her Son, have given occaſion to divers opinions concerning the Pedigree of *Joas* who reigned ſhortly after. For *Athalia* being thus diſpoiled of her Son, under whoſe name ſhe had ruled at her pleaſure, did forthwith lay hold upon all the Princes of the blood, and ſlew them, that ſo ſhe might occupy the Royal Throne her ſelf, and reign as Queen, rather than live a Subject. She had before hand put into great place, and made Counſellors unto her Son, ſuch as were fitteſt for her purpoſe, and ready at all times to excute her will: that ſhe kept a ſtrong guard about her it is very likely; and as likely it is that the great execution done by *Jehoram*, upon the Princes, and many of the Nobility, had made the people tame, and fearful to ſtir, whatſoever they ſaw or heard.

Yet ambition, how violent ſoever it be, is ſeldom or never ſo ſhameleſs as to refuſe the commodity of goodly pretences offering themſelves; but rather ſcrapes together all that will any way ſerve to colour her proceedings. Wherefore it were

were not absurd for us to think, that *Athalia* when she saw the Princes of the Royal blood, all of them in a manner, slain by her Husband, and afterwards his own Children destroyed by the *Philistims*, began even then to play her own game, reducing by artificial practice, into fair likelyhoods, those possibilities wherewith her Husbands bad fortune had presented her. Not without great show of reason, either by her own mouth, or by some trusty creature of hers, might she give him to understand, how needful it were to take the best order whilst as yet he might, for fear of the worst that might happen. If the Issue of *David*, which now remained only in his Family, should by any accident fail (as woful experience had already shewed what might after come to pass) the people of *Juda* were not unlikely to choose a King of some new stock, a popular seditious Man peradventure, one that to countenance his own unworthiness, would not care what aspersions he laid upon that Royal house, which was fallen down. And who could assure him, that some ambitious spirit, fore-seeing what might be gotten thereby, did not already contrive the destruction of him, and all his seed? Wherefore it were the wisest way to design by his authority, not only his Successor, but also the reversioner, and so to provide, that the Crown might never be subject to any rifeling, but remain in the disposition of them that loved him best, if the worst that might be feared coming to pass, his own posterity could not retain it.

Such perswasions being urged, and earnestly followed, by the importunate solicitation of her that governed his affections, were able to make the jealous Tyrant think that the only way to frustrate all devices of such as gaped after a change, was to make her Heir to the last and youngest of his house, whom it most concerned, as being the Queen-Mother, to up-hold the first and eldest.

If *Athalia* took no such course as this in her Husbands times, yet might she do it in her Sons. For *Ahazia* (besides that he was wholly ruled by his Mother) was not likely to take much care for the security of his half-brethren, or their Children; as accounting his Fathers other Wives, in respect of his own high Born-Mother, little better than Concubines, and their Children basely begotten. But if this mischievous Woman forgat her self so far in her wicked policy, that she lost all opportunity which the weakness of her Husband and Son did afford, of procuring to her self some seeming Title; yet could she afterwards feign some such matter, as boldly she might: being sure that none would ask to see her evidence, for fear of being sent to learn the certainty of her Son or Husband in another world. But I rather think that she took order for her affairs before hand. For though she had no reason to suspect or fear the sudden death of her Son, yet it was the wisest way to provide betimes against all that might happen, whilst her Husbands issue by other Women was young and unable to resist. We plainly find that the Brethren or Nephews of *Ahazia*, to the number of two and forty, were sent to the Court of *Israel*, only to salute the Children of the King, and the Children of the Queen. The slender occasion of which long journey, considered together with the quality of these persons (being in effect all the stock of *Jehoram* that could be grown to any strength) makes it very suspicious that their entertainment in *Jezabels* house would only have been more formal, but little differing in substance, from that which they found at the hand of *Jehu*. He that looks into the courses held both before and after by these two Queens, will find cause enough to think no less. Of such as have aspired unto Lordships not belonging to them, and thrust out the right Heirs by pretence of Testaments, that had no other validity than the Sword of such as claimed by them could give, Histories of late, yea of many Ages, afford plentiful examples: and the rule of *Salomon* is true: *Is there any thing whereof one may say, Behold this is new? it hath been already in the old time that was before us.* Eccles. 1. 10. That a King might shed his Brothers blood, was proved by *Salomon* upon *Adonija*; that he might aliene the Crown from his natural Heirs, *David* had given proof: but these had good ground of their doings. They which follow examples that please them, will neglect the reasons of those examples, if they please them not, and rest contented with the practice, as more willingly shewing what they may do, than acknowledging why. *Salomon* slew his Brother that had begun one Rebellion, and was entring into another. *Jehoram slew all his brethren, which were better than he*: *David* purchased the Kingdom, and might the more freely dispose of it, yet he disposed of it as the Lord appointed; if *Jehoram*, who had lost much and gotten nothing, thought that he might aliene the remainder at his pleasure; or if *Ahazia* sought to cut off the Succession of his Brethren, or of their Issue: either of these was to be answered with the words which *Jehoiada* the Priest used afterwards, in declaring the title of *Joash*, *Behold the Kings Son must reign, as the Lord hath said of the Sons of David.* Wherefore though I hold it very probable, that *Athalia* did pretend some title, whatsoever it might be, to the Crown of *Juda*; yet it is most certain that she had thereunto no right at all, but only got it by treachery, murder, and open violence; and so she held it six whole years, and a part of the seventh, in good seeming-security. 2 Chro. 21. ver. 13.

§. II.

How Jehu *spent his time in* Israel, *so that he could not molest* Athalia.

IN all this time *Jehu* did never go about to disturb her; which in reason he was likely to desire, being an enemy to her whole House. But he was occupied at the first in establishing himself, rooting out the posterity of *Ahab*, and reforming somewhat in Religion: afterwards in Wars against the *Aramite*, wherein he was so far overcharged, that hardly he could retain his own, much less attempt upon others. Of the line of *Ahab* there were seventy living in *Samaria*, out of which number *Jehu* by Letter advised the Citizens to set up some one as King, and to prepare themselves to fight in his defence. Hereby might they gather how confident he was, which they well understood to proceed from greater power about him, than they could gather to resist him. Wherefore they took example by the two Kings whom he had slain, and being exceedingly afraid of him, they offered him their service; wherein they so readily shewed themselves obedient, that in less than one days warning, they sent him the heads of all those Princes, as they were injoyned by a second Letter from him. After this he surprized all the Priests of *Baal* by a subtilty, feigning a great Sacrifice to their God, by which means he drew them all together into one Temple, where he slew them; and in the same zeal to God utterly demolished all the Monuments of that impiety.

Concerning the Idolatry devised by *Jeroboam*, no King of *Israel* had ever greater reason than *Jehu* to destroy it. For he needed not to fear lest the people should be allured unto the house of *David*; it was (in appearance) quite rooted up, and the

Crown of *Juda* in the poſſeſſion of a cruel Tyranneſs: he had received his Kingdom by the unexpected Grace of God; and further, in regard of his zeal expreſſed in deſtroying *Baal* out of *Iſrael*, he was promiſed, notwithſtanding his following the ſin of *Jeroboam*, that the Kingdom ſhould remain in his Family, to the fourth Generation. But all this would not ſerve; he would needs help to piece out Gods providence with his own circumſpection; doing therein like a fooliſh greedy Gameſter, who by ſtealing a needleſs Card to aſſure himſelf of winning a ſtake, forfeits his whole reſt. He had queſtionleſs diſpleaſed many, by that which he did againſt *Baal*; and many more he ſhould offend by taking from them the uſe of a ſuperſtition, ſo long practiſed as was that Idolatry of *Jeroboam*. Yet all theſe, how many ſoever they were, had never once thought upon making him King, if God, whom, to retain them, he now forſook, had not given him the Crown, when more difficulties appeared in the way of getting it, than could at any time after be found in the means of holding it.

This ingratitude of *Jehu* drew terrible vengeance of God upon *Iſrael*, whereof *Hazael* King of *Damaſcus*, was the Executioner. The cruelty of this barbarous Prince we may find in the prophecy of *Elizæus*, who fore-told it, ſaying: *Their ſtrong Cities ſhalt thou ſet on fire, and their young Men ſhalt thou ſlay with the Sword, and ſhalt daſh their Infants againſt the Stones, and rent in pieces their Women with Child.* So did not only the wickedneſs of *Ahab* cauſe the ruine of his whole houſe, but the obſtinate Idolatry of the people bring a lamentable miſery upon all the Land. For the fury of *Hazael's* victory was not quenched with the deſtruction of a few Towns, nor wearied with one invaſion; but he *ſmote them in all the coaſts of Iſrael*, and waſted all the Country beyond the River of *Jordan*. Notwithſtanding all theſe calamities it ſeems that the people repented not of their Idolatry; (*For in thoſe days the Lord began to loath Iſrael,*) but rather it is likely, that they bemoaned the Noble Houſe of *Ahab*, under which they had beaten thoſe enemies to whom they were now a prey, and had bravely fought for the Conqueſt of *Syria*, where they had enlarged their border, by winning *Ramoth Gilead*, and compelled *Benhadad* to reſtore the Cities which his Father had won: whereas now they were fain to make woful ſhifts, living under a Lord that had better fortune and courage in murdering his Maſter that had put him in truſt, than in defending his people from their cruel enemies. Thus it commonly falls out, that they who can find all manner of difficulties in ſerving him, to whom nothing is difficult, are inſtead of the eaſe, and pleaſure to themſelves propounded by contrary courſes, over-whelmed with the troubles which they ſought to avoid, and therein by God whom they firſt forſook, forſaken, and left unto the wretched labours of their own blind wiſdom, wherein they had repoſed all their confidence.

2 *King.* 8. *v.* 12.

2 *King.* 10. *v.* 32.

§. III.

Of Athalia's *Government.*

THeſe calamities falling upon *Iſrael*, kept *Athalia* ſafe on that ſide, giving her leiſure to look to things at home; as having little to do abroad, unleſs it were ſo that ſhe held ſome correſpondency with *Hazael*, pretending therein to imitate her Husbands Grand-father King *Aſa*, who had done the like. And ſome probability that ſhe did ſo may be gathered out of that which is recorded of her doings. For we find that this *wicked Athalia and her Children brake up the houſe of God, and all things that were dedicate for the houſe of the Lord did they beſtow upon Baalim.* Such a ſacriledge, though it proceeded from a deſire to ſet out her own Idolatry, with ſuch pomp as might make it the more glorious in the peoples Eyes, was not likely to want ſome fair pretext of neceſſity of the State ſo requiring: in which caſe others before her had made bold with that holy place, and her next ſucceſſour was fain to do the like, being thereunto forced by *Hazael*, who perhaps was delighted with the taſt of that which was formerly thence extracted for his ſake.

2 *Chron.* 24. *v.* 7.

Under this impious government of *Athalia*, the devotion of the Prieſts and Levites was very notable, and ſerved (no doubt) very much to retain the people in the Religion taught by God himſelf, howſoever the Queens proceedings advanced the contrary. For the poverty of that ſacred Tribe of *Levi*, muſt needs have been exceeding great at this time; all their Lands and poſſeſſions in the ten Tribes being utterly loſt, the oblations and other perquiſites, by which they lived, being now very few, and ſmall; and the ſtore laid up in better times under godly Kings, being all taken away by ſhameful robbery. Yet they upheld in all this miſery the ſervice of God, and the daily Sacrifice, keeping duly their courſes, and performing obedience to the High Prieſt, no leſs than in thoſe days wherein their entertainment was far better.

§. IV.

Of the preſervation of Joas.

JEhoiada then occupied the High Prieſt-hood, an honourable, wiſe and religious Man. To his carefulneſs it may be aſcribed, that the ſtate of the Church was in ſome ſlender ſort upheld in thoſe unhappy times. His Wife was *Jehoſhabeth*, who was daughter of King *Jehoram*, and Siſter to *Ahazia*, a godly Lady and vertuous, whoſe piety makes it ſeem that *Athalia* was not her Mother, though her acceſs to the Court argue the contrary: but her diſcreet carriage might more eaſily procure her welcome to her own Fathers houſe, than the education under ſuch a Mother could have permitted her to be ſuch as ſhe was. By her care *Joaſh* the young Prince that reigned ſoon after, was conveighed out of the nurſery, when *Athalia* deſtroyed all the Kings Children, and was carried ſecretly into the Temple, where as ſecretly he was brought up. How it came to paſs that this young Child was not hunted out, when his body was miſſing, nor any great reckoning (for ought that we find) made of his eſcape, I will not ſtand to examine: for it was not good in policy, that the people ſhould hear ſay, that one of the Children had avoided that cruel blow; it might have made them hearken after innovations, and ſo be the leſs conformable to the preſent Government. So *Joaſh* was delivered out of that ſlaughter, he and his Nurſe being gone no Man could tell whither, and might be thought peradventure to be caſt away, as having no other guard than a poor Woman that gave him ſuck, who fooliſhly doubting that ſhe her ſelf ſhould have been ſlain, was fled

fled away with him into some desolate places, where it was like enough that she and he should perish. In such cases flatterers, or Men desirous of reward, easily coyn such tales, and rather fear them to be true in their own knowledge, than they will lose the thanks due to their joyful tidings.

§. V.

Whose Son Joas *was.*

†. I.

Whether Joas *may be thought likely to have been the Son of* Ahazia.

2 King. 11. 2. & 2 Chron. 22. v. 11. NOW concerning this *Joash*, whose Son he was, it is a thing of much difficulty to affirm, and hath caused much controversie among writers. The places of Scripture, which call him *the Son of* Ahazia, seem plain enough. How any figure of the *Hebrew* language might give that title of Son unto him, in regard that he was his Successor, I neither by my self can find, nor can by any help of Authors learn how to answer the difficulties, appearing in the contrary opinions of them, that think him to have been, or not, the natural Son of *Ahazia*. For whereas it is said, that *the house of Ahazia was not able to retain the Kingdom*; 2 Chron. 22. v. 9. some do infer that this *Joash* was not properly called his Son, but was the next of his kindred, and therefore succeeded him, as a Son in the inheritance of his Father. And hereunto the murder committed by *Athalia*, doth very well agree. For she perceiving that the Kingdom was to fall into their hands, in whom she had no interest, might easily find cause to fear, that the tyranny exercised by her Husband, at her instigation upon so many noble Houses, would now be revenged upon her self. The ruin of her Idolatrous Religion might in this case terrifie both her and her Minions; the sentence of the Law rewarding that offence with death; and the Tragedy of *Jezabel* teaching her what might happen to another Queen. All this had little concerned her, if her own Grand-child had been Heir to the Crown; for she that had power enough to make her self Queen, could with more ease, and less envy, have taken upon her the office of a Protector, by which authority she might have done her pleasure, and been the more both obeyed by others, and secure of her own Estate, as not wanting an Heir. Wherefore it was not needful, that she should be so unnatural, as to destroy the Child of her own Son, of whose life she might have made greater use, than she could of his death: whereas indeed, the love of Grandmothers to their Nephews, is little less than that of Mothers to their Children.

This argument is very strong. For it may seem incredible, that all natural affection should be cast aside, when as neither necessity urgeth, nor any commodity thereby gotten requireth it, yea when all humane policy doth teach one the same, which nature without reason would have perswaded.

†. II.

That Joas *did not descend from* Nathan.

BUt (as it is more easie to find a difficulty in that which is related, than to shew how it might have otherwise been) the Pedigree of this *Joash* is, by them which think him not the Son of *Ahazia*, set down in such sort that it may very justly be suspected. They say that he descended from *Nathan* the Son of *David*, and not from *Salomon*; to which purpose they bring a History (I know not whence) of two families of the race of *David*, saying that the line of *Salomon* held the Kingdom with this condition, that if at any time it failed, the family of *Nathan* should succeed it. Concering this *Nathan* the Son of *David* there are that would have him to be *Nathan* the Prophet, who as they think, was by *David* adopted. And of this opinion was *Origen*, as also S. *Augustin* sometime was, but afterward he revoked it, as was meet; for this *Nathan* is reckoned among the Sons of *David*, by *Bathshua* the Daughter of *Ammiel*, and therefore could not be the Prophet. *Gregory Nazianzen* (as I find him cited by *Peter Martyr*) and after him, *Erasmus*, and *Faber Stapulensis*, have likewise held the same of *Joash*, deriving him from *Nathan*. But *Nathan*, and those other brethren of *Salomon* by the same Mother, are thought, upon good likelihoods, to have been the Children of *Uria* the *Hittite*: and so are they accounted by sundry of the Fathers, and by *Lyra*, and *Abulensis*, who follow the *Hebrew* Expositors of that place in the first of *Chronicles*. The words of *Salomon* calling himself the only begotten of his Mother, do approve this exposition: for we read of no more than two Sons which *Bathshua* or *Bathsheba* did bear unto *David*; whereof the one, begotten in Adultery, died an Infant, and *Salomon* only of her Children by the King did live. So that the rest must needs have been the Children of *Uria*, and are thought to have been *David*'s only by adoption. Wherefore, if *Joas* had not been the Son of *Ahazia*, then must that Pedigree have been false, wherein S. *Matthew* deriveth him lineally from *Salomon*; yea, then had not *our blessed Saviour* issued from the Loins of *David*, according to the flesh, but had only been of his line by courtesie of the Nation, and form of Law, as any other might have been. As for the authority of *Philo*, which hath drawn many late Writers into the opinion that *Joash* was not of the posterity of *Salomon*, it is enough to say that this was *Frier Annius* his *Philo*: for no other Edition of *Philo* hath any such matter; but *Annius* can make Authors to speak what he list. 1 Chro. 3. 5.

†. III.

That Joas *may probably be thought to have been the Son of* Jehoram.

IN so doubtful a case, if it seem lawful to hold an opinion that no Man hath yet thought upon, methinks it were not amiss to lay open at once, and peruse together two places of *Scripture*, whereof the one telling the wickedness of *Jehoram* the Son of *Jehoshaphat* King of *Juda*, for which he and his Children perished, rehearseth it as one of Gods mercies towards the house of *David*, that according to his promise he would *give him a light, and to his Children for ever*: the other doth say, that for the offences of the same *Jehoram*, *there was not a Son left him save* Jehoahas *the youngest* 2 King. 8. v. 19.

of his Sons. Now, if it were in regard of Gods promiſe to *David*, that, after thoſe Maſſacres of *Jehoram*, upon all his Brethren, and of the *Philiſtims*, and *Arabians* upon the Children of *Jehoram*, one of the ſeed of *David* eſcaped; why may it not be thought that he was ſaid to have eſcaped, in whom the line of *David* was preſerved? for had all the race of *Salomon* been rooted up in theſe woful Tragedies, and the progeny of *Nathan* ſucceeded in place thereof; like enough it is that ſome remembrance more particular would have been extant, of an event ſo memorable. That the race of *Nathan* was not extinguiſhed, it is indeed apparent by the *Genealogy* of our Lord; as it is recounted by S. *Luke* but the preſervation of the houſe of *David*, mentioned in the Books of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, was performed in the perſon of *Jehoahas* in whom the Royal branch of *Salomon*, the natural, and not only legal iſſue remaining of *David*, was kept alive. Wherefore it may be thought that this *Joaſh*, who followed *Athalia* in the Kingdom, was the youngeſt Son of *Jehoram*, whoſe life *Athalia*, as a Stepdame, was not unlikely to purſue. For it were not eaſily underſtood, why the preſervation of *David*'s line, by *Gods* eſpecial mercy in regard of his promiſe made, ſhould pertain rather to that time, when beſides *Ahazia* himſelf there were two and forty of his Brethren, or (as in another place they are called) Sons of his Brethren remaining alive, which afterwards were all ſlain by *Jehu*; than have reference to the lamentable deſtruction and little leſs than extirpation of that Progeny, wherein one only did eſcape. Certainly that inhumane murther which *Jehoram* committed upon his Brethren, if it were (as appeareth in the Hiſtory) revenged upon his own Children; then was not this vengeance of God accompliſhed by the *Philiſtims* and *Arabians*, but being only begun by them, was afterwards proſecuted by *Jehu*, and finally took effect by the hands of that ſame wicked Woman, at whoſe inſtigation he had committed ſuch barbarous outrage. And from this execution of Gods heavy judgment laid upon *Jehoram* and all his Children, only *Jehoahas*, his youngeſt Son was exempted; whom therefore if I ſhould affirm to be the ſame with *Joas*, which is called the Son of *Ahazia*, I ſhould not want good probability. Some further appearance of neceſſity there is, which doth argue that it could no otherwiſe have been. For it was the youngeſt Son of *Jehoram* in whom the race was preſerved; which could not in any likelihood be *Ahazia*, ſeeing that he was twenty years old at the leaſt (as is already noted) when he began to Reign, and conſequently, was born in the eighteenth or twentieth year of his Fathers Age. Now, I know not whether of the two is more unlikely, either that *Jehoram* ſhould have begotten many Children before he was eighteen years old, or that having (as he had) many Wives and Children, he ſhould upon the ſuddain, at his eighteenth year, become unfruitful, and beget no more in twenty years following: each of which muſt have been true, if this were true that *Ahazia* was the ſame *Jehoahas*, which was his youngeſt Son. But this inconvenience is taken away, and thoſe other doubts ariſing from the cauſleſs cruelty of *Athalia*, in ſeeking the life of *Joas*, are eaſily cleared, if *Joas* and *Jehoahas* were one. Neither doth his age withſtand this opinion. for he was *ſeven years old when he began to Reign*; which if we underſtand of years compleat, he might have been a year old at the death of *Jehoram*, being begotten ſomewhat after the beginning of his ſickneſs. Neither is it more abſurd to ſay that he was the natural Son of *Jehoram*, though called the Son of *Ahazia*, than it were to ſay, as great Authors have done, this difficulty notwithſtanding, that he was of the Poſterity of *Nathan*. One thing indeed I know not how to anſwer; which, had it concurred with the reſt, might have ſerved as the very foundation of this opinion. The name of *Jehoahas*, that ſoundeth much more near to *Joas*, than to *Ahazia*, in an Engliſh ear, doth in the *Hebrew* (as I am informed by ſome, skilful in that Language) through the diverſity of certain Letters, differ much from that which it moſt reſembleth in our Weſtern manner of Writing, and little from the other. Now although it be ſo that *Ahazia* himſelf be alſo called *Azaria*, and muſt have had three names, if he were the ſame with *Jehoahas*; in which manner *Joas* might alſo have had ſeveral names; yet becauſe I find no other warrant hereof than a bare poſſibility, I will not preſume to build an opinion upon the weak foundation of mine own conjecture, but leave all to the conſideration of ſuch as have more ability to judge, and leiſure to conſider of this point.

2 *King.* 10. 13.

2 *Chron.* 22. *v.* 8.

2 *Chron.* 21. 14.

2 *Chron.* 24. 1.

2 *Chron.* 22. 6.

†. IV.

Upon what reaſons Athalia *might ſeek to deſtroy* Joas, *if he were her own Grand-child.*

IF therefore we ſhall follow that which is commonly received, and interpret the Text according to the letter, it may be ſaid that *Athalia* was not only blinded by the paſſions of ambition and zeal to her Idolatrous worſhip of *Baalim*, but purſued the accompliſhment of ſome natural deſires, in ſeeking the deſtruction of her Grandchild, and the reſt of the blood Royal. For whether it were ſo that *Athalia* (as proud and cruel Women are not always chaſt) had imitated the liberty of *Jezabel* her Siſter-in-Law, whoſe Whoredoms were upbraided by *Jehu* to her Son; or whether ſhe had Children by ſome former Husband, before ſhe was married unto *Jehoram* (which is not unlikely in regard of her age, who was Daughter of *Omri*, and Siſter to *Ahab*) certain it is that ſhe had Sons of her own, and thoſe old enough to be imployed, as they were, in robbing of the Temple. So it is not greatly to be wondered at, that to ſettle the Crown upon her own Children, ſhe did ſeek to cut off, by wicked policy, all other claims. As for *Joas*, if ſhe were his Grand-mother, yet ſhe might miſtruſt the intereſt which his Mother would have in him, leſt when he came to years, it might withdraw him from her devotion. And hereof (beſides that Women do commonly better love their Daughters Husbands, than their Sons Wives) there is ſome appearance in the Reign of her Son: for ſhe made him ſpend all his time in idle journies, to no other apparent end, than that ſhe might rule at home; and he living abroad, be eſtranged from his Wife, and entertain ſome new fancies, wherein *Jezabel* had cunning enough to be his tutoreſs. But when the Sword of *Jehu* had rudely cut in ſunder all theſe fine devices, then was *Athalia* fain to go roundly to work, and do as ſhe did, whereby ſhe thought to make all ſure. Otherwiſe, if (as I could rather think) ſhe were only Stepdame to *Joas*, we need not ſeek into the reaſons moving her to take away his life; her own hatred was cauſe enough to diſpatch him among the firſt.

2 *King.* 9. *ver.* 22.

§. VI.

VI.

A digression, wherein is maintained the liberty of using Conjecture in Histories.

THUS much concerning the Person of *Joas*, from whom, as from a new Root, the Tree of *David* was propagated into many Branches. In handling of which matter, the more I consider the nature of this History, and the diversity between it and others, the less, methinks, I need to suspect mine own presumption, as deserving blame, for curiosity in matter of doubt, or boldness in liberty of conjecture. For all Histories do give us information of human counsels and events, as far forth as the knowledge and Faith of the Writers can afford; but of Gods Will, by which all things are ordered, they speak only at random, and many times falsly. This we often find in Prophane Writers, who ascribe the ill success of great undertakings to the neglect of some impious Rites, whereof indeed God abhorred the performance as vehemently, as they thought him to be highly offended with the omission. Hereat we may the less wonder, if we consider the answer made by the *Jews* in *Ægypt* unto *Jeremy* the Prophet reprehending their Idolatry. For, howsoever the written Law of God was known unto the People, and his punishments laid upon them for contempt thereof were very terrible, and even then but newly executed; yet were they so obstinately bent unto their own wills, that they would not by any means be drawn to acknowledge the true cause of their affliction. But they told the Prophet roundly, that they would worship the *Queen of Heaven*, as they and their Fathers, their Kings and their Princes had used to do; *For then* (said they) *had we plenty of victuals, and were well, and felt no evil:* adding that all manner of miseries were befallen them, since they left off the service of that *Queen of Heaven*. So blind is the wisdom of Man, in looking into the Counsel of God, which to find out there is no better nor other guide than his own written Will, not perverted by vain additions.

Jer. c. 44. v. 17, & 18.

But this History of the Kings of *Israel* and *Juda* hath herein a singular Prerogative above all that have been written by the most sufficient of meerly human Authors: it setteth down expresly the true, and first causes of all that happened; not imputing the death of *Ahab* to his over-forwardness in Battel; the ruin of his Family, to the security of *Jeroboam* in *Izreel*; nor the victories of *Hazael*, to the great commotions raised in *Israel*, by the coming in of *Jehu*; but referring all unto the Will of God, I mean, to his revealed Will: from which that his hidden purposes do not vary, this Story, by many great examples, gives most notable proof. True it is that the concurrence of second causes with their effects, is in these Books nothing largely described; nor perhaps exactly in any of those Histories that are in these points most copious. For it was well noted by that worthy Gentleman Sir *Philip Sidny*, that Historians do borrow of Poets, not only much of their ornament, but somewhat of their substance. Informations are often false, Records not always true, and notorious actions commonly insufficient to discover the passions, which did set them first on foot. Wherefore they are fain (I speak of the best, and in that which is allowed: for to take out of *Livy* every one circumstance of *Claudius* his journy against *Asdrubal* in *Italy*, fitting all to another business, or any practice of that kind, is neither Historical nor Poetical) to search into the particular humours of Princes, and of those which have governed their affections, or the instruments by which they wrought, from whence they do collect the most likely motives, or impediments of every business; and so figuring, as near to the life as they can imagine, the matter in hand, they judiciously consider the defects in counsel, or obliquity in proceeding.

S. Phil. Sid. in his Apol. for Poetry.

Yet all this, for the most part, is not enough to give assurance, howsoever it may give satisfaction. For the heart of Man is unsearchable: and Princes, howsoever their intents be seldom hidden from some of those many Eyes which pry both into them, and into such as live about them; yet sometimes either by their own close temper, or by some subtil mist, they conceal the truth from all reports. Yea, many times the affections themselves lie dead, and buried in oblivion, when the preparations which they begat, are converted to another use. The industry of an Historian, having so many things to weary it, may well be excused, when finding apparent cause enough of things done, it forbeareth to make further search; though it often fall out, where sundry occasions work to the same end, that one small matter in a weak mind is more effectual, than many that seem far greater. So comes it many times to pass, that great Fires, which consume whole Houses or Towns, begin with a few Straws, that are wasted or not seen; when the flame is discovered, having fastned upon some Wood pile, that catcheth all about it. Questionless it is that the War commenced by *Darius*, and pursued by *Xerxes* against the *Greeks*, proceeded from desire of the *Persians* to enlarge their Empire: howsoever the enterprize of the *Athenians* upon *Sardes*, was noised abroad as the ground of that quarrel: yet *Herodotus* telleth us, that the wanton desire of Queen *Atossa*, to have the *Grecian* Dames her bondwomen, did first move *Darius* to prepare for this War, before he had received any injury; and when he did not yet so much desire to get more, as to enjoy what was already gotten.

Herod. l. 1.

I will not here stand to argue whether *Herodotus* be more justly reprehended by some, or defended by others, for alledging the vain appetite, and secret speech of the Queen in bed with her Husband, as the cause of those great evils following; this I may boldly affirm, (having I think, in every estate some sufficient witnesses) that matter of much consequence, founded in all seeming upon substantial reasons, have issued indeed from such petty trifles, as no Historian would either think upon, or could well search out.

Therefore it was a good answer that *Sixtus Quintus* the Pope made to a certain Frier, coming to visit him in his Popedome, as having long before in his meaner estate, been his Familiar Friend. This poor Frier, being emboldened by the Pope to use his old liberty of Speech, adventured to tell him, that he very much wondred how it was possible for his Holiness, whom he rather took for a direct honest Man, than any cunning Politician, to attain unto the Papacy; in compassing of which, all the subtilty (said he) of the most crafty Brains, find work enough: and therefore the more I think upon the Art of the Conclave, and your unaptness thereto, the more I needs must wonder. Pope *Sixtus* to satisfie the plain dealing Frier, dealt with him again as plainly, saying, Hadst thou lived abroad as I have done, and seen by what folly this World is governed, thou wouldst wonder at nothing.

Surely, if this be referred unto those exorbitant Engines, by which the course of affairs is moved; the Pope said true. For the wisest of Men are not without their vanities, which requiring and finding mutual toleration, work more closely, and earnestly,

earneſtly, than right reaſon either needs or can. But if we lift up our thoughts to that ſupreme Governour, of whoſe Empire all that is true, which by the Poet was ſaid of *Jupiter*.

Qui terram inertem, qui mare temperat
Ventoſum, & urbes, regnaque triſtia,
Divoſque, mortaleſque turmas,
Imperio regit unus æquo.

Who rules the duller Earth, the wind-ſwoln Streams,
The civil Cities, and th'infernal Realms,
Who th'hoſt of Heaven and the mortal Band,
Alone doth govern by his juſt command.

Then ſhall we find the quite contrary. In him there is no uncertainty nor change; he foreſeeth all things, and all things diſpoſeth to his own honour; He neither deceiveth nor can be deceived, but continuing one and the ſame for ever, doth conſtantly govern all Creatures by that Law, which he hath preſcribed and will never alter. The vanities of Men beguile their vain contrivers, and the proſperity of the wicked, is the way leading to their deſtruction: yea, this broad and headlong paſſage to Hell, is not ſo delightful as it ſeemeth at the firſt entrance, but hath growing in it, beſides the Poyſons which infect the Soul, many cruel Thorns deeply wounding the Body, all which, if any few eſcape, they have only this miſerable advantage of others, that their deſcent was the more ſwift and expedite. But the ſervice of God is the Path guiding us to perfect happineſs, and hath in it a true, though not compleat felicity, yielding ſuch abundance of joy to the Conſcience, as doth eaſily countervail all afflictions whatſoever: though indeed thoſe Brambles that ſometimes tear the Skin of ſuch as walk in this bleſſed way, do commonly lay hold upon them at ſuch time as they ſit down to take their eaſe, and make them wiſh themſelves at their journies end, in preſence of their Lord whom they faithfully ſerve, in whoſe *preſence is the fulneſs of joy, and at whoſe right hand are pleaſures for evermore.*

Pſal. 16. v. 11.

Wherefore it being the end and ſcope of all Hiſtory, to teach by example of times paſt, ſuch wiſdom as may guide our deſires and actions, we ſhould not marvail though the *Chronicles of the Kings of Juda and Iſrael*, being written by Men inſpired with the Spirit of God, inſtruct us chiefly, in that which is moſt requiſite for us to know, as the means to attain unto true felicity, both here, and hereafter, propounding examples which illuſtrate this infallible rule, *The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wiſdom.* Had the expedition of *Xerxes* (as it was foretold by *Daniel*) been written by ſome Prophet after the Captivity: we may well believe that the Counſel of God therein, and the execution of his Righteous Will, ſhould have occupied either the whole, or the principal room in that Narration. Yet had not the purpoſe of *Darius*, the deſire of his life, and the buſineſs at *Sardes*, with other occurrents, been the leſs true, though they might have been omitted, as the leſs material: but theſe things it had been lawful for any Man to gather out of Prophane Hiſtories, or out of circumſtances otherwiſe appearing, wherein he ſhould not have done injury to the Sacred Writings, as long as he had forborn to derogate from the firſt cauſes, by aſcribing to the ſecond more than was due.

Such, or little different, is the buſineſs that I have now in hand: wherein I cannot believe that any Man of judgment will tax me as either fabulous or preſumptuous. For he doth not feign, that rehearſeth probabilities as bare conjectures; neither doth he deprave the Text, that ſeeketh to illuſtrate and make good in humane reaſon, thoſe things, which Authority alone, without further circumſtance, ought to have confirmed in every Man's belief. And this may ſuffice in defence of the liberty, which I have uſed in conjectures, and may hereafter uſe when occaſion ſhall require, as neither unlawful, nor misbeſeeming an Hiſtorian.

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§. VII.

The Conſpiracy againſt Athalia.

WHEN *Athalia* had now ſix years and longer worn the Crown of *Juda*, and had found neither any Foreign Enemy, nor Domeſtical Adverſary to diſturb her poſſeſſion, ſuddainly the period of her glory, and reward of her wickedneſs meeting together, took her away without any warning, by a violent and ſhameful death. For the growth of the young Prince began to be ſuch, as permitted him no longer to be concealed, and it had been very unfitting that his Education ſhould be ſimple, to make him ſeem the Child of ſome poor Man (as for his ſafety it was requiſite,) when his capacity required to have been indued with the ſtomach and qualities meet for a King. All this *Jehoiada* the Prieſt conſidered, and withall the great increaſe of impiety, which taking deep root in the Court, was likely to ſpread it ſelf over all the Country, if care were not uſed to weed it up very ſpeedily. Wherefore he aſſociated to himſelf five of the Captains, in whoſe fidelity he had beſt aſſurance, and having taken an Oath of them, and ſhewed them the King's Son, he made a Covenant with them, to advance him to the Kingdom. Theſe drew in others of the principal Men, to countenance the action, procuring at the firſt only, that they ſhould repair to *Jeruſalem*, where they were further acquainted with the whole matter. There needed not many perſwaſions to win them to the buſineſs: the Promiſe of the Lord unto the Houſe of *David* was enough to aſſure them, that the action was both lawful, and likely to ſucceed as they deſired.

But in compaſſing their intent ſome difficulties appeared. For it was not to be hoped, that with open force they ſhould bring their purpoſe to good iſſue; neither were the Captains, and other aſſociates of *Jehoiada* able by cloſe working, to draw together ſo many truſty and ſerviceable hands as would ſuffice to manage the buſineſs. To help in this caſe, the Prieſt gave order to ſuch of the *Levites*, as had finiſhed their courſes in waiting on the Divine Service at the Temple, and were now relieved by others that ſucceeded in their turns, that they ſhould not depart until they knew his further pleaſure. So by admitting the new comers, and not diſcharging the old, he had, without any noiſe, made up ſuch a number, as would be able to deal with the Queens ordinary Guard, and that was enough, for if the Tyranneſs did not prevail againſt them at the firſt brunt, the favour of the People was like to ſhew it ſelf on their ſide, who made head againſt her. Theſe *Levites* were placed in the inner Court of the Temple, about the Perſon of the King, who as yet was kept cloſe; the followers of the Captains, and other adherents were beſtowed in the utter Courts: As for Weapons, the Temple it ſelf had ſtore enough; King

David

All things being in readineſs, and the day come wherein this high deſign was to be put in execution; *Jehoiada* delivered unto the Captains, Armour for them and their adherents; appointed a guard unto the Kings perſon; produced him openly, and gave unto him the Crown; uſing all ceremonies accuſtomed in ſuch ſolemnities, with great applauſe of the people. Of theſe doings the Queen was the laſt that heard any word; which is not ſo ſtrange as it may ſeem: for inſolent natures, by dealing outragiouſly with ſuch as bring them ill tidings, do commonly loſe the benefit of hearing what is to be feared, whilſt yet it may be prevented, and have no information of danger, till their own eyes, amazed with the ſuddenneſs, behold it in the ſhape of inevitable miſchief.

All *Jeruſalem* was full of the rumour, and entertained it with very good liking. Some carried home the news, others ran forth to ſee, and the common joy was ſo great, that without apprehenſion of peril, under the Windows of the Court; were the people running and praiſing the King.
2 Chro. 23. 12. *Athalia* hearing and beholding the extraordinary concourſe, and noiſe, of folks in the Streets, making towards the Temple, with much unuſual paſſion in their looks, did preſently conceive, that ſomewhat worthy of her care was happened; though what it might be ſhe did not apprehend. Howſoever it were, ſhe meant to uſe her own wiſdom in looking into the matter, and ordering all as the occaſion might happen to require. It may be, that ſhe thought it ſome eſpecial ſolemnity uſed in the Divine Service, which cauſed this much ado; and hereof the unaccuſtomed number of *Levites*, and of other devout Men, about the Town, might give ſome preſumption.

Many things argue that ſhe little thought upon her own Tragedy; although *Joſephus* would make it ſeem otherwiſe. For we find in the Text,
2 Chro. 23. 12, & 13, & 2 Kin. c. 11. ver. 13. & 14. *She came to the people in the houſe of the Lord* (which was near to her Palace) and that when ſhe looked and ſaw the King ſtand by his Pillar, as the manner was, with the Princes, or great Men of the Land by him, and the Trumpeters proclaiming him, ſhe rent her Clothes, and cryed, Treaſon, Treaſon. Hereby it appears that ſhe was quietly going, without any miſtruſt or fear, to take her place, which when ſhe found occupied by another, then ſhe began to afflict her ſelf, as one caſt away, and cryed out in vain upon the Treaſon, whereby ſhe ſaw that ſhe muſt periſh. But that ſhe came with a Guard of armed Men to the Temple, (as *Joſephus* reporteth) and that her company being beaten back, ſhe entred alone, and commanded the people to kill the young Tyrant, I find no where in Scripture, neither do I hold it credible. For had ſhe truly known how things went, ſhe would ſurely have gathered her friends about her, and uſed thoſe forces in defence of her Crown, by which ſhe gat it, and hitherto had held it. Certainly if it were granted, that ſhe, like a new *Semiramis*, did march in the head of her Troop, yet it had been meer madneſs in her, to enter the place alone, when her aſſiſtants were kept out; but if ſhe perceiving that neither her authority, nor their own Weapons, could prevail to let in her Guard, would neverthleſs take upon her to command the death of the new King, calling a child of ſeven years old a Conſpirator, and bidding them to kill him, whom ſhe ſaw to be armed in his defence, may we not think that ſhe was mad in the moſt extreme degree? Certain it is that the Counſel of God would have taken effect, in her deſtruction, had ſhe uſed the moſt likely means to diſappoint it: yet we need not ſo cut her throat with any moral impoſſibilities. It is enough to ſay, that the godly zeal of *Jehoiada* found more eaſie ſucceſs, through her indiſcretion, than otherwiſe could have been expected; ſo that at his appointment ſhe was without more ado carried out of the Temple and ſlain, yea ſo, that no blood ſave her own was ſhed in that quarrel; her ſmall train, that ſhe brought along with her, not daring to ſtand in her defence.

§. VIII.

The death of Athalia, *with a compariſon of her and* Jezabel.

MOſt likely it is, that *Athalia* had many times, with great indignation, bewailed the raſhneſs of her Nephew *Jehoram* the *Iſraelite*, who did fooliſhly caſt himſelf into the very throat of danger, gaping upon him, only through his eager deſire of quickly knowing what the matter meant: yet ſhe her ſelf, by the like bait, was taken in the like trap, and having lived ſuch a life as *Jezabel* had done, was rewarded with a ſutable death. Theſe two Queens were in many points much alike, each of them was Daughter, Wife, and Mother to a King; each of them ruled her Husband; was an Idolatreſs, and a Murdreſs. The only difference appearing in their conditions, is, that *Jezabel* is more noted as incontinent of body, *Athalia* as ambitious: So that each of them ſurviving her Huſband about eight years, did ſpend the time in ſatisfying her own affections; the one uſing Tyranny, as the exerciſe of her haughty mind; the other paining her face, for the ornament of her unchaſt body. In the manner of their death little difference there was, or in thoſe things which may ſeem in this World to pertain unto the dead when they are gone. Each of them was taken on the ſuddain by Conſpirators, and each of them exclaiming upon the Treaſon, received ſentence from the mouth of one that had lived under her ſubjection; in execution whereof, *Jezabel* was trampled under the feet of her enemies Horſes; *Athalia* ſlain at her own Horſe-gate; the death of *Athalia* having (though not much) the more leiſure to vex her proud heart; that of *Jezabel*, the more indignity, and ſhame of body. Touching their burial, *Jezabel* was devoured by Doggs, as the Lord had threatened by the Prophet *Elias*; what became of *Athalia* we do not find. Like enough it is, that ſhe was buried, as having not perſecuted and ſlain the Lords Prophets, but ſuffered the Prieſts to exerciſe their function; yet of her burial there is no Monument; for ſhe was a Church-robber. The ſervice of *Baal* erected by theſe two Queens, was deſtroyed as ſoon as they were gone, and their Chaplains, the Prieſts of that Religion, ſlain. Herein alſo it came to paſs, alike, as touching them both when they were dead; the Kings who ſlew them, were afterwards afflicted, both of them by the ſame hand of *Hazael* the *Syrian*; in which point *Athalia* had the greater honour, if the *Syrian* (who ſeems to have been her good friend) pretended her revenge, as any part of his quarrel to *Juda*. Concerning Children, all belonging to *Jezabel* periſhed in few days after her: whether *Athalia* left any behind her, it is uncertain; ſhe had Sons living after ſhe was Queen, of whom, or of any other, that they were ſlain with her, we do not find.

This

This is a matter not unworthy of consideration, in regard of much that may depend upon it. For if the Children of *Athalia* had been in *Jerusalem* when their Mother fell, their death would surely have followed hers as nearly, and been registred, as well as the death of *Mattan* the Priest of *Baal*. That Law by which *God forbad that the children should die for the fathers*, could not have saved these ungracious Imps, whom the clause following would have cut off, which commands, that every Man shall die for his own sin. Seeing therefore that they had been professors and advancers of that vile and Idolatrous worship of *Baal*, yea had robbed the Temple of the Lord, and enriched the House of *Baal* with the spoil of it; likely it is that they should not have escaped with life, if *Jehoiada* the Priest could have gotten them into his hands. As there was lawful cause enough requiring their death, for the security of the King and his Friends, that is, of all the Land, craved as much, and that very earnestly. For these had been esteemed as Heirs of their Mothers Crown, and being reckoned as her assistants in that particular business of robbing the Temple, may be thought to have carried a great sway in other matters, as Princes and fellows with their Mother in the Kingdom. Therefore it is evident, that either they were now dead, or (perhaps following *Hazael* in his Wars against *Jehu*) absent from *Jerusalem*; whereby *Jehoiada* might with the more confidence, adventure to take Arms against their Mother, that was desolate.

Deut. 24. 16.

CHAP. XXII.

Of Joas *and* Amasia, *with their Contemporaries; where somewhat of the Building of* Carthage.

§. I.

Of Joas *his doings whilst* Jehoiada *the Priest lived.*

BY the death of *Athalia*, the whole Country of *Juda* was filled with great joy and quietness; wherein *Joas* a Child of seven Years old or there-about, began his Reign which continued almost forty Years. During his minority, he lived under the protection of that Honourable Man *Jehoiada* the Priest, who did as faithfully govern the Kingdom, as he had before carefully preserved the Kings life, and restored him unto the Throne of his Ancestors. When he came to Mans estate, he took by appointment of *Jehoiada* two Wives, and begat Sons and Daughters, repairing the Family of *David* which was almost worn out. The first Act that he took in hand, when he began to rule without a Protector, was the reparation of the Temple. It was a needful piece of work, in regard of the decay wherein that Holy place was fallen, through the wickedness of ungodly Tyrants; and requisite it was that he should uphold the Temple, whom the Temple had upheld. This business he followed with so earnest a Zeal, that not only the *Levites* were more slack than he, but even *Jehoiada* was fain to be quickned by his admonition. Mony was gathered for the charges of the work, partly out of the Tax imposed by *Moses*, partly out of the liberality of the People: who gave so freely, that the Temple, besides all reparations, was enriched with Vessels of Gold and Silver, and with all other Utensils. The Sacrifices likewise were offered, as under godly Kings they had been, and the Service of God was magnificently celebrated.

2 *Chron.* 24. v. 14.

§. II.

The death of Jehoiada, *and Apostasie of* Joas.

BUT this endured no longer than the life of *Jehoiada* the Priest: who having lived an hundred and thirty Years, died before his Country could have spared him. He was buried among the Kings of *Juda*, as he well deserved, having preserved the Race of them, and restored the true Religion, which the late Princes of that House, by attempting to eradicate, failed but a little, of rooting up themselves, and all their issue. Yet his honourable Funeral seems to have been given to him, at the motion of the People; it being said, *They buried him in the City of David.* As for the King himself, who did owe to him no less than his Crown and life, he is not likely to have been Author of it, seeing that he was as easily comforted after his death, as if he had thereby been discharged of some heavy debt.

2 Kings 12.

For after the death of *Jehoiada*, when the Princes of *Juda* began to flatter their King, he soon forgat, not only the benefits, received by this worthy Man his old Counsellor, but also the good Precepts which he had received from him, yea and God himself, the Author of all goodness. These Princes drew him to the worship of Idols, wherewith *Jehoram* and *Athalia* had so infected the Country, in fifteen or sixteen Years; that thirty Years, or thereabout, of the Reign of *Joas*, wherein the true Religion was exercised, were not able to clear it from that mischief. The King himself, when once he was entred into these courses, ran on head-long, as one that thought it a token of his liberty, to despise the Service of God; and a manifest proof of his being now King indeed, that he regarded no longer the sowre admonitions of devout Priests. Hereby it appears, that his former zeal was only counterfeited, wherein like an Actor upon the Stage, he had striven to express much more lively affection, than they could shew, that were indeed Religious.

§. III.

The causes and time of the Syrians *invading* Juda *in the days of* Joas.

BUT God, from whom he was broken loose, gave him over into the hands of Men, that would not easily be shaken off. *Hazael* King of *Aram*, having taken *Gath*, a Town of the *Philistims*, addressed himself towards *Jerusalem*, whither the little distance of way, and great hope of a rich booty did

2 Chron. 24.

did invite him. He had an Army heartned by many victories, to hope for more; and for ground of the War (if his ambition cared for pretences) it was enough, that the Kings of *Juda* had assisted the *Israelites*, in their enterprises upon *Aram*, at *Ramath Gilead*. Yet I think he did not want some further instigation. For if the Kingdom of *Juda* had molested the *Aramites*, in the time of his predecessour, this was throughly recompensed, by forbearing to succour *Israel*, and leaving the ten Tribes in their extream misery, to the fury of *Hazael* himself. Neither is it likely, that *Hazael* should have gone about to awake a sleeping Dog, and stir up against himself a powerful enemy, before he had assured the conquest of *Israel*, that lay between *Jerusalem* and his own Kingdom, if some opportunity had not promised such easie and good success, as might rather advance, than any way disturb, his future proceedings against the ten Tribes. Wherefore I hold it probable, that the Sons of *Athalia*, mentioned before, were with him in this action, promising (as men expelled their Countries usually do) to draw many partakers of their own to his side; and not to remain, as *Joas* did, a neutral in the War between him and *Israel*, but to joyn all their forces with his, as they had cause, for the rooting out of *Jehu* his posterity, who, like a bloody Traitor, had utterly destroyed all the kindred of the Queens, their Mother, even the whole house of *Ahab*, to which he was a subject. If this were so, *Hazael* had the more apparent reason to invade the Kingdom of *Juda*. Howsoever it were, we find it plainly, that *Joas* was afraid of him, and therefore *took all the hallowed things, and all the Gold that was found in the treasures of the house of the Lord*, or in his own house, with which Present he redeemed his peace: the *Syrian* (questionless) thinking it a better bargain, to get so much readily paid into his hand for nothing, than to hazard the assurance of this, for the possibility of not much more. So *Hazael* departed with a rich booty of unhappy treasure, which, belonging to the living God, remained a small while in the possession of this mighty, yet corruptible Man, but sent him quickly to the grave. For in the thirty seventh of *Joas*, which was the fifteenth of *Jehoahaz* he made this purchace; but in the same or the very next year he died, leaving all that he had unto his Son *Benhadad*, with whom these treasures prospered none otherwise, than ill-gotten goods are wont.

2 King. 12. 18.

This enterprise of *Hazael* is, by some, confounded with that War of the *Aramites* upon *Juda*, mentioned in the second Book of *Chronicles*. But the reasons alledged by them that hold the contrary opinion, do forcibly prove, that it was not all one War. For the former was compounded without bloodshed or fight; in the latter, *Joas* tried the fortune of a battel, wherein being put to the worst, he lost all his Princes, and hardly escaped with life: In the one, *Hazael* himself was present; in the other, he was not named: but contrarywise, the King of *Aram* then reigning (who may seem to have then been the Son of *Hazael*) is said to have been at *Damascus*. The first Army came to conquer, and was so great that it terrified the King of *Juda*; The second was a *small company of Men*, which did animate *Joas* (in vain, for God was against him) to deal with them, as having *a very great Army*.

2 Chron. 24. 24.

Now concerning the time of this former invasion, I cannot perceive that God forsook him, till he had first forsaken God. There are indeed some, very learned, who think that this expedition of *Hazael* was in the time of *Jehoiada* the Priest, because that story is joyned unto the restauration of the Temple. This had been probable, if the death of *Jehoiada* had been afterwards mentioned in that place of the second Book of *Kings*, or if the Apostasie of *Joas*, or any other matter implying so much, had followed in the relation. For it is not indeed to be doubted, that the Lord of all may dispose of all things, according to his own will and pleasure, neither was he more unjust in the afflictions of *Job* that righteous Man, or the death of *Josias* that godly King, than in the plagues which he laid upon *Pharaoh*, or his judgments upon the house of *Ahab*. But it appears plainly, that the rich furniture of the Temple, and the magnificent service of God therewithal, which are joyned together, were used *in the house of the Lord continually, all the days of Jehoiada*; soon after whose death, if not immediately upon it, that is (as some very learnedly collect) in the six, or thirty seventh year of this *Joas* his Raign, the King falling away from the God of his Father, became a foul Idolater.

2 Chron. 24. 14.

And indeed we commonly observe, that the crosses which it hath pleased God sometimes to lay upon his servants, without any cause notorious in the eyes of men, have always tended unto the bettering of their good. In which respect, even the sufferings of the blessed Martyrs (*the death of his Saints being precious in the sight of the Lord*) are to their great advantage. But with evil and rebellious Men, God keepeth a more even, and more strict account; permitting usually their faults to get the start of their punishment, and either delaying his vengeance (as with the *Amorites*) till their wickedness be full: or not working their amendment by his correction, but suffering them to run on in their wicked courses, to their greater misery. So hath he dealt with many; and so it appears that he dealt with *Joas*. For this unhappy Man did not only continue an obstinate Idolater, but grew so forgetful of God and all goodness, as if he had stroven to exceed the wickedness of all that went before him, and to leave such a villainous pattern unto others, as few or none of the most barbarous Tyrants should indure to imitate.

Psal. 115. 15.

§. IV.

How Zacharia *was murdered by* Joas.

Sundry Prophets having laboured in vain to reclaim the people from their superstition, *Zacharia*, the Son of *Jehoiada* the Priest, was stirred up at length by the Spirit of God to admonish them of their wickedness, and make them understand the punishment due unto it, whereof they stood in danger. This *Zacharia* was a Man so honourable, and Son to a Man so exceeding beloved in his life time, and reverenced, that if *Joas* had reputed him (as *Ahab* did *Elias*) his open enemy, yet ought he in common honesty, to have cloaked his ill affection, and have used at least some part of the respect that was due to such a person: On the other side, the singular affection which he and his Father had born unto the King, and the unrecountable benefits, which they had done unto him, from his first infancy, were such, as should have placed *Zacharia* in the most hearty and assured love of *Joas*, yea though he had been otherwise a Man of very small mark, and not very good condition. The truth is, that the message of a Prophet sent from God, should be heard with reverence, how simple soever he appears that brings it. But this King *Joas* having already scorned the admonitions

and protestations of such Prophets as first were sent, did now deal with *Zacharia*, like as the wicked husbandman in that parable of our Saviour dealt with the heir of the Vineyard; who said, *This is the heir, come let us kill him, that the Inheritance may be ours.* By killing *Zacharia* he thought to become an absolute Commander, supposing belike that he was no free Prince, as long as any one durst tell him the plain truth, how great soever that mans deserving were, that did so, yea though Gods commandment required it. So they conspired against this Holy Prophet, and stoned him to death at the Kings appointment; but whether by any form of open Law, as was practised upon *Naboth*; or whether surprising him by any close treachery, I do neither read nor can conjecture. The dignity of his person, considered together with their treacherous conspiracy, makes it probable, that they durst not call him into publick judgment; though the manner of his death, being such as was commonly, by order of Law, inflicted upon malefactors, may argue the contrary. Most likely it is, that the Kings commandment, by which he suffered, took place in stead of Law: which exercise of meer power (as hath been already noted) was nothing strange among the Kings of *Juda*.

Luke 20. 14

§. V.

How Joas *was shamefully beaten by the* Aramites, *and of his death.*

THis odious murder, committed by an unthankful snake upon the Man in whose bosome he had been fostered, as of it self alone it sufficed to make the wretched Tyrant hateful to men of his own time, and his memory detested in all ages; so had it the well deserved curse of the blessed Martyr, to accompany it unto the throne of God, and to call for vengeance from thence, which fell down swiftly, and heavily upon the head of that ungrateful monster. It was the last year of his raign; the end of his time coming then upon him, when he thought himself beginning to live how he listed, without controlment. When that year was expired, the *Aramites* came into the Country, rather as may seem to get pillage, than to perform any great action; for they *came with a small company of Men*: but God had intended to do more by them, than they themselves did hope for.

2 Chron. 24. 24.

That *Joas* naturally was a Coward, his bloody malice against his best friend, is, in my judgment proof sufficient: though otherwise his base composition with *Hazael*, when he might have levied (as his Son after him did muster) three hundred thousand chosen Men for the War, doth well enough shew his temper. Yet now he would needs be valiant and make his people know, how stout of disposition their King was, when he might have his own will. But his timorous heart was not well cloaked. For to encounter with a few bands of Rovers, he took a very great Army; so that wise-men might well perceive, that he knew what he did, making shew as if he would fight for his Country, and expose his person to danger of War, when as indeed all was meer ostentation, and no peril to be feared; he going forth so strongly appointed, against so weak enemies. Thus might wise-men think, and laugh at him in secret, considering what ado he made about that, which in all apparent reason was (as they say) a thing of nothing. But God, before whom the wisdom of this World is foolishness, did laugh, not only at this vain-glorious King, but at them that thought their King secure, by reason of the multitude that he drew along with him.

When the *Aramites* and King *Joas* met, whether it were by some folly of the Leaders, or by some amazement happening among the Souldiers, or by whatsoever means it pleased God to work, so it was, that that great Army of *Juda* received a notable overthrow, and all the Princes were destroyed: the Princes of *Juda*, at whose perswasion the King had become a rebel to the King of Kings. As for *Joas* himself (as *Abulensis* and others expound the Story) he was sorely beaten and hurt by them, being, (as they think) taken and shamefully tormented to wring out of him an excessive ransom.

And surely all circumstances do greatly strengthen this conjecture. For the text (in the old translation) saith, they exercised upon *Joas* ignominious judgments; and that departing from him, they dismissed him in great langnor. All which argues, that they had him in their hands, and handled him ill favouredly. Now at that time, *Joas* the Son of *Jehoahas* reigned over *Israel*, and *Benhadad* the Son of *Hazael* over the *Syrians* in *Damascus*; the one a valiant undertaking Prince, raised up by God to restore the State of his miserable Country; the other inferior every way to his Father, of whose purchaces he left a great part, for want of skill to keep it. The difference in condition found between these two Princes, promising no other event than such as after followed, might have given to the King of *Juda* good cause to be bold, and pluck up his Spirits, which *Hazael* had beaten down, if God had not been against him. But his fearful heart being likely to quake upon any apprehension of danger, was able to put the *Syrian* King in hope, that by terrifying him with some shew of War at his doors, it were easie to make him crave any tolerable conditions of peace. The unexpected good success hereof, already related, and the (perhaps as inexpected) ill success, which the *Aramites* found in their following Wars against the King of *Israel*, sheweth plainly the weakness of all earthly might resisting the power of the Almighty. For by his ordinance, both the Kingdom of *Juda*, after more than forty years time of gathering strength, was unable to drive out a small company of enemies; and the Kingdom of *Israel*, having so been troden down by *Hazael*, that only fifty Horsemen, ten Chariots, and ten thousand Footmen were left, prevailed against his Son, and recovered all from the victorious *Aramites*. But examples hereof are every where found, and therefore I will not insist upon this; though indeed we should not, if we be Gods Children, think it more tedious to hear long and frequent reports of our Heavenly Fathers honour, than of the noble acts performed by our Fore-fathers upon earth.

When the *Aramites* had what they listed, and saw that they were not able, being so few, to take any possession of the Country, they departed out of *Juda* loaden with spoil, which they sent to *Damascus*, themselves belike falling upon the ten Tribes, where it is to be thought that they sped not half so well. The King of *Juda* being in ill case, was killed on his bed when he came home, by the Sons of an *Ammonitess*, and of a *Moabitess*, whom some (because only their Mothers names being strangers, are expressed) think to have been Bondmen. Whether it were contempt of his fortune, or fear, lest (as Tyrants use) he should

should revenge his disaster upon them, imputing it to their fault, or whatsoever else it were that animated them to murder their King; the Scripture tells us plainly, that, *for the blood of the Children of Jehoiada*, this befell him. And the same appears to have been used as the pretence of their conspiracy, in excuse of the fact when it was done. For *Amazia*, the Son and Successor of *Joas*, durst not punish them, till his Kingdom was established: but contrariwise, his body was judged unworthy of burial in the Sepulchers of the Kings: whereby it appears, that the death of *Zecharia* caused the Treason, wrought against the King, to find more approbation, than was requisite, among the people, though afterwards it was recompensed by his Son, upon the Traytors, with well-deserved death.

2 Chro. 24. 25.

§. VI.

Of the Princes living in the time of Joas: *Of the time when* Carthage *was built*; *and of* Dido.

THere lived with *Joas*, *Mezades* and *Diognetus* in *Athens*: *Eudemus* and *Aristomedes* in *Corinth*: about which time *Agrippa Sylvius*, and after him *Sylvius Alladius*, were Kings of the *Albans* in *Italy*. *Ocrazapes*, commonly called *Anacyndaraxes*, the thirty seventh King succeeding unto *Ophratanes*, began his Reign over the *Assyrians*, about the eighteenth year of *Joas*, which lasted forty two years. In the sixteenth of *Joas Cephrenes*, the fourth from *Sesac*, succeeded unto *Cheops* in the Kingdom of *Ægypt*, and held it fifty years.

In this time of *Joas*, was likewise the Reign of *Pygmalion* in *Tyre*, and the foundation of *Carthage* by *Dido*; the building of which City is, by divers Authors, placed in divers ages; some reporting it to be seventy years younger than *Rome*, others above four hundred years elder, few or none of them giving any reason of their assertions, but leaving us uncertain whom to follow: *Josephus*, who had read the Annals of *Tyre*, counting one hundred forty and three years and eight Months from the building of *Salomon*'s Temple, in the twelfth year of *Hyram* King of *Tyre*, to the founding of *Carthage* by *Dido*, in the seventh of *Pygmalion*. The particulars of this account (which is not rare in *Josephus*) are very perplexed, and serve not very well to make clear the total summ. But whether it were so that *Josephus* did omit, or else that he did misswrite, some number of the years, which he reckoneth in Fractions, as they were divided among the Kings of *Tyre*, from *Hyram* to *Pygmalion*; we may well enough believe, that the *Tyrian* Writers, out of whose Books he gives us the whole summ, had good means to know the truth, and could rightly reckon the difference of time, between two works no longer following one the other, than the memory of three or four generations might easily reach. This hundred forty and four years current, after the building of *Salomon*'s Temple, being the eleventh year of *Joas*, was a hundred forty and three years before the birth of *Rome*, and after the destruction of *Troy*, two hundred eighty and nine: a time so long after the death of *Æneas*, that we might truly conclude all to be fabulous which *Virgil* hath written of *Dido*, as *Ausonius* noteth, who doth honour her Statua with this Epigram.

Joseph. cont. App. lib. 1.

Ilia ego sum Dido vultu quam conspicis hospes,
Assimulata modis pulchraque mirificis.
Talis eram, sed non Maro quam mihi finxit erat mens,
Vita nec incestis laeta cupidinibus
(Namque nec Æneas vidit me Troius unquam,
Nec Lybiam aavenit, classibus Iliacis.
Sed furias fugiens, atque arma procacis Iarba,
Servavi, fateor, morte pudicitiam;
Pectore transfixo, eqstou quod pertulit enses)
Non furor, aut laeso quidus amore dolor.
Sic cecidisse juvat: vixi sine vulnere famae,
Ulta virum, positis manibus oppetii.
Invida cur in me stimulasti Musa Maronem,
Fingeret ut nostra damna pudicitiae?
Vos magis historicis lectores credite de me,
Quam qui furta Deum concubitusque canunt.
Falsidici vates, temerant qui carmine verum,
Humanisque deos assimulant vitiis.

Ausonius Ep. 117.

Which in effect is this:

I Am that *Dido* which thou here do'st see,
Cunningly framed in beauteous Imagrie.
Like this I was, but had not such a Soul,
As *Maro* feigned, incestuous and foul.
Æneas never with his *Trojan* Host
Beheld my face, or landed on this Coast.
But flying proud *Iarbas* villany,
Not mov'd by furious love or jealousie;
I did with weapon chast, to save my fame,
Make way for death untimely, ere it came.
This was my end; but first I built a Town,
Reveng'd my Husbands death, liv'd with renown.
Why did'st thou stir up *Virgil*, envious Muse,
Falsely my name and honour to abuse?
Readers, believe Historians; not those
Which to the World *Joves* thefts and vice expose.
Poets are liars, and for Verses sake
Will make the Gods of humane crimes partake.

From the time of *Dido* unto the first Punick War, that *Carthage* grew and flourished in wealth and Conquests, we find in many Histories: but in particular we find little of the *Carthaginian* affairs before that War, excepting those few things that are recorded of their attempts upon the Isle of *Sicily*. We will therefore defer the relation of matters concerning that mighty City, untill such time as they shall encounter with the State of *Rome*, by which it was finally destroyed; and prosecute in the mean while the History that is now in hand.

§. VII.

The beginning of Amazia *his reign. Of* Joas *King of* Israel, *and* Elisha *the Prophet.*

A*Mazias*, the Son of *Joash*, being twenty five years old when his Father died, took possession of the Kingdom of *Juda*, wherein he laboured so to demean himself, as his new beginning Reign might be least offensive. The Law of *Moses* he professed to observe; which howsoever it had

been secretly despised since the time of *Jehoram*, by many great Persons of the Land, yet had it by provision of good Princes, yea and of bad ones, (in their best times) imitating the good, but especially by the care of holy Priests, taken such deep root in the peoples hearts, that no King might hope to be very plausible, who did not conform himself unto it. And at that present time, the slaughter, which the *Aramites* had made of all the Princes, who had withdrawn the late King from the service of God, being seconded by the death of the King himself, even whilst that execrable murther, committed by the King upon *Zecharia*, was yet fresh in memory, did serve as a notable example of God's Justice against Idolaters, both to animate the better sort of the people in holding the Religion of their Fathers, and to discourage *Amazia* from following the way, which led to such an evil end. He therefore, having learned of his Father the art of dissimulation, did not only forbear to punish the Traitors that had slain King *Joas*, but gave way to the time, and suffered the dead Body to be interred, as that of *Jehoram* formerly had been, in the City of *David*, yet not among the Sepulchers of the Kings of *Juda*. Nevertheless after this, when (belike) the noise of the people having wearied it self into silence, it was found that the Conspirators (howsoever their deed done was applauded as the handy work of GOD) had neither any mighty partakers in their Fact, nor strong maintainers of their Persons, but rested secure, as having done well, seeing it was not ill taken; the King, who perceived his Government well established, called them into question, at such a time, as the heat of Mens affections, being well allayed, it was easie to distinguish between their Treasons and God's Judgment, which, by their Treasons, had taken plausible effect. So they were put to death without any tumult, and their Children (as the Law did require) were suffered to live; which could not but give contentment to the people, seeing that their King did the Office of a just Prince, rather than of a revenging Son. This being done, and his own Life the better secured, by such exemplary Justice, against the like Attempts; *Amazia* carried himself outwardly as a Prince well affected to Religion, and so continued in rest, about twelve or thirteen Years.

As *Amazia* gathered strength in *Juda* by the commodity of a long Peace, so *Joas* the *Israelite* grew as fast in Power, by following the War hotly against the *Aramites*. He was a valiant and fortunate Prince, yet an Idolater, as his Predecessors had been, worshipping the Calves of *Jeroboam*. For this sin had God so plagued the House of *Jehu*, that the ten Tribes wanted little of being utterly consumed, by *Hazael* and *Benhadad*, in the time of *Jehu* and his Son *Jehoahaz*. But as God's Benefits to *Jehu* sufficed not to withdraw him from this politick Idolatry; so were the miseries, rewarding that impiety, unable to reclaim *Jehoahaz* from the same impious course: yet the mercy of God beholding the trouble of *Israel*, condescended unto the Prayers of this ungodly Prince, even then when he and his miserable Subjects, were obstinate in following their own abominable ways. Therefore in temporal matters, the ten Tribes recovered apace, but the favour of God, which had been infinitely more worth, I do not find, nor believe that they sought; that they had it not, I find in the words of the Prophet, saying plainly to *Amazia*, *The Lord is not with Israel, neither with all the house of Ephraim.* 2 Chron. 25. 7.

Whether it were so, that the great Prophet *Elisha*, who lived in those times, did foretell the Prosperity of the *Israelites* under the Reign of *Joas*; or whether *Jehoahaz* wearied and broken with long adversity, thought it the wisest way, to discharge himself in part of the heavy Cares attending those unhappy *Syrian* Wars, by laying the Burthen upon his hopeful Son; we find that *in the thirty seventh year of Joas, King of Juda, Joas the Son of Jehoahaz began to reign over Israel in Samaria*, which was in the fifteenth of his Father's Reign, and some two or three years before his death. 2 Kings 13. 10.

It appears that this young Prince, even from the beginning of his Rule, did so well husband that poor Stock which he received from his Father, of ten Chariots, fifty Horsemen, and ten thousand Foot, that he might seem likely to prove a thriver. Among other Circumstances, the words which he spake to *Elisha* the Prophet, argue no less. For *Joas* visiting the Prophet, who lay sick, spake unto him thus; *O my Father, my Father, the Chariot of Israel, and the Horsemen of the same*, by which manner of speech he did acknowledge, that the Prayers of this holy Man had stood his Kingdom in more stead, than all the Horses and Chariots could do. 2 Kings 13. 14.

This Prophet who succeeded unto *Elias*, about the first year of *Joram* the Son of *Ahab* King of *Israel*, died (as some have probably collected) about the third or fourth year of this *Joas*, the Nephew of *Jehu*. To shew how the Spirit of *Elia* was doubled, or did rest upon him; it exceedeth my faculty. This is recorded of him, that he did not only raise a dead Child unto Life, as *Elias* had done, but when he himself was dead, it pleased God that his dead Bones should restore Life unto a Carcass, which touched them in the Grave. In fine he bestowed, as a Legacy, three Victories upon King *Joas*, who thereby did set *Israel* in a fair way of recovering all that the *Aramites* had usurped, and weakening the Kings of *Damasco* in such sort, that they were never after terrible to *Samaria*.

§. VIII.

Of Amazia *his War against* Edom; *His Apostasie; and overthrow by* Joas.

THE happy success which *Joas* had found in his War against the *Aramites*, was such as might kindle in *Amazia* a desire of undertaking some Expedition, wherein himself might purchase the like Honour. His Kingdom could furnish three hundred thousand serviceable Men for the Wars; and his Treasures were sufficient for the payment of these and the hire of many more. Cause of War he had very just against the *Edomites*, who having rebelled in the time of his Grandfather *Jehoram* had about fifty years been unreclaimed; partly by means of the Troubles happening in *Juda*, partly through the sloth and timorousness of his Father *Joas*. Yet, forasmuch as the Men of *Juda* had in many years been without all exercise of War (excepting that unhappy Fight wherein they were beaten by a few Bands of the *Aramites*) he held it a point of Wisdom to increase his Forces, with Souldiers waged out of *Israel*, whence he hired for an hundred Talents of Silver, *an hundred thousand valiant Men*, as the Scripture telleth us, though *Josephus* diminish the number, saying that they were but twenty thousand. 2 Chron. 21. 6. *Jos. Ant. Jud. l. 9. cap.* 10.

This

This great Army, which with ſo much coſt *Amazia* had hired out of *Iſrael*, he was fain to diſmiſs, before he had imployed it, being threatned by a Prophet with ill ſucceſs, if he ſtrengthned himſelf with the help of thoſe Men, whom God (though in mercy he gave them Victory againſt the cruel *Aramites*) did not love, becauſe they were Idolaters. The *Iſraelites* therefore departed in great anger, taking in ill part this diſmiſſion, as an high diſgrace; which to revenge, they fell upon a piece of *Juda* in their return, and ſhewed their malice in the ſlaughter of three thouſand Men; and ſome Spoil, which they carried away. But *Amazia* with his own Forces, knowing that God would be aſſiſtant to their Journey, entered couragiouſly into the *Edomites* Country; over whom obtaining Victory, he ſlew ten thouſand, and took other ten thouſand Priſoners, all which he threw from an high Rock; holding them, it ſeems, rather as Traitors, than as juſt Enemies. This Victory did not ſeem to reduce *Edom* under the ſubjection of the Crown of *Juda*, which might be the cauſe of that ſeverity, which was uſed to the Priſoners; the *Edomites* that had eſcaped, refuſing to buy the Lives of their Friends and Kinſmen at ſo dear a rate, as the loſs of their own Liberty. Some Towns in Mount *Seir*, *Amazia* took, as appears by his carrying away the Idols thence; but it is like they were the places moſt indefenſible, in that he left no Garriſons there, whereby he might another year the better have purſued the Conqueſt of the whole Country. Howſoever it were, he got both Honour by the Journey, and Gains enough, had he not loſt himſelf.

Among other Spoils of the *Edomites*, were carried away their Gods, which being vanquiſhed and taken Priſoners, did deſerve well to be led in Triumph. But they contrariwiſe, I know not by what ſtrange Witchcraft, ſo beſotted this unworthy King *Amazia*, that *he ſet them up to be his Gods, and worſhipped them, and burned incenſe unto them.*

2 Chron. 25. 14.

For this when he was rebuked by a Prophet ſent from God, he gave a churliſh and threatning anſwer; asking the Prophet, Who made him a Counſellor, and bidding him hold his peace for fear of the worſt. If either the coſtly ſtuff, whereof theſe Idols were made, or the curious Workmanſhip and Beauty, with which they were adorned by Artificers, had raviſhed the Kings fancy; methinks he ſhould have rather turned them to matter of Profit, or kept them as Houſhold Ornaments and things of Pleaſure, than thereby have ſuffered himſelf to be blinded, with ſuch unreaſonable devotion towards them. If the ſuperſtitious account wherein the *Edomites* had held them, were able to work much upon his Imagination; much more ſhould the bad ſervice which they had done to their old Clients, have moved him thereupon to laugh, both at the *Edomites*, and them. Wherefore it ſeems to me, that the ſame affections carried him from God, unto the ſervice of Idols, which afterwards moved him to talk ſo roughly to the Prophet reprehending him. He had already obeyed the warning of God by a Prophet, and ſent away ſuch Auxiliary Forces as he had gathered out of *Iſrael*; which done, it is ſaid that he *was encouraged, and led forth his People*, thinking belike, that God would now rather aſſiſt him by Miracle, than let him fail of obtaining all his Hearts deſire. But with better Reaſon he ſhould have limited his Deſires by the will of God, whoſe pleaſure it was, that *Eſau*, having broken the Yoke of *Jacob* from his Neck, accordingly as *Iſaac* had foretold, ſhould no more become his Servant. If therefore *Amazia* did hope to re-conquer all the Country of *Edom*, he failed of his expectation; yet ſo, that he brought home both Profit and Honour, which might have well contented him.

2 Chron. 25. 11.

But there is a fooliſh and a wretched Pride, wherewith Men being tranſported, can ill endure to aſcribe unto God the honour of thoſe Actions, in which it hath pleaſed him to uſe their own induſtry, courage or foreſight. Therefore it is commonly ſeen, that they, who entring into Battel are careful to pray for Aid from Heaven, with due acknowledgment of his Power who is the giver of Victory; when the Field is won, do vaunt of their own Exploits: one telling how he got ſuch a ground of advantage; another, how he gave check to ſuch a Battalion; a third, how he ſeized on the Enemies Cannon; every one ſtriving to magnifie himſelf, whilſt all forget God, as one that had not been preſent in the Action. To aſcribe to Fortune the effects of another Man's Vertue, is, I confeſs, an argument of malice. Yet this is true, that as he which findeth better ſucceſs, than he did, or in reaſon might expect, is deeply bound to acknowledge God the Author of his happineſs; ſo he whoſe meer wiſdom and labour hath brought things to a proſperous iſſue, is doubly bound to ſhew himſelf thankful, both for the Victory, and for thoſe Vertues by which the Victory was gotten. And indeed ſo far from weakneſs is the nature of ſuch thankſgiving, that it may well be called the height of Magnanimity; no Vertue being ſo truly Heroical, as that by which the Spirit of a Man advanceth it ſelf with confidence of acceptation, unto the love of God. In which ſenſe it is a brave Speech that *Evander* in *Virgil*, uſeth to *Æneas*, none but a Chriſtian being capable of the admonition.

Aude hoſpes contemnere opes, & te quoque dignum
Finge Deo.

With this Philoſophy *Amazia* (as appears by his carriage) troubled not his Head: he had ſhewed himſelf a better Man of War than any King of *Juda*, ſince the time of *Jehoſhaphat*, and could be well contented, that his people ſhould think him little inferiour to *David*: of which Honour he ſaw no reaſon why the Prophets ſhould rob him, who had made him loſe an hundred Talents, and done him no pleaſure, he having prevailed by plain force and good conduct, without any Miracle at all. That he was diſtempered with ſuch vain thoughts as theſe (beſides the witneſs of his impiety following) *Joſephus* doth teſtifie; ſaying, That he deſpiſed GOD, and that being puft up with his good Succeſs, of which nevertheleſs he would not acknowledge God to be the Author, he commanded *Joas* King of *Iſrael* to become his Subject, and to let the ten Tribes acknowledge him their Sovereign, as they had done his Anceſtors King *David* and King *Salomon*. Some think that his Quarrel to *Joas* was rather grounded upon the injury done to him by the *Iſraelites*, whom he diſmiſſed in the Journey againſt Mount *Seir*. And likely it is, that the ſenſe of a late Wrong had more power to ſtir him up, than the remembrance of an old Title forgotten long ſince, and by himſelf neglected, thirteen or fourteen years. Nevertheleſs it might ſo be, that when he was thus provoked, he thought it not enough to requite new wrongs, but would alſo call old matters into queſtion; that

Joſ. Ant. l. 9. c. 10.

that ſo the Kings of *Iſrael* might, at the leaſt, learn to keep their Subjects from offending *Juda*, for fear of endangering their own Crowns. Had *Amazia* deſired only Recompence for the Injury done to him, it is not improbable that he ſhould have had ſome reaſonable Anſwer from *Joas*, who was not deſirous to fight with him. But the Anſwer which *Joas* returned, likening himſelf to a Cedar, and *Amazia* in reſpect of him to no better than a Thiſtle, ſhews that the Challenge was made in inſolent terms, ſtuft perhaps with ſuch proud compariſon of Nobility, as might be made (according to that which *Joſephus* hath written) between a King of ancient Race, and one of leſs Nobility than Vertue.

Sophocles in Ajace Lon.

It is by *Sophocles* reported of *Ajax*, that when, going to the War of *Troy*, his Father did bid him to be valiant, and get Victory by God's aſſiſtance, he made anſwer, that by God's aſſiſtance, a Coward could get Victory, but he would get it alone without ſuch help: after which proud ſpeech, though he did many valiant acts, he had ſmall thanks, and finally killing himſelf in a madneſs, whereinto he fell upon diſgrace received, was hardly allowed the honour of Burial. That *Amazia* did utter ſuch words, I do not find: but having once entertained the thoughts, which are parents of ſuch words, he was rewarded with ſucceſs according. The very firſt Council wherein this War was concluded, ſerves to prove that he was a wiſe Prince indeed at *Jeruſalem*, among his Paraſites; but a Fool when he had to deal with his Equals abroad. For it was not all one, to fight with the *Edomites*, a weak People, truſting more in the ſite of their Country than the valour of their Souldiers; and to encounter with *Joas*, who from ſo poor beginnings had raiſed himſelf to ſuch ſtrength, that he was able to lend his Friend an hundred thouſand Men, and had all his Nation exerciſed, and trained up, in a long victorious War. But as *Amazia* diſcovered much want of Judgment, in undertaking ſuch a Match; ſo in proſecuting the Buſineſs, when it was ſet on foot, he behaved himſelf as a Man of little Experience, who having once only tried his Fortune, and found it to be good, thought that in War there was nothing elſe to do, than ſend a Defiance, fight, and win. *Joas* on the contrary ſide; having been accuſtomed to deal with a ſtronger Enemy than the King of *Juda*, uſed that celerity, which peradventure had often ſtood him in good ſtead againſt the *Aramite*. He did not ſit waiting till the Enemies brake in and waſted his Country, but preſented himſelf with an Army in *Juda*, ready to bid Battel to *Amazia*, and ſave him the labour of a long Journey. This could not but greatly diſcourage thoſe of *Juda*; who (beſides the impreſſion of fear which an Invaſion beats into people, not inured to the like) having devoured, in their greedy hopes, the Spoil of *Iſrael*, fully perſwading themſelves to get as much, and at as eaſie a rate, as in the Journey of *Edom*, were ſo far diſappointed of their expectation, that well they might ſuſpect all new aſſurance of good luck, when the old had thus beguiled them. All this notwithſtanding, their King that had ſtomach enough to challenge the Patrimony of *Salomon*, thought like another *David*, to win it by the Sword. The iſſue of which fool-hardineſs might eaſily be foreſeen in humane Reaſon; comparing together, either the two Kings, or the quality of their Armies, or the firſt and ominous beginning of the War. But meer humane Wiſdom, howſoever it might foreſee much, could not have prognoſticated all the miſchief that fell upon *Amazia*. For as ſoon as the two Armies came in ſight, God, whoſe help this wretched Man had ſo deſpiſed, did (as *Joſephus* reports it) ſtrike ſuch terrour and amazement into the Men of *Juda*, that without one blow given, they fled all away, leaving their King to ſhift for himſelf, which he did ſo ill, that his Enemy had ſoon caught him, and made him change his glorious humour into moſt abject baſeneſs. That the Army which fled, ſuſtained any other loſs than of Honour, I neither find in the Scriptures nor in *Joſephus*; it being likely that the ſoon beginning of their flight, which made it the more ſhameful, made it alſo the more ſafe. But of the miſchief that followed this overthrow, it was God's will that *Amazia* himſelf ſhould ſuſtain the whole diſgrace. For *Joas* carried him directly to *Jeruſalem*, where he bad him procure that the Gates might be opened, to let him in and his Army; threatning him otherwiſe with preſent death. So much amazed was the miſerable Caitive, with theſe dreadful words, that he durſt do none other, than perſwade the Citizens, to yield themſelves to the mercy of the Conqueror. The Town, which afterwards being in weaker ſtate, held out two years, againſt *Nebuchadnezzar*, was utterly diſmayed, when the King, that ſhould have given his life to ſave it, uſed all his force of command and intreaty to betray it. So the Gates of *Jeruſalem* were opened to *Joas*, with which honour (greater than any King of *Iſrael* had ever obtained) he could not reſt contented, but, the more to deſpight *Amazia* and his People, he cauſed four hundred Cubits of the Wall to be thrown down, and entered the City in his Chariot through that breach, carrying the King before him, as in Triumph. This done, he ſackt the Temple, and the King's Pallace, and ſo, taking Hoſtages of *Amazia*, he diſmiſſed the poor Creature that was glad of his Life, and returned to *Samaria*.

Joſ. Ant. l. 9. c. 10.

§ IX.

A Diſcourſe of the Reaſons hindering Joas *from uniting* Juda *to the Crown of* Iſrael, *when he had won* Jeruſalem, *and held* Amazia *Priſoner. The end of* Joas his *Reign.*

WE may juſtly marvel how it came to paſs, that *Joas*, being thus in poſſeſſion of *Jeruſalem*, having the King in his hands, his Enemies Forces broken, and his own entire, could be ſo contented to depart quietly, with a little Spoil, when he might have ſeized upon the whole Kingdom. The Reign of *Athalia* had given him cauſe to hope, that the Iſſue of *David* might be diſpoſſeſſed of that Crown; his own Nobility, being the Son and Grand-Child of Kings, together with the famous acts that he had done, were enough to make the people of *Juda* think highly of him; who might alſo have preferred his form of Government, before that of their own Kings, eſpecially at ſuch a time, when a long Succeſſion of wicked Princes had ſmothered the thanks, which were due to the memory of a few good ones. The commodity that would have enſued, upon the union of all the twelve Tribes, under one Prince, is ſo apparent, that I need not to inſiſt on it. That any meſſage from God forbad the *Iſraelites* (as afterwards in the Victory which *Peka* the Son of *Romelia* got upon *Ahaz*) to turn his preſent advantage, to the beſt uſe, we do not read. All this makes it the more difficult to reſolve the Queſtion, why a Prince

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so well exercised, as *Joas* had been, in recovering his own, and winning from his Enemy, should forsake the possession of *Jerusalem*, and wilfully neglect the possibilities, or rather cast away the full assurance of so fair a Conquest, as the Kingdom of *Juda*.

But concerning that point, which of all others, had been most material, I mean the desire of the vanquished people to accept the *Israelite* for their King, it is plainly seen, that entring *Jerusalem* in triumphant manner, *Joas* was unable to concoct his own Prosperity. For the opening of the Gates had been enough to have let him not only into the City, but into the Royal Throne, and the Peoples Hearts, whom by fair intreaty (especially having sure means of compulsion) he might have made his own, when they saw themselves betrayed, and basely given away by him whose they had been before. The fair mark which this opportunity presented, he did not aim at, because his ambition was otherwise and more meanly busied, in levelling at the glory of a triumphant entry through a breach. Yet this errour might afterwards have been corrected well enough, if entring as an Enemy, and shewing what he could do, by spending his anger upon the Walls, he had within the City done Offices of a Friend, and laboured to shew good Will to the Inhabitants. But when his Pride had done, his Covetousness began, and sought to please it self, with that which is commonly most ready to the spoiler, yet should be most forborn. The Treasure wherewith *Sisac*, *Hazael*, and the *Philistims*, Men ignorant of the true God and his Religion, had quenched their greedy thirst, ought not to have tempted the appetite of *Joas*, who though an Idolater, yet acknowledged also and worshipped the eternal God, whose Temple was at *Jerusalem*. Therefore when the people saw him take his way directly to that holy place, and lay his ravenous hands upon the consecrated vessels, calling the Family of *Obed Edom* (*whose Children had Hereditary Charge of the Treasury*) *to a strict account*, as if they had been Officers of his own Exchequer, they considered him rather as an execrable Church-robber, than as a Noble Prince, an *Israelite* and their Brother, though of another Tribe. Thus following that course, which the most vertuous King of our Age (taxing it with the same phrase) hath wisely avoided; by stealing a few Apples, he lost the inheritance of the whole Orchard. The people detested him, and after the respite of a few days, might by comparing themselves one to one, perceive his Souldiers to be no better than Men of their own mould, and inferiour in number to the Inhabitants of so great a City. It is not so easie to hold by force a mighty Town entered by Capitulation, as to enter the Gates opened by unadvised fear. For when the Citizens, not being disarmed, recover their Spirits, and begin to understand their first Error; they will think upon every advantage, of Place, of Provisions, of Multitude, yea of Women armed with Tilestones, and rather chuse by desperate Resolution, to correct the Evils grown out of their former Cowardise, than suffer those mischiefs to poyson the Body, which in such half-conquests, are easily tasted in the mouth. A more lively example hereof cannot be desired, than the City of *Florence*, which through the weakness of *Peter de Medices*, governing therein as a Prince, was reduced into such hard Terms, that it opened the Gates unto the French King *Charles* the eighth, who not plainly professing himself either Friend or Foe to the Estate, entered the Town with his Army, in triumphant manner, himself and his Horse armed, with his Lance upon his Thigh. Many Insolencies were therein committed by the *French*, and much argument of Quarrel ministred, between them and the Townsmen: so far forth that the *Florentines*, to preserve their Liberty, were driven to prepare for Fight. To conclude the matter, *Charles* propounds intolerable Conditions, demanding huge Summs of ready Money, and the absolute Seignory of the State, as conquered by him, who entred the City in Arms. But *Peter Caponi*, a principal Citizen, catching these Articles from the Kings Secretary, and tearing them before his face, bad him sound his Trumpets, and they would ring their Bells: which peremptory words made the *French* bethink themselves, and come readily to this Agreement, that for forty thousand pounds, and not half of that Money to be paid in hand, *Charles* should not only depart in Peace, but restore whatsoever he had of their Dominion; and continue their assured Friend. So dangerous a matter did it seem for that brave Army, which in few Months after wan the Kingdom of *Naples*, to fight in the streets, against the armed multitude of that populous City. It is true, that *Charles* had other Business (and so perhaps had *Joas*, as shall anon be shewed) that called him away: but it was the apprehension of imminent danger that made him come to Reason. In such cases the firing of Houses, usually draws every Citizen to save his own, leaving Victory to the Souldier: yet where the people are prepared and resolved, Women can quench, as fast as the Enemy having other things to look unto, can set on fire. And indeed that Commander is more given to anger than regardful of profit, who upon the uncertain hope of destroying a Town, forsakes the assurance of a good Composition. Diversity of Circumstance may alter the Case: it is enough to say, that it might be in *Jerusalem*, as we know it was in *Florence*.

2 Chron. 26. 15.

How strongly soever *Joas* might hold himself within *Jerusalem*, he could not easily depart from thence, with his Booty safe, if the Army of *Juda*, which had been more terrified than weakened in the late Encounter, should reinforce it self, and give him a check upon the way. Wherefore it was wisely done of him, to take Hostages for his better security, his Army being upon return, and better loaden than when it came forth; for which causes it was the more unapt to fight.

Besides these impediments, within the City and without, serving to cool the ambition of *Joas*, and keep it down from aspiring to the Crown of *Juda*; it appears that somewhat was newly fallen out, which had reference to the anger of *Elisha* the Prophet; who when this *Joas* had smitten the ground with his Arrows thrice, told him that he should no oftner smite the *Aramites*. The three Victories which *Israel* had against *Aram*, are by some, and with great probability, referred unto the fifth, sixth and seventh years of *Joas*, after which time if any losses ensuing had blemished the former good success, ill might the King of *Israel* have likened himself to a stately Cedar, and worse could he have either lent the *Judaan* one hundred thousand Men, or meet him in Battel, who was able to bring into the Field three hundred thousand of his own. Seeing therefore it is made plain by the words of *Elisha*, that after three Victories, *Joas* should find some change of Fortune, and suffer loss; we must needs conclude, That the *Aramite* prevailed upon him this Year, it being the last of his Reign. That this was so, and that the *Syrians*, taking advantage of *Joas* his absence, gave such a blow to *Israel*, as the King at his return

return was not able to remedy, but rather sell himself into new misfortunes, which increased the calamity, we may evidently perceive in that which is spoken of *Jeroboam* his Son For it is said, *That the Lord saw the exceeding bitter afflictions of Israel*, and that having *not decreed to put out the name of Israel from under the Heaven, he preserved them by the hand of Jeroboam, the Son of Joas.* This is enough to prove, that the victorious Raign of *Joas* was concluded with a sad Catastrophe; the riches of the Temple hastning his misery and death, as they had done with *Sesac*, *Athalia* and *Hazael*, and as afterwards they wrought with *Antiochus*, *Crassus*, and other sacrilegious Potentates.

Thus either through indignation conceived against him, by the people of *Jerusalem*, and courage which they took to set upon him within the Walls: or through preparation of the Army that lay abroad in the Country, to bid him battel in open field, and recover by a new charge the honour which was lost at the former encounter; or through the miseries daily brought upon his own Country, by the *Syrian* in his absence, if not by all of these; *Joas* was driven to lay aside all thought of winning the Kingdom of *Juda*; and taking hostages for his quiet passage, made all hast homewards, where he found a sad welcome, and being utterly forsaken of his wonted prosperity, forsook also his life in few months after, leaving his Kingdom to *Jeroboam* the second, his fortunate and valiant Son.

§. X.

The end of Amazia *his Raign and Life.*

ANy Man is able to guess how *Amazia* looked, when the enemy had left him. He that had vaunted so much of his own great prowess and skill in arms, threatning to work wonders, and set up anew the glorious Empire of *David*, was now uncased of his Lions hide, and appeared nothing so terrible a beast as he had been painted. Much argument of scoffing at him he had ministred unto such, as held him in dislike; which at this time, doubtless, were very many: for the shame that falls upon an insolent man, seldom fails of meeting with abundance of reproach. As for *Amazia* (besides that the multitude are always prone to lay the blame upon their Governours, even of those calamities which happened by their own default) there was no Child in all *Jerusalem*, but knew him to be the root of all this mischief. He had not only challenged a good Man of War, being himself a Dastard; but when he was beaten and taken by him, had basely pleaded for the common Enemy, to have him let into the City, that with his own eyes he might see what spoil there was, and not make a bad bargain by hear-say. The Father of this *Amazia*, was a beastly Man; yet when the *Arumites* took him and tormented him, he did not offer to buy his own life at so dear a rate, as the City and Temple of *Jerusalem*. Had he offered; should they have made his promise good? Surely the hast which they had made in condescending to this hard match, was very unfortunate: for by keeping out the *Israelite* (which was easie enough) any little while, they should soon have been rid of him, seeing that the *Arumites* would have made him run home, with greater speed than he came forth. Then also, when having trussed up his baggage, he was ready to be gone, a little courage would have served to perswade him to leave his load behind; had not their good King delivered up Hostages, to secure his return, as loth to defraud him of the recompence due to his pains taken.

Such exprobrations could not but vex the heart of this unhappy King: it had been well for him, if they had made him acknowledge his faults unto God, that had punished him by all this dishonour. But we find no mention of his amendment. Rather it appears, that he continued an Idolater to the very last. For it is said of him, that after his turning away from the Lord, *they wrought treason against him in Jerusalem*; a manifest proof that he was not reclaimed, unto his lives end. And certainly, they which tell a Man in his adversity of his faults passed, shall sooner be thought to upbraid him with his fortune, than to seek his reformation. Wherefore it is no marvel, that Priests and Prophets were less welcome to him, than ever they had been. On the other side, flatterers, and such as were desirous to put a heart into him, whereof themselves might always be Masters, wanted not plausible matter to revive him. For he was not first, nor second, of the Kings of *Juda*, that had been overcome in battel. *David* himself had abandoned the City, leaving it, before the Enemy was in sight, unto *Absalom* his rebellious Son. Many besides him had received losses, wherein the Temple bare a part. If *Joas* might so easily have been kept out; why did their Ancestors let *Sesac* in? *Asa* was reputed a vertuous Prince, yet with his own hands he emptied the Temple, and was not blamed, but held excusable by necessity of the State. Belike these traducers would commend no actions but of dead Princes: if so, he should rather live to punish them, than die to please them. Though wherein had he given them any cause of displeasure? It was he indeed that commanded to set open the gates to *Joas*; but it was the people that did it. Good servants ought not to have obeyed their Masters commandments, to his disadvantage, when they saw him not Master of his own Person. As his captivity did acquit him from blame, of all things that he did or suffered in that condition; so was that misfortune it self, in true estimation, as highly to his honour, as deeply to his loss. For had he been as hasty to flie, as others were; he might have escaped, as well as others did. But seeking to teach the base Multitude courage, by his Royal example, he was shamefully betrayed by those in whom he trusted. Unworthy creatures that could readily obey him, when speaking another mans words, being prisoner, he commanded them to yield; having neglected his charge, when leading them in the field, he bad them stand to it, and fight like men. The best was that they must needs acknowledge his mischance, as the occasion whereby many thousand lives were saved; the Enemy having wisely preferred the surprise of a Lion that was Captain, before the chase and slaughter of an Army of Stags, that followed him.

2 Chron. 25. 27.

These or the like words comforting *Amazia*, were able to perswade him, that it was even so indeed. And such excuses might have served well enough to please the people, if the King had first studied how to please God. But he that was unwilling to ascribe unto God the good success foretold by a Prophet; could easily find how to impute this late disaster, unto fortune, and the fault of others. Now concerning fortune, it seems that he meant to keep himself safe from her, by sitting still; for in fifteen years following (so long he out-lived his honour) we find not that he stirred. As for his Subjects, though nothing henceforth be recorded of his government, yet we

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may see by his end, that the middle time was ill spent among them, increasing their hatred to his own ruine. He that suspecteth his own worth, or other mens opinions, thinking the less regard is had of his person, than he believeth to be due to his place, will commonly spend all the force of his authority, in purchasing the name of a severe Man. For the affected sowrenes of a vain fellow, doth many times resemble the gravity of one that is wise: and the fear wherein they live, which are subject unto oppression, carries a shew of reverence, to him that does the Wrong; at least it serves to dazle the Eyes of Underlings, keeping them from prying into the weakness of such as have jurisdiction over them. Thus the time, wherein, by well using it, Men might attain to be such as they ought, they do usually misspend, in seeking to appear such as they are not. This is a vain and deceivable course; procuring, instead of the respect that was hoped for, more indignation than was feared. Which is a thing of dangerous consequence; especially when an unable Spirit, being over-perted with so high authority, is too passionate in the execution of such an Office, as cannot be checked but by violence. If therefore *Amazia* thought by extreme rigour to hold up his reputation, what did he else than strive to make the people think he hated them, when of themselves they were apt enough to believe, that he did not love them? The best was that he had, by revenging his Fathers death, provided well enough for his own security: but who should take vengeance; (or upon whom?) of such a murther, wherein every one had a part? Surely God himself, who had not given commandment or leave unto the people, to take his office out of his hand, in shedding the blood of his anointed. Yet as *Amazia*, careless of God, was carried headlong by his own affections; so his Subjects, following the same ill example, without requiring what belonged unto their duties, rose up against him, with such head long fury, that being unable to defend himself in *Jerusalem*, he was driven to forsake the City, and flie to *Lachis*, for safegard of his life. But so extreme was the hatred conceived against him, and so general, that neither his absence could allay the rage of it in the Capital City, nor his presence in the Country abroad procure friends, to defend his life. Questionless, he chose the Town of *Lachis* for his refuge, as a place of all other best affected to him; yet found he there none other favour, than that the people did not kill him with their own hands: for when the Conspirators (who troubled not themselves about raising an Army for the matter) sent pursuers after him, he was abandoned to death. *Lachis* was the utmost City of his Dominion Westward, standing somewhat without the border of *Juda*; so that he might have made an easie escape (if he durst adventure) into the Territory of the *Philistims*, or the Kingdom of *Israel*. Therefore it may seem that he was detained there, where certain it is that he found no kind of favour: for had not the people of this Town, added their own treason to the general insurrection; the murtherers could not at so good leisure as they did, have carried away his body to *Jerusalem*, where they gave him burial with his Fathers.

§. XI.

Of the Interregnum, *or vacancy, that was in the Kingdom of* Juda, *after the death of* Amazia.

IT hath already been shewed, that the raigns of the Kings of *Juda* and *Israel* were sometimes to be measured by compleat years; otherwhiles, by years current: and that the time of one King is now and then confounded with the last years of his Fathers Raign, or the foremost of his Sons. But we are now arrived at a meer vacation, wherein the Crown of *Juda* lay void eleven whole years: a thing not plainly set down in Scriptures, nor yet remembred by *Josephus*, and therefore hard to be believed, were it not proved by necessary consequence.

Twice we find it written, that *Amazia King of Juda, lived after the death of Joas King of Israel fifteen years*; whereupon it follows, that the death of *Amazia*, was about the end of fifteen years compleat, which *Jeroboam* the second (who *in the fifteenth year of Amazia was made King over Israel*) had raigned in *Samaria*. But the succession of *Uzzia*, who is also called *Azaria*, unto his Father in the Kingdom of *Juda*, was eleven years later than the sixteenth of *Jeroboam*: for it is expressed, that *Azaria began to Raign in the seven and twentieth year of Jeroboam*; the sixteenth year of his life, being joyned with the first of two and fifty that he Raigned. So the *Interregnum* of eleven years cannot be divided, without some hard means used, of interpreting the text otherwise than the letter sounds.

2 *Chron.* 25. 2. & 2 *King* 14. 17.

2 *King.* 14. 23.

2 *King.* 15. 1.

Yet some conjectures there are made, which tend to keep all even, without acknowledging any void time. For it is thought that in the place last of all cited, by the seven and twentieth year of *Jeroboam*, we should perhaps understand the seven and twentieth year of his life; or else (because the like words are no where else interpreted in the like sense) that *Azaria* was eleven years under age, that is five years old, when his Father died, and so his sixteenth year might concur with the seven and twentieth of *Jeroboam*; or that the text it self may have suffered some Wrong, by miswriting twenty seven for seventeen years, and so, by making the seventeenth year of *Jeroboam* to be newly begun, all may be salved. These are the conjectures of that worthy Man *Gerard Mercator*: concerning the first of which, it may suffice, that the author himself doth easily let it pass, as improbable; the last is followed by none that I know, neither is it fit, that upon every doubt, we should call the text in question, which could not be satisfied in all copies, if perhaps it were in one: as for the second, it may be held with some qualification, that *Azaria* began his raign being five years old; but then must we add those eleven years which passed in his minority, to the two and fifty that followed his sixteenth year, which is all one, in a manner, with allowing an *interregnum*.

But why should we be so careful to avoid an *interregnum* in *Juda*, seeing that the like necessity hath enforced all good writers to acknowledge the like vacancy, twice happening within few years, in the Kingdom of *Israel*? The space of time between *Jeroboam*'s death, and the beginning of *Zachariah*'s Raign, and such another gap found between the death of *Peka*, and the beginning of *Hosea*, have made it easily to be admitted into *Samaria*, which the consideration of things as they stood in *Juda*, when *Amazia* was slain, doth make

more probable to have happened there, yea although the neceſſity of computation were not ſo apparent.

For the publick fury, having ſo far extended it ſelf, as unto the deſtruction of the Kings own perſon, was not like to be appeaſed without order taken for obtaining ſome redreſs of thoſe matters, which had cauſed it at the firſt to break forth into ſuch extremity. We need not therefore wonder how it came to paſs, that they which already had thrown themſelves into ſuch an horrible treaſon, ſhould afterwards dare to withhold the Crown from a Prince of that age, which being inveſted in all ornaments of regality, is nevertheleſs expoſed to many injuries, proceeding from headſtrong and forgetful Subjects.

As for their conjecture, who make *Azaria* to have been King but one and forty years, after he came out of his nonage; I dare not allow it, becauſe it agrees too harſhly with the text. The beſt opinion were that, which gives unto *Jeroboam* eleven years of raign with his Father, before he began to raign ſingle in the fifteenth of *Amazia*; did it not ſwallow up almoſt the whole raign of *Joas*, and extending the years of thoſe which raigned in *Iſrael* (by making ſuch of them compleat, as were only current) and take at the ſhorteſt the Raigns of Princes ruling in other Nations. But I will not ſtand to diſpute further of this: every Man may follow his own opinion, and ſee mine more plainly in the Chronological Table, drawn for theſe purpoſes.

§. XII.

Of Princes Contemporary with Amazia, *and more particularly of* Sardanapalus.

THe Princes living with *Amazia*, and in the eleven years that followed his death, were *Joas* and *Jeroboam* in *Iſrael*; *Cephrenes* and *Mycerinus* in *Egypt*; *Sylvius Alladius*, and *Sylvius Aventinus* in *Alba*; *Agamemnon* in *Corinth*; *Diognetus Pheredus*, and *Ariphron* in *Athens*; in *Lacedæmon Theleſtus*, in whoſe time the *Spartans* wan from the *Achaians*, *Gerauthæ*, *Amychæ*, and ſome other Towns.

But more notable than all theſe, was *Aſſyrian Sardanapalus*, who in the one and twentieth year of *Amazia* ſucceeding his Father *Ocraxapes* or *Anacyndaraxes*, raigned twenty years, and was ſlain the laſt of the eleven void years which forewent the Raign of *Azaria*. In him ended (as moſt agree) the line of *Ninus*, which had held that Empire one thouſand two hundred and forty years. A moſt luxurious and effeminate Palliard he was, paſſing away his time among Strumpets, whom he imitated both in apparel and behaviour.

In theſe voluptuous courſes he lived an unhappy life, knowing himſelf to be ſo vile, that he durſt not let any Man have a ſight of him; yet ſeen he was at length, and the ſight of him was ſo odious, that it procured his ruine. For *Arbaces*, who governed *Media* under him, finding means to behold the perſon of his King, was ſo incenſed with that beaſtly ſpectacle, of a Man diſguiſed in Womans attire, and ſtriving to counterfeit an Harlot, that he thought it great ſhame to live under the command of ſo unworthy a creature. Purpoſing therefore to free himſelf and others from ſo baſe ſubjection, he was much encouraged by the prediction of *Beleſis* or *Beloſus* a *Chaldæan*, who told him plainly, that the Kingdom of *Sardanapalus* ſhould fall into his hands. *Arbaces* well pleaſed with this prophecy, did promiſe unto *Beloſus* himſelf the government of *Babylon*; and ſo concluding how to handle the buſineſs, one of them ſtirred up the *Medes*, and allured the *Perſians* into the quarrel, the other perſwaded the *Babylonians* and *Arabians* to venture themſelves in the ſame cauſe. Theſe four Nations armed forty thouſand Men againſt *Sardanapalus*, who in this danger was not wanting to himſelf, but gathering ſuch Forces as he could, out of other Nations, encountered the Rebels, as one that would by deeds refute the tales that they had told of him. Neither did his carriage in the beginning of that War, anſwer to the manner of his retiredneſs. For in three battels he carried away the better, driving *Arbaces* and his followers into ſuch fearful terms, that had not *Beloſus* promiſed them conſtantly ſome unexpected ſuccours, they would forthwith have broken up their Camp. About the ſame time, an Army out of *Baſtria* was coming to aſſiſt the King; but *Arbaces* encountring it upon the way, perſwaded ſo ſtrongly by promiſe of liberty, that thoſe Forces joyned themſelves with his. The ſudain departure of the Enemy ſeeming to be a flight, cauſed *Sardanapalus* to feaſt his Army, triumphing before victory. But the Rebels being ſtrengthened with this new ſupply, came upon him by night, and forced his Camp, which through over-great ſecurity, was unprepared for reſiſtance.

This overthrow did ſo weaken the Kings heart, that leaving his Wives brother *Salamenus* to keep the Field, he withdrew himſelf into the City of *Ninive*; which, till new aids that he ſent for ſhould come, he thought eaſily to defend; it having been propheſied, that *Ninive* ſhould never be taken, till the River were enemy to the town. Of the greatneſs and ſtrength of *Ninive*, enough hath been ſpoken in our diſcourſe of *Ninus*. It was ſo well victualled, that *Arbaces* (having in two battels overthrown the Kings Army, and ſlain *Salamenus*) was fain to lie two whole years before it, in hope to win it by famine; whereof yet he ſaw no appearance. It ſeems that he wanted Engines and skill to force thoſe walls, which were a hundred foot high, and thick enough for three Chariots in front to paſs upon the rampire. But that which he could not do in two years, the River of *Tygris* did in the third: for being high ſwoln with rains, it not only drowned a part of the City through which it ran; but threw down twenty furlongs of the wall, and made a fair breach for *Arbaces* to enter.

Sardanapalus, either terrified with the accompliſhment of the old Oracle, or ſeeing no means of reſiſtance left, ſhutting up himſelf into his Pallace, with his Wives, Eunuchs and all his treaſures, did ſet the houſe on fire, wherewith he and they were together conſumed. *Strabo* ſpeaks of a monument of his, that was in *Anchiale* a City of *Cilicia*, whereon was found an inſcription, ſhewing that he built that City and *Tharſus* upon one day: but the addition hereto, bidding Men eat and drink, and make merry, encouraging other, with verſes well known, to a voluptuous life, by his own example, teſtifie that his nature was more prone to ſenſuality, than to any vertue beſeeming a Prince. *Strabo*, l. 4.

There are ſome that faintly report otherwiſe of his end; ſaying that *Arbaces*, when he firſt found him among his Concubines, was ſo enraged, that ſudainly he ſlew him with a dagger. But the more general conſent of writers agree with this relation of *Diodorus Siculus*, who citeth *Cteſias* a Greek writer, that lived in the Court of *Perſia*, where the truth might beſt be known. *Diod. Sic. l. 2. c. 7.*

Concerning

Concerning the Princes which reigned in *Assyria*, from the time of *Semiramis*, unto *Sardanapalus*, though I believe that they were sometimes (yet not, as *Orosius* hath it, incessantly) busied in offensive or else defensive arms; yet for the most part of them I do better trust *Diodorus Siculus*, who saith, that their names were overpassed by *Ctesias*, because they did nothing worthy of memory. Whatsoever they did; that which *Theophilus Antiochenus* hath said of them is very true; *Silence and oblivion hath oppressed them.* Theophilus Antiochenus l. 2.

Diod. l. 2. c. 6.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of UZZIA.

§. I.

The prosperity of Uzzia, *and of* Jeroboam *the second, who Reigned with him in* Israel. *Of the Anarchy that was in the ten Tribes after the death of* Jeroboam. *Of* Zacharia, Sallum, Menahem *and* Pekahia.

Uzzia, who is also called *Azaria* the Son of *Jotham*, was made King of *Juda*, when he was sixteen years old, in the seven and twentieth year of *Jeroboam* the Son of *Joas* King of *Israel*. He served the God of his Father *David*, and had therefore good success in all his enterprises. He built *Eloth*, a Town that stood near to the Red Sea, and restored it to *Juda*. He overcame the *Philistims*, of whose Towns he dismantled some, and built others in sundry parts of their Territories. Also he got the mastry over some parts of *Arabia*, and brought the *Ammonites* to pay him Tribute. Such were the fruits of his prosperous Wars, wherein (as *Josephus* reheareseth his Acts) he began with the *Philistims*, and then proceeded unto the *Arabians* and *Ammonites*. His Army consisted of three hundred and seven thousand Men of War, over which were appointed two thousand six hundred Captains. For all this multitude the King prepared *Shields, and Spears, and Helmets*, and other Armes requisite; following therein happily a course quite opposite unto that which some of his late Predecessors had held, who thought it better policy to use the service of the Nobility, than of the multitude; carrying forth to War *the Princes and all the Chariots.*

2 Chro. 26. 14.

2 Chro. 21. 9.

As the victories of *Uzzia* were far more important, than the atchievements of all that had reigned in *Juda*, since the time of *David*; so were his riches and magnificent works, equal, if not superior to any of theirs that had been Kings between him and *Salomon*. For besides that great Conquests are wont to repay the charges of War with triple interest, he had the skill to use, as well as the happiness to get. He turned his Lands to the best use, keeping Ploughmen and Dressers of Vines, in grounds convenient to such Husbandry. In other places he had Cattel feeding, whereof he might well keep great store, having won so much from the *Ammonites* and *Arabians*, that had abundance of waste ground serving for pasturage. For defence of his Cattel and Herdsmen, he built Towers in the Wildernes. He also digged many Cisterns or Ponds. *Josephus* calls them Watercourses; but in such dry grounds, it was enough that he found Water, by digging in the most likely places. If by these Towers he so commanded the water that none could without his consent, relieve themselves therewith; questionless he took the only course, by which he might securely hold the Lordship over all the Wilderness; it being hardly passable, by reason of the extreme drought, when the few springs therein found, are left free to the use of Travellers.

Besides all this cost, and the building both of *Eloth* by the Red Sea, and of sundry Towns among the *Philistims*; he repaired the Wall of *Jerusalem*, which *Joas* had broken down, and fortified it with Towers, whereof some were an hundred and fifty Cubits high.

The State of *Israel* did never so flourish, as at this time, since the division of the twelve Tribes into two Kingdoms. For as *Uzzia* prevailed in the South, so (if not more) *Jeroboam* the Son of *Joas*, King of the ten Tribes, enlarged his border on the North; where obtaining many Victories, against the *Syrians*, he wan the Royal City of *Damascus*, and he wan *Hamath*, with all the Country there about *from the entring of Hamath, unto the Sea of the Wilderness*, that is (as the most expound it) unto the vast Desarts of *Arabia*, the end whereof was undiscovered. So the bounds of *Israel* in those parts, were in the time of this *Jeroboam*, the same (or not much narrower) which they had been in the Reign of *David*.

2 Reg. 14. 25, 28.

But it was not for the piety of *Jeroboam*, that he thrived so well; for he was an Idolater; it was only the compassion which the Lord had on *Israel*, seeing the exceeding bitter affliction, whereinto the *Aramites* had brought his people, which caused him to alter the success of War, and to throw the victorious *Aramites*, under the feet of those, whom they had so cruelly oppressed. The line of *Jehu*, to which God had promised the Kingdom of *Israel unto the fourth Generation*, was now not far from the end; and now again it was invited unto repentance, by new benefits, as it had been at the beginning. But the sin of *Jeroboam* the Son of *Nebat*, was held so pretious, that neither the Kingdom it self, given to him by God, was able to draw *Jehu* from that politick Idolatry; nor the misery falling upon him and his posterity, to bring them to a better course of Religion; nor yet, at the last, this great prosperity, of *Jeroboam* the Son of *Joas*, to make him render the honour that was due to the only giver of Victory. Wherefore the promise of God, made unto *Jehu*, that his Sons, *unto the fourth Generation*, should sit on the Throne of *Israel*, was not enlarged; but, being almost expired, gave warning of the approaching end, by an accident (so strange, that we, who find no particulars recorded, can hardly guess at the occasions) foregoing the last accomplishment.

2 Reg. 10. 13.

When *Jeroboam* the Son of *Joas*, after a victorious Reign of one and forty years, had ended his life, it seems in all reason that *Zacharia* his Son, should forthwith have been admitted, to Reign in his stead; the Nobility of that race having gotten such a lustre by the immediate succession of four

Kings, that any Competitor, had the Crown paſſed by election, muſt needs have appeared baſe; and the vertue of the laſt King, having been ſo great, as might well ſerve to lay the foundation of a new Houſe, much more to eſtabliſh the already confirmed right of a family ſo rooted in poſſeſſion. All this notwithſtanding, two or three and twenty years did paſs before *Zacharia* the Son of *Jeroboam* was, by uniform conſent, received as King. The true original cauſes hereof were to be found at *Dan* and *Bethel*, where the golden Calves did ſtand: yet ſecond inſtruments of this diſturbance, are likely not to have been wanting, upon which, the wiſdom of Man was ready to caſt an Eye. Probable it is that the Captains of the Army (who afterwards ſlew one another, ſo faſt, that in fourteen years there Reigned five Kings) did now by headſtrong violence, rent the Kingdom aſunder, holding each what he could, and either deſpiſing or hating ſome qualities in *Zacharia*; until, after many years, wearied with diſſention, and the principal of them perhaps, being taken out of the way by death, for want of any other eminent Man, they conſented to yield all quietly to the Son of *Jeroboam*. That this *Anarchy* laſted almoſt three and twenty years, we find by the difference of time, between the fifteenth year of *Uzzia*, which was the laſt of *Jeroboam* his one and fortieth (his ſeven and twentieth concurring with the firſt of *Uzzia*) and the eight and thirtieth of the ſame *Uzzia*, in the laſt ſix months whereof, *Zacharia* reigned in *Samaria*. There are ſome indeed that by ſuppoſing *Jeroboam* to have reigned with his Father eleven years, do cut off the *interregnum* in *Juda* (before mentioned) and by the ſame reaſon, abridge this *Anarchy*, that was before the Reign of *Zacharia* in *Iſrael*. Yet they leave it twelve years long: which is time ſufficient to prove that the Kingdom of the ten Tribes, was no leſs diſtempered, than as is already noted. But I chooſe rather to follow the more common opinion, as concurring more exactly with the times of other Princes reigning abroad in the World, than this doubtful conjecture, that gives to *Jeroboam* two and fifty years, by adding three quarters of his Fathers Reign unto his own, which was it ſelf indeed ſo long, that he may well ſeem to have begun it very young: for I do not think, that God bleſſed this Idolater, both with a longer Reign, and with a longer life, than he did his Servant *David*.

Thus much being ſpoken of the time, wherein the Throne of *Iſrael* was void, before the Reign of *Zacharia*; little may ſuffice to be ſaid of his Reign it ſelf, which laſted but a little while. Six months only was he King; in which time he declared himſelf a worſhipper of the Golden Calves; which was enough to juſtifie the judgment of God, whereby he was ſlain. He was the laſt of *Jehu*'s houſe, being (incluſively) the firſt of that line; which may have been ſome cauſe of the troubles impeaching his orderly ſucceſſion: the Prophecy having determined that race in the fourth Generation. But (beſides that Gods promiſe was extended unto the utmoſt) there was no warrant given to *Sallum* or to any other, for the death of *Zacharia*, as had been given to *Jehu*, for the ſlaughter of *Jehoram*, and for the eradication of *Ahab*'s Houſe.

Zacharia having been ſix months a King, was then ſlain by *Sallum*, who reigned after him, *the ſpace of a month in Samaria*. What this *Sallum* was, I do not find; ſave only that he was a Traitor, and the Son of one *Jabeſh*, whereby his Father got no honour. It ſeems that he was one of thoſe, who in time of Faction had laboured for himſelf; and now, when all other Competitors were ſitten down, thought eaſily to prevail againſt that King, in whoſe perſon the race of *Jehu* was to fail. Manifeſt it is, that *Sallum* had a ſtrong party: for *Tiphſah* or *Thapſa*, and the coaſt thereof even from *Tirzah*, where *Menahem*, his enemy and ſupplanter, then lay, refuſed to admit, as King in his ſtead, the Man that murthered him. Yet at the end of one month, *Sallum* received the reward of his Treaſon, and was ſlain by *Menahem* who reigned in his place.

2 King. 15. 13.

Menahem the Son of *Gadi*, reigned after *Sallum* ten years. In oppoſition to *Sallum*, his hatred was deadly, and inhumane; For he not only deſtroyed *Tiphſah*, and all that were therein, or thereabouts, but he ript up all their Women with child, becauſe they did not open their gates and let him in. Had this cruelty been uſed in revenge of *Zacharia*'s death, it is like that he would have been as earneſt, in procuring unto him his Fathers Crown when it was firſt due. But in performing that office, there was uſed ſuch long deliberation, that we may plainly diſcover Ambition, Diſdain, and other private paſſions, to have been the cauſes of this beaſtly outrage.

In the time of *Menahem*, and (as it ſeems) in the beginning of his Reign, *Pul*, King of *Aſſyria*, came againſt the Land of *Iſrael*; whom this new King appeaſed, with a thouſand Talents of Silver, levied upon all the ſubſtantial Men in his Country. With this mony the *Iſraelite* purchaſed, not only the peace of his Kingdom, but his own eſtabliſhment therein: ſome factious Man (belike) having either invited *Pul* thither, or (if he came uncalled) ſought to uſe his help, in depoſing this ill-beloved King. *Joſephus* reports of this *Menahem*, that his Reign was no milder than his entrance. But after ten years, his Tyranny ended with his life: and *Pekahia*, his Son, occupied his room.

Joſ. ant. l. 9. c. 11.

Of this *Pekahia* the ſtory is ſhort: for he reigned only two years; at the end whereof he was ſlain by *Peka*, the Son of *Remalia*, whoſe Treaſon was rewarded with the Crown of *Iſrael*, as, in time coming another Mans Treaſon againſt himſelf ſhall be. There needs no more, to be ſaid of *Menahem*, and his Son, ſave that they were, both of them, Idolaters; and the Son (as we find in *Joſephus*) like to his Father in cruelty. Concerning *Pul* the *Aſſyrian* King, who firſt opened unto thoſe *Northern* Nations the way into *Paleſtina*; it will ſhortly follow in order of the Story, to deliver our opinion: whether he were that *Beloſus* (called alſo *Beleſes*, and by ſome, *Phul Belochus*) who joyned with *Arbaces* the *Median*, againſt *Sardanapalus*, or whether he were ſome other Man. At the preſent it is more fit that we relate the end of *Uzzia*'s life, who out-lived the happineſs wherein we left him.

Joſ. ibid.

§. 11.

The end of Uzzia *his Reign and Life.*

AS the zeal of *Jehoiada*, that godly Prieſt, was the mean, to preſerve the lineage of *David*, in the perſon of *Joas*; ſo it appears, that the care of holy Men was not wanting to *Uzzia*, to bring him up, and advance him to the Crown of *Juda*, when the hatred born to his Father *Amazia*, had endangered his Succeſſion. For it is ſaid of *Uzzia*, That *he ſought God in the days of* Zacharia *(which underſtood the viſions of God) and when as he ſought the Lord, God made him proſper.*

2 Chro. 26. 5.

But

V. 16. *But, when he was strong, his heart was lifted up to his destruction: for he transgressed against the Lord his God: and went into the Temple of the Lord to burn incense, upon the Altar of incense.* Thus he thought to enlarge his own authority, by medling in the Priests office, whose power had in every extremity been so helpful to the Kings of *Juda*, that meer gratitude, and civil policy, should have held back *Uzzia* from incroaching thereupon; yea, though the Law of God had been silent in this case, and not forbidden it. Howsoever the King forgot his duty, the Priests remembred theirs, and God forgat not to assist them. *Azaria* the High Priest interrupted the Kings purpose, and gave him to understand, how little to his honour it would prove, that he took upon him the office of the Sons of *Aaron*. There were with *Azaria* fourscore other Priests, valiant Men, but their valour was shewed, only in assisting the High Priest, when (according to his duty) he reprehended the Kings presumption. This was enough, the rest God himself performed. We find in *Josephus*, that the King had apparelled himself in Priestly habit, and that he threatned *Azarias* and his Companions, to punish them with death, unless they would be quiet. *Josephus*, indeed enlargeth the story, by inserting a great Earth-quake, which did tear down half an Hill, that rouled four furlongs, till it rested against another Hill, stopping up the High ways, and spoiling the Kings Garden in the passage. With this Earth-quake, he saith, that the roof of the Temple did cleave, and that a Sun-beam did light upon the Kings face, which was presently infected with Leprosie. All this may have been true; and some there are who think that this Earth-quake is the same, which is mentioned by the Prophet *Amos*; wherein they do much mis-reckon the times. For the Earth-quake spoken of by *Amos*, was in the days of *Jeroboam* King of *Israel*, who died seven and thirty years before *Uzzia*; so that *Jotham* the Son of *Uzzia*, which supplied his Fathers place in government of the Land, should, by this accompt, have been then unborn: for he was but five and twenty years old, when he began to Reign as King. Therefore, thus far only we have assurance; that *while Uzzia, was wroth with the Priests, the leprosie rose up in his forehead, before the Priests.* Hereupon he was caused, in all haste, to depart the place, and to live in a house by himself, untill he died; the rule over the Kings House, and over all the Land, being committed to *Jotham*, his Son, and Successor. *Jotham* took not upon himself the stile of King, till his Father was dead; Whom they buried in the same field wherein his Ancestors lay interred, yet in a Monument apart from the rest, because he was a Leper.

Joseph. ant. l. 9. c. 11.

2 Chron. 26. 20.

§. III.

Of the Prophets which lived in the time of Uzzia; *and of Princes then ruling in* Ægypt, *and in some other Countries.*

IN the time of *Uzzia* were the first of the lesser Prophets, *Hosea*, *Joel*, *Amos*, *Obadia* and *Jonas*. It is not indeed set down, when *Joel*, or *Obadia*, did propheste: but if the Prophets, whose times are not expressed, ought to be ranged (according to S. *Hierome*'s rule) with the next before them; then must these two be judged contemporary with *Hosea* and *Amos*, who lived under King *Uzzia*. To enquire which of these five was the most ancient, it may perhaps be thought, at least, a superfluous labour; yet if the age wherein *Homer* lived, hath so painfully been sought, without reprehension; how can he be taxed, which offers to search out the antiquity of these holy Prophets? It seems to me, that the first of these, in order of time, was the Prophet *Jonas*, who foretold the great victories of *Jeroboam* King of *Israel*; and therefore is like to have prophesied in the days of *Joas*, whilst the affliction of *Israel* was *exceeding bitter*, the Text it self intimating no less: by which consequence, he was elder than the other Prophets, whose works are now extant. But his prophecies, that concerned the Kingdom of *Israel*, are now lost. That which remaineth of him, seems, not without reason, unto some very learned, to have belonged unto the time of *Sardanapalus*, in whose days *Ninevie* was first of all destroyed. This Prophet rather taught Christ by his sufferings, than by his writings now extant: in all the rest are found expres promises of the Messias.

2 Chron. c. 14. vers. 25, 26.

In the raign of *Uzzia* likewise it was, that *Esay*, the first of the four great Prophets, began to see his Visions. This difference of *greater and lesser* Prophets, is taken from the Volumes which they have left written (as S. *Augustin* gives reason of the distinction) because the greater have written larger Books. The Prophet *Esay* was great indeed, not only in regard of his much Writing; or of his Nobility, (for their opinion is rejected, who think him to have been the Son of *Amos* the Prophet) and the high account wherein he lived; but for the excellency, both of his stile, and argument, wherein he so plainly foretelleth the Birth, Miracles, Passion, and whole History of our Saviour, with the calling of the Gentiles, that he might as well be called an Evangelist, as a Prophet; having written in such wise, That (as *Jerome* saith) *one would think he did not foretel of things to come, but compile an History of matters already past.*

Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 18. c. 29.

Hier. in præf. super Esaiam.

Bocchoris was King of *Ægypt*, and the ninth year of his raign, by our computation (whereof in due place we will give reason) was current, when *Uzzia* took possession of the Kingdom of *Juda*.

After the death of *Bocchoris*, *Asychis* followed in the Kingdom of *Ægypt*, unto him succeeded *Anysis*; and these two occupied that Crown six years. Then *Sabacus*, an *Æthiopian*, became King of *Ægypt*, and held it fifty years, whereof the ten first ran along with the last of *Uzzia* his raign and life. Of these and other *Ægyptian* Kings, more shall be spoken, when their affairs shall come to be intermedled with the business of *Juda*.

In *Athens*, the two last years of *Ariphron* his twenty, the seven and twentieth of *Thespeius*, the twentieth of *Agamnestor*, and three the first of *Æschilus* his three and twenty, made even with the two and fifty of *Uzzia*: as likewise did in *Alba* the last seven of *Sylvius Aventinus* his seven and thirty, together with the three and twenty of *Silvius Procas*, and two and twenty the first of *Sylvius Amulius*. In *Media Arbaces* began his new Kingdom, in the first of *Uzzia*, wherein, after eight and twenty years, his Son *Sosarmus* succeeded him, and raigned thirty years. Of this *Arbaces*, and the division of the *Assyrian* Empire, between him and others, when they had oppressed *Sardanapalus*, I hold it convenient to use more particular discourse, that we may not wander in too great uncertainty in the story of the *Assyrian* Kings, who have already found the way into *Palestina*, and are not likely to forget it.

§. IV.

§. IV.

Of the Assyrian *Kings, descending from* Phul: *and whether* Phul *and* Belosus *were one person; or heads of sundry Families, that Reigned apart in* Ninive *and* Babylon.

BY that which hath formerly been shewed of *Sardanapalus* his death, it is apparent that the chief therein was *Arbaces* the *Median*; to whom the rest of the Confederates did not only submit themselves in that War, but were contented afterwards to be judged by him, receiving by his authority sentence of death, or pardon of their forfeited lives. The first example of this his power, was shewen upon *Belosus* the *Babylonian*, by whose especial advice and help, *Arbaces* himself was become so great. Yet was not this power of *Arbaces* exercised in so tyrannical manner, as might give offence in that great alteration of things, either to the Princes that had assisted him, or to the generality of the people. For in the condemnation of *Belosus*, he used the counsel of his other Captains, and then pardoned him of his own Grace; allowing him to hold, not only the City and Province of *Babylon*, but also those treasures, for embezelling whereof his life had been endangered.

In like manner, he gave rewards to the rest of his partakers, and made them Rulers of Provinces; retaining (as it appears) only the Soveraignty to himself, which to use immoderately he did naturally abhor. He is said, indeed, to have excited the *Medes* against *Sardanapalus*, by propounding unto them hope of transferring the Empire to their Nation. And to make good this his promise, he destroyed the City of *Ninive*; permitting the Citizens nevertheless to take and carry away every one his own goods. The other Nations that joyned with him, as the *Persians* and *Bactrians*, he drew to his side, by the allurement of liberty; which he himself so greatly loved, that by slackning too much the Reins of his own Soveraignty, he did more harm to the general estate of *Media*, than the pleasure of the freedom, which it enjoyed, could recompence. For both the Territory of that Country was pared narrower by *Salmanassar* (or perhaps by some of his Progenitors) whom we find, in the Scriptures, to have held some Towns of the *Medes*; and the civil administration was so disorderly, that the people themselves were glad to see that reformation, which *Deioces*, the fifth of *Arbaces* his Line, did make in that Government, by reducing them into stricter terms of obedience.

How the force of the *Assyrians* grew to be such, as might in fourscore years, if not sooner, both extend it self unto the Conquest of *Israel*, and tear away some part of *Media*, it is a question hardly to be answered; not only in regard of the destruction of *Ninive*, and subversion of the *Assyrian* Kingdom, whereof the *Medes*, under *Arbaces*, had the honour, who may seem at that time to have kept the *Assyrians* under their subjection, when, the rest of the Provinces were set at liberty; but in consideration of the Kings themselves, who Reigning afterwards in *Babylon* and *Ninive*, are confounded by some, and distinguished by others; whereby their History is made uncertain.

I will first therefore deliver the opinion generally received, and the grounds whereupon it stands: then, producing the objections made against it; I will compare together the determination of that worthy Man *Joseph Scaliger*, with those learned that subscribe thereunto, and the judgment of others that were more ancient Writers, or have followed the Ancients in this doubtful case. Neither shall it be needful to set down apart the several authorities and arguments of sundry Men, adding somewhat of weight or of clearness one to another: it will be enough to relate the whole substance of each discourse: which I will do as briefly as I can, and without fear to be taxed of partiality, as being no more addicted to the one opinion than to the other, by any fancy of mine own, but meerly led by those reasons, which upon examination of each part, seemed to me most forceable, though to others they may perhaps appear weak.

That which, until of late, hath passed as currant, is this; That *Belosus* was the same King who, first of the *Assyrians*, entred *Palestina* with an Army; being called *Pul*, or *Phul*, in the Scriptures, and by *Annius* his Authors with such as follow them, *Phul Belochus*. Of this Man it is said, that he was a skilful Astrologer, subtile, and ambitious; that he got *Babylon* by composition made with *Arbaces*; and that not therewith content, he got into his hand part of *Assyria*: finally, that he Reigned eight and forty years, and then dying, left the Kingdom to *Teglat Phalasar* his Son, in whose posterity it continued some few descents, till the house of *Merodach* prevailed. The truth of this, if *Annius* his *Metasthenes* were sufficient proof, could not be gainsaid: for that Author (such as he is) is peremptory herein. But, howsoever *Annius* his Authors deserve to be suspected, it stands with no reason, that we should conclude all to be false which they affirm. They, who maintain this Tradition, justifie it by divers good Allegations, as a matter confirmed by circumstances found in all Authors, and repugnant unto no History at all. For it is manifest by the relation of *Diodorus* (which is indeed the foundation whereupon all have built) that *Arbaces* and *Belosus* were Partners in the action against *Sardanapalus*; and that the *Bactrians*, who joyned with them, were thought well rewarded with liberty, as likewise other Captains were with governments: but that any third Person was so eminent, as to have *Assyria* it self, the chief Country of the Empire, bestowed upon him, it is a thing whereof not the least appearance is found in any History. And certainly it stood with little reason, that the *Assyrians* should be committed unto a peculiar King, at such time as it was not thought meet to trust them in their own Walls and Houses. Rather it is apparent, that the destruction of *Ninive* by *Arbaces*, and the transplantation of the Citizens, was held a needful policy, because thereby the people of that Nation might be kept down, from aspiring to recover the Soveraignty, which else they would have thought to belong, as of right, unto the seat of the Empire.

Upon such considerations did the *Romans*, in ages long after following, destroy *Carthage*, and dissolve the Corporation, or Body politick, of the Citizens of *Capua*; because those two Towns were capable of the Empire: a matter esteemed over-dangerous even to *Rome* it self, that was Mistriss of them both. This being so, how can it be thought that the *Assyrians* in three or four years had erected their Kingdom anew, under one *Pul*? or what must this *Pul* have been (of whose deservings, or intermedling, or indeed of whose very name, we find no mention in the War against *Sardanapalus*) to whom the principal part of the Empire fell,

Tull. contra Rullum or. 2.

fell, either by general consent in division of the Provinces, or by his own power and purchace very soon after? Surely he was none other than *Belosus*; whose near Neighbourhood gave him opportunity (as he was wise enough to play his own game) both to get *Assyria* to himself, and to empeach any other Man, that should have attempted to seize upon it. The Province of *Babylon*, which *Belosus* held, being (as *Herodotus* reports) in riches, and power, as good as the third part of the *Persian* Empire, was able to furnish him with all that was requisite for such a business: if that were not enough, he had gotten into his own hands all the Gold and Silver that had been in the Palace of *Ninive*. And questionless to restore such a City as *Ninive*, was an enterprise fit for none to take in hand, except he had such means as *Belosus* had; which *Pul*, if he were not *Belosus*, is likely to have wanted.

Herodot. l. 1.

Besides all this, had *Pul* been a distinct person from *Belosus*, and Lord of *Assyria*, which lay beyond the Countries of *Babylon* and *Mesopotamia*, it would not have been an easie matter for him, to pass quite through another mans Kingdom with an Army, seeking booty afar off in *Israel*: the only action by which the name of *Phul* is known. But if we grant, that he, whom the Scriptures call *Pul* or *Phul*, was the same whom prophane writers have called *Belosus*, *Beleses*, and *Belestis*, (in like manner as *Josephus* acknowledgeth, that he, whom the Scriptures called never otherwise than *Darius* the *Mede*, was the Son of *Astyages*, and called of the *Greeks* by another name, that is, *Cyaxares*) then is this scruple utterly removed. For *Babylon* and *Mesopotamia* did border upon *Syria* and *Palestina*: so that *Belosus*, having setled his affairs in *Assyria* towards the East and North, might with good leisure encroach upon the Countries that lay on the other side of his Kingdom, to the South and West. He that looks into all particulars, may find every one circumstance concurring, to prove that *Phul* who invaded *Israel*, was none other than *Belosus*. For the Prince of the *Arabians*, who joyned with *Arbaces*, and brought no small part of the forces wherewith *Sardanapalus* was overthrown, did enter into that action, meerly for the love of *Belosus*. The friendship of these *Arabians* was a thing of main importance, to those that were to pass over *Euphrates* with an Army into *Syria*. Wherefore *Belosus*, that held good correspondence with them; and whose most fruitful Province, adjoyning to their barren quarters, might yearly do them inestimable pleasures; was not only like to have quiet passage through their borders, but their utmost assistance; yea, it stands with good reason, that they, who loved not *Israel*, should for their own behoof have given him intelligence, of the destruction and civil broils among the ten Tribes; whereby, as this *Pul* got a thousand talents, so it seems that the *Syrians* and *Arabians*, that had felt an heavy Neighbour of *Jeroboam*, recovered their own, setting up a new King in *Damasco*, and clearing the Coast of *Arabia*, (from the Sea of the Wilderness to *Hamath*) of the *Hebrew* Garrisons. Neither was it any new acquaintance, that made the Nations divided by *Euphrates* hold together in so good terms of friendship: it was ancient consanguinity; the memory whereof was available to the *Syrians*, in the time of *David*, when the *Aramites* beyond the River came over willingly, to the succour of *Hadadezer*, and the *Aramites* about *Damasco*. So *Belosus* had good reason to look into those parts; what a King raigning so far off as *Ninive*, should have to do in *Syria*, if the other end of his Kingdom, had not reached to *Euphrates*, it were hard to shew.

Joseph. ant. l. 10. cap. 12.

But concerning this last argument of the business which might allure the *Chaldeans* into *Palestina*, it may be doubted, lest it should seem to have ill coherence with that which hath been said of the long Anarchy that was in the ten Tribes. For if the Crown of *Israel* were worn by no Man in three and twenty years, then is it likely that *Belosus* was either unwilling to stir, or unable to take the advantage when it was faireſt, and first discovered. This might have compelled those, who alone were not strong enough, to seek after help from some Prince that lay further off; and so the opinion of those that distinguish *Phul* from *Belosus*, would be somewhat confirmed. On the other side, if we say, that *Belosus* did pass the River of *Euphrates*, as soon as he found likelihood of making a prosperous journey, then may it seem that the *interregnum* in *Israel* was not so long as we have made it: for three and twenty years leisure would have afforded better opportunity, which ought not to have been lost.

For answer hereunto, we are to consider, what *Orosius* and *Eusebius* have written concerning the *Chaldees*: the one, that after the departure of *Arbaces* into *Media*, they laid hold on a part of the Empire: the other, that they prevailed and grew mighty, between the times of *Arbaces* and *Deioces* the *Medes*. Now, though it be held an error of *Orosius*, where he supposeth that the occupying of *Babylonia* by the *Chaldeans*, was in manner of a rebellion from the *Medes*; yet herein he and *Eusebius* do concur, that the authority of *Arbaces* did restrain the ambition, which by his absence grew bold, and by his death, regardful only of it self. Now, though some have conjectured that all *Assyria* was given to *Belosus* (as an overplus, besides the Province of *Babylon*, which was his by plain bargain made aforehand) in regard of his high deservings, yet the opinion more commonly received is, that he did only encroach upon that Province by little and little, whilst *Arbaces* lived, and afterwards dealing more openly got it all himself. Seeing therefore, that there passed but twelve years between the death of *Arbaces*, and the beginning of *Menahem* his raign; manifest it is, that the conquest of *Assyria*, and setling of that Country, was work enough to hold *Belosus* occupied, besides the restauration of *Ninive*, which alone was able to take up all the time remaining of his raign, if perhaps he lived to see it finished in his own days. So that this argument may rather serve to prove that *Phul* and *Belosus* were one person; forasmuch as the journey of *Phul* against *Israel* was not made until *Belosus* could find leisure; and the time of advantage which *Belosus* did let slip, argued his business in some other quarter, namely in that Province of which *Phul* is called King. Briefly, it may be said, that he who conquered *Assyria*, and performed somewhat upon a Country so far distant as *Palestina*, was likely to have been, at least, named in some History, or, if not himself, yet his Country to have been spoken of for those victories: but we neither hear of *Phul*, in any prophane Author, neither doth any Writer, sacred or prophane, once mention the victories or acts whatsoever of the *Assyrians*, done in those times; whereas of *Belosus*, and the power of the *Chaldeans*, we find good Record.

Surely, that great slaughter of so many thousand *Assyrians*, in the quarel of *Sardanapalus*, together with other calamities of that long and unfortunate War, which overwhelmed the whole Country, not ending but with the ruine and utter desola-

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tion of *Ninive*, must needs have so weakened the State of *Assyria*, that it could not in thirty years space be able to invade *Palestina*, which the ancient Kings, raigning in *Ninive*, had, in all their greatness, forborn to attempt. Yet these afflictions, disabling that Country, did help to enable *Belosus* to subdue it; who having once extended his dominion to the borders of *Media*, and being (especially if he had compounded with the *Medes*) by the interposition of that Countrey, secure of the *Scythians*, and other warlike Nations on that side, might very well turn Southward, and try his fortune in those Kingdoms, whereinto civil dissention of the inhabitants, and the bordering envy of the *Arabians* and *Aramites* about *Damascus*, friends and cosins to the *Chaldaans* and *Mesopotamians*, did invite him. For these, and the other before alledged reasons, it may be concluded, That what is said of *Pul* in the Scriptures, ought to be understood of *Belosus*; even as by the names of *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Darius* the *Mede*, *Artashasht*, and *Ahashuerosh*, with the like, are thought, or known, to be meant the same, whom prophane Historians, by names better known in their own Countries, have called *Nabopollassar*, *Cyaxares*, and *Artaxerxes*: especially considering, that hereby we shall neither contradict any thing that hath been written of old, nor need to trouble our selves and others with framing new conjectures. This in effect is that, which they alledge in maintenance of the opinion commonly received.

Now this being once granted; other things, of more importance, will of themselves easily follow. For it is a matter of no great consequence to know the truth of this point (considering it apart from that which depends thereon) Whether *Pul* were *Belosus*, or some other man: the whole race of these *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* Kings, wherein are found those famous Princes, *Nabonassar*, *Mardocempadus*, and *Nabopollassar* (famous for the Astronomical observations recorded from their times) is the main ground of this contention. If therefore *Belosus* or *Belesis* were that *Phul* which invaded *Israel*; if he and his posterity raigned both in *Ninive* and in *Babylon*; if he were Father of *Teglat-Phul-Asar*, from whom *Salmanasar*, *Senacherib*, and *Asar-haddon* descended; then it is manifest, that we must seek *Nabonassar*, the *Babylonian* King, among these Princes; yea, and conclude him to be none other then *Salmanasar*, who is known to have reigned in those years, which *Ptolomey* the Mathematician hath assigned unto *Nabonassar*. As for *Merodach*, who supplanted *Asar-haddon*, manifest it is, that he and his successors were of another house. This is the scope and end of all his disputation.

But they that maintain the contrary part, will not be satisfied with such conjectures. They lay hold upon the conclusion, and by shaking that into pieces, hope to overthrow all the premisses, upon which it is inferred. For (say they) if *Nabonassar*, that raigned in *Babylon*, could not be *Salmanassar*, or any of those other *Assyrian* Kings, then is it manifest, that the races were distinct, and that *Phul* and *Belosus* were several Kings. This consequence is so plain, that it needs no confirmation. To prove that *Nabonassar* was a distinct person from *Salmanassar*, are brought such arguments as would stagger the resolution of him that had sworn to hold the contrary. For first, *Nabonassar* was King of *Babylon*, and not of *Assyria*. This is proved by his name, which is meerly *Chaldean*, whereas *Salman*, the first part of *Salmanassar*'s name, is proper to the *Assyrians*. It is likewise proved by the Astronomical observations, which proceeding from the *Babylonians*, not from the *Assyrians*, do shew, that *Nabonassar*, from whom *Ptolomy* draws that *Epocha*, or account of times, was a *Babylonian*, and no *Assyrian*. Thirdly, and more strongly, it is confirmed by the successor of *Nabonassar*, which was *Mardocempadus*, called in his own language *Mero-dac-ken pad*, but more briefly in *Esay* his prophecy, *Merodach*, by the former part of his name; or *Merodach Baladan*, the Son of *Baladan*. Now if *Merodach*, the Son of *Baladan*, King of *Babel*, were the Son of *Nabonassar*, then was *Nabonassar* none other than *Baladan* King of *Babel*, and not *Salmanassar* King of *Assyria*.

What can be plainer? As for the cadence of these two names, *Nabonassar* and *Salmanassar*, which in *Greek* or *Latine* writing hath no difference, we are taught by *Scaliger*, that in the *Hebrew* letters there is found no affinity therein. So concerning the places of *Babylonia*, whereinto *Salmanassar* carried captive some part of the ten Tribes, it may well be granted, that in the *Province* of *Babylon* *Salmanassar* had gotten somewhat, yet will it not follow that he was King of *Babylon* it self. To conclude, *Merodach* began his raign over *Babylon* in the sixth year of *Hezekia*, at which time *Salmanassar* took *Samaria*; therefore, if *Salmanassar* were King of *Babylon*, then must we say that he and *Merodach*, yea and *Nabonassar*, were all one Man. These are the arguments of that noble and learned Writer *Joseph Scaliger*; who not contented to follow the common opinion, founded upon likelihood of conjectures, hath drawn his proofs from matter of more necessary inference.

Touching all that was said before of *Phul Belosus*, for the proving that *Phul* and *Belosus* were not sundry Kings; *Joseph Scaliger* pities their ignorance, that have spent their labour to so little purpose. Honest and painful Men he confesseth that they were, who by their diligence might have won the good liking of their Readers, had they not by mentioning *Annius* his Authors given such offence, that Men refused thereupon to read their Books and Chronologies. A short answer.

For mine own part, howsoever I believe nothing that *Annius* his *Berosus*, *Metasthenes*, and others of that stamp affirm, in respect of their bare authority; yet am I not so squeamish, but that I can well enough digest a good Book, though I find the names of one or two of these good fellows alledged in it: I have (somewhat peradventure too often) already spoken my mind of *Annius* his Authors: nevertheless, I may say here again, that where other Histories are silent, or speak not enough, there may we without shame borrow of these, as much as agrees with that little which elsewhere we find, and serveth to explain or inlarge it without improbabilities.

Neither indeed are those honest and painful Men (as *Scaliger* terms them, meaning, if I mistake him not, good silly fellows) who set down the *Assyrian* Kings from *Pul* forwards, as Lords also of *Babylon*, taking *Pul* for *Belosus*, and *Salmanassar* for *Nabonassar*, such Writers as a Man should be ashamed or unwilling to read. For (to omit a multitude of others, that herein follow *Annius*, though disliking him in general) *Gerard Mercator* is not so slight a Chronologer, that he should be laughed out of doors, with the name of an honest meaning fellow.

But I will not make comparisons between *Scaliger* and *Mercator*, they were both of them Men notably learned: let us examine the arguments of *Scaliger*, and see whether they be of such force, as cannot either be resisted or avoided. It will easily be granted, that *Nabonassar* was King of *Babylon*; that he was not King of *Assyria*, some Men doubt whether

ther *Scaliger*'s Reasons be enough to prove. For though *Nabonassar* be a *Chaldean* Name, and *Salmanassar* an *Assyrian*; yet what hinders us from believing, that one Man in two Languages might be called by two several Names? That Astronomy flourished among the *Chaldees*, is not enough to prove *Nabonassar* either an Astrologer, or a *Chaldean*. So it is, that *Scaliger* himself calls them, *Prophetas nescio quos, qui Nabonassarum Astronomum fuisse in somnis viderunt*; *Prophets I know not who, that in their sleep have dreamt of* Nabonassar, *that he was an Astrologer*. Scal. Canon. l. 3.

Whether *Nabonassar* were an Astrologer or no, I cannot tell; it is hard to maintain the Negative. But as his being Lord over the *Chaldaans*, doth not prove him to have been learned in their Sciences; so doth it not prove him, not to have been also King of *Assyria*. The Emperour *Charles* the fifth, who was born in *Gant*, and *Philip* his Son, King of *Spain*, and Lords of the *Netherlands*, had Men far more learned in all Sciences, and particularly in the Mathematicks, among their Subjects of the Low Countries, than were any that I read of then living in *Spain*, if *Spain* at that time had any; yet I think, Posterity will not use this as an Argument, to prove that *Spain* was none of theirs, It may well be, that *Salmanassar* or *Nabonassar*, did use the *Assyrian* Souldiers, and *Babylonian* Scholars: but it seems, that he and his Posterity, by giving themselves wholly to the more warlike Nation, lost the richer, out of which they first issued; as likewise King *Philip* lost partly, and partly did put to a dangerous hazard all the Netherlands, by such a course. As for the two unanswerable Arguments, (as *Scaliger* terms them, being me-thinks none other than Answers to somewhat that is or might be alledged on the contrary side) one of them which is drawn from the unlike sound and writing of those Names, *Salmanassar* and *Nabonassar* in the *Hebrew*, I hold a point about which no Man will dispute, for it is not likeness of sound, but agreement of time, and many circumstances else, that must take away the distinction of Persons: the other likewise may be granted; which is, that *Salmanassar* might be Lord of some places in the Province of *Babylon*, yet not King of *Babylon* it self: this indeed might be so, and it might be otherwise. Hitherto there is nothing save conjecture against conjecture. But in that which is alledged out of the Prophet *Esay*, concerning *Merodach* the Son of *Baladan*; and in that which is said of this *Merodach*, or *Mardokempadus*, his being the Successor of *Nabonassar*, and his beginning to reign in the sixth year of *Hezekia*, I find matter of more difficulty, than can be answered in hast. I will therefore deferr the handling of these Objections, until I meet with their Subject in his proper place; which will be when we come to the time of *Hezekia*, wherein *Merodach* lived and was King. Yet that I may not leave too great a scruple in the mind of the Reader, thus far will I here satisfie him; that how strong soever this Argument may seem, *Scaliger* himself did live to retract it, ingenuously confessing, that in thinking *Merodach* to be the Son of *Nabonassar*, he had been deceived.

Now therefore let us consider, in what sort they have fashioned their Story, who taking *Pul* to be a distinct person from *Belosus* or *Belestis*, have in like sort, as was necessary, distinguished their Off-spring, making that of *Pul* to fail in *Asarhaddon*, which left all to *Merodach* the *Babylonian*. And here I must first confess mine own want of Books, if perhaps there be many, that have gone about to reduce this Narration into some such order, as might present unto us the Body of this History, in one view. Divers, indeed, there are, whom I have seen, that since *Joseph Scaliger* delivered his Opinion, have written in favour of some one or other point thereof: but *Sethus Calvisius* himself, who hath abridged *Scaliger*'s learned Work, *De emendatione Temporum*, hath not been careful to give us notice, how long *Belesus*, *Baladan*, *Pul*, or *Tiglat Pulassar*, did reign, (perhaps because he found it not expressed in *Scaliger*) but is content to set down *Baladan*, for the same Person with *Nabonassar*, Which *Scaliger* himself revoked. In this case therefore I must lay down the Plot of these divided Kingdoms, in such sort as I find it contrived by *Augustinus Torniellus*; who only of all that I have seen, sets down the Succession, Continuance, and Acts, of those that reigned in *Assyria* after *Sardanapalus*, distinguishing them from *Belosus*, and his Posterity, of whom he hath the like remembrance. This *Torniellus* is a Regular Clerk of the Congregation of S. *Paul*, whose Annals were printed the last year; he appears to me a Man of curious Industry, sound Judgment, and free Spirit; yet many times (and I take it, wilfully) forgetful of thanking, or mentioning those *Protestant* Writers, by whose Books he hath received good Information, and enriching his Works by inserting somewhat of theirs. But in this Business he hath openly professed to follow *Scaliger*, whose help, without wrong or dishonour to himself, he hath both used and acknowledged. For mine own part, I will not spare to do right unto *Torniellus*; but confess my self to have received benefit by his writing; and wish that his Annals had sooner come to light; for that as he hath much confirmed me in some things, so would he have instructed and emboldened me, to write more fully and less timorously in other things, which now I have not leisure to revise. Particularly in that conjecture (which I had faintly delivered, and yet feared lest it had over-hastily passed out of my hand, and been exposed to other Mens constructions) of the four Kings that invaded the Valley of *Siddim*, and were slain by *Abraham*, I find him adventuring; as I have done, to say, that they may probably be thought to have been some petty Lords; the contrary opinion of all Writers notwithstanding. But now let us consider how he hath ordered these last *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* Kings. C. 1. §. 13.

After the destruction of *Sardanapalus*, *Arbaces* being the most mighty, sought to get all to himself, but was opposed by *Belosus*; in which Contention, one *Phul*, a powerful Man in *Assyria*, sided with *Belosus*, and they two prevailed so far, that finally *Arbaces* was content to share the Empire with them, making such a division thereof, as was long after made of the *Roman* Empire, between *Octavian*, *Anthony*, and *Lepidus*.

Another conjecture is (for *Torniellus* offers not this, or the rest, as matter of certainty, that *Arbaces* made himself Sovereign Lord of all, and placed the Seat of his Empire in *Media*, appointing *Belosus* his Lieutenant in *Babylonia*, and *Phul* in *Assyria*. But in short space, that is, in four years, it came to pass, by the just Judgment of God, that *Phul* and *Belosus* rebelled against *Arbaces*, like as *Arbaces* had done against *Sardanapalus*, and instead of being his Viceroys, made themselves absolute Kings. And to this later Opinion *Torniellus* him self leans, holding it much the more probable, as being more agreeable to that which is found in prophane Histories. Why he did make and publish the former Supposition, resolving to hold the latter, I shall anon, without any wrong to him, make bold to guess. Having thus devised, how *Phul* and *Belosus* might, at the first, attain

to be Kings, he orders their time, and their Succeſſors, in this manner.

Four years after *Arbaces*, *Phul* begins to Reign, and continues eight and forty Years. *Theglathphalaſar* (whoſe Name, and the Names of other Princes, I write diverſly, according as the Authors whom I have in hand are pleaſed to diverſifie them) ſucceeding unto *Phul*, reigned three and twenty. *Salmanaſſar* followed him, and reigned ten. After him *Senacherib* reigned ſeven: and when he was ſlain, *Aſarhaddon* his Son ten Years; in whom that Line failed.

The ſame time that *Phul* took upon him as King of *Aſſyria*, or not long after, (why not rather afore? for ſo it had been more likely) *Beloſus* uſurped the Kingdom of *Babylon*, and held it threeſcore and eight years; at the leaſt threeſcore and eight Years did paſs, before *Nabonaſſar* followed him in the Poſſeſſion.

To *Nabonaſſar*, whom (with *Scaliger*) he thinks to be *Baladan*, are aſſigned ſix and twenty Years: then, two and fifty to *Merodach*, or *Mardocempadus*: four and twenty to *Ben Merodach*: and laſtly, one and twenty to *Naboleſſar*, the Father of *Nabuchadonoſor*, who is like to offer matter of further diſputation.

Concerning the original of theſe *Aſſyrian* and *Babylonian* Kingdoms, I may truly ſay, That the conjectures of other Men, who give all to *Beloſus*, and confound him with *Phul*, appear to me more nearly reſembling the truth. Neither do I think, that *Torniellus* would have conceived two different ways, by which *Phul* might have gotten *Aſſyria* (for how *Beloſus* came to get *Babylon*, it is plain enough) if either of them alone could have contented him. He adheres to the latter of the two, as better agreeing with *Diodore*, and other Hiſtorians. But he perceived, that to make *Phul* on the ſudden King of *Aſſyria*; or to give him ſo noble a Province, as would, of it ſelf, invite him to accept the Name and Power of a King, was a thing moſt unlikely to have happened, unleſs his deſerts (whereof we find no mention) had been proportionable to ſo high a Reward. And for this cauſe (as I take it) hath he deviſed the means, whereby *Phul* might be made capable of ſo great a ſhare in the Empire. If this were a true or probable ſuppoſition, then would a new doubt riſe, Why this *Phul*, being one of the three that divided all between them, was utterly forgotten by all Hiſtorians? yea, why this Diviſion it ſelf, and the Civil Wars that cauſed it, were never heard of. Queſtionleſs, the interverting of ſome Treaſures by *Beloſus*, with his Judgment, Condemnation, and Pardon following, were matters of far leſs note. Therefore I do not ſee, how one of the two inconveniences can this way be avoided; but that either we muſt confeſs, the Dominion given to *Phul* to have been exceeding his Merits, or elſe his Merits, and Name withall, to have been ſtrangely forgotten: either of which is enough to make us think, that rather the Conjecture, inferring ſuch a Sequel, is wide of the Truth. As for the Rebellion of *Phul* and *Beloſus* againſt *Arbaces*, it was almoſt impoſſible for the *Aſſyrians* to recover ſuch ſtrength in four Years, as might ſerve to hold out in Rebellion: for *Beloſus*, it was needleſs to rebell, conſidering, that *Arbaces* did not ſeek to moleſt him, but rather permitted (as being an over-great favourer of Liberty) even the *Medes*, that were under his own Government, to do what they liſted.

But it is now fit that we peruſe the Catalogue of theſe Kings: not paſſing through them all (for ſome will require a large Diſcourſe in their own times) but ſpeaking of their order and time in general. If it be ſo unlawful to think, that ſome of *Annius* his Tales (let them all be counted his Tales, which are not found in other Authors as well as in his) may be true, eſpecially ſuch, as contradict no acknowledged Truth, or apparent Likelihood, why then is it ſaid, that *Phul* did reign in *Aſſyria* eight and forty Years? For this hath no other ground than *Annius*. It is true, that painful and judicious Writers have found this number of Years, to agree fitly with the courſe of things in Hiſtory: yet all of them took it from *Annius*. Let it therefore be the puniſhment of *Annius* his Forgery (as queſtionleſs he is often guilty of this Crime) that when he tells Truth, or Probability, he be not believed for his own ſake; though for our own ſakes we make uſe of his boldneſs, taking his words for good, whereas (nothing elſe being offered) we are unwilling our ſelves to be Authors of new, though not unprobable Conjectures. Herein we ſhall have this Commodity, that we may without bluſhing alter a little, to help our own Opinions, and lay the blame upon *Annius*, againſt whom we ſhall be ſure to find Friends that will take our part.

The Reigns of *Theglathphalaſar* and *Salmanaſſar* did reach, by *Annius* his Meaſure, to the length of five and twenty Years the one, and ſeventeen the other; *Torniellus* hath cut off two from the former, and ſeven from the later of them, to fit (as I think) his own Computation; uſing the Liberty whereof I ſpake laſt: for that any Author, ſave our good *Meteſthenes*, or thoſe that borrowed of him, hath gone about to tell how long each of theſe did reign, it is more than I have yet found. To *Senacherib* and *Aſarhaddon*, *Torniellus* gives the ſame length of Reign, which is found in *Meteſthenes*. I think there are not many, that will arrogate ſo much unto themſelves, as may well be allowed unto a Man ſo judicious as is *Torniellus*: yet could I wiſh, that he had forborn to condemn the followers of *Annius*, in this Buſineſs, wherein he himſelf hath choſen, in part, rather to become one of them, than to ſay, as elſe he muſt have done, almoſt nothing.

The like Liberty we find that he hath uſed in meaſuring the Reigns of the *Chaldæans*; filling up all the ſpace between the end of *Sardanapalus*, and the beginning of *Nabonaſſar*, with the threeſcore and eight Years of *Beloſus*. In this reſpect it was, perhaps, that he thought *Beloſus* might have begun his Reign ſomewhat later than *Phul*: for threeſcore and eight Years would ſeem a long time for him to hold a Kingdom, that was no young Man when he took poſſeſſion of it. But how is any whit of his Age abated by ſhortning his Reign, ſeeing his Life reacheth to the end of ſuch a time, as were alone, without adding the time wherein he was a private Man, enough for a long liver. Indeed, eight and forty Years had been ſomewhat of the moſt, conſidering that he ſeems by the ſtory to have been little leſs, at ſuch time as he joyned with *Arbaces*; and therefore the addition of twenty Years did well deſerve that note (which *Torniellus* adviſedly gives) that if his Reign extended not ſo far, then the Reign of ſuch as came after him, occupied the middle time unto *Nabonaſſar*.

I neither do reprehend the boldneſs of *Torniellus*, in conjecturing, nor the modeſty of *Scaliger* and *Sethus Calviſius*, in forbearing to ſet down as warrantable, ſuch things as depend only upon likelihood. For things, whereof the perfect knowledge is taken away from us by Antiquity, muſt be deſcribed in Hiſtory, as Geographers in their Maps

deſcribe

describe those Countries, whereof as yet there is made no true discovery, that is, either by leaving some part blank, or by inserting the Land of Pigmies, Rocks of Load-stone, with Head-Lands, Bays, great Rivers, and other Particularities, agreeable to common Report, though many times controlled by following Experience, and found contrary to Truth. Yet indeed the ignorance growing from distance of place, allows not such Liberty to a Describer, as that which ariseth from the remediless oblivion of consuming time. For it is true that the Poet saith;

——Neque fervidis
Pars inclusa caloribus
Mundi, nec Borea finitimum latus,
Duraeque sola Nives,
Mercatorem abigunt: horrida callidi
Vincunt aequora Nautae.

Nor Southern Heat, nor Northern Snow
That freezing to the ground doth grow,
The subject Regions can fence,
And keep the greedy Merchant thence.
The subtil Shipmen way will find,
Storm never so the Seas with Wind.

Therefore the fictions (or let them be called conjectures) painted in Maps, do serve only to mislead such Discoverers as rashly believe them; drawing upon the publishers, either some angry curses, or well deserved scorn; but to keep their own credit, they cannot serve always. To which purpose I remember a pretty Jest of *Don Pedro de Sarmiento*, a worthy Spanish Gentleman, who had been employed by his King in planting a Colony upon the Streights of *Magellan*: for when I asked him, being then my Prisoner, some question about an Island in those Streights, which methought, might have done either benefit or displeasure to his Enterprise, he told me merrily, that it was to be called the *Painters Wives Island*; saying, That whilst the Fellow drew that Map, his Wife sitting by, desired him to put in one Country for her; that she, in imagination, might have an Island of her own. But in filling up the Blanks of old Histories, we need not be so scrupulous. For it is not to be feared, that time should run backward, and by restoring the things themselves to knowledge, make our conjectures appear ridiculous: What if some good Copy of an ancient Author could be found, shewing (if we have it not already) the perfect truth of these uncertainties? would it be more shame to have believed in the mean while, *Annius* or *Torniellus*, than to have believed nothing. Here I will not say, that the credit, which we give to *Annius*, may chance otherwhiles to be given to one of those Authors whose Names he pretendeth. Let it suffice, that in regard of Authority, I had rather trust *Scaliger* or *Torniellus*, than *Annius*; yet him than them, if his assertion be more probable, and more agreeable to approved Histories than their conjecture, as in this point it seems to me; it having moreover gotten some credit, by the approbation of many, and those not meanly learned.

To end this tedious disputation; I hold it a sure course in examination of such opinions, as have once gotten the credit of being general, so to deal as *Pacuvius* in *Capua* did with the multitude, finding them desirous to put all the Senators of the City to death. He lockt the Senators up within the State-house, and offered their lives to the Peoples mercy; obtaining thus much, that none of them should perish, until the Commonalty had both pronounced him worthy of death, and elected a better in his place. The Condemnation was hasty; for as fast as every Name was read, all the Town cried, Let him die: but the Execution required more leisure; for in substituting another, some notorious Vice of the Person, or baseness of his Condition, or insufficiency of his Quality, made each new one that was offered to be rejected: so that finding the worse and less Choice, the further and the more that they sought, it was finally agreed, that the old should be kept for lack of better.

§. V.

Of the Olympiads, and the time when they began.

After this division of the *Assyrian* Empire, follows the instauration of the *Olympian* Games, by *Iphitus*, in the Reign of the same King *Uzzia*, and in his one and fiftieth Year. It is, I know, the general Opinion, that these Games were established by *Iphitus*, in the first of *Jotham*: yet is not that Opinion so general, but that Authors, weighty enough, have given to them a more early beginning. The truth is, that in fitting those things unto the sacred History, which are found in prophane Authors, we should not be too careful of drawing the *Hebrews* to those Works of Time, which had no reference to their Affairs; it is enough, that setting in due order these beginnings of Accompts, we joyn them to matters of *Israel* and *Juda*, where occasion requires.

These *Olympian* Games and Exercises of Activity, were first instituted by *Hercules*, who measured the length of the Race by his own Foot; by which *Pythagoras* found out the stature and likely strength of *Hercules* his Body. They took Name, not from the Mountain *Olympus*, but from the City *Olympia*, otherwise *Pisa*, near unto *Elis*; where also *Jupiter*'s Temple in *Elis*, famous among the *Gracians*, and reputed among the Wonders of the World, was known by the Name of the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius*. These Games were exercised from every fourth Year compleat, in the Plains of *Elis*, a City of *Peloponnesus*, near the River *Alpheus*.

After the death of *Hercules*, these meetings were discontinued for many Years, till *Iphitus* by Advice from the Oracle of *Apollo*, re-established them, *Lycurgus* the Law-giver then living: from which time they were continued by the *Gracians*, till the Reign of *Theodosius* the Emperour, according to *Cedrenus*: others think that they were dissolved under *Constantine* the Great. *Aul. Gell. l. 1. c. 1. ex Plut. Plut. out of Hermippus.*

From this Institution, *Varro* accompted the *Grecian* times, and their Stories, to be certain: but reckoned all before either doubtful, or fabulous: and yet *Pliny* gives little credit to all that is written of *Greece*, till the Reign of *Cyrus*, who began in the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*, as *Eusebius* out of *Diodore*, *Castor*, *Polybius*, and others hath gathered, in whose time the seven wise *Gracians* flourished. For *Solon* had speech with *Crœsus*, and *Crœsus* was overthrown and taken by *Cyrus*. *Plin. l. 36. cap. 4.*

Many patient and piercing Brains have laboured to find out the certain beginning of these *Olympiads*, namely to set them in the true Year of the World, and the Reign of such and such Kings: but seeing they all differ in the first Accompt, that is, of the Worlds Year, they can hardly jump in particulars thereon depending.

Cyril against *Julian*, and *Didymus*, begin the *Olympiads* the nine and fortieth of *Osias* or *Azarias*.

Euſeb. de Præp. Evang. l. 10. cap. 3.

Euſebius who is contrary to himſelf in this Reckoning, accompts with thoſe that find the firſt *Olympiad* in the beginning of the four hundreth and ſixth year after *Troy*, yet he telleth us that it was in the fiftieth year of *Uzzia*, which is (as I find it) two years later.

Eratoſt. apud Clem. Alexand. Strom. l. 1.

Eratoſthenes placeth the firſt *Olympiad* four hundred and ſeven years after *Troy*, reckoning the years that paſſed between; to whom *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Solinus*, and many others adhere.

The diſtance between the deſtruction of *Troy*, and the firſt *Olympiad*, is thus collected by *Eratoſthenes*. From the taking of *Troy* to the deſcent of *Hercules* his Poſterity into *Peloponneſus*, were fourſcore years; thence to the *Ionian* Expedition, threeſcore years; from that Expedition to the time of *Lycurgus* his Government in *Sparta*, one hundred fifty nine; and thence to the firſt *Olympiad*, one hundred and eighty years. In this Account the firſt year of the firſt *Olympiad* is not included.

But vain labour it were, to ſeek the beginning of the *Olympiads*, by numbring the years from the taking of *Troy*, which is of a Date far more uncertain. Let it ſuffice, that by knowing the inſtauration of theſe Games, to have been in the four hundreth and eight year current after *Troy*, we may reckon back to the taking of that City, ſetting that, and other Accidents, which have reference thereto, in their proper times. The certainty of things following the *Olympiads*, muſt teach us how to find when they began.

To this good uſe, we have the enſuing years, unto the death of *Alexander* the Great, thus divided, by the ſame *Eratoſthenes*. From the beginning of the *Olympiads*, to the paſſage of *Xerxes* into *Greece*, two hundreth fourſcore and ſeventeen years; from thence to the beginning of the *Peloponneſian* War, eight and forty years; forwards to the Victory of *Lyſander*, ſeven and twenty; to the Battel of *Leuctra*, thirty four; to the death of *Philip* King of *Maccedon*, five and thirty; and finally to the death of *Alexander*, twelve. The whole ſumm ariſeth to four hundred fifty and three years; which number he otherwiſe alſo collecteth, and it is allowed by the moſt.

Now for placing the Inſtitution of the *Olympiads* in the one and fiftieth year of *Uzziah*, we have Arguments, grounded upon that which is certain, concerning the beginning of *Cyrus* his Reign, and the death of *Alexander*; as alſo upon the Aſtronomical calculation of ſundry Eclipſes of the Sun, as of that which happened when *Xerxes* ſet out of *Sardis* with his Army to invade *Greece*; and of divers other.

Touching *Cyrus*, it is generally agreed that his Reign as King, before he was Lord of the great Monarchy, began the firſt year of the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*, and that he reigned thirty years; they who give him but twenty nine years of Reign (following *Herodotus*, rather than *Tully*, *Juſtine*, *Euſebius*, and others) begin a year later, which comes all to one reckoning. So is the death of *Alexander* ſet by all good Writers, in the firſt year of the hundreth and fourteenth *Olympiad*. This later note of *Alexander*'s Death, ſerves well to lead us back to the beginning of *Cyrus*; as many the like Obſervations do. For if we reckon upwards from the time of *Alexander*, we ſhall find all to agree with the years of the *Olympiads*, wherein *Cyrus* began his Reign, either as King, or (taking the word Monarch, to ſignifie a Lord of many Kingdoms) as a great Monarch. From the beginning of *Cyrus*, in the firſt year of the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*, unto the end of the *Perſian* Empire, which was in the third of the hundreth and twelfth *Olympiad*, we find two hundred and thirty years compleat: from the beginning of *Cyrus* his Monarchy, which laſted but ſeven years, we find compleat two hundred and ſeven years, which was the continuance of the *Perſian* Empire.

Tull. de Div. l. 1. Juſt. l. 1. Euſeb. de Præp. Evang. l. 10. cap. 3. & de dem. Evang. l. 8. cap. 2.

Now therefore ſeeing that the firſt year of *Cyrus* his Monarchy (which was the laſt of the ſixtieth *Olympiad*, and the two hundreth and fortieth year from the inſtitution of thoſe Games by *Iphitus*) followed the laſt of the ſeventy years, of the captivity of *Juda*, and deſolation of the Land of *Iſrael*; manifeſt it is, that we muſt reckon back thoſe ſeventy years, and one hundred threeſcore and ten years more, the laſt which paſſed under the Kings of *Juda*, to find the firſt of theſe *Olympiads*; which by this Accompt is the one and fiftieth of *Uzzia*, as we have already noted.

The Eclipſes whereof we made mention, ſerve well to the ſame purpoſe. For Examples ſake, that which was ſeen when *Xerxes* muſtered his Army at *Sardis*, in the two hundreth threeſcore and ſeventh year of *Nabonaſſar*, being the laſt of the threeſcore and fourteenth *Olympiad*; leads us back unto the beginning of *Xerxes*, and from him to *Cyrus*, whence we have a fair way through the threeſcore and ten years, unto the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*; and ſo upwards through the Reigns of the laſt Kings of *Juda*, to the one and fiftieth year of *Uzzia*.

Thus much may ſuffice, concerning the time wherein theſe *Olympiads* began.

To tell the great ſolemnity of them, and with what exceeding great concourſe of all *Greece* they were celebrated, I hold it a ſuperfluous labour. It is enough to ſay, that all bodily Exerciſes, or the moſt of them, were therein practiſed; as Running, Wraſtling, Fighting, and the like. Neither did they only contend for the Maſtery in thoſe Feats, whereof there was good uſe, but in running of Chariots, fighting with Whorle-bats, and other the like ancient kinds of Exerciſes, that ſerved only for oſtentation. Thither alſo repaired Orators, Poets, Muſicians, and all that thought themſelves excellent in any laudable Quality, to make trial of their Skill. Yea the very Cryers, which proclaimed the Victories, contended which of them ſhould get the honour, of having played the beſt part.

The *Eleans* were Preſidents of thoſe Games; whoſe Juſtice, in pronouncing without Partiality, who did beſt, is highly commended. As for the Rewards given to the Victors, they were none other than Garlands of Palm, or Olive, without any other Commodity following, than the Reputation. Indeed there needed no more. For that was held ſo much, that when *Diagoras* had ſeen his three Sons crowned for their ſeveral Victories in thoſe Games, one came running to him with this Gratulation: *Morere, Diagoras, non enim in cœlum aſcenſurus es*; that is; *Die*, Diagoras, *For thou ſhalt not climb up to Heaven*: as if there could be no greater happineſs on Earth, than what already had befallen him. In the like ſenſe *Horace* ſpeaks of theſe Victors, calling them,

Quos Elea domum reducit
Palma Cœleſtes.

Such as like heavenly Wights do come
With an *Elean* Garland home.

Neither

Neither was it only the voice of the People, or the Songs of Poets, that so highly extolled them, which had won these *Olympian* Prises; but even grave Historians thought it a matter worthy of their noting. Such was (as *Tully* counts it) the vanity of the *Greeks*, that they esteemed it almost as great an honour, to have won the Victory at Running or Wrastling in those Games, as to have triumphed in *Rome* for some famous Victory, or Conquest of a Province. *Tull. in Orat. pro Flacco.*

That these *Olympian* Games were celebrated at the Full of the Moon, and upon the fifteenth day of the Month *Hecatombaon*, which doth answer to our *June*; and what means they used to make the Month begin with the new Moon, that the fifteenth day might be the Full, I have shewed in another place. Wherefore I may now return unto the Kings of *Juda*, and leave the merry *Greeks* at their Games, whom I shall meet in more serious Employments, when the *Persian* Quarrels draw the Body of this History into the Coasts of *Ionia* and *Hellespont*.

§. VI.

Of Jotham *and his Contemporaries.*

JOtham the Son of *Uzziah*, when he was five and twenty years old, and in the second of *Pekah* King of *Israel*, was anointed King in *Jerusalem*, his Father yet living. He built an exceeding high Gate to the Temple of threescore cubits upright, and therefore called *Ophel*: besides divers Cities in the [illegible] of *Juda*, and in the Forests, Towers, and Pala[illegible] he inforced the *Ammonites* to pay him Tribute, to wit, of Silver an hundreth Talents, and of Wheat and Barly two thousand Measures: he reigned six and twenty years: of whom *Josephus* gives this Testimony. *Ejusmodi vero Princeps hic fuit, ut nullum in eo virtutis genus desideres: ut qui Deum adeo pie coluerit, hominibus suis adeo juste præfuerit, urbem ipsam tanto sibi curæ esse passus sit, & tantopere auxerit, ut universum regnum hostibus quidem minimè contemnendum, domesticis autem ejus incolis atque civibus felix, faustum & fortunatum sua virtute effecerit; This was such a Prince, as a Man could find no kind of Vertue wanting in him: he worshipped God so religiously, he governed his Men so righteously, he was so provident for the City, and did so greatly amplifie it, that by his Vertue and Proweſs he made his whole Kingdom not contemptible to his Enemies, but to his Servants, Inhabitants and Citizens, prosperous and happy.* 2 *Kings* 15. 33.

This is all that I find of *Jotham*: his Reign was not long, but as happy in all things, as he himself was devout and vertuous.

Auchomenes about this time succeeded *Pheleſtem* in *Corinth*: after whom, the *Corinthians* erected Magistrates, which governed from year to year. And yet *Pausanias* in his second Book, with *Strabo* and *Plutarch*, in many places are of opinion, That *Corinth* was governed by Kings of the Race of the *Bacidæ*, to the time of *Cypselus*, who drove them out.

Teglathphalasser, or *Tiglathpeleser*, the Son of *Phul*, the second of the *Babylonians* and *Assyrians* that was of this new Race, about this time invaded *Israel*, while *Pekah* (who murthered his Master *Pekaiah*) was King thereof. In which Expedition he took most of the Cities of *Nephtali* and *Galilee*, with those of *Gilead*, over *Jordan*, and carried the Inhabitants captive. This *Tiglath* reigned five and twenty years, according to *Metasthenes*. But *Krentzheimius* finds, that with his Son *Salmanassar* he reigned yet two years longer: which years I would not ascribe to the Son; because the *Æra* of *Nabonassar* begins with his single Reign, but reckon them to *Tiglath Phulassar* himself, who therewith reigned seven and twenty years. 2 *King.* 15.

Æschylus, the Son of *Agamnestor*, about the same time, the twelfth *Archon* in *Athens*, ruled five and twenty years. *Aleamenes* governed *Sparta*: after whom the Estate changed, according to *Eusebius*: but therein surely *Eusebius* is mistaken. For *Diodore*, *Plutarch*, *Pausanias*, and others, witness the contrary. *Pausanias* affirmeth, That *Polydorus*, a Prince of eminent Vertues, succeeded his Father, and reigned threescore years, and outlived the *Messeniack* War: which was ended by *Theopompus*, the Son of *Nicander*, his Royal Companion. *Paus. l.* 3.

At this time lived *Nahum* the Prophet; who foretold the destruction of the *Assyrian* Empire, and of the City of *Ninive*; which succeeded (saith *Josephus*) a hundred and fifteen years after. The Cities of *Cyrene* and of *Aradus* were built at this time, while in *Media*, *Sosarmus* and *Medidus* reigned, being the second and third Kings of those parts.

§. VII.

Of Achaz *and his Contemporaries.*

ACHAS, or *Achaz*, succeeded unto *Jotham* in the seventeenth year of *Peka*, the Son of *Ramalia*: the same being also the last year of his Father's Reign, who began in the second of the same *Peka*, and reigned sixteen, but not compleat years. This *Ahaz* was an Idolater, exceeding all his Predecessors. He made molten Images for *Baalim*, and burnt his Son for Sacrifice before the Idol *Moloch*, or *Saturn*, which was represented by a Man-like brazen Body, bearing the Head of a Calf, set up not far from *Jerusalem*, in a Valley shadowed with Woods, called *Gehinnom*, or *Tophet*, from whence the word *Gehenna* is used for Hell. The Children offered, were incloſed within the Carkass of this Idol, and as the Fire encreased, so the Sacrificers, with a noise of Cymbals and other Instruments, filled the Air, to the end the pitiful cries of the Children might not be heard: which unnatural, cruel, and devilish Oblation, *Jeremy* the Prophet vehemently reprehendeth, and of which S. *Hierome* upon the tenth of *Matthew* hath written at large. By the prohibition in *Leviticus* the eighteenth, it appeareth that this horrible sin was ancient: in the twelfth of *Deuteronomy*, it is called an abomination which God hateth. That it was also practised elsewhere, and by many Nations remote from *Judæa*, divers Authors witness; as *Virgil* in the second of his *Æneids*——*Sanguine placastis, &c.* and Silius,——*Poscere cæde Deos. Saturn* is said to have brought this Custom into *Italy*, besides the casting of many Souls into the River of *Tiber*, instead of which, *Hercules* commanded that the Waxen Images of Men should be thrown in and drowned. The Devil also taught the *Carthaginians* this kind of Butchery, in so much that when their City was besieged, and in distress, the Priest made them believe, that because they had spared their own Children, and had bought and brought up others to be offered, that therefore *Saturn* had stirred up and strengthened their Enemies against them: whereupon they presently caused two hundred of the noblest Youths of their City to be slain, and offered to *Saturn* or *Satan*, to appease him: who besides these forenamed 2 *Kings* 16. 1. 2 *Chron.* 28. *c.* 7. 19. 32.

Euseb. de Prep. Evang. l. 6. Dion. l. 1. Diod. l. 20.

forenamed Nations had instructed the *Rhodians*, the People of *Crete*, and *Chios*, of *Messena*, of *Gallatia*, with the *Massagets*, and others, in these his services: Further, as if he were not content to destroy the Souls of many Nations in *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, (as *Acosta* writeth) the *Mexicans* and other people of *America*, were brought by the Devil under this fearful servitude, in which he also holdeth the *Floridans* and *Virginians* at this day.

Acost. de Hist. nat. & mor. Ind.

For the wickedness of this King *Ahaz*, God stirred up *Rezin* of *Damascus*, and *Pekah* the Son of *Remaliah*, King of *Israel* against him, who invaded *Judaea*, and besieged *Jerusalem*, but entred it not.

The King of *Syria*, *Rezin*, possest himself of *Elah* by the Red Sea, and cast the *Jews* out of it, and *Pekah* slaughtered in one day an hundred and twenty thousand *Judaans*, of the ablest of the Kingdom, at which time *Maasiah* the Son of *Ahaz* was also slain by *Zichri*, with *Azricham* the Governour of his house: and *Elcanah* the second person unto the King. Besides all this, two hundred thousand Prisoners of Women and Children, the *Israelites* led away to *Samaria*: but by the counsel of the Prophet *Oded*, they were returned and delivered back again.

2 Chron. 28. 6.

As *Israel* and *Aram* vexed *Juda* on the North; so the *Edomites* and the *Philistims*, who evermore attended the ruin of *Judaa*, entred upon them from the South; and took *Bethshemes*, *Ajalon*, *Gaderoth*, *Socho*, *Timnah*, and *Gemzo*, slew many people, and carried away many Prisoners. Whereupon when *Ahaz* saw himself environed on all sides, and that his Idols and dead Gods gave him no comfort, he sent to the *Assyrian Tiglathpileser*, to desire some aid from him against the *Israelites* and *Aramites*, presenting him with the Silver and Gold both of the Temple, and Kings House.

2 Chron. 28.

2 Kings 16.

Tiglathpileser wanted not a good example to follow, in making profit of the troubles that rose in *Palestina*. His Father having lately made himself from a Provincial Lieutenant, King of *Babylon* and *Assyria*, had a little before led him the way into *Judaea*, invited by *Menahem* King of *Israel*. Wherefore now the Son willingly hearkened to *Ahaz* and embraced the advantage. As for *Belochus* himself, he was content to assign some other time for going through with this enterprise: because (as I have said before) he was not firmly setled at home, and the *Syrian* Kings lay directly in his way, who were yet strong both in Men and Fame. But *Tiglath*, having now, with the Treasures of *Jerusalem*, prepared his Army, first invaded the Territory of *Damascus*, wan the City, and killed *Rezin*, the last of the Race of the *Adads*, who began with *David* and ended with this *Ahaz*. At *Damascus* *Ahaz* met *Tiglath*, and taking thence a pattern of the Altar sent to *Uriah* the Priest, commanding the like to be made at *Jerusalem*, whereon at his return he burnt sacrifice to the Gods of the *Syrians*. In the mean while *Tiglath* possest all *Basan*, and the rest beyond *Jordan*, which belonged to the Tribe of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and *Manasse*. And then passing the River, he mastered the Cities of *Galilee*, invaded *Ephraim*, and the Kingdom of *Israel*, and made them his Vassals. And notwithstanding that he was invited and waged by *Ahaz*, yet after the spoil of *Israel*, he possest himself of the greater part of *Juda*, and as it seemeth inforced *Ahaz* to pay him Tribute. For in the second of *Kings* the eighteenth it is written of *Ezechia*, that he revolted from *Assur*, or rebelled against him, and therefore was invaded by *Senacherib*. After *Ahaz* had beheld and born these miseries, in the end of the sixteenth year of his Reign he died: but was not buried in the Sepulchers of the Kings of *Juda*.

With *Ahaz* lived *Medidus*, the third Prince in *Media*, who governed forty years, saith *Eusebius*: *Diodorus* and *Ctesias* find *Anticarmus* instead of this *Medidus*, to have been *Sosarmus* his Successor, to whom they give fifty years.

Euseb. in Chron.

Tiglath Phileser held the Kingdom of *Assyria*, all the Reign of *Ahaz*: yet so, that *Salmanassar* his Son may seem to have reigned with him some part of the time. For we find that *Ahaz* did *send unto the Kings of Assur to help him*. The *Geneva* note says, that these Kings of *Assur*, were *Tiglath Pilaser*, and those Kings that were under his Dominion. But that he or his Father had hitherto made such Conquests, as might give him the Lordship over other Kings, I do neither find any History, nor circumstance that proveth. Wherefore I think that these Kings of *Assur*, were *Tiglath*, and *Salmanassar* his Son, who Reigned with his Father, as hath been said before: though how long he Reigned with his Father, is be hard to define.

2 Kings 28. 16.

At this time began the *Ephori* in *Lacedaemon*, a hundred and thirty years after *Lycurgus*, according to *Plutarch*. *Eusebius* makes their beginning far later, namely in the fifteenth *Olympiad*. Of these *Ephori*, *Elatus* was the first, *Theopompus* and *Polydorus*, being then joynt Kings. These *Ephori*, chosen every year, were Controllers as well of their Senators as of their Kings, nothing being done without their advice and consent. For (saith *Cicero*) they were opposed against their Kings, as the *Roman* Tribunes against the Consuls. In the time of *Ahaz* died *Æschylus*, who had ruled in *Athens* ever since the fiftith year of *Uzzia*. *Alcamenon* the Thirteenth of the *Medontidæ*, or Governours of the *Athenians* (so called of *Medon* who followed *Codrus*) succeeded his Father *Æschylus*, and was the last of these Governours: he ruled only two years. For the *Athenians* changed first from Kings (after *Codrus*) to Governours for Life; which ending in this *Alcamenon*, they erected a Magistrate whom they termed an *Archon*, who was a kind of *Burgomaster* or Governour of their City for ten years.

Plut. in vita Sol.

This alteration *Pausanius* in his fourth Book begins in the first year of the eighth *Olympiad*. *Eusebius* and *Halicarnassaus* in the seventh *Olympiad*: at which time indeed, *Coroebus* the first of these began his ten years Rule.

The Kingdom of the *Latines* governed about three hundred years by the *Sylvii*, of the Race of *Æneas*, took end the same *Ahaz* time: the foundation of *Rome* being laid by *Romulus* and *Remus* in the eighth year of the same King. *Codoman* builds it the eleventh of *Ahaz*, *Bucholzer* in the eighth, as I think he should, others somewhat later, and in the Reign of *Ezechias*. *Cicero*, *Eutropius*, *Orosius*, and others square the time of the foundation to the third year of the sixth *Olympiad*. But *Halicarnassæus*, *Solinus Antiochenus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Eusebius*, to the first year of the seventh: who seem not only to me, but to many very learned Chronologers, to have kept herein the best accompt.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIV.

Of the Antiquities of Italy, *and Foundation of* Rome *in the time of* Ahaz.

§. I.

Of the old Inhabitants, and of the name of Italy.

AND here to speak of the more ancient times of *Italy*, and what Nations possest it before the arrival of *Æneas*, the place may seem to invite us: the rather because much fabulous matter hath been mixed with the truth of those elder Plantations. *Italy* before the fall of *Troy*, was known to the *Greeks* by divers Names: as first *Hesperia*, then *Ausonia*, the one name arising of the Seat, the other of the *Ausones*, a people inhabiting part of it: one ancient name of it was also *Oenotria*, which it had of the *Oenotri*: whom *Halicarnassæus* thinks to have been the first, that brought a Colony of *Arcadians* into that Land. Afterward it was called *Italy* of *Italus*: concerning which changes of names, *Virgil* speaks thus.

Halicar. l. 1.

Est locus Hesperiam Graii cognomine dicunt:
Terra antiqua, potens armis, atque ubere glaba:
Oenotrii coluere viri, nunc fama minores
Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine, gentem.

There is a Land which *Greeks Hesperia* name,
Ancient, and strong, of much fertility.
Oenotrians held it, but we hear by fame,
That by late ages of Posterity,
T'is from a Captain's name called *Italy*.

Who this Captain or King may have been, it is very uncertain. For *Virgil* speaks no more of him, and the opinions of others are many and repugnant. But like enough it is, that the name which hath continued so long upon the whole Country, and worn out all other denominations, was not at the first accepted without good cause. Therefore to find out the original of this name, and the first Planters of this noble Country, *Reineccius* hath made a very painful search, and not improbable conjecture. And first of all he grounds upon that of *Halicarnassæus*, who speaks of a Colony which the *Eleans* did lead into *Italy*, before the name of *Italy* was given to it: Secondly, upon that of *Justine*, who saith, that *Brundusium* was a Colony of the *Ætolians*: Thirdly, upon that of *Strabo*, who affirms the same of *Temesa*, or *Tempsa* a City of the *Brutii* in *Italy*: Lastly, upon the authority of *Pliny*, who shews that the *Italians* did inhabit only one Region of the Land, whence afterward the name was derived over all. Concerning that which is said of the *Eleans* and *Ætolians*, who (as he shews) had one original; from them he brings the name of *Italy*. For the word *Italia*, differs in nothing from *Aitolia*, save that the first Letter is cast away, which in the *Greek* words is common, and the Letter [o] is changed into [a]: which change is found in the name of *Æthalia*, an Island near *Italy*, peopled by the *Ætholians*: and the like changes are very familiar in the *Æolic* Dialect; of which Dialect (being almost proper to the *Ætolians*) the accent and pronunciation, together with many words little altered, were retained by the *Latins*, as *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*, *Quintilian*, and *Priscian* the Grammarian teach. Hereunto appertains that of *Julian* the Apostata, who called the *Greeks* Cousins of the *Latins*. Also the common original of the *Greeks* and *Latins* from *Javan*; and the Fable of *Janus*, whose Image had two Faces, looking East and West, as *Greece* and *Italy* lay, and was stamped on Coins, with a Ship on the other side; all which is, by interpretation, referred to *Javan*, Father of the *Greeks* and *Latins*: who Sailing over the *Ionian* Sea, that lies between *Ætolia* and the Western parts of *Greece* and *Italy*, planted Colonies in both. Now whereas *Reineccius* thinks, that the names of *Atlas* and *Italus* belonged both to one Man, and thereto applies that of *Berosus*, who called *Cethim*, *Italus*; though it may seem strengthened by the Marriage of *Dardanus*, whilst he abode in *Italy* with *Electra*, the Daughter of *Atlas*, yet is it by arguments (in my valuation) greater and stronger, easily disproved. For they who make mention of *Atlas*, place him before the time of *Moses*: and if *Atlas* were *Cethim*, or *Kittim*, then was he the Son of *Javan*, and Nephew of *Japheth*, the eldest Son of *Noah*: which antiquity far exceeds the name of *Italy*, that began after the departure of *Hercules* out of the Country, not long before the War of *Troy*.

Halicarn. l. 1.

Just. l. 12.

Strabo l. 6.

Plin. l. 3. c. 5.

Likewise *Virgil*, who speaks of *Atlas*, and of *Dardanus* his Marriage with *Electra*, hath nothing of his meeting with her in *Italy*; but calleth *Electra* and her Sister *Maia* (poetically) Daughters of the Mountain *Atlas* in *Africa*, naming *Italus* among the Kings of the *Aborigenes*; which he would not have done, had *Atlas* and *Italus* been one person.

As for the authority of *Berosus* in this case, we need the less to regard it, for that *Reineccius* himself, whose conjectures are more to be valued than the dreams wherewith *Annius* hath filled *Berosus*, holds it but a figment.

That the name of *Italy* began long after *Atlas*, it appears by the Verses of *Virgil* last rehearsed, wherein he would not have said, —*nunc fama minores Italiam dixisse, Ducis de nomine, gentem*, had that name been heard of ere *Dardanus* left the Country. But seeing that, when *Hercules*, who died a few years before the War of *Troy*, had left in *Italy* a Colony of the *Eleans* (who in a manner were one and the same Nation with the *Ætolians*, as *Strabo*, *Herodotus*, and *Pausanias* teach) then the name of *Italy* began: and seeing *Virgil* makes mention of *Italus* among the *Italian* Kings, it were no great boldness to say, that *Italus* was Commander of these *Eleans*. For though I remember not, that I have read of any such *Greek* as was named *Italus*, yet the name of *Ætolus*, written in *Greek Aitolus*, was very famous both among the *Ætolians*, and among the *Eleans*, he being Son of a King of *Elis*, and founder of the *Ætolian* Kingdom. Neither is it more hard to derive the name *Italus* from *Ætolus* than *Italia* from *Ætolia*. So may *Virgils* authority stand well with the Collections of *Reineccius*; the name of *Italy* being taken both from a Captain, and from the Nation, of which he and his people were.

§. II.

§. II.

Of the Aborigines, *and other Inhabitants of* Latium, *and of the Reason of the Names of* Latini *and* Latium.

IN *Italy* the *Latines* and *Hetrurians* were most famous; the *Hetrurians* having held the greatest part of it under their subjection; and the *Latines* by the vertue and felicity of the *Romans*, who were a Branch of them, subduing all *Italy*, and in few Ages whatsoever Nation was known in *Europe*: together with all the Western Parts of *Asia*, and North of *Africk*.

The Region called *Latium*, was first inhabited by the *Aborigines*, whom *Halicarnassæus*, *Varro*, and *Reyneccius* (following them) think to have been *Arcadians*: and this Name of *Aborigines* (to omit other significations that are strained) imports as much as Original, or Native of the place, which they possessed: which Title the *Arcadians* are known in vaunting manner to have always usurped, fetching their Antiquity from beyond the Moon, because indeed, neither were the Inhabitants of *Peloponnesus* inforced to forsake their Seats, so oft as other *Greeks* were, who dwelt without that half Island, neither had the *Arcadians* so unsure a Dwelling as the rest of the *Peloponnesians*, because their Country was less fruitful in Land, Mountainous, and hard of access, and they themselves (as in such places commonly are found) very warlike men. Some of these therefore having occupied a great part of *Latium*, and held it long, did according to the *Arcadian* manner, stile themselves *Aborigines*, in that Language, which either their new Seat, or their Neighbours thereby had taught them. How it might be that the *Arcadians* who dwelt somewhat far from Sea, and are always noted as unapt Men to prove good Mariners, should have been Authors of new Discoveries, were a Question not easie to be answered, were it not so, that both fruitfulness of Children, in which those Ages abounded, inforceth a superfluous Company to seek another Seat, and that some Expeditions of the *Arcadians*, as especially that of *Evander*, into the same parts of *Italy*, are generally acknowledged.

After the *Aborigines*, were the *Pelasgi*, an ancient Nation, who sometimes gave Name to all *Greece*: but their Antiquities are long since dead, for lack of good Records. Neither was their Glory such in *Italy*, as could long sustain the Name of their own Tribe; for they were in short space accounted one People with the former inhabitants. The *Sicani*, *Ausones*, *Aurunci*, *Rutili*, and other People, did in Ages following disturb the Peace of *Latium*, which by *Saturn* was brought to some Civility, and he therefore canonized as a God.

This *Saturn* S. *Augustine* calleth *Sterces* or *Sterculius*, others term him *Stercutius*, and say, that he taught the People to dung their grounds. That *Latium* took his Name of *Saturn*, because he did *latere*, that is, lie hidden there, when he fled from *Jupiter*, it is questionless a Fable. For as in Heathenish Superstition, it was great vanity to think that any thing could be hidden from God, or that there were many Gods of whom one fled from another; so in the truth of History, it is well known, that no King reigning in those parts was so mighty, that it should be hard to find one Country or another, wherein a Man might be safe from his pursuit. And yet, as most Fables and poetical Fictions, were occasioned by some ancient truth, which either by ambiguity of speech or some allusion, they did maimedly and darkly express (for so they feigned a passage over a River in Hell, because Death is a passage to another Life, and because this passage is hateful, lamentable, and painful, therefore they named the River *Styx* of Hate, *Cocytus* of Lamentation, and *Acheron* of Pain: so also because Men are stony hearted, and because the *Greek* λαοὶ People, and λᾶες Stones, are near in sound, therefore they feigned in the time of *Deucalion* Stones converted into Men as at other times Men into Stones) in like manner it may be, that the original of *Saturn*'s hiding himself was some allusion to that old opinion of the wisest of the Heathen, that the true God was *ignotus Deus*, as it is noted in the *Acts*; whence also *Esay* of the true God says, *tu Deus absconditus*. For it cannot be in vain that the word *Saturnus* should also have this very signification, if it be derived (as some think) from the *Hebrew Satar*, which is to hide: Howbeit I deny not, but that the original of this word, *Latium*, ought rather to be sought elsewhere. *Act.* 17. 23. *Esa.* 45. 15.

Reyneccius doth conjecture that the *Ceteans*, who descended of *Cethim*, the Son of *Javan*, were the Men who gave the Name to *Latium*. For these *Ceteans* are remembred by *Homer* as Aiders of the *Trojans* in their War. *Strabo* interpreting the place of *Homer*, calls them Subjects to the Crown of *Troy*. Hereupon *Reyneccius* gathers, that their abode was in *Asia*: viz. *in agro Elaitico*, *in the Elaitian Territory*, which agreeth with *Strabo*. Of a City which the *Æolians* held in *Asia*, called *Elaa*, or *Elaia*, *Pausanias* makes mention: *Stephanus* calls it *Cidamis*, or (according to the *Greek* writing) *Cidamis*, which Name last rehearsed hath a very near sound to *Cethim*, *Citim*, or *Cithim*; the *Greek* Letter [Δ] having (as many teach) a pronunciation very like to [*TH*] differing only in the strength or weakness of utterance, which is found between many *English* Words written with the same Letters. Wherefore that these *Ceteans* being descended of *Cethim*, *Cittim*, or *Kitim*, the Son of *Javan*, who was Progenitor of the *Greeks*, might very well take a denomination from the City, and Region, which they inhabited, and from thence be called *Elaites*, or *Elaites*, it is very likely, considering that among the *Arcadians*, *Phocians*, *Ætolians*, and *Eleans*, who all were of the *Æolique* Tribe, are found the Names of the Mountain *Eleus*, the Haven *Eleas*, the People *Elaita*, the Cities *Elaus*, *Elaia*, and *Elateia*, of which last it were somewhat harsh in the Latine Tongue to call the Inhabitants by any other Name than *Elatini*, from whence *Latini* may come. Now whereas both the *Cetæi* and *Arcadians*, had their original from *Cethim*, it is nothing unlikely, that agreeing in Language and similitude of Names, they might nevertheless differ in sound and pronunciation of one and the same word. So that as he is by many called *Sabinus*, to whom some (deriving the *Sabines* from him) give the Name of *Sabus*: in the like manner might he whom the *Arcadians* would call *Elatus* (of which Name they had a Prince that founded the City *Elateia*) be named of the *Ceteans Latinus*. *Reyneccius* pursuing this likelihood, thinks, that when *Euripylus*, Lord of the *Ceteans*, being the Son of *Telephus*, whom *Hercules* begat upon *Auge*, the Daughter of *Aleus* King of *Arcadia*, was slain by *Achilles* in the *Trojan* War: then did *Telephus*, Brother to *Euripylus*, conduct the *Ceteans*; who (fearing what evil might befall themselves by the *Greeks*, if the Affairs of *Troy* should go ill) passed into that part of *Italy*, where the *Arcadians* were planted by *Oenotrus*. And *Reyneccius* farther thinks, that *Telephus* being the more gracious among the *Oenotrian Arcadians*, by the memory of his Grand-mother

See *lib.* 1. *cap.* 6. §. 1. *& seq.*

Auge,

Ange, an *Arcadian* Lady, was well contented to take an *Arcadian* Name, and to be called *Elatus*, which in the Dialect and Pronunciation either of the *Ceteans*, or of the *Oenotrians*, was first *Elatinus*, and then *Latinus*: That this Name of *Elatus* may have been taken or imposed by the *Arcadians*, it is the more easie to be thought, for that there were then two Families, the one of *Aphidas*; the other of *Elatus*, who were Sons of *Arcas* King of *Arcadia*, which gave Name to the Country: and between these two Families the Succession in that Kingdom did pass, almost interchangeably for many Ages, till at the end of the *Trojan* War it fell into the hand of *Hippothous* of the Race of *Elatus*, in whose Posterity it continued until the last. Again, the Name *Latinus*, having a derivative sound, agrees the better with the supposition of such an Accident. This is the conjecture of *Reyneccius*, which if he made over-boldly, yet others may follow it with the less reproof, considering that it is not easie to find either an apparent Truth, or fair Probability among these disagreeing Authors, which have written the Originals of *Latium*.

§. III.

Of the ancient Kings of the Latines *until* Æneas *his coming.*

THE Kings which reigned in *Latium* before the arrival of *Æneas*, were, *Saturnus*, *Picus*, *Faunus*, and *Latinus*. Of *Saturn* there is nothing remembred, save what is mentioned already, and many Fables of the *Greeks*, which whether they be appliable to this Man, it is for him to judge, who shall be able to determine, whether this were the *Saturn* of the *Greeks*, called by them Χρόνος, or some other, stiled *Saturn* by the *Aborigines*. For the Age wherein he lived, may very well admit him to have been the same: but the Names of * *Sterces*, and *Stercutius* (for it may be this Name was not borrowed from the skill which he taught the People, but rather the Soil which they laid on their Grounds, had that appellation from him) do rather make him seem some other Man.

* *Ezekiel* often calls the Idols of the heathen *dios stercoreos*: and hence it may be that in the Evangelist we read for *Belzebub*, *Belzebul*, which is interpreted *Dominus Stercoreus*: and it may be that after that *Saturn* became the name of an Idol, it pleased God that in a like sense this name *Stercutius* should stick unto him.

Of *Picus* it is said that he was a good Horseman. The Fable of his being changed into a Bird, which we call a Pie, may well seem (as it is interpreted) to have grown from the skill he had in Sooth-saying, or Divination, by the flight and chattering of Fowls. *Faunus*, the Son of *Picus*, reigned after his Father. He gave to *Evander* the *Arcadian* (who having slain by mischance his Father *Echemus* King of *Arcadia*, fled into *Italy*) the waste grounds on which *Rome* was afterward built.

Fauna, called *Fatua*, the Sister of *Faunus*, was also his Wife, as all Historians agree; she was held a Prophetess, and highly commended for her Chastity; which Praise in her must needs have been much blemished by her Marriage, it self being meerly incestuous.

It is not mentioned that *Faunus* had by his Sister any Child, neither do we read of any other Wife which he had, save only that *Virgil* gives unto him *Latinus* as his Son, by a Nymph, called *Marica*. *Æneid. 7.*

But who this *Marica* was it is not found, save only that her Abode was about the River *Liris* near *Minturna*.

Of the Name *Latinus*, there are by *Pomponius Sabinus* recounted four: one, the Son of *Faunus*, another of *Hercules*, a third of *Ulysses* by *Circe*, the fourth of *Telemachus*. *Suidas* takes notice only of the second, of whom he saith, that his Name was *Telephus*, and the people anciently named the *Cetii*, were from his Surname called *Latini*. This agrees in effect with the opinion of *Reyneccius*, the difference consisting almost in this only, that *Suidas* calls *Telephus*, the Son of *Hercules*, whereas *Reyneccius* makes him his Nephew, by a Son of the same Name. This *Latinus* having obtained the Succession in that Kingdom after *Faunus*, did promise his only Daughter and Heir *Lavinia*, to *Turnus* the Son of *Venilia*, who was Sister to *Amata* *Latinus* his Wife. *Suidas* in the word *Latini.*

But when *Æneas* arrived in those Parts with fifteen Ships, or perhaps fewer, wherein might be imbarked according to the rate which *Thucydides* allows to the Vessels then used, about one thousand and two hundred Men: then *Latinus* finding that it would stand best with his Assurance, to make Alliance with the *Trojan*, and moved with the great Reputation of *Æneas*, which himself had heard of in the War of *Troy*, gave his Daughter to him, breaking off the former Appointment with *Turnus*, who incensed herewith, sought to avenge himself by War: which was soon ended with his own death.

Of *Amata* the Wife of *Latinus*, it is very certain, that were she an *Italian*; she could not have born a Daughter marriageable at the arrival of *Æneas*; unless we should wholly follow *Suidas*, and rather give the conduct of the *Cetei* into *Italy*, to *Telephus* the Father, than to his Son, who served in the last year of the *Trojan* War. But *Reyneccius* holds her an *Asiatique*, and thinks withall that *Lavinia* was born before *Telephus* came into *Italy*. That this Name *Amata*, by which *Virgil* and *Halicarnassæus* call her, was not proper, but rather a Surname, it may seem by *Varro*, who calleth her *Palatia*: which Name very well might be derived from the *Greek* Name *Pallas*. *Amata*, which signifieth beloved, or dear, was the Name by which the High Priest called every Virgin, whom he took to serve as a Nun of *Vesta*; wherefore it is the more easily to be thought a Surname, howsoever *Virgil* discourse of her and *Venilia* her Sister.

Lavinia, the Daughter of *Latinus*, being given in Marriage to *Æneas*, the Kingdom of *Latium*, or the greatest part of that Country, was established in that Race: wherein it continued until it was over-grown by the Might and Greatness of the *Romans*.

§. IV.

Of Æneas, *and of the Kings and Governours of* Alba.

ÆNeas himself being of the Royal Blood of *Troy*, had the Command of the *Dardanians*: he was a valiant Man, very rich, and highly honoured among the *Trojans*. By his Wife *Creusa*, the Daughter of *Priamus*, he had a Son called *Ascanius*; whose Surname was *Iulus*, having before the ruine of *Troy* (as *Virgil* notes) been Surnamed *Ilus*. But when *Æneas* was dead, his Wife, *Lavinia*, the Daughter of *Latinus*, being great with Child by him, and fearing the power of this *Ascanius*, fled into the Woods, where she was delivered of a Son, called thereupon *Sylvius*, and surnamed *Posthumus*, because he was born after his Father's Funeral. This Flight of *Lavinia* was

so evil taken by the People, that *Ascanius* procured her return, entreated her honourably, and using her as a Queeen, did foster her young Son, his half-Brother *Sylvius*. Yet afterwards, whether to avoid all occasions of disagreement, or delighted with the situation of the place; *Ascanius* leaving to his Mother-in-Law the City *Lavinium*, which *Æneas* had built, and called after his new Wives Name, founded the City *Alba Longa*, and therein reigned. The time of his Reign was, according to some, eight and twenty years: *Virgil* gives him thirty; others five and thirty, and eight and thirty. After his decease, there arose Contention between *Sylvius*, the Son of *Æneas*, and *Julus* the Son of *Ascanius*, about the Kingdom: but the People inclining to the Son of *Lavinia*, *Julus* was contented to hold the Priesthood, which he and his Race enjoyed, leaving the Kingdom to *Sylvius Posthumus*, whose Posterity were afterward called *Sylvii*.

The Reign of the *Alban* Kings, with the continuance of each Man's Reign, I find thus set down.

1.	*Sylvius Posthumus*	29	Years.
2.	*Sylvius Æneas*	31	
3.	*Sylvius Latinus*	50	
4.	*Sylvius Alba*	39	
5.	*Sylvius Atis*	26	
6.	*Sylvius Capys*	28	
7.	*Sylvius Capetus*	13	
8.	*Sylvius Tiberinus*	8	
9.	*Sylvius Agrippa*	41	
10.	*Sylvius Alladius*	19	
11.	*Sylvius Aventinus*	37	
12.	*Sylvius Procas*	23	
13.	*Sylvius Amulius*	44	

Sylvius Numitor
Ilia, called also *Rhea* and *Sylvia*
Romulus Remus

The most of these Kings lived in Peace, and did little or nothing worthy of remembrance.

Latinus founded many Towns in the Borders of *Latium*: who standing much upon the Honour of their Original, grew thereby to be called *Prisci Latini*. Of *Tiberinus* some think that the River *Tiber* had name, being formerly called *Albula*: but *Virgil* gives it that denomination of another called *Tibris*, before the coming of *Æneas* into *Italy*. The Mountain *Aventinus* had Name (as many write) from *Aventinus* King of the *Albanes*, who was buried therein: but *Virgil* hath it otherwise. *Julius*, the brother of *Aventinus*, is named by *Eusebius* as Father of another *Julius*, and Grand-Father of *Julius Proculus*; who leaving *Alba*, dwelt with *Romulus* in *Rome*. *Numitor*, the elder Son of *Procas*, was deprived of the Kingdom by his Brother *Amulius*; by whom also his Son *Ægesthus* was slain, and *Ilia* his Daughter made a Nun of *Vesta*, that thereby the Issue of *Numitor* might be cut off. But she conceived two Sons, either by her Uncle *Amulius*, as some think; or by *Mars*, as the Poets feign; or perhaps by some Man of War. Both the Children their Uncle commanded to be drowned, and the Mother buried quick, according to the Law; which so ordained, when the Vestal Virgins broke their Chastity. Whether it was so, that the Mother was pardoned at the entreaty of *Antho*, the Daughter of *Amulius*, or punished as the Law required (for Authors herein do vary) it is agreed by all, that the two Children were preserved, who afterward revenged the Cruelty of their Uncle, with the slaughter of him and all his, and restored *Numitor* their Grand Father to the Kingdom: wherein howlong he reigned I find not, neither is it greatly material to know; for as much as the Estates of *Alba* and of *Latium* were presently eclipsed by the swift encrease of *Rome*; upon which the computation of Time following (as far as concerns the things of *Italy*) is dependant. After the death of *Numitor*, the Kingdom of *Alba* ceased; for *Numitor* left no male Issue. *Romulus* chose rather to live in *Rome*; and of the Line of *Sylvius* none else remained. So the *Albanes* were governed by Magistrates; of whom only two Dictators are mentioned, namely *Caius Cluilius*, who in the days of *Tullus Hostilius*, King of the *Romans*, making War upon *Rome*, died in the Camp; and *Metius Suffetius*, the Successor of *Cluilius*, who surrendred the Estate of *Alba* unto the *Romans*, having committed the hazard of both Signories to the success of three Men of each side, who decided the Quarrel by Combat: in which, the three Brethren *Horatii*, the Champions of the *Romans*, prevailed against the *Curiatii*, Champions of the *Albanes*. After this Combat, when *Metius* (following *Tullus Hostilius* with the *Albane* Forces against the *Veientes* and *Fidenates*) withdrew his Companies out of the Battel, hoping thereby to leave the *Romans* to such an overthrow, as might make them weak enough for the *Albanes* to deal with *Tullus*; who notwithstanding this falsehood obtained the Victory, did reward *Metius* with a cruel Death, causing him to be tied to two Chariots, and so torn in pieces. Then was *Alba* destroyed, and the Citizens carried to *Rome*, where they were made free Denizens, the noble Families being made *Patricians*; among which were the *Julii*: of whom *C. Julius Cæsar* being descended, not only gloried in his ancient, royal, and forgotten Pedigree, in full Assembly of the *Romans*, then governed by a free Estate of the People: but by his rare Industry, Valour, and Judgment, obtained the Sovereignty of the *Roman* Empire (much by him enlarged) to himself and his Posterity; whereby the Name of *Æneas*, and Honour of the *Trojan* and *Alban* Race, was so revived, that seldom, if ever, any one Family hath attained to a proportionable height of Glory.

§. V.

Of the beginning of Rome, *and of* Romulus's Birth *and Death.*

OF *Rome*, which devoured the *Alban* Kingdom, I may here best shew the beginnings, which (though somewhat uncertain) depend much upon the Birth and Education of *Romulus*, the Grand-Child of *Numitor*, the last that reigned in *Alba*. For how not only the bordering People, but all Nations between *Euphrates* and the Ocean were broken in pieces by the Iron Teeth of this fourth Beast, it is not to be described in one place, having been the work of many Ages; whereof I now do handle only the first, as incident unto the discourse preceding. *Q. Fabius Pictor*, *Portius Cato*, *Calphurnius Piso*, *Sempronius*, and others, seek to derive the *Romans* from *Janus*: but *Herodotus*, *Marsylus*, and many others of equal Credit, give the *Grecians* for their Ancestors: and as *Strabo* reporteth in his fifth Book; *Cecilius rerum Romanarum scriptor eo argumento colligit, Romam à Græcis esse conditam quod Romani Græco ritu, antiquo instituto Herculi rem sacram faciunt, matrem quoque Evandri venerantur Romani*; *Cæcilius* (saith he) *a* Roman *Historiographer, doth by this Argument gather, that* Rome *was built by the* Greeks, *because the* Romans, *after* Greekish *Fashion, by ancient Ordi-*

Strabo l. 5. fol. 159.

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nance do ſacrifice to Hercules: *the* Romans *alſo worſhipped the Mother of* Evander.

Plutarch in the Life of *Romulus* remembers many Founders of that City: as *Romanus* the Son of *Ulyſſes* and *Circe*; *Romus* the Son of *Emathion*, whom *Diomedes* ſent thither from *Troy*, or that one *Romus*, a Tyrant of the *Latines*, who drave the *Tuſcans* out of that Countrey, built it. *Solinus* beſtows the honour of building *Rome* upon *Evander*, ſaying, That it was before times called *Valentia*. *Heraclides* gives the denomination to a captive Lady, brought thither by the *Grecians*: others ſay, that it was anciently called *Febris*, after the Name of *Februa*, the Mother of *Mars*; witneſs Saint *Auguſtine* in his third Book *de Civitate Dei*. But *Livie* will have it to be the Work of *Romulus*, even from the Foundation: of whom and his Conſorts, *Juvenal* to a *Roman* Citizen vaunting of their Original, anſwered in theſe Verſes:

At tamen ut longe repetas, longeque revolvas
Majorum quisquis primus fuit ille tuorum,
Aut paſtor fuit, aut illud quod dicere nolo.

Yet though thou fetch thy Pedegree ſo far;
Thy firſt Progenitor, who ere he were,
Some Shepherd was, or elſe, that Ile forbear.

meaning either a Shepherd or a Thief.

Now of *Romulus* begetting, of his Education and preſervation, it is ſaid, That he had *Rhea* for his Mother, and *Mars* was ſuppoſed to be his Father; that he was nurſt by a Wolf, found and taken away by *Fauſtula*, a Shepherds Wife. The ſame unnatural nurſing had *Cyrus*, the ſame incredible Foſtering had *Semiramis*; the one by a Bitch, the other by Birds. But, as *Plutarch* ſaith, it is like enough that *Amulius* came covered with Armour to *Rhea*, the Mother of *Romulus*, when he begat her with Child: and therein it ſeemeth to me that he might have two Purpoſes; the one, to deſtroy her, becauſe ſhe was the Daughter and Heir of his elder Brother, from whom he injuriouſly held the Kingdom; the other to ſatisfie his Appetite, becauſe ſhe was fair and goodly. For ſhe being made a Nun of the Goddeſs *Veſta*, it was Death in her, by the Law, to break her Chaſtity. I alſo find in *Fauchet* his *Antiquitez de Gaule*, that *Merovée*, King of the *Francs*, was begotten by a Monſter of the Sea: but *Fauchet* ſays, *Let them believe it that liſt; Il le croira qui voudra:* alſo of *Alexander*, and of *Scipio African*, there are Poetical Inventions: but to anſwer theſe Imaginations in general, it is true, that in thoſe times, when the World was full of this barbarous Idolatry, and when there were as many Gods as there were Kings, or Paſſions of the Mind, or as there were of Vices and Vertues; then did many Women greatly born, cover ſuch ſlips as they made, by proteſting to be forced by more than humane Power: ſo did *Oenone* confeſs to *Paris*, that ſhe had been raviſhed by *Apollo*. And *Anchiſes* boaſted that he had known *Venus*. But *Rhea* was made with Child by ſome Man of War, or other, and therefore called *Mars*, the God of Battel, according to the ſenſe of the time. *Oenone* was overcome by a ſtrong Wit, and by ſuch a one as had thoſe Properties aſcribed to *Apollo*. The Mother of *Merovée* might fancy a Sea Captain to be gotten with young by ſuch a one: as the Daughter of *Inachus* fancied, according to *Herodotus*. *Æneas* was a Baſtard and begotten upon ſome Fair Harlot, called for her Beauty *Venus*, and was therefore the Child of luſt, which is *Venus*. *Romulus* was nurſt by a Wolf, which was *Lupa*, or *Lupina*, for the Curteſans in thoſe days were called Wolfs, *qua nunc* (ſaith *Halicarnaſſeus*) *honeſtiori vocabulo amica appellantur*; *which are now by an honeſter name called Friends*. It is alſo written, that *Romulus* was in the end of his Life taken up into Heaven, or rather out of the World by his Father *Mars*, in a great Storm of Thunder and Lightning: ſo was it ſaid that *Æneas* vaniſhed away by the River *Numicus*: but thereof *Livie* alſo ſpeaketh modeſtly; for he rehearſeth the other Opinion, that the ſtorm was the fury of the Senators, but ſeemeth to adhere partially to this taking up; and many Authors agree that there was an unnatural darkneſs, both at his Birth and at his Death, and that he might be ſlain by Thunder and Lightning, it is not unlikely. For the Emperour *Anaſtaſius* was ſlain with Lightning, ſo was *Strabo* the Father of *Pompey* ſlain with a Thunder-bolt: ſo *Carus* the Emperour (who ſucceeded *Probus*) whilſt he lodged with his Army upon the River *Tigris*, was there ſlain with Lightning. But a *Mars* of the ſame kind might end him that began him; for he was begotten by a Man of War, and by violence deſtroyed. And that he died by violence (which deſtiny followed moſt of the *Roman* Emperours) it appeareth by *Tarquinius Superbus*: who was but the ſeventh King after him: who when he had murthered his Father-in-Law, commanded that he ſhould not be buried, for (ſaid he) *Romulus* himſelf died and was not buried. But let *Halicarnaſſeus* end this diſpute: whoſe words are theſe. *They* (ſaith he) *who draw neareſt to the Truth, ſay that he was ſlain by his own Citizens; and that his Cruelty in puniſhments of Offenders, together with his Arrogancy, were the cauſe of his ſlaughter. For it is reported that both when his Mother was raviſhed, whether by ſome Man, or by a God, the whole Body of the Sun was eclipſed, and all the Earth covered with darkneſs like unto Night, and that the ſame did happen at his death.*

Fauchet, fol. 114.

Such were the Birth and Death of *Romulus*: whoſe Life hiſtorified by *Plutarch*, doth contain (beſides what is here already ſpoken of him) the conqueſt of a few Miles which had ſoon been forgotten, if the *Roman* Greatneſs built upon that Foundation, had not given it memory in all Ages following, even unto this day. A valiant Man he was, very ſtrong of Body, patient of *Travel*, and temperate in Diet, as forbearing the uſe of Wine and Delicacies: but his raging Ambition he knew not how to temper, which cauſed him to ſlay his Brother, and neglect revenge of the death of *Tatius* his Companion in the Kingdom, that he ſaw himſelf might be Lord alone in thoſe narrow Territories. He reigned ſeven and thirty years firſt alone, then with *Tatius*, and after his death ſingle, till he was ſlain, as is already ſhewed: after which time the Sovereignty fell into the hands of *Numa*, a Man to him unknown, and more Prieſt-like than King-like: wherein *Rome* it ſelf in her latter times hath ſomewhat reſembled this King. For having long been ſole Governeſs till *Conſtantinople* ſhared with her: afterwards, when as the *Greek* Emperour was cruſhed by foreign Enemies, and the *Latines* deſpoiled of Imperial Power, ſhe fell into the ſubjection of a Prelate, ſwelling by degrees from the Sheep-hook to the Sword, and therewith victorious to exceſſive magnificence, from whence by the ſame degrees it fell, being driven from Luxury to defenſive Arms, and therein having been unfortunate, at length betakes her ſelf again to the Croſiers Staff.

And thus much of *Rome* in this place by occaſion of the ſtory of the times of King *Ahaz*, during whoſe Reign in *Jewry*, the Foundations of this famous City were laid.

CHAP. XXV.

Of EZEKIA, *and his Contemporaries.*

§. I.

Of the beginning of Ezechias, *and of the agreeing of* Ptolemy's, Nabonassar, Nabopolassar, *and* Mardocempadus, *with the History of the Bible.*

AS the first Year of *Ahaz* his Reign was confounded with the last of his Father *Jotham*, so was the latter end of his sixteen Years taken up in the three first of *Ezekias* his Son. This appears by the Reign of *Hosea* over *Israel*, which began in the twelfth of *Ahaz*, and therefore the third thereof was concurrent with *Ahaz* his fourteenth. But the third of *Hosea* was the first of *Ezekia*; so it follows, that *Ezekia* began to reign in his Fathers fourteenth year. Like enough it is, that the third year of *Hosea*, the same being the fourteenth of *Ahaz*, was almost spent when *Ezekia* began, and so the fifteenth year of *Ahaz* may have been concurrent, for the most part, with the first of *Ezekia*.

2 *King.* 8. 13. By supposing that *Hosea* began his Kingdom, when the twelfth year of *Ahaz* was almost compleat, some would find the means how to disjoyn the first of *Hezekia* from the fifteenth of *Ahaz*, placing him yet one year later, of which year, *Ahaz* may perhaps have lived not many days. But seeing that the fourteenth and fifteenth years of *Ezekia*, may not be removed out of their places; it is vain labour to alter the first year.

In the fourteenth of *Ezekia*, *Sennacherib* invading *Juda*, and the Countries adjoyning, lost his Army by a miraculous stroke from Heaven, fled home, and was slain. The year following it was that God added fifteen years to the Life of *Ezekia*, when he had already reigned fourteen of his nine and twenty: and the same year was that Miracle seen of the Sun's going back; of which wonder (as I hear) one *Bartholomew Scultet*, who is much commended for his skill in Astronomy, hath by calculation found the very day, which answered unto the twenty fifth of *April*, in the *Julian* year, being then Thursday. I have not seen any Works of *Scultet*; but surely to find a motion so irregular and miraculous, it is necessary that he produce some Record of observation made at such a time. Howsoever it be, the fifteenth year of *Ezekia* is agreed upon; and therefore we may not alter the first. As for that saying, which is usual in the like cases, that *Ahaz slept with his Fathers, and Ezekia his Son reigned in his stead*, it doth no more prove that *Ezekia* reigned not with his Father, than the like saying doth infer the like at the death of *Jehoshaphat*, and succession of *Jehoram*; whereof, as concerning the beginning of the Son to reign whilst his Father lived, we have already said enough.

2 *Chro.* 28. 27.

Of this godly King *Ezekias*, we find, that his very beginning testified his Devotion and Zeal. For whether it were so that his unfortunate and ungracious Father (who had out-worn his Reputation) gave way to his Sons proceedings, which perhaps it lay not in him to hinder; or whether (as I rather think) the first Year and first Month of his Reign, wherein *Ezekias* opened the doors of the Temple, were to be understood as the beginning of his sole Government; we plainly find it to have been his first work, that he opened the Doors of the House of the Lord, which *Achaz* had shut up, cleansed the City and Kingdom of the Idols, restored the Priests to their Offices, and Estates, commanded the Sacrifices to be offered which had been for many years neglected, and brake down the brasen Serpent of *Moses*, because the People burnt Incense before it, and he called it *Nehushtan*, which signifieth a lump of Brass. He did also celebrate the Pass-over with great Magnificence, inviting thereunto the *Israelites* of the ten Tribes: many there were, even out of those Tribes, that came up to *Jerusalem*, to this Feast. But the general multitude of *Israel* did laugh the Messengers of *Ezekiah* to scorn.

2 *Chron.* 29. *v.* 3.

2 *Chro.* 30.

2 *King.* 18

It was not long ere they that scorned to solemnize the Memorial of their deliverance out of the *Ægyptian* Servitude, fell into a new Servitude, out of which they never were delivered. For in the fourth of *Ezekia* his Reign, *Salmanassar* the Son of *Tiglath*, the Son of *Belochus*, hearing that *Hosea* King of *Israel* had practised with *Seo* King of *Ægypt*, against him: invaded *Israel*, besieged *Samaria*, and in the third year (after the Inhabitants had endured all sorts of Miseries) forced it and carried thence the ten Idolatrous Tribes into *Assyria* and *Media*: among whom *Tobias* and his Son of the same Name, with *Anna* his Wife, were sent to *Nineve*, in whose Seats and Places the *Assyrians* sent Strangers of other Nations, and among them many of the ancient Enemies of the *Israelites*, as those of *Cutha*, *Ava*, *Hamah*, and *Sphernaim*, besides *Babylonians*: whose Places and Nations I have formerly described in the Treatise of the Holy Land.

These latter *Assyrian* Kings, and the *Persians*, which followed them, are the first, of whom we find mention made both in Prophane and Sacred Books. These therefore serve most aptly to joyn the times of the old World, (whereof none but the Prophets have written otherwise than fabulously) with the Ages following that were better known, and described in course of History. True it is, that of *Cyrus* and some other *Persians*, we find in the Bible the same Names by which other Authors have recorded them: but of *Phul* and *Salmanassar*, with other *Assyrian*, *Chaldean* Kings, diversity of Name hath bred question of the Persons. Therefore, whereas the Scriptures do speak of *Salmanassar*, King of *Assur*, who reigned in the time of *Ahaz*, and *Ezekiah*, Kings of *Judah*, and of *Hosea* King of *Israel*, whom he carried into captivity: and whereas *Ptolemy* makes mention of *Nabonassar*, speaking precisely of the time wherein he lived; it is very pertinent to shew, that *Salmanassar* and *Nabonassar* were one and the same Man. The like Reason also requireth, that it be shewed of *Nebuchadnezzar*, that he was the same, whom *Ptolomy* calleth *Nabopolassar*.

Of both these points *Bucholerus* hath well collected sufficient Proof from the exact Calculations of sundry good Mathematicians. For by them

it

it appears that between *Nabonassar* and the birth of *Christ*, there passed seven hundred forty and six Years: at which distance of time the Reign of *Salmanassar* was. One great proof hereof is this, which the same *Bucholerus* alledgeth out of *Erasmus Reinholdus*, in the *Prutenick* Tables. *Mardocempadus* King of *Babylon* (whom *Ptolomy*, speaking of three Eclipses of the Moon, which were in his time, doth mention) was the same whom the Scriptures call *Merodach*, who sent Embassadors to *Hezekiah*, King of *Juda*. So that if we reckon backwards to the difference of time, between *Merodach* and *Salmanassar*, we shall find it the same which is between *Mardocempadus* and *Nabonassar*. Likewise *Functius* doth shew, that whereas from the destruction of *Samaria*, to the devastation of *Jerusalem*, in the nineteenth of *Nebuchadnezzar*, we collect out of the Scriptures, the distance of one hundred thirty and three Years: the self same distance of time is found in *Ptolomy*, between *Nabonassar* and *Nabopolassar*. For, whereas *Ptolomy* seems to differ from this account, making *Nabonassar* more ancient by an hundred and forty Years, than the destruction of *Jerusalem*, we are to understand that he took *Samaria* in the eighth Year of his Reign; so that the seven foregoing Years added to these one hundred thirty and three, make the accounts of the Scriptures fall even with that of *Ptolomy*. *Ptolomy*'s computation is, that from the first of *Nabonassar* to the fifth of *Nabopolassar*, there passed one hundred twenty and seven years. Now if we add to these one hundred twenty seven, the thirteen ensuing of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s Years, before the City and Temple were destroyed, we have the summ of one hundred and forty Years. In so plain a case more proofs are needless, though many are brought, of which this may serve for all, that *Ptolomy* placeth the first of *Nabopolassar* one hundred twenty and two Years after the first of *Nabonassar*, which agreeth exactly with the Scriptures. To these notes are added the consent of all Mathematicians: which in account of times I hold more sure than the Authority of any History; and therefore I think it folly to make doubt, whereas Historians and Mathematical observations do so throughly concurr.

Yet forasmuch as that argument of the learned *Scaliger* doth rest unanswered, whereby he proved *Baladan* the Father of *Merodach*, to have been this *Nabonassar*, I will not spare to lose a word or two in giving the Reader satisfaction herein. It is true, that the next observations of the heavenly Bodies, which *Ptolomy* Recorded, after the time of *Nabonassar*, were in the Reign of *Mardocempadus*; the second Year of whose Reign, is, according to *Ptolomy* concurrent in part with the twenty seven of *Nabonassar*. For the second of three ancient Eclipses which he calculates, being in the second year of *Mardocempadus*, was from the beginning of *Nabonassar* twenty seven Years, seventeen Days, and eleven Hours: the account from *Nabonassar*, beginning at high noon the first day of the *Ægyptian* Month *Thot*, then answering to the twenty sixth of *February*; and this Eclipse being fifty minutes before mid-night, on the eighteenth day of that Month, when the first day thereof agreed with the nineteenth of *February*; so that the difference of time between the two Kings *Nabonassar* and *Mardocempadus*, is noted by *Ptolomy*, according to the *Ægyptian* Years. But how does this prove, that *Mardocempadus* or *Merodach*, was the Son of *Nabonassar*? yea, how doth it prove, that he was his next Successor, or any way of his Lineage? It was enough to satisfie me, in this argument, that *Scaliger* himself did afterwards believe *Mardocempadus* to have been rather the Nephew, than the Son of *Baladan*, or *Nabonassar*. For if he might be either the Nephew, or the Son; he might perhaps be neither the one, nor the other. But because our Country-man *Lydiat* hath reprehended *Scaliger* for changing his opinion; and that both *Torniellus*, who follows *Scaliger* herein, and *Sethus Calvisius*, who hath drawn into form of Chronology, that learned work, *De Emendatione Temporum*, do hold up the same assertion, confounding *Baladan* with *Nabonassar*: I have taken the pains to search, as far as my leisure and diligence could reach, after any sentence that might prove the Kindred or Succession of these two. Yet cannot I find in the *Almagest* (for the Scriptures are either silent in this point, or adverse to *Scaliger*; and other good authority, I know none, in this business) any sentence more nearly proving the Succession of *Merodach* to *Nabonassar*, than the place now last rehearsed: which makes no more, to shew that the one of these was Father to the other, than (that I may use a like example) the as near Succession of *William* the *Conqueror*, declares him to have been Son or Grand-child to *Edward* the *Confessor*. This considered, we may safely go on with our account from *Nabonassar*, taking him for *Salmanassar*; and not fearing, that the Readers will be driven from our Book, when they find something in it, agreeing with *Annius*, forasmuch as these Kings mentioned in Scriptures, Reigned in *Babylon*, and *Assyria*, in those very times which by *Diodorus* and *Ptolomy* are assigned to *Belosus*, *Nabonassar*, and *Mardocempadus*, and the rest: no good History naming any others, that Reigned there in those Ages, and all Astronomical observations, fitly concurring with the years that are attributed to these, or numbred from them.

Ptol. Almag. l. 4. c. 8.

§. II.

Of the danger and deliverance of Judæa *from* Sennacherib.

When *Salmanassar* was dead, and his Son *Sennacherib* in possession of the Empire, in the fourteenth Year of *Ezechias*, he demanded of him such Tribute as was agreed on at such time as *Tiglath*, the Grand-Father of *Sennacherib*, and Father of *Salmanasser*, invited by *Ahaz*, invaded *Rezin* King of *Damascus*, and delivered him from the dangerous War which *Israel* had undertaken against him. This Tribute and acknowledgment when *Ezechias* denied, *Sennacherib*, having (as it seems) a purpose to invade *Ægypt*, sent one part of his Army to lie before *Jerusalem*. Now though *Ezechias* (fearing this powerful Prince) had acknowledged his fault, and purchased his Peace, as he hoped, with thirty hundred Talents of Silver, and thirty Talents of Gold: wherewith he presented *Sennacherib*, now set down before *Lachis* in *Judæa*, yet under the colour of better assurance, and to force the King of *Judæa* to deliver Hostages, the *Assyrian* environed *Jerusalem* with a gross Army, and having his Sword in his Hand, thought it the fittest time to write his own Conditions. 2 Kings 18. 21.

Ezechias directed his three greatest Counsellers, to parly with *Rabsaces*, over the Wall, and to receive his demands: who used three principal arguments to perswade the people to yield themselves to his Master *Sennacherib*. For though the Chancellor, Steward, and Secretary, sent by *Ezechias* desired *Rabsaces* to speak unto them in the *Syrian* Tongue, and not in the *Jewish*, yet he with a more loud voice directed his speech to the multitude

titude in their own Language. And for the first, he made them know, That if they continued obstinate, and adhered to their King, that they would, in a short time, be inforced to eat their own Dung, and drink their own Urine: Secondly, he altogether disabled the King of *Ægypt*, from whom the *Judæans* hoped for Succour, and compared him to a broken staff, on which whosoever leaneth pierceth his own hand: Thirdly, that the Gods who should help them, *Ezechias* had formerly broken and defaced, meaning chiefly (as it is thought by some) the brasen Serpent, which had been preserved ever since *Moses*'s time: and withal he bad them remember the Gods of other Nations: whom, notwithstanding any power of theirs, his Master had conquered and thrown down; and for God himself, in whom they trusted, he perswaded them by no means to rely on him; for he would deceive them. But finding the people silent (for so the King had commanded them) after a while when he had understood that the King of *Arabia* was marching on with a powerful Army, he himself left the *Assyrian* forces in charge to others, and sought *Sennacherib* at *Lebna* in *Judæa*, either to inform him of their resolution in *Jerusalem*, or to conferr with him concerning the Army of *Terhaca* the *Arabian*. Soon upon this there came Letters from *Sennacherib* to *Ezechias*, whom he partly advised, and partly threatned to submit himself: using the same Blasphemous outrage against the all-powerful God, as before. But *Ezechias*, sending those Counsellers to the Prophet *Esay*, which had lately been sent to *Rabsaces*, received from him comfort, and assurance, that this Heathen Idolater should not prevail; against whom the King also besought aid from Almighty God, repeating the most insolent and Blasphemous parts of *Sennacherib*'s Letter, before the Altar of God in the Temple, confessing this part thereof to be true, *That the King of* Ashur *had destroyed the Nations and their Lands, and had set fire on their Gods, for they were no Gods, but the work of Mens hands, even Wood and Stone*, &c.

2 Kings 18. 21.

2 Kings 19.

The reason that moved *Sennacherib* to desire to possess himself in haste of *Jerusalem*, was that he might thereinto have retreated his Army, which was departed, as it seemeth from the Siege of *Pelusium* in *Ægypt*, for fear of *Terhaca*: and though the Scriptures are silent of that enterprise (which in these Books of the Kings, and of the *Chronicles* or *Paralipomenon*, speak but of the Affairs of *Jews* in effect) yet the ancint *Berosus*, and out of him *Josephus*, and S. *Hierom*, together with *Herodotus*, remember it as followeth. *Herodotus* calleth *Sennacherib* King of *Arabia* and *Assyria*: which he might justly do, because *Tiglath* his Grand-father held a great part thereof, which he wrested from *Pekah* King of *Israel*: as *Gilead* over *Jordan*, and the rest of *Arabia Petræa* adjoyning: the same *Herodotus* also maketh *Sethon* King of *Ægypt*, to be *Vulcan*'s Priest, and reporteh that the reason of *Sennacherib*'s return from *Pelusium* in *Ægypt*, which he also besieged, was, that an innumerable multitude of Rats had in one night eaten in sunder the Bowstrings of his Archers, and spoiled the rest of their Weapons of that kind, which no doubt might greatly amaze him: but the approach of *Terhaca*, remembred by *Josephus*, and *Berosus*, was the more urgent. S. *Hierom* upon the seven and thirtieth of *Esay*, out of the same *Berosus*, as also in part out of *Herodotus*, whom *Josephus* citeth somewhat otherwise than his words lie, reports *Sennacherib*'s retreat in these words. *Pugnasse autem Sennacherib Regem Assyriorum contra Ægyptios, & obsedisse Pelusium, jamque extructis aggeribus, urbi capiendæ, venisse Taracham Regem Æthiopum in auxilium, & una nocte juxta Jerusalem centum octoginta quinque millia exercitus Assyrii pestilentia corruisse narrat Herodotus: & plenissimè Berosus Chaldaica scriptor Historiæ quorum fides de propriis libris petenda est; That* Sennacherib *King of the* Assyrians *fought against the Ægyptians, and Besieged* Pelusium, *and that when his Mounts were built for taking of the City*, Tarhacas *King of the Æthiopians came to help them, and that in one night near* Jerusalem *one hundred eighty five thousand of the* Assyrian *Army perished by Pestilence, of these things* (saith Hierom) * Herodotus *reports: and more at large* Berosus *a Writer of* Chaldæan *story, whose credit is to be taken from their own Books.* Out of *Esay* it is gathered, that this destruction of the *Assyrian* Army was in this manner. *Thou shalt be visited of the Lord of Hosts with Thunder and Shaking, and a great noise, a Whirle-wind and a Tempest, and a flame of devouring Fire.* But *Josephus* hath it more largely out of the same *Berosus*, an authority (because so well agreeing with the Scriptures) not to be omitted, *Sennacheribus autem ab Ægyptiaco bello revertens, ostendit ibi exercitum, quem sub Rabsacis Imperio reliquerat peste Divinitus immissâ delectum, primâ nocte postea quam Urbem oppugnare cœperat, absumptis cum Ducibus & Tribunis, centum octoginta quinque millibus Militum, qua clade territus, & de reliquis copiis sollicitus, maximis itineribus in regnum suum contendit, ad regiam qua Ninus dicitur. Ubi paulo post per insidias Seniorum, è filiis suis, Adramelechi, & Selennari, vitam amisit: occisus in ipso Templo quod dicitur Arasci; quem præcipuo cultu dignabatur: quibus ob patricidium à popularibus pulsis & in Armeniam fugientibus, Asaracoldus minor filius in Regnum successit; Sennacherib* (saith *Josephus*) *returning from the Ægyptian War, found there his Army, which he had left under the Command of* Rabsaces, *destroyed by a Pestilence sent from God, the first night that he had begun to assault the Town: one hundred fourscore and five thousand of the Souldiers being consumed with their Chieftains and Colonels. With which destruction being terrified, and withal afraid what might become of the rest of his Army, he made great marches into his Kingdom; to his Royal City, which is called* Ninus, *where shortly after by the Treason of two of the Eldest of his Sons,* Adramelech *and* Selennar *or* Sharezer, *he lost his life in the Temple dedicated to* Arasces, *or* Nesroch: *whom he especially worshipped. These his Sons being for their Parricide chased away by the people: and flying into* Armenia, Asaracoldus *his younger Son succeeded in the Kingdom.* Who in the beginning of his Reign sent new Troops out of *Assyria* and *Samaria*, to fortifie the Colony therein planted by his Grandfather *Salmanassar*. What this *Mesroch* was, it is uncertain: *Hierom* in his Hebrew Traditions hath somewhat of him, but nothing positively. It is certain, that *Venus Urania* was worshipped by the *Assyrians*; and so was *Jupiter Belus*, as *Dion, Eusebius*, and *Cyrillus* witness. Many fancies there are, what cause his Son had to murther him; but the most likely is, that he had formerly disinherited those two, and conferred the Empire on *Assarhadden*. *Tobit* tells us, That it was fifty five days after *Sennacherib*'s return, ere he was murthered by his Sons; during which time he slew, great numbers of the *Israelites* in *Ninive*, till the most just God turned the Sword against his own Breast.

* To wit in part, for *Herodotus* mentioneth nothing, neither of Tarhaca, nor of Jerusalem, nor of the Army there. *Esay* 29. 6. *Jos. ant. l.* 10. *c.* 1.

Herod. l. 2. p. 69.

Jos. ant. l. 10. c. 1.

Her. Eutrop. l. 2.

Selennar otherwise Sharezer, who slew him, as he was praying to Nisroch his God. 2 King. 19.

2 Kings 19. 37. Esdra. 1. c. 4. v. 2.

Lyr.

§. III.

§. III.

Of Ezechias *his Sickneſs and Recovery; and of the Babylonian King that congratulated him.*

After this marvellous Delivery, *Ezechias* ſickned, and was told by *Iſaiah*, that he muſt die: but after he had beſought God with Tears for his Delivery, *Iſaiah* as he was going from him returned again, and had warrant from the Spirit of God to promiſe him recovery after three days, and a prolongation of his life for fifteen Years. But *Ezechias* ſomewhat doubtful of this exceeding Grace, prayeth a ſign to confirm him: whereupon, at the Prayer of *Iſaiah*, the ſhadow of the Sun caſt it ſelf the contrary way, and went back ten Degrees, upon the Dyal of *Achaz*. The cauſe that moved *Ezechias* to lament (ſaith Saint *Hierom*) was, becauſe he had as yet no Son, and then in deſpair that the *Meſſias* ſhould come out of the houſe of *David*, or at leaſt of his Seed. His diſeaſe ſeemeth to be the Peſtilence, by the Medicin given him by the Prophet, to wit, a maſs of Figgs, laid to the Botch or Sore.

2 *Kings* 20.

This wonder when the Wiſe Men of *Chaldæa* had told to *Merodach*, King of *Babylon*, the firſt of that Houſe, he ſent to *Ezechias*, to be informed of the cauſe: at which time *Ezekias* ſhewed him all the Treaſure he had, both in the Court and in the Kingdom: for which he was reprehended by the Prophet *Iſaiah*, who told him; *The days are at hand, that all that is in thine Houſe, and whatſoever thy Fathers have laid up in ſtore to this day, ſhall be carried into Babel*; nothing ſhall be left, ſaith the Lord. It may ſeem ſtrange, how *Ezekia* ſhould have got any Treaſure worth the ſhewing: for *Sennacherib* had robbed him of all, the Year before. But the ſpoil of the ſame *Sennacherib* his Camp repaid all with advantage, and made *Ezekia* richer upon the ſuddain than ever he had been: which unexpected wealth was ſtrong temptation to boaſting. After this time *Ezekia* had reſt, and ſpending without noiſe that addition which God had made unto his life, he died, having Reigned nine and twenty Years. One only offenſive War he made, which was againſt the *Philiſtims* with good ſucceſs. Among his other Acts (ſhortly remembered in *Eccleſiaſticus*) he deviſed to bring Water to *Jeruſalem*.

Iſay 39.

Eccl. 48.

In two reſpects they ſay that he offended God: the one, that he rejoyced too much at the deſtruction and lamentable end of his Enemy; the other, that he ſo much gloried in his riches, as he could not forbear to ſhew them to Strangers. But the reaſon which moved *Ezekias* (ſpeaking humanly) to entertain the Embaſſadors of *Merodach* in this friendly and familiar manner, was, becauſe he came to viſit him, and brought him a preſent, congratulating the recovery of his health; as alſo in that *Merodach* had weakened the Houſe of *Sennacherib*, his fearful Enemy. For *Merodach*, who was Commander, and Lieutenant under *Sennacherib* in *Babylon*, uſurped that State himſelf, in the laſt year of that King, and held it by ſtrong hand againſt his Son *Aſſarhaddon*; who was not only ſimple, but impaired in ſtrength, by the moleſtation of his Brothers. This advantage *Merodach* eſpied, and remembring, that their Anceſtor *Phul Belochus* had ſet his own Maſter *Sardanapalus* beſides the Cuſhion, thought it as lawful for himſelf to take the opportunity which this Kings weakneſs did offer, as it had been for *Belochus* to make uſe of the others wickedneſs: and ſo, finding himſelf beloved of the *Babylonians*, and ſufficiently powerful, he did put the matter to hazzard, and prevailed. The aſſertion of this Hiſtory is made by the ſame arguments that were uſed in maintaining the common opinion of Writers, touching *Phul Belochus*; which I will not here again rehearſe. So of this new Race, which cut aſunder the Line of *Ninus*, there were only five Kings.

Phul Belochus	who Reigned	48.	Years.
Tiglath Philaſſar		27.	
Salmanaſſar		10.	
Sennacherib		7.	
Aſſarhaddon		10.	

But foraſmuch as the laſt year of *Salmanaſſar* was alſo the firſt of *Sennacherib* his Son, we reckon the time, wherein the Houſe of *Phul* held the *Aſſyrian* Kingdom, to have been an hundred and one Years; of which, the laſt five and twenty were ſpent with *Ezekia*, under *Salmanaſſar*, *Sennacherib*, and *Aſſarhaddon*.

§. IV.

The Kings that were in Media *during the Reign of* Ezekia: *Of the difference found between ſundry Authors, in rehearſing the* Median *Kings. Other Contemporaries of* Ezekia: *of* Candaules, Gyges, *and the Kings deſcended from* Hercules.

In the time of *Ezekia*, *Medidus*, and after him *Cardiceas*, reigned in *Media*. Whether it were ſo, that variety of names, by which theſe Kings were called in ſeveral Hiſtories, hath cauſed them to ſeem more than indeed they were; or whether the Sons Reigning with the Fathers, have cauſed not only the names of Kings, but the length of Time, wherein they governed *Media*, to exceed the due proportion: or whether the Copies themſelves, of *Cteſias* and *Annius* his *Metaſthenes*, have been faulty, as neither of theſe two Authors is over-highly commended of truſtineſs: ſo it is, that the names, number, and length of Reign, are all very diverſly reported of theſe *Median* Kings, that followed *Arbaces*: Therefore it need not ſeem ſtrange, that I reckon *Medidus* and *Cardiceas* as Contemporaries with *Ezekia*. For to reconcile ſo great a difference, as is found in thoſe Writers that vary from *Euſebius*, is more than I dare undertake. I will only here ſet down the Roll of Kings that reigned in *Media*, accordingly as ſundry Authors have delivered it.

Annius his *Metaſthenes* orders them and their Reigns thus.

Arbaces	who Reigned	28.	Years.
Mandanes		50.	
Soſarmon		30.	
Articarmin		50.	
Arbianes		22.	
Artæus		40.	
Attines		22.	
Aſtybarus, with his Son *Apanda*		20.	
Apanda alone		30.	
Darius with *Cyrus*		36.	

Diodorus Siculus following *Cteſias* (as perhaps *Annius* made his *Metaſthenes* follow *Diodore*, with ſome little variation, that he might not ſeem a borrower) placeth them thus.

Arbaces

Arbaces	who Reigned	28.	Years.
Mandanes		50.	
Sosarmus		30.	
Artycas		50.	
Arbianes		22.	
Arfaus.		40.	
Artynes		22.	
Artabanus		40.	

Astybara. *Astyages.* the continuance of these two he doth not mention.

Mercator hath laboured with much diligence, to reconcile these Catalogues, and to make them also agree with *Eusebius*. But forasmuch as it seems to me an impossible matter, to attain unto the truth of these forgotten times, by conjectures founded upon *Ctesias* and *Metasthenes*, I will lay the burthen upon *Eusebius*, who lived in an Age better furnished than ours, with Books of this argument. Let it therefore suffice, that these two Kings (whom I have reckoned as contemporaries with *Ezekia*) *Medidus* and *Cardiceas*, are found in *Eusebius*: for whether *Cardiceas* were *Diodorus* his *Arbianes*, I will not stay to search. The Kings of *Media*, according to *Eusebius*, Reigned in this order.

Arbaces	Reigned	28.	Years.
Sosarmus		30.	
Medidus		40.	
Cardiceas		15.	
Dejoces		54.	
Phraortes		24.	
Cyaxares		32.	
Astyages		38.	

These names, and this course of Succession I retain; but add unto these, *Cyaxares* the Son of *Astyages*, according to *Xenophon*; and sometimes follow *Herodotus*, in setting down the length of a Kings Reign, otherwise than *Eusebius* hath it: of which variations, I will render my reasons in due place.

The twenty nine Years of *Ezekia* were concurrent, in part, with the rule of the four first that were chosen Governors of *Athens* for ten Years; that is of *Charops*, *Æsimedes*, *Elidicus*, and *Hippones*. Touching the first of these I hear nothing, save that *Rome* was built in his first year; of which perhaps himself did not hear. Of the second and third I find only the names. The fourth made himself known by a strange example of justice, or rather of cruelty, that he shewed upon his own Daughter. For he finding that she had offended in unchastity, caused her to be lockt up with an Horse, giving to neither of them any Food: so that the Horse constrained by hunger, devoured the unhappy Woman.

In *Rome*, the first King, and Founder of that City *Romulus*, did Reign both before, and somewhat after *Ezekia*.

In *Lydia*, *Candaules* the last King, ruled in the same Age.

This Region was first called *Maonia*. *Lydus* the Son of *Atys* reigning in it, gave the name of *Lydia*, if we believe such authority as we find. This Kingdom was afterward by the appointment of an Oracle, conferred upon *Argon*, who came of *Alcæus* the Son of *Hercules* by *Jardana*, a bondwoman. The race of these *Heraclidæ* continued Reigning fifty five Years (in which two and twenty Generations passed) the Son continually succeeding the Father. *Candaules* the Son of *Myrsus* was the last of this Race, who doated so much upon the Beauty of his own Wife, that he could not be content to enjoy her, but would needs enforce one *Gyges*, the Son of *Dascylus*, to behold her naked Body; and placed the unwilling Man secretly in her Chamber, where he might see her preparing to bedward. This was not so closely carried, but that the Queen perceived *Gyges* at his going forth, and understanding the matter, took it in such high disdain, that she forced him the next day to requite the Kings folly with Treason. So *Gyges*, being brought again into the same Chamber by the Queen, slew *Candaules*, and was rewarded not only with his wife, but with the Kingdom of *Lydia*. He Reigned thirty eight Years, beginning in the last of *Ezekia*, one year before the death of *Romulus*.

After *Gyges*, his Son *Ardys* Reigned nine and forty Years; then *Sadyattes*, twelve; *Halyattes*, fifty seven; and finally *Crœsus*, the Son of *Halyattes*, fourteen years: who lost the Kingdom, and was taken by *Cyrus* of *Persia*.

And here by the way we may note, that as the *Lydian* Kings, whom *Crœsus* his Progenitor dispossest, are deduced from *Hercules*, so of the same *Hercules* there sprang many other Kings, which governed several Countries very long; as in *Asia*, the *Mysians*; in *Greece*, the *Lacedæmonians*, *Messenians*, *Rhodians*, *Corinthians*, and *Argives*; and from the *Argives*, the *Macedonians*; as likewise from the *Corinthians*, the *Syracusans*: besides many great and famous, though private, Families.

But of the *Heraclidæ* that Reigned in *Lydia*, I have not troubled my self to take notice in the times of their several Reigns: for little is found of them, beside the bare names, and the folly of this last King *Candaules*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the Kings that reigned in Ægypt, *between the deliverance of* Israel *from thence, and the Reign of* Ezekia *in* Juda, *when* Ægypt *and* Juda *made a League against the* Assyrians.

§. I.

That many names of Ægyptian *Kings, found in History, are like to have belonged only to Viceroys. An example proving this out of* William *of* Tyre *his History of the Holy War.*

THE emulation and quarrels arising in these times, between the mighty Kingdoms of *Ægypt* and *Assyria*, do require our pains, in collecting the most memorable things in *Ægypt*, and setting down briefly the state of that Country, which had continued long a flourishing Region, and was of great power, when it contended with *Assyria* for the mastry. Of *Cham*, the Son of *Noah*, who first planted that Country, and of *Osiris*, *Orus*, and other ancient Kings, that reigned there, until the *Israelites* were thence delivered, more hath been said already than I can stand to; though I hold it no shame to fail in such conjectures. That which I have delivered, in speaking mine opinion of the *Ægyptian Dynasties*, must here again help me. For it may truly be affirmed, That the great number of Kings, which are said to have reigned in *Ægypt*, were none other than Viceroys or Stewards, such as *Joseph* was, and such as were the *Soldans* in later ages. Therefore, I will not only forbear to seek after those, whom *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* have reckoned up, from the mouths of *Ægyptian* Priests, delivering them by number, without rehearsing their names; but will save the labour of marshalling them in order, whose names only are found; the years of their Reigns, and other circumstances, proving them to have been Kings in deed, being not recorded.

But that I may not seem before hand, to lay an imaginary ground, whereupon after I may build what I list; it were not amiss, to give unto the Reader such satisfaction in this point, as apparent reason, and truth of History doth afford. First therefore, we ought not to believe those numbers of Generations, which the lying Priests have reckoned up, to magnify their Antiquities. For we know, that from *Abraham*, our Saviour Christ was removed only forty two descents, which makes it evident, that in far shorter time, namely before the *Persian* Empire, there could not have passed away twice as many successions in *Ægypt*: especially considering, that many of these, whose continuance is expressed, have reigned longer than forty years. It follows that we should square the number of the *Ægyptian* Kings, in some even proportion, to those which did bear rule in other Countries. As for the rest, whose names we find scattered here and there; any Man that will take the pains to read the nineteenth Book of the Holy War, written by *William* Archbishop of *Tyre*, may easily perswade himself, that it is not hard to find names enough, of such as might be thought to have reigned in *Ægypt*, being none other than Regents or Viceroys. Yet will I here insert, as briefly as I can, some things making to that purpose, for the pleasure and information of such, as will not trouble themselves with turning over many Authors.

When *Elhadech* the *Caliph* ruled in *Ægypt*, one *Dargan*, a powerful and a subtile Man, made himself *Soldan*, by force and cunning, chasing away *Sanar* an *Arabian*, who was *Soldan* before and after him. This *Dargan* ministred matter of quarrel to *Almaricke* King of *Jerusalem*; and sustained, with little loss, an Invasion, which *Almaricke* made upon *Ægypt*. Hereupon he grew so insolent and proud, that *Sanar* the former *Soldan* hoped to make his party good against him, if he could get any Forces wherewith to enter *Ægypt*. Briefly, *Sanar* sueth to *Noradine*, King of *Damasco*, for aid, who sends an Army of his *Turks*, under the command of *Syracon*, against the *Soldan Dargan*. So *Dargan* and *Sanar* met, and fought: The Victory was *Dargan's*, but he enjoyed it not: for in few days after, he was slain by Treason, whereby *Sanar* did recover his Dignity: which to establish he slew all the Kindred and Friends of *Dargan*, that he could find in the great City of *Cairo*.

To all these doings, the *Caliph Elhadech* gave little regard: for he thought it little concerned him, which of them lived, and had the Administration of the Kingdom, whilst he might have the profit of it, and enjoy his pleasure. But new troubles presently arise, which (one would think) do nearly touch the *Caliph* himself. *Syracon* with his *Turks*, whom *Sanar* hath gotten to come into *Ægypt*, will not now be intreated there to leave him, and quietly go their way home. They seize upon the Town of *Belbeis*, which they fortifie, and there attend the arrival of more Company from *Damasco*, for the Conquest of all *Ægypt*. The *Soldan* perceives their intent, and finds himself not strong enough to expel them; much less to repel the *Turkish* Army, that was likely to second them. He therefore sends Messengers to King *Almaricke* of *Jerusalem*, whom with large promises, he gets to bring him aid, and so drives out the *Turks*. Of all this trouble, the great *Caliph* hears nothing, or not so much, as should make him look to the playing of his own game.

A greater mischief ariseth, concerning the *Caliph Elhadech* particularly, in his own Title. *Syracon*, Captain of the *Turks*, that had been in *Ægypt*, goes to the *Caliph* of *Baldach* (who was opposite to him of *Ægypt*, each of them claiming as Heir to *Mahomet*, that false Prophet, the Soveraignty over all that were of the *Saracen* Law) and tells him the weakness of the *Ægyptian*, with his own ability of doing service in those parts, offering his best means for the extirpation of the Schismatical *Caliph*, and the reduction of all *Ægypt*, with the Western parts, under the subjection of the *Babylonian*. This motion is readily and joyfully entertained; all the Eastern Provinces are up in Arms; and *Syracon*, with a mighty power, descendeth into *Ægypt*. The noise of this great expedition

so affrighteth King *Almaricke*, that with all his Forces he hasteth into *Ægypt*: well knowing how nearly it concerned him and his Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, to keep the *Saracens* from joyning all under one Head. *Sanar* the *Soldan* perceiving the faithful care of the Christians his Friends, welcomes them, and bestirs himself in giving them all manner of content, as it behoved him: for by their admirable valour, he finally drave the Enemies out of the Country. But this Victory was not so soon gotten, as it is quickly told.

Strange it is (which most concerns our present purpose) that of so desperate a danger, the *Caliph*, as yet seems to know nothing. May we not think him to have been King in Title only, who medled so little in the Government? The *Soldan*, finding that the Christians (without whose help, all was lost) could not well stay, so long as his necessities required; makes large offers to King *Almaricke*, upon condition, that he should abide by it. He promiseth a great Tribute (*William* of *Tyre* calls it a Tribute; the *Saracens*, perhaps, called it a Pension) which the Kings of *Jerusalem* should receive out of *Ægypt*, for this behoveful assistance. But the Christians understanding that the *Soldan* (how much soever he took upon him) was subject to an higher Lord, would make no bargain of such importance, with any other than the *Caliph* himself. Hereupon *Hugh* Earl of *Cæsarea*, and a Knight of the Templars, are sent unto *Elhadech*, to ratifie the Covenants. Now shall we see the greatness of the *Caliph* and his Estate.

These Embassadors were conveighed by the *Soldan* to *Cairo*; where arriving at the Palace, they found it guarded by great troops of Soldiers. The first entrance was through dark Porches, and were kept by many armed Bands of *Æthiopians*, which, with all diligence, did reverence unto the *Soldan*, as he passed along. Through these streights the Warders led them, into goodly open Courts, of such beauty and riches, that they could not retain the gravity of Embassadors, but were enforced to admire the things which detained their Eyes. For there they saw goodly marble Pillars, gilded Beams, all wrought over with Embossed works, curious Pavements, Fish-ponds of Marble with clear Waters, and many sorts of strange Birds, unknown in these parts of the World, as coming perhaps from the *East-Indies*, which then were undiscovered. The further they went, the greater was the magnificence; for the *Caliph* his Eunuchs conveighed them into other Courts within these; as far excelling the former, as the former did surpass ordinary Houses. It were tedious perhaps to rehearse, how, the further they entred, the more high state they found, and cause of marvel; suffice it, that the good Archbishop, who wrote these things, was never held a vain Author. Finally, they were brought into the *Caliph's* own Lodgings, which were yet more stately, and better guarded, where entring the Presence, the *Soldan*, having twice prostrated himself, did the third time cast off his Sword, that he ware about his Neck, and throw himself on the Ground, before the Curtain, behind which the *Caliph* sate. Presently the Traverse, wrought with Gold and Pearls, was opened, and the *Caliph* himself discovered, sitting with great Majesty on a Throne of Gold, having very few of his most inward Servants and Eunuchs about him. When the *Soldan* had humbly kissed his Masters Feet, he briefly told the cause of his coming, the danger wherein the Land stood, and the offers that he had made unto King *Almaricke*, desiring the *Caliph* himself to ratifie them, in presence of the Embassadors. The *Caliph* answered, That he would throughly perform all which was promised. But this contented not the Embassadors: They would have him to give his hand upon the bargain; which the *Ægyptians*, that stood by, thought an impudent request. Yet his greatness condescended at length, after much deliberation, at the earnest request of the *Soldan*, to reach out his hand. When the Earl of *Cæsarea* saw that the *Caliph* gave his hand, neither willingly nor bare, he told him roundly thus much in effect: Sir, Truth seeks no holes to hide it self; Princes, that will hold Covenant, must deal openly, nakedly, and sincerely; Give us therefore your bare hand, if you mean that we shall trust you, for we will make no bargains with your Glove. Much ado there was about this: for it seemed against the Majesty of such a Prince to yield so far. But, when it would none otherwise be, with a smiling chear (though to the great grief of his Servants) he vouchsafed to let the Earl take him by the bare hand; and so rehearsing the Covenants, word by word, as the Earl spake them, he ratified all; dismissing finally the Embassadors, with such rewards as testified his Greatness.

In this *Caliph* and his *Sultan*, we may discern the Image of the ancient *Pharaoh*, and his Viceroy: we see a Prince of great Estate, sitting in his Palace, and not vexing himself with the great preparations made against him, which terrifie his Neighbour Countries: we see his Viceroy, in the mean season, using all Royal power; making War and Peace, entertaining and expelling Armies of Strangers; yea, making the Land of *Ægypt* tributary to a Foreign Prince. What greater Authority was given to *Joseph*, when *Pharaoh* said unto him, *Thou shalt be over mine house, and at thy word shall all my people be armed, only in the Kings throne will I be above thee; Behold, I have set thee over all the Land of Ægypt?*

I do not commend this form of Government; neither can I approve the conjecture of mine Author, where he thinks, that the *Ægyptians*, ever since *Joseph's* time, have felt the burthen of that servitude, which he brought upon them, when he bought them, and their Lands, for *Pharaoh*. Herein I find his judgment good; that he affirms this manner of the *Ægyptian* Kings, in taking their ease, and ruling by a Viceroy, to be part of the ancient Customs, practised by the *Pharaohs*. For we find, that even the *Ptolomies* (excepting *Ptolomæus Lagi*, and his Son *Philadelphus*, Founder and Establisher of that Race) were given, all of them, wholly to please their own Appetites, leaving the charge of the Kingdom to Women, Eunuchs, and other Ministers of their desires. The pleasures which that Country afforded, were indeed sufficient, to invite the Kings thereof unto a voluptuous life; and the awful regard wherein the *Ægyptians* held their Princes, gave them security, whereby they might the better trust their Officers, with so ample Commission. But of this matter I will not stand longer to dispute. It is enough to have shewed, that the great and almost absolute power of the Viceroys Governing *Ægypt*, is set down by *Moses*, and that a lively example of the same is found in *William* of *Tyre*; who lived in the same age; was, in few years after, Chancellor of the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*; and had full discourse with *Hugh* Earl of *Cæsarea*, touching all these matters. Wherefore it remains, that we be not carried away with a vain opinion, to believe that all they were Kings, whom reports of the fabulous *Ægyptians*, have honoured with that style; but rest contented with a Catalogue of such, as we find by circumstance, likely to have reigned in that Country; after whom it follows that we should make enquiry.

§. II.

§. II.

Of Acherres; *whether he were* Uchoreus *that was the eighth from* Osymandyas. *Of* Osymandyas *and his Tomb.*

IN this Business I hold it vain to be too curious. For who can hope to attain to the perfect knowledge of the Truth, when as *Diodorus* varies from *Herodotus*, *Eusebius* from both of them; and late Writers, that have sought to gather the Truth out of these and others, find no one with whom they can agree. In this case *Annius* would do good service, if a man could trust him. But it is enough to be beholding to him, when others do either say nothing, or that which may justly be suspected. I will therefore hold my self contented, with the pleasure that he hath done me, in saying somewhat of *Osiris*, *Isis*, *Orus*, and those Antiquities removed so far out of sight: as for the Kings following the departure of *Israel* out of *Ægypt*, it shall suffice, that *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and *Eusebius*, have not been silent, and that *Reineccius* hath taken pains, to range into some good order the Names that are extant in these, or found scattering in others.

From the departure of *Israel* out of *Ægypt*, unto the Reign of *Thuoris* (who is generally taken to be the same that the *Greeks* call *Proteus*) there is little or no disagreement about the *Ægyptian* Kings. Wherefore I set down the same which are found in *Eusebius*, and give to every one the same length of Reign.

Acherres was the first of these, who succeeded unto *Chenchres*, that perished in the Red Sea. This King seems to *Reineccius* to be the same whom *Diodorus* calls *Uchoreus*, the founder of *Memphis*. But whereas mention is found in *Diodorus* of a great King, named *Osymandyas*, from whom *Uchoreus* is said to be the eighth; it will either hardly follow, that *Timaus* (as *Reineccius* conjectures) was the great *Osymandyas*; or else that this *Acherres* was *Uchoreus*: for the distance between them was more than eight Generations. *Mercator* judgeth *Osymandyas* to have been the Husband of *Acencheres*, *Orus* the second his Daughter; thinking that *Manethon* (cited be *Josephus*) doth omit his Name, and insert his Wives, into the Catalogue of Kings, because he was King in his Wives Right. As for *Uchoreus*, it troubles not *Mercator* to find him the eighth from this Man: for he takes *Ogdous*, not to signifie in this place of *Diodore* (as that *Greek* word else doth) the eighth, but to be an *Ægyptian* Name, belonging also to *Uchoreus*, who might have had two Names, as many of the rest had. I will not vex my Brains in the unprofitable search of this, and the like inextricable doubts. All that *Diodore* hath found of this *Osymandyas*, was wrought upon his Monument; the most thereof in figures, which I think the *Ægyptians* did fabulously expound. For whereas there was pourtraied a great Army, with the siege of a Town, the captivity of the People, and the triumph of the Conquerour; all this, the *Ægyptians* said to denote the Conquest of *Bactria* made by that King: which how likely it was, let others judge. I hold this goodly piece of Work, which *Diodore* so particularly describes, to have been erected for a common place of *Burial*, to the ancient Kings and Queens of *Ægypt*, and to their Vice-Roys; whilst yet they were not so ambitious, as every one to have his own particular Monument, striving therein to exceed all others. This appears by the many Statues, therein placed, by the Wars, the Judgment-Seat, the receiving of Tribute, the offering Sacrifice to God, the accompt of Revenues, and plenty of all Cattel and Food; all which were there curiously wrought, shewing the several Offices of a Governour. On the Tomb of *Osymandyas* was this Inscription, *I am* Osymandyas *King of Kings; If any desire to know what I am, or where I lie, let him exceed some of my Works.* Let them, that hope to exceed his Works, labour to know what he was. But since by those words, *Or where I lie*, it should seem that he lay not there interred, we may lawfully suspect that it was *Joseph* whose Body was preserved among the Hebrews, to be buried in the Land of *Canaan*, and this empty Monument might King *Orus*, who out-lived him, erect in Honour of his high Deserts, among the Royal Sepulchres. To which purpose, the plenty of Cattel, and all manner of Viands, had good reference. The Name *Osymandyas* doth not hinder this conjecture; seeing *Joseph* had one new Name given to him by *Pharaoh*, for expounding the Dream, and might, upon further occasions, have another, to his encrease of Honour. As for that stile, *King of Kings*, it was perhaps no more than *Beglerbeg*, as the *Turkish Bassaes* are called, that is, Great above the Great.

Now although it be so, that the reckoning falls out right, between the times of *Joseph* and *Acherres*, (for *Acherres* was the eighth in order, that reigned after the great *Orus*, whose Vice-Roy *Joseph* was) yet will I hereby seek, neither to fortifie mine own conjecture, as touching *Joseph*, nor to infer any likelihood of *Acherres* his being *Uchoreus*. For it might well be, that *Memphis* was built by some such King, as was *Gehoar*, Lieutenant unto *Caliph Elcain*, who having to his Masters use, conquered *Ægypt*, and many other Countries, did build, not far from old *Memphis*, the great City of *Cairo* (corruptly so pronounced) naming it *El Cahira*, that is, an enforcing, or an imperious Mistress, though he himself were a *Dalmatian* Slave. *John Leo Hist. Af. ic. l. 1. & l. 8*

§. III.

Of Cherres, Armeus, Rameses, *and* Amenophis. *Of* Myris, *and the Lake that bears his Name.*

WHen *Acherres* had reigned eight years, *Cherres* succeeded, and held the Kingdom fifteen years: then reigned *Armeus* five years, and after him *Rameses*, threescore and eight. Of *Armeus* and *Rameses* is that History understood by *Eusebius*, which is common among the *Greeks*, under the Names of *Danaus* and *Ægyptus*. For it is said that *Danaus*, being expelled out of *Ægypt* by his Brother, fled into *Greece*, where he obtained the Kingdom of *Argos*: that he had fifty Daughters, whom upon seeming reconciliation, he gave in Marriage to his Brother's fifty Sons, but commanded every one of them to kill her Husband the first Night; that only *Hypermnestra*, one of his Daughters, did save her Husband *Lynceus*, and suffered him to escape; finally, That for this Fact, all the bloudy Sisters, when they died, were enjoyned this foolish punishment in Hell, to fill a leaking Vessel with Water.

The Reign of *Danaus* in *Argos* was indeed in this age; but that *Armeus*, was *Danaus*; and *Rameses*, *Ægyptus*; is more than *Reineccius* believes: he rather takes *Armeus* to have been *Myris*, or *Meris*, who caused the great Lake to be made which bears his Name. For my own part, as I can easily be-

lieve, that he which fled out of *Ægypt* into *Greece*, was a Man of such quality as the *Soldan Sanar*, of whom we spake before; so do I not find how in so short a Reign, as five years, a Work of that Labour could be finished, which was required unto the Lake of *Myris*, and the Monuments therein; whereof his own Sepulchre and his Wives being some part, it is manifest that he was not buried in *Argos*. Wherefore of *Myris*, and of all other Kings, whose age is uncertain, and of whose Reigns we have no assurance, I may truly say, that their great Works are not enough to prove them of the House of *Pharaoh*, seeing that greater deeds, or more absolute, than were those of *Joseph*, who bought all the People of *Ægypt* as bondmen, and all their Land for Bread; of *Gehoar*, who founded *Cairo*; and of *Sanar*, who made the Country Tributary; were performed by none of them.

It shall therefore be enough to set down the length of their Reigns, whom we find to have followed one another in order of Succession: but in rehearsing the great Acts which were performed, I will not stand to examine, whether they that did them were Kings or no.

The Lake of *Myris* is, by the report of *Diodore* and *Herodotus*, three thousand six hundred Furlongs in compass, and fifty Fadoms deep. It served to receive the Waters of *Nilus*, when the over-flow being too great, was harmful to the Country; and to supply the defect, by letting out the Waters of the Lake, when the River did not rise high enough. In opening the Sluces of this Lake, for the letting in or out of Waters; were spent fifty Talents; but the Lake it self defrayed that Cost; seeing the Tribute imposed upon Fish taken therein, was every day one Talent, which *Myris* gave to his Wife to buy sweet ointments, and other ornaments for her Body. In the midst of it was left an Island, wherein were the Sepulchres of *Myris* and his Wife, and over each of them a Pyramis, that was a furlong, or (according to *Herodotus*) fifty paces high; having on the tops their Statues, sitting in Thrones. I find not the description of this Lake in Maps, answerable to the report of Historians: yet it is very great. The years of *Armeus* are by *Manethon* divided, by inserting one *Armesis* (whom *Eusebius* omits) that should have reigned one year and odd months of the time; but I hold not this difference worthy of examination.

After *Ramesses*, his Son *Amenophis* held the Kingdom forty years. Some give him only nineteen years; and *Mercator* thinks him to have been the King that was drowned in the Red Sea: whereof I have already spoken in the first Book.

§. IV.

Of the Kings that reigned in the Dynasty of the Larthes.

SEthosis, or *Zethus*, reigned after his Father *Amenophis*, fifty five years. To him are ascribed the famous Acts of that ancient *Sesostris*. But the state of the World was not such in these times, that so great an Expedition, as the old *Sesostris* made, could have been either easily performed, or forgotten in the Countries through which he passed, had it now been performed, as any Man will perceive if he look upon my Chronological Table, and consider who lived with this *Zethus*. With this King began the *Dynasty* of the *Larthes*; which *Reyneccius* conjectures to have had the same signification, wherein the old Kings of *Hetruria*, were called *Lartes*, (the *Hetrurians* being illued out of *Lydia*, the *Lydians* out of *Ægypt*) and to have signified as much as *Imperator* or *General*. The Wars in which these Kings were Generals, I take to have been against the *Æthiopians*: for sure I am, that they troubled not the Country of *Palastina*, that lay next unto them on the one hand; nor is it likely that they travelled over the desart Sands, on the other hand, to seek matter of Conquest, in the poor Countries of *Africa*. But these Generals (if the *Larthes* were such) were not many. Five only had that Title; and the last of these took it, perhaps, as hereditary from the first; in such sort as the *Roman* Emperours were proud for a while, to be called *Antonini*, till the most unsutable Conditions of *Heliogabalus*, made his Successors forbear the Name.

Here it may be objected, that the *Dynasties* (as appears by this particular) took Name from the Kings, that the Kings also did administer the Government themselves; and that therefore I am deceived in ascribing so much unto the Vice-Roys. But it is to be considered, that what is said of these *Larthes*, depends only upon conjecture, and that the Authority of the Regents, or Vice-Roys, might be great enough, though some few Kings took the Conduct of Armies into their own hands. For so we find in *John Leo*, that the *Soldan* of *Ægypt* (after such time as the *Soldan Saladine*, murdering the *Caliph*, got the Sovereignty to himself) had under him a Vice-Roy, stiled *Eddagnadare*, who had Authority to place, or displace, any Magistrates, or Officers; and that this Man's Family was almost as great, as the *Soldan's* own. Yet was there also the *Amir Gabir*, or Lord of the *Soldan's* Forces, who had the charge of defending the Land, and might as he thought good spend of the *Soldan's* Treasure. So might the Office of the Vice-Roys continue, though the Kings themselves, taking the Charge, or Title of Generals upon them, did somewhat abridge the greatness of that second place. As for the Names of the *Dynasties*, it skills not whence they were drawn; whether from their Country, as those of the *Thebans* and *Diospolitans*, or from some eminent Men, or Man, who ruled in that time, as many think, that the seventeenth *Dynasty* was called of the Shepherds, because *Joseph* governed in part thereof; or from the Kings themselves that reigned; as this was said to be of the *Larthes* or *Generals*. The next, as *Manetho* (but *Annius* his *Manetho*) hath it, was without any *Larthes* or *Generals*, yet was it not without Kings, forasmuch as *Vaphres*, and *Sesac*, reigned therein, if many others did not. But let us now return to the Business which we left.

John Leo. l. 8.

Ramses was King after *Zethus*, or *Sethosis*, threescore and six years. He is mistaken for that second *Sesostris*, of whom I have spoken in the first Books. I find nothing worth rehearsal of this *Ramses*, or of *Amenophis*, and *Ammenemus*, that followed him in order, the former of which reigned forty, the latter six and twenty years. Wherefore it may well be, that the Name which *Zethus* had from Valour, was taken by these as hereditary.

Thuoris, the last of the *Larthes*, reigned only seven years; yet is he thought to have been that *Proteus*, of whom *Herodotus* hath mention, saying, That he took *Helena* from *Paris*, and after the sack of *Troy*, restored her to *Menelaus*. I need say no more in refutation of this, than that the time of *Thuoris* his Reign, lasted not so long as from the Rape of *Helen* to her Restitution.

This *Proteus* or *Cetes* (as he is named by some) together with *Thon*, and others, mentioned by *Greek* Writers in this Business, or in other such matters, may seem to be under-Officers: for such only

only are like to have had their residency about *Pharos*, and the Sea-coast, where *Menelaus* arrived.

Of *Proteus*, who detained *Helen*, it is said, That he could foretell things to come, and that he could change himself into all Shapes: whereby is signified his crafty Head, for which he is grown into a Proverb. The Poets feigned him a Sea-God, and keeper of *Neptune's* Seal-Fishes, for belike he was some under-Officer to the Admiral, having charge of the Fishing about the Isle of *Pharos*, as was said before.

Remphes, the Son of *Proteus*, is reckoned the next King, by *Diodore*, as also by *Herodotus*, who calls him *Ramsinitus*, and tells a long Tale, fit to please Children, of his covetousness, and how his Treasure-house was robbed by a cunning Thief, that at last married his Daughter. But of this a Man may believe what he lists. How long this King reigned I know not, nor think that either he, or his Father, did reign at all.

§. V.

Of Ægyptian Kings whose Names are found scattering in sundry Authors, their times being not recorded. The Kings of Ægypt, according to Cedrenus. Of Vaphres and Sesac.

MAny other Names of *Ægyptian* Kings, are found scattered here and there; as *Tonepherſobis*, of whom *Suidas* delivers only the bare Name and Title; *Senemures*, or *Senepos*, mentioned in *Macrobius*, who perhaps was the same that by *Suidas* is called *Senjes*, or *Evenes*, noted by occasion of a great Physician that lived under him; *Banchyris*, recorded by the same *Suidas*, for his great Justice; and *Thulis*, of whom *Suidas* tells great matters; as that his Empire extended to the Ocean Sea; that he gave Name to the Isle of *Thule*, which some take to be *Iseland*; and that he consulted with the Devil, or (which is all one) with *Seraphis*, desiring to know, who before him had been, or after him should be so mighty as himself. The answer or confession of the Devil was remarkable; which I find Englished in the Translation of *Plessis* his Work, *Of the Trueness of Christian Religion*. The *Greek* Verses are somewhat otherwise, and more imperfect in those Copies that I have of *Cedrenus* and *Suidas*, but the sense is all one; which is this:

> First *God*, and next *The Word*, and then *The Spirit*,
> Which three be *One*, and joyn in *One* all three:
> Whose force is endless. Get thee hence frail wight,
> The Man of Life unknown excelleth thee.

I should have thought that *Suidas* had borrowed all this of *Cedrenus*, had I not found somewhat more in *Suidas*, than *Cedrenus* hath hereof; as the form of Invocation which *Thulis* used, and that Clause, of his giving Name to the Island: though in this last point I hold *Suidas* to be deceived; as also *Cedrenus* is, or (at least) seems to me, in giving to this King such profound antiquity of Reign. Indeed the very Name of that Book, cited often by *Cedrenus*, which he calls *Little Genesis*, is alone enough to breed suspition of some Imposture: but the Priestly stuff that he alledgeth out of it, is such as would serve to discredit himself, were it not otherwise apparent, that he was a Man both devout, and of good judgment, in matters that fell within his compass. I will here set down the List of old *Ægyptian* Kings delivered by him, and leave the censure to others.

The first King of *Ægypt* that he sets down is *Mizraim*, the Son of *Cham*. After him he finds many of a new Race, deriving their Pedigree thus: *Nimrod*, the Son of *Chus*, was also called *Orion*; and further, took upon him the Name of the Planet *Saturn*, had to Wife *Semiramis*, who was of his own Lineage, and by her three Sons; *Picus*, surnamed *Jupiter*, *Belus* and *Ninus*. *Picus* chasing his Father out of *Assyria* into *Italy*, reigned in his stead thirty years, and then gave up that Kingdom to *Juno* his Sister and Wife, and to *Belus* his Son: after which *Belus*, who reigned only two years, *Ninus* had the Kingdom, and married his own Mother *Semiramis*. But *Picus* went into *Italy*, to visit his old Father *Saturn*; *Saturn* forthwith resigned the Kingdom to him. *Picus Jupiter* reigned in *Italy* threescore and two years, had threescore and ten Wives or Concubines, and about as many Children: finally died, and lies buried in the Isle of *Crete*. The principal of *Jupiter's* Sons were *Faunus*, *Perseus*, and *Apollo*. *Faunus* was called by the Name of the Planet *Mercury*: he reigned in *Italy*, after his Father, five and thirty years: and then (finding that all his Brethren conspired against him) he went into *Ægypt*, with abundance of Treasure; where, after the death of *Mizraim*, he got the Kingdom, and held it nine and thirty years. After *Mercury*, *Vulcan* reigned in *Ægypt* four years and a half. Then *Sol*, the Son of *Vulcan*, reigned twenty years and a half. There followed in order *Sosis*, *Osiris*, *Orus*, and *Thules*, of whom we spake before: the length of their several Reigns is not set down. After *Thules*, was the great *Sesostris* King twenty years. His Successor was *Pharaoh*, called *Narecho*, that held the Crown fifty years, with which there passed from him the Surname of *Pharaoh*, to a very long Posterity.

These reports of *Cedrenus* I hold it enough to set down as I find them: let their credit rest upon the Author.

Others yet we find, that are said to have reigned in *Ægypt*, without any certain note, when, or how long: about whom I will not labour, as fearing more to be reprehended of vain curiosity, in the search made after these already rehearsed, than of negligence, in omitting such as might have been added.

Vaphres, the Father-in-law to *Salomon*; and *Sesac*, the afflicter of *Rehoboam*, lead us again into fair way, but not far. The Name of *Vaphres* is not found in the Scriptures; but we are beholding to *Clemens Alexandrinus* and *Eusebius* for it. These give us not the length of his Reign; but we know, that he lived in the times of *David* and of *Salomon*. He came into *Palestina* with an Army, took *Gezer* from the *Canaanites*, and gave it to his Daughter, *Salomon's* Wife: though for her sake perhaps it was, that in time following either he, or (as I rather take it) *Sesac* his Son did favour the enemies of *Salomon*, who kept so many Wives and Concubines, besides this *Ægyptian* Princess. In the Life of *Rehoboam* all hath been written that I find of *Sesac*, excepting the length of his Reign, which must have been six and twenty years, if he were that *Smendis* with whom *Eusebius* begins the one and twentieth *Dynasty*.

Clem. Strom. l. 1. Euseb. de Prep. Evang. l. 9. cap. 4.

1 King. 9. 16. & 11. vers. 18, 19, &c.

Now forasmuch as it would serve to no great purpose, that we knew the length of *Sesac* his Reign, and of theirs that followed him, unless therewithall we knew the beginning of *Sesac*, upon which the rest have dependance; this course I take. From the Fourth year of *Jehoiakim*, King of *Juda*, in which *Pharaoh Necho* was slain, I reckon upwards the years of the same *Necho*, and of his Prede-

cessors,

ceſſors, unto the beginning of *Seſac*: by which accompt, the firſt year of *Seſac* is found, concurrent with the twentieth of *Solomon*'s Reign, and the twenty ſixth of *Seſac* with the fifth of *Rehoboam*: wherein *Seſac* ſpoiled the Temple, and died, enjoying the fruits of his Sacriledge no longer, than *Joas* the *Iſraelite*, and *Craſſus* the *Roman* did; who, after him, ſpoiled the Temple of *Jeruſalem*.

To fill up the time between *Seſac* and *Necho*, I have rather taken thoſe Kings that I find in the *Greek* Hiſtorians, than them which are in *Euſebius* his Catalogue. For of thoſe that are delivered by *Euſebius*, we find no Name nor Act recorded elſewhere ſave only of *Bocchoris*, who is remembred by *Diodore*, *Plutarch*, and others; much being ſpoken of him, that makes him appear to have been a King. Hereunto I may add, that the Succeſſion is often interrupted in *Euſebius* by *Æthiopians*, which got the Kingdom often, and held it long: whereas contrariwiſe it appears by the Prophet *Eſay*, that the Counſellors of *Pharaoh* did vaunt of the long and flouriſhing continuance of that Houſe, inſomuch, that they ſaid of *Pharaoh*,

Iſa. 19. 11. *I am the Son of the Wiſe, I am the Son of the ancient King.* But that which overthrows the reckoning of *Euſebius*, is, the good agreement of it with his miſtaken times of the Kings of *Juda*. For though it pleaſe him well to ſee how the Reigns of *Joſias* and *Neco* meet by his computation, yet this indeed marrs all; the Reign of *Joſias* being miſplaced. This Error grows from his omitting, to compare the Reigns of the Kings of *Juda* with theirs of *Iſrael*: by which occaſion, *Joram*, King of *Iſrael*, is made to reign three years after *Ahazia* of *Juda*; *Samaria* is taken by *Salmanaſſar* before *Hezekia* was King: and in a word, all, or moſt of the Kings, have their beginnings placed in ſome other year of their collaterals than the Scriptures have determined.

§. VI.

Of Chemmis, Cheops, Cephrenes, *and other Kings recited by* Herodotus *and* Diodorus Siculus, *which reigned between the times of* Rehoboam *and* Ezekia.

FOllowing therefore the *Greek* Hiſtorians, I place *Chemmis*, or (according to *Diodore*) *Chembis*, firſt in the rank of thoſe that were Kings after *Seſac*. He reigned fifty years, and built the greateſt of the three *Pyramids*, which was accompted one of this Worlds Wonders. The *Pyramis* hath his Name from the Shape, in that it reſembleth a flame of Fire, growing from the bottom upwards, narrower and narrower to the top. This of *Chemmis* being four-ſquare, had a Baſe of ſeven acres every way, and was above ſix acres high. It was of a very hard and durable Stone, which had laſted, when *Diodore* ſaw it, about a thouſand years, without complaining of any injury that it had ſuffered by Weather in ſo long a ſpace. From the Reign of *Chemmis*, unto the age of *Auguſtus Ceſar*, wherein *Diodore* lived, are indeed a thouſand years; which gives the better likelihood unto this time wherein *Chemmis* is placed. As for this and other *Pyramids*, late Writers teſtifie, that they have ſeen them yet ſtanding.

Diodor. l. 1. Herod. l. 2. After *Chemmis*, *Diodore* placeth *Cephrenes* his Brother; but doubtfully, and enclining rather to the opinion, that his Son *Chabreus* ſucceeded. *Herodotus* hath *Cheops* (who might be *Chabreus*) and *Cephrenes* after him. Theſe are ſaid to have been Brethren; but the length of their Reigns may argue the latter to have been Son to the former: for *Cheops* reigned fifty years; *Cephrenes* fifty ſix. Theſe were, as *Chemmis* had been, builders of Pyramids, whereby they purchaſed great hatred of their people, who already had over-laboured themſelves in erecting the firſt. Theſe Pyramids were ordained to be Tombs, for thoſe that raiſed them; but the malice of the *Ægyptians* is ſaid to have caſt out their Bodies, and to have called their Monuments by the Name of an Herdſman, that kept his Beaſts thereabouts. It may be, that the robbing them of their Honour, and entituling a poor Fellow to their Works, was held to be the caſting out of their Bodies: otherwiſe it is hard to conceive, how it might be, that they, who had not power to avoid the like ſlavery laid upon them by the younger Brother, or Son, ſhould have power or leiſure to take ſuch revenge upon his Predeceſſor. To the like malice may be aſcribed the Tale deviſed againſt *Cheops* his Daughter; that her Father, wanting Money, did proſtitute her, and that ſhe, getting of every Man that accompanied her, one Stone, did build with them a fourth Pyramis, that ſtood in the midſt of the other three. Belike ſhe was an inſolent Lady, and made them follow their drudgery, for her ſake, longer a while than they thought to have done, in raiſing a Monument, with the ſuperfluity of her Father's proviſions. Diod. Herod.

Mycerinus, the Son of *Cephrenes*, reigned after his Father ſix years. He would have built as his foregoers did, but prevented by death, finiſhed not what he had begun. The People thought him a good King, for that he did ſet open the Temples, which *Cheops* and *Cephrenes* had kept ſhut. But an Oracle threatned him with a ſhort Life of ſix years only, becauſe of his devotion; *For* (ſaid the Oracle) *Ægypt ſhould have been afflicted an hundred and fifty years, which thy Predeceſſors knew, and performed for their parts, but thou haſt releaſed it, therefore ſhalt thou live but ſix years.* It is very ſtrange, that the Gods ſhould be offended with a King for his Piety; or that they ſhould decree to make a Country impious, when the People were deſirous to ſerve them; or that they having ſo decreed, it ſhould lie in the power of a King, to alter Deſtiny, and make the Ordinance of the Gods to fail in taking full effect. But theſe were *Ægyptian* Gods. The true GOD was, doubtleſs, more offended with the reſtitution of ſuch Idolatry, than with the interruption. And who knows, whether *Chemmis* did not learn ſomewhat at *Jeruſalem*, in the laſt year of his Father *Seſac*, that made him perceive, and deliver to thoſe that followed him, the vanity of his *Ægyptian* Superſtition? Sure it is that his Reign, and the Reigns of *Cheops*, and *Cephrenes*, were more long and more happy, than that of *Mycerinus*, who, to delude the Oracle, revelled away both Days and Nights, as if by keeping Candles lighted, he had changed his Nights into Days, and ſo doubled the time appointed: a ſervice more pleaſing to the Devil, than the reſtitution of Idolatry durſt then ſeem, when it could ſpeed no better. I find in *Reineccius* fifty years aſſigned to this King; which I verily believe to have been ſome errour of the Print, though I find it not corrected among other ſuch over-ſights: for I know no Author that gives him ſo many years, and *Reineccius* himſelf takes notice of the Oracle, that threatned *Mycerinus* with a ſhort Life, as is before ſhewed.

1 King. 14. 25. 2 Chron. 12. v. 2.

Rhampſinitus

Bocchoris is placed next unto *Mycerinus*, by *Diodore*, who speaks no more of him than this, that he was a strong Man of Body, and excelling his Predecessors in wit. He is spoken of by divers Authors, as one that loved Justice; and may be taken for that *Banchyris*, whom *Suidas* commends in that kind: *Eusebius* reckons four and forty years of his Reign.

After *Bocchoris*, one *Sabacus* an *Æthiopian* follows, in the Catalogue of *Diodore*; but certain ages after him. *Herodotus*, quite omitting *Bocchoris*, hath *Asychis*; who made a sharp Law (as it was then held) against bad Debtors, that their dead Bodies should be in the Creditors disposition, till the debt were payed. This *Asychis* made a Pyramis of Brick, more costly and fair, in his own judgment, than any of those that the former Kings had raised. Besides this *Asychis*, *Herodotus* placeth one *Anysis*, a blind Man, before the *Æthiopian*. The Reigns of these two are perhaps those many ages, which the *Ægyptians*, to magnifie their Antiquities, accounted between *Bocchoris* and him that followed them. But all this could make but six years; and so long doth *Funccius*, so long doth *Reineccius* hold, that these two Kings, between them both, did govern. If any Man would lengthen this time, holding it unprobable, that the Reigns of two Kings should have been so soon spent; he may do it by taking some years from *Sethon* or *Psammeticus*, and adding them to either of these: To add unto these, without subtracting from some other, would breed a manifest inconvenience: forasmuch as part of *Sesac* his Reign, must have been in *the fifth of Rehoboam*; as also the last of *Pharaoh Neco* was the fourth of *Jehoiakim*, and the first of *Nebuchadnezzar*. For mine own part I like it better to allow six years only to these two Kings, than to lose the witness of *Herodotus*, who, concurring herein with the Scriptures, doth speak of *Senacherib*'s War: at which time *Sethon* was King of *Ægypt*. I will not therefore add years unto these obscure names; for by adding unto these Men three years, we shall thrust the beginning of *Sethon* out of place, and make it later than the death of *Senacherib*. In regard of this agreement of *Herodotus* with the Scriptures, I am the more willing to hold with him, in his *Ægyptian* Kings. Otherwise it were a matter of no great envy, to leave both *Asychis* and *Anysis* out of the Roll; which were easily done, by placing *Sesac* lower, and extending his life yet six years further, or more, (if the like abridgment shall be required of *Psammeticus* his Reign) into the years of *Rehoboam*.

1 *King.* 14. 25. 2 *Chron.* 12. 1. 2.

Of *Sabacus* the *Æthiopian*, who took the Kingdom from *Amyrtis*, it is agreed by the most, that he reigned fifty years. He was a merciful Prince, not punishing all capital offences with death, but imposing bondage and bodily labour upon Malefactors; by whose toil he both got much Wealth into his own hands, letting out their service to hire, and performed many works, of more use than pomp, to the singular benefit of the Country. *Zonaras* calls this King *Sua*, the Scriptures call him *So*. *Hosea*, the last King of *Israel*, made a League with him against *Salmanassar*, little to his good: for the *Ægyptian* was more rich than warlike, and therefore his friendship could not preserve the *Israelite* from destruction.

It seems, that the encroaching power of the *Assyrian*, grew terrible to *Ægypt* about these times; the Victories of *Tiglath Phulassar*, and *Salmanassar*, having eaten so far into *Syria*, in the Reign of this one King *So* or *Sabacus*. Yea, perhaps it was in his days (for his Reign began in the fourth of *Menahem*) that *Phul* himself did make the first entrance into *Palestina*. This caused *So* to animate the half subdued People, against their Conquerors; but the help which he and his Successor gave them was so faint, that *Senacherib*'s Embassador compared the *Ægyptian* succour to a broken Staff of Reed. Such indeed had *Hosea* found it, and such *Ezekia* might have found it, had he not been supported by the stronger Staff of Him, that rules all Nations with a Rod of Iron. It appears by the words of *Rabsake*, that the opinion was great in *Juda*, of the *Ægyptian* Forces, *for Chariots and Horse men*; but this power, whatsoever it was, grew needful, within a little while, for the defence of *Ægypt* it self, which *So* left unto *Sethon* his Successor, having now fulfilled the fifty years of his Reign. *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* have both one tale, from the relation of *Ægyptian* Priests, concerning the departure of this King; saying, that he left the Country, and willingly retired into *Æthiopia*, because it was often signified unto him in his Dreams, by the God which was worshipped at *Thebes*, that his Reign should be neither long nor prosperous, unless he slew all the Priests in *Ægypt*; which rather than to do, he resigned his Kingdom. Surely these *Ægyptian* Gods were of a strange quality, that so ill rewarded their Servants, and invited Kings to do them wrong. Well might the *Ægyptians* (as they likewise did) worship Dogs as Gods, when their chief Gods had the property of Dogs, which love their Masters the better for beating them. Yet to what end the Priests should have feigned this tale, I cannot tell; and therefore I think that it might be some device, of the fearful old Man, who seeing his Realm in danger of an Invasion, sought an honest excuse for his departure out of it, and withdrawing himself into *Æthiopia*, where he had been bred in his Youth. What if one should say, that the *Æthiopia* into which he went, was none other than *Arabia*, whereof *Tirhaka* the King (perhaps at the instigation of this Man) raised an Army against *Senacherib*, when he meant to invade *Ægypt*, within two or three years after? But I will not trouble my self with such enquiry. This I hold, that *So*, or *Sabacus*, was not indeed an *Æthiopian* (for in his time lived the Prophet *Esay*, who mentioneth the Antiquity of *Pharaoh*'s House) but only so surnamed for his education, and because issuing from thence, he got the Kingdom from *Anysis*, who was his opposite. The quiet and mild form of his Government; his holding the Kingdom so long without an Army; and many other circumstances argue no less. But whether finally he betook to a private life, or whether he forewent his Life and Kingdom at once, being now very old, it is time that we leave him, and speak of *Sethon* his next Successor, who is omitted by *Diodore*, but remembred by *Herodotus*, by a sure token of his having been King.

2 *King.* 18. 24.

§. VII.

Of Sethon *who reigned with* Ezekia, *and sided with him against* Senacherib.

THE first year of *Sethon*'s Reign falls into the twelfth of *Ezekia*, which was the fifth of *Senacherib*. It was a troublesome age, and full of danger; the two great Kingdoms of *Assyria* and *Ægypt*, being then engaged in a War, the issue whereof was to determine whether of them should rule or serve. The *Assyrian* had the better Men of War; the *Ægyptian* better provision of necessaries: the *Assyrian* more Subjects; the *Ægyptian*, more Friends among the new conquered half

half Subjects of *Assur*, many that were *Ægyptian* in heart, though *Assyrian* in outward shew.

Of this last sort were *Ezekia*, and his People; who, knowing how much it concerned *Pharaoh*, to protect them against his own great Enemy, preferred the friendship of so near and mighty a Neighbour, before the service of a terrible, yet far removed King. But herein was great difference, between *Ezekia* and his Subjects: For the good King, fixing his especial confidence in God, held that course of policy, which he thought most likely to turn to the benefit of his Country: the Multitude of *Judæa*, looking into the fair hopes which this *Ægyptian* League promised, were puffed up with vain conceits, thinking that all was safe, and that now they should not need to fear any more of those injuries, which they had suffered by the *Assyrians*, and so became forgetful of God, *taking* Esay 30. 1. *counsel but not of him.* The Prophet *Esay* complained much of this presumption; giving the People of *Juda* to understand, That *the Ægyptians were men, and not God, and their horses flesh, and not Spirit*; that God himself should defend *Israel* upon Esay 31. repentance, and that *Assur should fall by the sword, but* v. 3, & 8. *not of man.* As for the *Ægyptians* (said the Pro- Esay 30. 7. phet) *they are vanity, and they shall help in vain, their* Esay 3, 4. *strength is to sit still.*

According to the Prophets words it came to pass. For in the Treaty of Confederacy that was held at *Zoan*, all manner of contentment and assurance was given to the *Jews*, by *Sethon*, or his Agents, who filled them with such reports, of Horses and Chariots, that they did *not look* (as *Esay* saith) Esay 31. *unto the holy one of Israel, nor seek unto the Lord. But* 1. 2. *he yet is wisest.*

After a while came *Senacherib* with his Army, and wakened them out of these Dreams; for *Sethon* their good Neighbour, as near as he was, did seem far off, being unready, when his help was most needful. It may seem that he purposed, rather to make *Palæstina* than *Ægypt* the Stage, whereon this great War should be acted, and was not without hope, that the *Assyrians* and *Jews*, weakening one another, should yield unto him a fair advantage over both. Yet he fought with mony; for he sent Horses and Camels laden with Treasure, to Esay 30. 6. hire the *Arabians*, whom *Esay* calleth *a people that cannot profit.* These *Arabians* did not profit indeed; for (besides that it seems by the same place of *Esay*, that the rich Treasures miscarried, and fell into the Enemies hands before any help appeared from *Tirhaca*) all the strong Cities of *Juda* were taken by *Senacherib*, except *Libna*, *Lachis*, and *Jerusalem* it self, which were in sore distress, till the Sword of God, and not of Man, defeated the *Assyrian*, who did go, *for fear, to his Tower*, that Esay 37. 9. is, he fled to *Ninive*, where he was slain.

Concerning this expedition of *Senacherib*, *Herodotus* takes this notice of it; That it was purposed against *Ægypt*, where the Men of War, being offended with *Sethon* their King, who had taken away their allowance, refused to bear Arms in defence of him and the Country: that *Sethon* being *Vulcan's* Priest, bemoaned himself to his God, who by Dream promised to send him helpers: that hereupon *Sethon*, with such as would follow him, (which were Crafts-men, Shop-keepers, and the like) marched towards *Pelusium*; and that a great Multitude of Field-mice entring the Camp of *Senacherib* by Night, did [illegible] Bows, Quivers, and Straps of his Men [illegible] that they were fain the next Day to flee away in haste, finding themselves disarmed. In [illegible] of (saith *Herodotus*) the Statue of this King was set up in the Temple of *Vulcan*, holding a [illegible] in his hand, with this Inscription: *Let him, that beholds me, serve God.* Such was the relation of the *Ægyptian* Priests, wherein how far they swerved from the Truth, being desirous to magnifie their own King, it may easily be perceived. It seems that this Image of *Sethon* was fallen down, and the tale forgotten in *Diodorus* his time, or else perhaps, the Priests did forbear to tell it him (which caused him to omit it) for that the Nation of the *Jews* was then well known to the World, whereof every Child could have told, how much falsehood had been mingled with the truth.

We find this History agreeable to the Scriptures, thus far forth: That *Senacherib* King of the *Assyrians*, and *Arabians*, (so *Herodotus* calleth him: the *Syrians*, or peradventure some borderers upon *Syria*, being meant by the name of *Arabians*) lived in this age, made War upon *Ægypt*, and was miraculously driven home. As for that exploit of the Mice, and the great pleasure that *Vulcan* did unto his Priest; happy it was (if *Sethon* were a Priest) that he took his God now in so good a mood. For within three or four years before this, all the Priests in *Ægypt* should have been slain, if a merciful King had not spared their lives, as it were half against the Gods Will. Therefore this last good turn was not enough to serve as an example, that might stir up the *Ægyptians* to Piety, seeing that their Devotion, which had lasted so long before, did bring all the Priests into danger of such a bad reward. Rather I think, that this Image did represent *Senacherib* himself, and that the Mouse in his hand, signified Hieroglyphically (as was the *Ægyptian* manner of expressing things) the shameful issue of his terrible expedition, or the destruction of his Army, by means which came, no Man knew from whence. For the vengeance of God, shewed upon this ungodly King, was indeed a very good motive to Piety. But the Emblem, together with the Temple of *Vulcan* (being perhaps the chief Temple in that Town where this Image was erected) might give occasion to such a Fable; the Devil helping to change the Truth into a lye, that God might be robbed of his honour. Yet that we may not belye the Devil, I hold it very likely, that *Sethon*, finding himself in danger, did call upon his Gods, that is, upon *Vulcan*, *Serapis*, or any to whom he had most Devotion. But so had other of his Predecessors done in the like need: yet which of them had obtained succour by the like Miracle? Surely the *Jews* (even such of them as most were given to Idolatry) would have been ashamed of the confidence which they reposed, *in the Chariots of Ægypt, because they were many, and* Esay 31. 1. *in the horse-men, because they were very strong*; had it been told them, that *Sethon*, instead of sending those Horse-men and Chariots, was beseeching *Vulcan*, to send him and them good luck, or else (for these also were *Ægyptian* Gods) addressing his Prayers to some Onyon or Cat. Howsoever it was, doubtless the Prophecy of *Esay* took effect, Esay 30. 5. which said, *They shall be all ashamed of the people that cannot profit them, nor help, nor do them good, but shall be a shame, and also a reproach.* Such is commonly the issue of humane wisdom, when resting secure upon provision that it self hath made, it will no longer seem to stand in need of God.

Some there are who take *Sethon* to have been set down by *Eusebius*, under the name of *Tarachus* the *Æthiopian*; and therefore the twenty years which are given to *Tarachus*, they allow to the Reign of *Sethon*. These have well observed, that *Tarachus* the *Æthiopian* is mentioned in the Scriptures, not as a King of *Ægypt*, but as a Friend to that Country, or at least an Enemy to *Senacherib*, in the War [illegible] last

last spoken of: the *Æthiopians* (as they are Englished) over which he reigned, being indeed *Chusites* or *Arabians*. Hereupon they suppose aright, that *Eusebius* hath mistaken one King for another. But whereas they think, that this *Tarachus* or *Tirhaka*, is placed in the room of *Sethon*, and therefore give to *Sethon* the twenty years of *Tarachus*, I hold them to have erred on the other hand. For this *Æthiopian* (as he is called) began his Reign over *Ægypt*, by *Eusebius* his accompt, after the death of *Sennacherib* and of *Ezekia*, in the first year of *Manasses* King of *Juda*. Therefore he, or his years, have no reference to *Sethon*.

Herodotus forgets to tell how long *Sethon* reigned; *Funccius* peremptorily, citing no Author, nor alledging Reason for it, sets him down thirty three years; many omit him quite; and they that name him, are not careful to examine his continuance. In this case, I follow that Rule which I propounded unto my self at the first, for measuring the Reigns of these *Ægyptian* Kings. The years which passed from the fifth of *Reheboam*, unto the fourth of *Jehoiakim*, I so divide among the *Ægyptians*, that giving to every one the proportion allowed unto him by the Author in whom he is found, the rest is to be conferred upon him whose length of Reign is uncertain; that is upon this *Sethon*. By this accompt I find the thirty three years, that are set down by *Funccius*, to agree very nearly, if not precisely, with the time of *Sethon*'s Reign; therefore I conform my own Reckoning to his, though I could be content to have it one year less. The reason of this computation I shall render more at large, when I arrive at the time of *Psammiticus*, whereupon it hath much dependance, and whereinto the course of this History will shortly bring me; the *Ægyptian* Affairs growing now to be enterlaced with the matters of *Juda*, to which it is meet that I return.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of MANASSES, *and his Contemporaries.*

§. I.

The wickedness of MANASSES. *His Imprisonment, Repentance, and Death.*

MANASSES, the Son of *Ezekias*, forgetting the Piety of his Father, and the Prosperity which followed him, set up, repaired, adorned, and furnished, all the Altars, Temples, and high Places, in which the Devil was by the *Heathen* worshipped. Besides, he himself esteemed the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars, with all the host of Heaven, as Gods, and worshipped them: and of all his Acts the most abominable was, that he burnt his Sons for a Sacrifice to the Devil *Moloch*, or *Melchor*, in the Valley of *Hinnon*, *Benhennon*: wherein was kindled the fire of Sacrifice to the Devils.

He also gave himself to all kind of Witchcraft and Sorcery, accompanied and maintained those that had familiar Spirits, and all sorts of Enchanters: besides, he shed so much innocent blood, as *Jerusalem* was repleni shed therewith, from corner to corner. For all his vices and abominations, when he was reprehended by that aged and reverent Prophet *Esay* (who was also of the King's race, and as the *Jews* affirm, the Father-in-law of the King) he caused the Prophet near unto the Fountain of *Siloe* to be sawn in sunder, with a wooden Saw, in the eightieth year of his Life: a cruelty more barbarous and monstrous than hath been heard of. The Scriptures indeed are silent hereof, yet the same is confirmed by *Epiphanius*, *Isidore*, *Eusebius*, and others, too many to rehearse, and too good to be suspected. *Therefore the Lord brought upon them the Captains of the Host of the Kings of Assur, which took Manasses, and put him in Fetters, and bound him in Chains, and carried him to Babel*: Where after he had lien twenty years as a Captive, and despoiled of all Honour and Hope; yet to his hearty Repentance and continual Prayer, the God of infinite mercy had respect, and moved the *Assyrians* heart to deliver him.

Jus. Mart. Cedrenus kap. 91. Glycas pag. 275. Tertull. de Pat.

2 Chron. §3. 11.

It is also likely that *Merodach*, because he loved his Father *Ezekias*, was the easilier perswaded to restore *Manasses* to his Liberty and Estate. After which, and when he was again established, remembring the miseries which followed his wickedness, and God's great mercies towards him, he changed form, detested his former fooolish and deviliish Idolatry, and cast down the Idols of his own erection, prepared the Altar of God, and sacrificed thereon. He repaired a great part of *Jerusalem*: and died after the long Reign of fifty five years. *Glycas* and *Suidas* report, that *Manasse* was held in a Case of Iron by the *Assyrians*: and therein fed with Bread of Bran and Water, which Men may believe as it shall please their Fancies.

§. II.

Of Troubles in Ægypt *following the death of* Sethon. *The Reign of* Psammiticus.

THat the wickedness of King *Manasses* was the cause of the evil, which fell upon his Kingdom and Person, any Christian must needs believe: for it is affirmed in the Scriptures. Yet was the state of things, in those parts of the World, such, at that time, as would have invited any Prince (and did perhaps invite *Merodach*, who fulfilled God's pleasure, upon respect born to his own ends) desirous of enlarging his Empire, to make attempt upon *Juda*. For the Kingdom of *Ægypt*, which was become the pillar, whereon the state of *Juda* leaned, about these times was miserably distracted with civil dissention, and after two years, ill amended by a division of the Government between twelve Princes. After some good agreement between these, eleven of them fell out with the twelfth of their Collegues, and were all finally subdued by him, who made himself absolute King of all. This *Interregnum*, or mere *Anarchy*, that was in *Ægypt*, with the division of the Kingdom following it, is placed by *Diodore*, who omitteth *Sethon*, between the Reigns of *Sabacus*, and *Psammiticus*: but *Herodotus* doth set the *Aristocracy*, or twelve Governours, immediately before

fore *Pſammiticus*, who was one of them, and after *Sethon*.

The occaſion of this diſſention ſeems to have been the uncertainty of Title to that Kingdom (for that the Crown of *Ægypt* paſſed by ſucceſſion of Blood, I have often ſhewed) which ended, for a while, by the partition of all among twelve, though things were not ſettled, until one had obtained the Sovereignty.

Theſe twelve Rulers governed fifteen years, in good ſeeming agreement, which to preſerve, they made ſtrait Covenants and Alliances one with another, being jealous of their Eſtate, becauſe an Oracle had foretold, that one of them ſhould depoſe all the reſt, noting him by this Token, that he ſhould make a Drink-offering, in *Vulcan's* Temple, out of a Copper Goblet. Whilſt this Unity laſted, they joyned together in raiſing a Monument of their Dominion, which was a Labyrinth, built near unto the Lake of *Mœris*; a Work ſo admirable, that (as *Herodotus*, who beheld it, affirms) no words could give it commendation, anſwerable to the ſtateline's of the Work it ſelf. I will not here ſet down that unperfect Deſcription, which *Herodotus* makes of it, but think enough to ſay, that he prefers it far before the Pyramids, one of which (as he ſaith) excelled the Temple of *Diana* at *Epheſus*, or any of the faireſt Works in *Greece*. *Diodorus* reports this Labyrinth to have been the Work of *Marus*, or *Menides* a King which lived five Generations before *Proteus*, that is, before the War of *Troy*, and from this Labyrinth (ſaith he) *Dædalus* took the Pattern of that which he made for *Minos* in *Creet*. Who this *Marus* or *Menides* was, I cannot tell. *Reineccius* takes him to have been *Annemenes*, who reigned immediately before *Thuoris*. But this agrees not with *Diodore*: for *Dædalus* and *Minos* were both dead long before *Annemenes* was King. Belike *Reineccius*, deſiring to accommodate the fabulous Relations of *Manethon*, *Cheremon*, and others, that are found in *Joſephus*, touching *Amenophis* and his Children, to the ſtory of *Amaſis*, and *Abiſanes* the *Æthiopian*, mentioned by *Diodore*; held it conſequent, after he had conjectured *Manethon's Amenophis*, to be *Diodorus* his *Amaſis*, that *Sethon* ſhould be *Abiſanes*, and that *Annemenes* ſhould be *Marus*. If in this caſe I might intrude a conjecture; the times which we now handle, are thoſe, about which *Reineccius* hath erred in making ſearch; *Amaſis* was *Aryſis*; *Abiſanes* was *Sabacus*; and *Marus* was one of theſe twelve Princes, to whom *Herodotus* gives the honour of building this famous Labyrinth. For *Abiſanes* the *Æthiopian* depoſed *Amaſis*; *Sabacus* the *Æthiopian* depoſed *Anyſis*; *Abiſanes* governed well, and was mild in puniſhing Offenders; ſo likewiſe was *Sabacus*; *Marus* the next King after *Abiſanes* built this Labyrinth; and the next (ſaving *Sethon*, whom *Diodore* omits, as having not heard of him) that ruled after *Sabacus*, performed the ſame Work, according to *Herodotus*, who was more likely to hear the Truth, as living nearer to the Age wherein it was performed. The variety of names, and difference of times wherein *Diodore* believed the Prieſt, might be a part of the *Ægyptian* Vanity, which was familiar with them, in multiplying their Kings, and boaſting of their Antiquities. Here I might add, that the twelve great Halls, Parlours, and other Circumſtances remembred by *Herodotus*, in ſpeaking of this Building, do help to prove, that it was the work of theſe great Princes. But I haſten to their end.

Joſ. cont. App. l. 1.

At a ſolemn Feaſt in *Vulcan's* Temple, when they were to make their Drink-offerings, the Prieſt, forgetting himſelf, brought forth no more than eleven Cups. Hereupon *Pſammiticus*, who ſtanding laſt, had not a Cup, took off his braſen Helmet, and therewith ſupplied the want. This cauſed all the reſt to remember the Oracle, and to ſuſpect him as a Traitor; yet, when they found that it was not done by him upon ſet purpoſe, or ill intent, they forbare to kill him, but, being jealous of their Eſtate, they baniſhed him into the mariſh Countries by the Sea-ſide. This Oracle, and the event, is held by *Diodore* as a Fable, which I believe to have been none other: In the reſt *Herodotus* and *Diodore* agree, ſaying, that *Pſammiticus* hired Souldiers out of *Caria* and *Ionia*, by whoſe aid he vanquiſhed his Companions, and made himſelf ſole King.

The years of his Reign, according to *Herodotus*, were fifty four; according to *Euſebius*, forty four; *Mercator*, to reconcile theſe two, gives forty four years to his ſingle Reign, and ten to his Ruling, jointly with the Princes before ſpoken of. Indeed, he that was admitted, being a Man grown (for he cannot in reaſon be ſuppoſed to have been then a young Fellow) into the number of the twelve Governours, muſt be thought to have lived unto extream old Age, if he ruled partly with others, partly alone, threeſcore and nine years. I therefore yield rather to *Euſebius*; but will not adventure to cut five years from the *Ariſtocracy*: though peradventure *Pſammiticus* was not at firſt one of the twelve, but ſucceeded (either by Election, or as next of Blood) into the place of ſome Prince that died, and was ten years Companion in that Government.

Euſeb.

Another ſcruple there is, though not great, which troubles this Reckoning. The years of theſe *Ægyptians*, as we find them ſet down, are more by one, than ſerve to fill up the time, between the fifth of *Rehoboam*, and the fourth of *Jehoiakim*. This may not be. Wherefore either we muſt abate one year from *Sethon's* Reign; that was of uncertain length; or elſe (which I had rather do; becauſe *Functius* may have followed better Authority than I know, or than himſelf alledgeth, in giving to *Sethon* a time ſo nearly agreeing with the Truth) we muſt confound the laſt year of one Reign, with the firſt of another. Such a ſuppoſition were not inſolent. For no Man can ſuppoſe, that all the Kings, or any great part of them, which are ſet down in Chronological Tables, reigned preciſely ſo many years as are aſcribed unto them, without any Fractions: it is enough to think, that the ſurpluſage of one Man's time, ſupplied the defect of another's. Wherefore I confound the laſt year of theſe fifteen, wherein the twelve Princes ruled, with the firſt of *Pſammiticus*; who ſurely did not fall out with his Companions, fight with them, and make himſelf Lord alone, all in one day.

Joſ. l. 10

Concerning this King, it is recorded, that he was the firſt in *Ægypt*, who entertained any ſtrait Amity with the *Greeks*; that he retained in pay his Mercenaries of *Caria*, *Ionia*, and *Arabia*, to whom he gave large Rewards and Poſſeſſions; and that he greatly offended his *Ægyptian* Souldiers, by beſtowing them in the left Wing of his Army, whilſt his Mercenaries held the right Wing (which was the more honourable place) in an Expedition that he made into *Syria*. Upon this diſgrace it is ſaid, that his Souldiers, to the number of two hundred thouſand, forſook their natural Country of *Ægypt*, and went into *Æthiopia*, to dwell there: neither could they be revoked by kind Meſſages, nor by the King himſelf, who overtook them on the way; but when he told them of their Country, their Wives, and Children, they anſwered that their

their Weapons ſhould get them a Countrey, and that Nature had enabled them to get other Wives and Children.

It is alſo reported of him, That he cauſed two Infants to be brought up in ſuch ſort as they might not hear any word ſpoken; by which means, he hoped to find out, what Nation or Language was moſt ancient; foraſmuch as it ſeemed likely, that Nature would teach the Children to ſpeak that Language, which Men ſpake at the firſt. The iſſue hereof was, that the Children cried, *Beccus, Beccus*, which word being found to ſignifie Bread in the *Phrygian* Tongue, ſerved greatly to magnifie the *Phrygian* Antiquity. *Goropius Becanus* makes no ſmall matter of this, for the honour of his *Low Dutch*; in which the word *Becker*, ſignifies (as Baker in *Engliſh*) a maker of Bread. He that will turn over any part of *Goropius* his Works, may find enough of this kind, to perſwade a willing Man, that *Adam* and all the Patriarchs, uſed none other Tongue than the *Low Dutch*, before the confuſion of Languages at *Babel*; the Name it ſelf of *Babel*, being alſo *Dutch*, and given by occaſion of this confuſion; for that there they began to babble, and talk, one knew not what.

But I will not inſiſt upon all that is written of *Pſammiticus*. The moſt regardable of his Acts was the Siege of *Azotus* in *Paleſtina*, about which he ſpent nine and twenty years. Never have we heard (ſaith *Herodotus*) that any City endured ſo long a Siege as this; yet *Pſammiticus* carried it at
Eſai. 20. 1. the laſt. This Town of *Azotus* had been won by *Tartan*, a Captain of *Sennacherib*, and was now, as it ſeemeth, relieved, but in vain, by the *Babylonian*, which made it hold out ſo well.

§. III.

What reference theſe Ægyptian Matters might have to the impriſonment and enlargement of Manaſſes. *In what part of his Reign* Manaſſes *was taken Priſoner.*

WEre it certainly known, in what year of his Reign *Manaſſes* was taken Priſoner, and how long it was before he obtained Liberty; I think we ſhould find theſe *Ægyptian* Troubles to have been no ſmall occaſion, both of his Captivity and Enlargement: God ſo diſpoſing of humane Actions, that even they, who intended only their own Buſineſs, fulfilled only his high Pleaſure. For either the Civil Wars in *Ægypt* that followed upon the death of *Sethon*; or the renting of the Kingdom, as it were into twelve pieces, or the War between *Pſammiticus* and his Collegues, or the Expedition of *Pſammiticus* into *Syria*, and the Siege of *Azotus* might miniſter unto the *Babylonian*, either ſuch cauſe of hope, to enlarge his Dominion in the South parts; or ſuch neceſſity of ſending an Army into thoſe parts, to defend his own, as would greatly tempt him, to make ſure work with the King of *Juda*. The ſame occaſions ſufficed alſo, to procure the delivery of *Manaſſes*,
Joſ. Ant. *l.* 10. *c.* 4. after he was taken. For he was taken (as *Joſephus* hath it) by ſubtilty, not by open force, neither did they that apprehended him, win his Countrey, but only waſte it. So that the *Jews*, having learned wit, by the ill ſucceſs of their folly, in redeeming *Amazia*, were like to be more circumſpect, in making their Bargain upon ſuch another Accident: and the *Babylonian* (to whom the *Ægyptian* Matters preſented more weighty Arguments of Hope and Fear, than the little Kingdom of *Juda* could afford,) had no reaſon, to ſpend his Forces in purſuing a ſmall Conqueſt, but as full of difficulty as a greater, whereby he ſhould compel his mightieſt Enemies to come to ſome good Agreement; when by quitting his preſent advantage over the *Jews*, he might make his way the fairer into *Ægypt*.

Now concerning the year of *Manaſſes*, his Reign, wherein he was taken Priſoner, or concerning his Captivity it ſelf, how long it laſted, the Scriptures are ſilent, and *Joſephus* gives no information. Yet I find cited by *Torniellus* three Opinions, the one of *Bellarmine*, who thinks that *Manaſſes* was taken in the fifteenth year of his Reign; the other of the Author of the greater *Hebrew Chronology*, who affirms, that it was in his twenty ſeventh year; the third, of *Rabbi Kimhi* upon *Ezekiel*, who ſaith, that he was forty years an Idolater, and lived fifteen years after his Repentance. The firſt of theſe Conjectures is upheld by *Torniellus*, who rejects the ſecond, as more unprobable, and condemns the third as moſt falſe. Yet the Reaſons alledged by *Torniellus* in defence of the firſt, and refutation of the laſt opinion, are ſuch as may rather prove him to favour the *Cardinal*, as far as he may, (for where need requires, he doth freely diſſent from him) than to have uſed his accuſtomed diligence in examining the matter, before he gave his judgment. Two Arguments he brings to maintain the Opinion of *Bellarmine*: the one, that *Ammon* the Son of *Manaſſes*, is ſaid by *Joſephus*, to have followed the Works of his Father's Youth; the other, that had *Manaſſes* grown old in his ſins, *it is not like that he ſhould have continued, as he did*, in his amendment unto the end of his life. Touching the former of theſe Arguments, I ſee no reaſon, why the Sins of *Manaſſes*, might not be diſtinguiſhed from his Repentance in his old Age, by calling them *Works of his Youth*, which appeared when he was twelve years old; though it were granted that he continued in them (according to that of *Rabbi Kimhi*) until he was but fifteen years from death. Touching the ſecond; howſoever it be a fearful thing, to caſt off unto the laſt thoſe good motions unto Repentance, which we know not whether ever God will offer unto us again; yet were it a terrible hearing, That the Sins, which are not forſaken before the age of two and fifty years, ſhall be puniſhed with final impenitency. But againſt theſe two Collections of *Torniellus*, I will lay two places of Scripture, whence it may be inferred, as not unlikely, That *Manaſſes* continued longer in this wickedneſs, than *Bellarmine* hath intimated, if not as long as *Rabbi Kimhi* hath affirmed. In the ſecond Book of Kings, the evil which *Manaſſes* did is remembred at large, and his repentance utterly omitted; ſo that his amendment may ſeem to have taken up no great part of his Life, the ſtory of him being thus concluded, in the one and twentieth Chapter. *Concerning the reſt of the Acts of Manaſſes, and all that he did, and his ſin that he ſinned, are they not written in the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Juda.* 2 *Kings* 21. 17.
The other place is in the four and twentieth Chapter of the ſame Book, where in rehearſing the Calamities, with which that Nation was puniſhed in the time of *Jehoiakim*, the great Grand-child of this *Manaſſes*, it is ſaid; *Surely by the commandment of the Lord came this upon Juda, that he might put them out of his ſight, for the ſins of Manaſſe, according to all that he did, and for the innocent blood that he ſhed (for he filled Jeruſalem with innocent blood) therefore the Lord would not pardon it.* 2 *Kings* 24. 3, 4. Whoſo conſiders well theſe places, may find ſmall cauſe to pronounce it moſt falſe, That the repentance and amendment of *Manaſſes* was no earlier than fifteen years before his death; or moſt probable, That when he was twenty ſeven years old, he repented,

and becoming a new Man, lived in the fear of God forty years after. I will no longer dispute about this matter, seeing that the truth cannot be discovered. It sufficeth to say, that two years of civil dissention in *Egypt*, fourteen or fifteen years following, wherein that Kingdom was weakened, by partition of the Sovereignty; the War of *Psammiticus* against his Associates; and four and twenty years, of the nine and twenty, wherein the siege of *Azotus* continued, being all within the time of *Manasses*, did leave no one part of his Reign (after the first fifteen years) free from the danger of being oppressed by the *Babylonian*, whose Men of War had continual occasions of visiting his Country. All which I will add hereto is this; that the fifteenth of *Manasses*, was the last year of *Sethon* in *Egypt*, and the one and thirtieth of *Merodach* his Reign, or (accounting from the death of *Asarhaddon*) the twentieth: The seven and twentieth of *Manasses* was the tenth of the twelve Princes, and the three and fortieth of *Merodach*: his fortieth, was the twenty third of *Psammiticus*, and the fifth of *Nabulassar*, the Son of *Merodach* in *Babylon*: but which of these was the year of imprisonment, or whether any other, or whether any other, I forbear to shew mine opinion, lest I should thereby seem to draw all matters over violently to mine own computation.

This was the first great mastery that the *Babylonians* had of the Kingdom of *Juda*. For though *Achaz* promised Tribute to *Salmanassar*, yet *Ezekias* never payed it. True it is, that he hoped to
2 King. 18. stay *Sennacherib*'s Enterprise against him, by presenting him with three hundred Talents of Silver, and thirty of Gold, besides the Plate which covered the doors and pillars of the Temple.

But *Manasses* being pressed with greater Necessity, could refuse no tolerable Conditions, that the *Babylonian* would impose upon him; among which it seems, that this was one, (which was indeed a point of Servitude) that he might not hold Peace with the *Egyptians*, whilst they were Enemies to *Babylon*. This appears not only by his fortifying with Men of War all the strong Cities of *Juda* after his return (which was rather against *Psammiticus*, whose Party he had forsaken, than against the *Babylonian*, with whom he had thenceforth no more Controversie) but likewise by that opposition, which *Josias* made afterwards to *Pharaoh Necco*, in favour of *Nabulassar*, which had been against all Reason and Policy, if it had not been his Duty by Covenant. Of this I will speak more in convenient place.

§. IV.

Of the first and second Messenian *Wars, which were in the Reigns of* Ezekia, *and* Manasses *Kings of* Juda.

NOW concerning such Actions as were performed abroad in the World, about these times of *Manasses*, the most remarkable were the *Messenian* Wars; which happening in this Age, and being the greatest Action performed in *Greece*, between the *Trojan* and *Persian* Wars, deserve not to be passed over with silence.

The first *Messenian* War began and ended in the days of *Ezekia*; the second in the Reign of *Manasses*: but to avoid the trouble of interrupting our History, I have thought it best, to rehearse them both in this place. Other introduction is needless, than to say, that the Posterity of *Hercules*, driving the issue of *Pelops*, and the *Achæans*, out of their Seats, divided their Lands between themselves, and erected the Kingdoms of *Lacedæmon*, *Argos*, *Messene*, and *Corinth*; all which agreeing well together a while, did afterwards forget the bond of Kindred, and sought one another's ruine with bloudy Wars; whereof these *Messenian* were the greatest.

The pretended grounds of the *Messenian* War are scarce worth remembrance; they were so slight. Ambition was the true cause of it; wherewith the *Lacedæmonians* were so transported, that any thing served them as a colour, to accomplish their greedy desires. Yet other matter was alledged; namely, that one *Polychares* a *Messenian* had slain many *Lacedæmonians*, for which the Magistrates of *Sparta* desiring to have him yielded into their hands, could not obtain it. The *Messenians* on the other side, excused *Polychares*, for that he was grown frantick, through injuries received from *Euphaes* a *Lacedæmonian*. This *Euphaes* had bargained to give Pasture to the Cattel of *Polychares*, and was therefore to receive part of the increase: but not contented with the gain appointed, he sold the Cattel, and Slaves that kept them, to Merchants, which done, he came with a fair Tale to his Friend, saying, that they were stollen. Whilst the Lye was yet scarce out of his mouth; one of the Slaves that had escaped from the Merchants, came in with a true report of all. The *Lacedæmonian* being thus deprehended, confessed all, and promised large amends; which to receive, he carried the Son of *Polychares* home with him, but having him at home, he villanously slew him. Wherefore, the *Lacedæmonians* having refused, after long suite made by the wretched Father; to do him right against this Thief and Murderer, ought not to pick matter of Quarrel out of those things, which he did in that madness, whereinto they themselves had cast him. So said the *Messenians*, and further offered to put the matter to compromise, or to stand unto the Judgment of the *Amphictyones*, who were as the general Council of *Greece*, or to any other fair course. But the *Lacedæmonians*, who had a great desire to occupy the fair Country of *Messene*, that lay close by them, were not content with such Allegations. They thought it enough, to have some shew for their doings, which the better to colour, they reckoned up many old Injuries, and so without sending any Defiance, secretly took an Oath, to hold War with *Messene*, till they had mastered it: which done, they seized upon *Amphia*, a frontier Town of that Province, wherein they put all to the Sword without mercy, very few escaping.

Hereupon the *Messenians* took Arms, and were met by the Enemy. A furious Battel was fought between them, which ended not until dark Night, with uncertain Victory. The *Messenians* did strongly encamp themselves; The *Lacedæmonians*, unable to force their Camp, returned home. This War began in the second year of the ninth *Olympiad*, and ended in the first of the fourteenth *Olympiad*, having lasted twenty years. The two Enemy Nations tried the Matter, for a while with their proper Forces; the *Lacedæmonians* wasting the inland parts of *Messene*; and the *Messenians*, the Sea-coast of *Laconia*. But it was not long ere Friends on both sides, were called in to help. The *Arcadians*, *Argives*, and *Sicyonians*, took part with *Messene*; the *Spartans* had, besides many Subjects of their own, aid from *Corinth*, and hired Souldiers out of *Crete*. So a second, third, and fourth Battel were fought, with as great obstinacy as the first; saving that, in the fourth Battel, the *Lacedæmonians* were enforced to turn their backs; in the other Fights, the Victory was still uncertain, though

though in one of them the *Messenians* lost *Euphaes* their King, in whose stead they chose *Aristodemus*.

Many years were spent, ere all this Blood was shed; for pestilent Diseases, and want of Money to entertain Souldiers, caused the War to linger. And for the same Reasons, did the *Messenians*, forsake all their inland Towns, excepting *Ithome*, which was a Mountain with a Town upon it, able to endure more, than the Enemies were likely to do. But, as some Authors tell us, the *Lacedæmonians* were so obstinate in this War, because of their Vow, that having absented themselves ten years from *Sparta*, their Wives sent them word, that their City would grow unpeopled, by reason that no children had been born them in all that time: Whereupon they sent back all their ablest young Men, promiscuously to accompany the young Women, who got so many of them with Child, as they became a great part of their Nation, and were called *Parthenians*. *Diodorus* referrs the begetting of these *Parthenians* to a former time. But in process of this *Messenian* War, when the Devil in an Oracle had advised the *Messenians* to Sacrifice a Virgin of the stock of * *Ægytus*, that so they might be Victorious against the *Lacedæmonians*; the Lot falling upon the Daughter of one *Lyciscus*, *Epibelus* the Priest, willing to save her, said, she was only a fostered Child, and not born of the Wife of *Lyciscus*: which Answer giving delay to the execution of the Maid, *Lyciscus* secretly fled away with her into *Sparta*. Then *Aristodemus*, which afterwards was King, voluntarily offered his own Daughter: but a young Noble Man, being in love with the Maid, when otherwise he could not prevail, said openly that she was no Virgin, but that he had deflowred her, and got her with Child: whereupon the Father in a rage ripped up his innocent Daughter's Belly, to disprove the Lover's slander: at the Grave of which Daughter of his, afterward falling by other Superstitions into despair of prevailing against the *Lacedæmonians*, he slew himself, to the great hurt of his Country, which he loved most dearly. For after his death the *Messenians* lost their Courage, and finding themselves distressed by many Wants, especially of Victuals, they craved Peace, which they obtained under most rigorous Conditions. Half the yearly Fruits of their Land they were bound to send unto *Sparta*; and they, with their Wives, to make solemn Lamentations, at the death of every *Spartan* King; they were also sworn to live in true subjection to the *Lacedæmonians*; and part of their Territory was taken from them, which was given to the *Asmni*, and such as had followed the *Spartans* in this War.

Strabo. l. 6. Orof. l. 1. cap. 21.

Ibid. l. 13.

* This *Ægytus* was the youngest Son of *Cyssius* by *Amyne*, the Daughter of *Cyssius*, King of *Arcadia*: of which *Cyssius* the chief Nobility of the *Messenians* was propagated.

This Peace being made upon so uneven terms, was not like to hold long. Yet nine and thirty years it continued (the *Messenians* not finding how to help themselves) and then brake out into a new and more furious War, than the former. The able young Men, that were grown up in the Room of those *Messenians*, whom the former War had consumed, began to consider their own strength and multitude, thinking themselves equal to the *Lacedæmonians*, and therefore scorning to serve such Masters, as had against all Right, oppressed their Fathers. The chief of these was *Aristomenes*, a noble Gentleman, of the House of *Ægytus*; who perceiving the uniform Desires of his Country-men, adventured to become their Leader. He therefore sounding the Affections of the *Argives*, and *Arcadians*, which he found throughly answerable to his Purpose, began open War upon the State of *Lacedæmon*. This was in the fourth year of the three and twentieth *Olympiad*, when the *Lacedæmonians*, hasted to quench the Fire before it should grow too hot, with such Forces as they could raise of their own own, without troubling their Friends, to deal with their Enemies, ere any Succour were lent them. So a strong Battel was fought between them, and a doubtful; save that the *Messenians* were pleased with the issue, forasmuch as they had thereby taught their late proud Lords, to think them their Equals. Particularly, the Valour of *Aristomenes* appeared such in this Fight, that his People would have made him their King: but he, refusing the Honour of that Name, accepted of the Burthen, and became their General. Within one year another Battel was fought, whereunto each part came better provided. The *Lacedæmonians* brought with them the *Corinthians*, and some other Friends to help: the *Messenians* had the *Argives*, *Arcadians*, and *Sicyonians*. This also was a long and bloudy Fight; but *Aristomenes* did so behave himself, that finally he made the Enemies run for their Lives. Of such importance was this Victory, that the *Lacedæmonians* began to bethink themselves, of making some good Agreement. But one *Tyrtæus* an *Athenian* Poet, whom by appointment of an Oracle they had gotten to direct them, re-inforced their Spirits with his Verses. After this *Aristomenes* took by surprise a Town in *Laconia*, and vanquished in Fight *Anaxander* King of *Sparta*, who did set upon him, in hope to have recovered the Booty.

But all these Victories of *Aristomenes* perished in the loss of one Battel, whereof the Honour (if it were Honour) or surely the Profit, fell unto the *Lacedæmonians*, through the Treason of *Aristocrates*, King of *Arcadia*, who being corrupted by the Enemies with Money, fled away, and left the *Messenians* exposed to a cruel Butchery. The loss was so great, that all *Andania* their principal City, and the Towns in *Messene*, standing too far from the Sea, were abandoned, and for lack of Men to defend them, and the Mount *Era* fortified, whither the multitude, that could not be safe abroad, was conveyed, as into a place of safety. Here the *Lacedæmonians* found a tedious work, that held them eleven years. For besides that *Era* it self was a strong piece, *Aristomenes* with three hundred stout Souldiers did many incredible Exploits that wearied them, and hindred their attendance on the Siege. He wasted all the Fields of *Messene*, that were in the Enemies power, and brake into *Laconia*, taking away Corn, Wine, Cattel, and all Provisions, necessary for his own People; the Slaves and Houshold-stuff he changed into Money, suffering the Owners to redeem them. To remedy this mischief the *Lacedæmonians* made an Edict, that neither *Messene*, nor the adjoyning parts of their own Country, should be tilled or husbanded; which bred a great tumult among private Men, that were almost undone by it. Yet the Poet *Tyrtæus* appeased this Uproar with pleasing Songs. But *Aristomenes* grew so bold, that he not only ranged over all the Fields, but adventured upon the Towns, surprised, and sackt *Amycle*, and finally caused the Enemies to encrease and strengthen their Companies; which done, there yet appeared no likelihood of taking *Era*.

In performing these and other Services, thrice *Aristomenes* was taken Prisoner; yet still he escaped. One escape of his deserves to be remembred, as a thing very strange and marvellous. He had with too much courage adventured to set upon both the Kings of *Sparta*; and being in that Fight wounded, and felled to the ground, was taken up senseless, and carried away Prisoner, with

fifty

fifty of his Companions. There was a deep natural Cave into which the *Spartans* uſed to caſt head-long, ſuch as were condemned to die for the greateſt Offences. To this puniſhment were *Ariſtomenes* and his Companions adjudged. All the reſt of theſe poor Men died with their falls; *Ariſtomenes* (howſoever it came to paſs) took no harm. Yet was it harm enough to be impriſoned in a deep Dungeon, among dead Carcaſſes, where he was like to periſh through hunger and ſtench. But after a while he perceived by ſome ſmall glimmering of Light (which perhaps came in at the top) a Fox that was gnawing upon a dead Body. Hereupon he bethought himſelf, that this Beaſt muſt needs know ſome way, to enter the place and get out. For which cauſe he made ſhift to lay hold upon it, and catching it by the Tail with one hand, ſaved himſelf from biting with the other hand, by thruſting his Coat into the mouth of it. So letting it creep whither it would, he followed, holding it as his Guide, until the way was too ſtrait for him; and then diſmiſſed it. The Fox being looſe, ran through a hole, at which came in a little light; and there did *Ariſtomenes* delve ſo long with his Nails, that at laſt he clawed out his paſſage. When ſome Fugitives of *Meſſene* brought word to *Sparta*, that *Ariſtomenes* was returned home, their Tale ſounded alike, as if they had ſaid, that a dead Man was revived. But when the *Corinthian* Forces, that came to help the *Lacedæmonians* in the Siege of *Era*, were cut in pieces, their Captains ſlain, and their Camp taken; then was it eaſily believed, that *Ariſtomenes* was alive indeed.

Thus eleven years paſſed whilſt the Enemies hovering about *Era*, ſaw no likelihood of getting it; and *Ariſtomenes* with ſmall Forces did them greater hurt than they knew how to requite. But at the laſt, a Slave, that had fled from *Sparta*, betrayed the place. This Fellow had enticed to lewdneſs the Wife of a *Meſſenian*, and was entertained by her, when her Husband went forth to watch. It happened in a rainy-winter-night, that the Huſband came home unlooked for, whilſt the Adulterer was within. The Woman hid her Paramour, and made good countenance to her Husband, asking him, by what good fortune he was returned ſo ſoon. He told her, that the ſtorm of foul weather was ſuch, as had made all his Fellows leave their Stations, and that himſelf had done as the reſt did; as for *Ariſtomenes*, he was wounded of late in Fight, and could not look abroad; neither was it to be feared, that the Enemies would ſtir, in ſuch a dark-rainy-night, as this was. The Slave that heard theſe tidings, roſe up ſecretly out of his lurking hole, and got him to the *Lacedæmonian* Camp with the News. There he found *Emperamus* his Maſter, commanding in the King's abſence. To him he uttered all; and obtaining pardon for his running away, guided the Army into the Town. Little or nothing was done that Night. For the Alarm was preſently taken; and the extreme darkneſs, together with the noiſe of Wind and Rain, hindered all Directions. All the next day was ſpent in moſt cruel Fight; one part being incited, by near hope of ending a long work; the other inraged by meer deſperation. The great advantage that the *Spartans* had in numbers, was recompenſed partly by the aſſiſtance, which Women and Children (to whom the hatred of ſervitude had taught contempt of death) gave to their Husbands and Fathers; partly by the narrowneſs of the Streets and other Paſſages, which admitted not many hands to fight at once. But the *Meſſenians* were in continual toil; their Enemies fought in courſe refreſhing themſelves with Meat and Sleep, and then returning ſupplied the places of their weary Fellows, with freſh Companies. *Ariſtomenes* therefore, perceiving that his Men, for want of Relief were no longer able to hold out, (as having been three days, and three nights, vexed with all miſeries, of labour, watching, fighting, hunger, and thirſt, beſides continual rain and cold) gathered together all the weaker ſort, whom he compaſſed round with armed Men, and ſo attempted to break out through the midſt of the Enemies. *Emperamus* General of the *Lacedæmonians* was glad of this: and to further their departure, cauſed his Souldiers to give an open way, leaving a fair paſſage to theſe deſperate mad-men. So they iſſued forth, and arrived ſafe in *Arcadia*, where they were moſt lovingly entertained.

Upon the firſt bruit of the taking of *Era*, the *Arcadians* had prepared themſelves to the reſcue: but *Ariſtocrates* their falſe hearted King, ſaid it was too late, for that all was already loſt. When *Ariſtomenes* had placed his followers in ſafety, he choſe out five hundred the luſtieſt of his Men, with whom he reſolved to march in all ſecret haſte to *Sparta*, hoping to find the Town ſecure, and ill manured, the people being run forth to the Spoil of *Meſſene*. In this Enterpriſe, if he ſped well, it was not doubted, that the *Lacedæmonians* would be glad to recover their own, by reſtitution of that which they had taken from others; if all failed, an honourable death was the worſt that could happen. There were three hundred *Arcadians* that offered to joyn with him; but *Ariſtocrates* marred all, by ſending ſpeedy Advertiſement hereof, to *Anaxander* King of *Sparta*. The Epiſtle which *Anaxander* ſent back to *Ariſtocrates*, was intercepted, by ſome that miſtruſted him to whom it was directed. Therein was found all his falſehood, which being publiſhed in open aſſembly, the *Arcadians* ſtoned him to death, and caſting forth his Body unburied, erected a Monument of his Treachery, with a Note, That the Perjurer cannot deceive God.

Of *Ariſtomenes* no more is remaining to be ſaid, than that committing his People to the charge of his Son *Gorgus* and other ſufficient Governours, who ſhould plant them in ſome new Seat abroad, he reſolved himſelf to make abode in thoſe parts, hoping to find the *Lacedæmonians* work at home. His Daughters he beſtowed honourably in Marriage. One of them *Demagetus* who reigned in the Iſle of *Rhodes* took to Wife, being willed by an Oracle, to marry the Daughter of the beſt Man in *Greece*. Finally *Ariſtomenes* went with his Daughter to *Rhodes*, whence he purpoſed to have travelled unto *Ardys* the Son of *Gyges* King of *Lydia*, and to *Phraortes* King of *Media*: but Death prevented him at *Rhodes*, where he was honourably buried.

The *Meſſenians* were invited by *Anaxilas* (whoſe great Grandfather was a *Meſſenian* and went into *Italy* after the former War) being Lord of the *Rhegians* in *Italy*, to take his part againſt the *Zanclæans* in *Sicily*, on the other ſide of the Straits. They did ſo; and winning the Town of *Zancle*, called it *Meſſene*, which Name it keeps to this day.

This ſecond *Meſſenian* War ended in the firſt year of the twenty eighth *Olympiad*. Long after which time, the reſt of that Nation, who ſtaying at home ſerved the *Lacedæmonians*, found means to rebell; but were ſoon vanquiſhed, and being driven to forſake *Peloponneſus*, they went into *Acarnania*; whence likewiſe, after few Ages, they were expelled by the *Lacedæmonians*, and then followed

lowed their ancient Countrimen into *Italy* and *Sicily*; some of them went into *Africa*, where they chose unto themselves a Seat.

It is very strange, that during two hundred and fourscore years, this banished Nation retained their Name, their ancient Customs, Language, hatred of *Sparta*, and love of their forsaken Country, with a desire to return to it. In the third year of the hundred and second *Olympiad*, that great *Epaminondas*, having tamed the pride of the *Lacedæmonians*, revoked the *Messenians* home, who came flocking out of all quarters, where they dwelt abroad, into *Peloponnesus*. There did *Epaminondas* restore unto them their old Possession, and help them in building a fair City; which, by the name of the Province, was called *Messene*, and was held by them ever after, in despight of the *Lacedæmonians*, of whom they never from thenceforth stood in fear.

§. V.

Of the Kings that were in Lydia *and* Media. *Whether* Dejoces *were that King* Arphaxad *mentioned in the History of* Judith.

WHile *Manasses* reigned. Whether *Dejoces* the *Mede* were that King *Arphaxad* which is mentioned in the Book of *Judith*. Of the History of *Judith*.

Ardys King of *Lydia*, and *Phraortes* of the *Medes*, are spoken of by *Pausanias*, as reigning shortly after the *Messenian* War. *Ardys* succeeding unto his Father *Gyges*, began his Reign of nine and forty years, in the second of the five and twentieth *Olympiad*. He followed the steps of his Father, who encroaching upon the *Ionians* in *Asia*, had taken *Colophon* by force, and attempted *Miletus* and *Smyrna*. In like manner *Ardys* wan *Priene*, and assailed *Miletus*; but went away without it. In his Reign, the *Cimmerians*, being expelled out of their own Country by the *Scythians*, over-ran a great part of *Asia*, which was not freed from them before the time of *Alyattes* this Man's Grand-child, by whom they were driven out. They had not only broken into *Lydia*, but wan the City of *Sardes*; though the Castle or Citadel thereof was defended against them, and held still for King *Ardys*; whose long Reign was unable, by reason of this great storm, to effect much.

Phraortes was not King until the third year of the nine and twentieth *Olympiad*, which was six years after the *Messenian* War ended; the same being the last year of *Manasses* his Reign over *Juda*.

Dejoces the Father of this *Phraortes*, was King of *Media*, three and fifty of these five and fifty years in which *Manasses* reigned. This *Dejoces* was the first that ruled the *Medes* in a strict Form, commanding more absolutely than his Predecessors had done. For they following the example of *Arbaces*, had given to the People so much Licence, as caused every one to desire the wholesom severity of a more Lordly King. Herein *Dejoces* answered their desires to the full. For he caused them to build for him a stately Palace; he took unto him a Guard, for defence of his Person; he seldom gave presence, which also when he did, it was with such Austerity, that no man durst presume to spit or cough in his sight. By these and the like Ceremonies he bred in the People an awfull regard, and highly upheld the Majesty, which his Predecessors had almost letten fall, through neglect of due Comportments. In execution of his Royal Office, he did uprightly and severely administer Justice, keeping secret Spies to inform him of all that was done in the Kingdom. He cared not to enlarge the Bounds of his Dominion, by encroaching upon others; but studied how to govern well his own. The difference found between this King, and such as were before him, seems to have bred that opinion which *Herodotus* delivers, that *Dejoces* was the first who reigned in *Media*. *Herod. l. 1.*

This was he that built the great City of *Echatane*, which now is called *Tauris*; and therefore he should be that King *Arphaxad*, mentioned in the Story of *Judith*, as also *Ben Merodach*, by the same accompt, should be *Nabuchodonosor* the *Assyrian*, by whom *Arphaxad* was slain, and *Holophernes* sent to work wonders, upon *Phud* and *Lud*, and I know not what other Countries. For I reckon the last year of *Dejoces* to have been the nineteenth of *Ben Merodach*; though others place it otherwise, some earlier, in the time of *Merodach Baladan*, some later, in the Reign of *Nabulassar*, who is also called *Nabuchodonosor*.

In fitting this Book of *Judith* to a certain time, there hath much labour been spent, with ill success. The Reigns of *Cambyses*, *Darius*, *Hystaspis*, *Xerxes*, and *Ochus*, have been sought into; but afford no great matter of likelihood: and now of late, the times, foregoing the destruction of *Jerusalem*, have been thought upon, and this Age that we have in hand, chosen by *Bellarmine*, as agreeing best with the Story; though others herein cannot (I speak of such as fain would) agree with him. Whilst *Cambyses* reigned, the Temple was not rebuilt, which in the Story of *Judith*, is found standing and dedicated. The other two *Persian* Kings, *Darius* and *Xerxes*, are acknowledged to have been very favourable to the *Jews*; therefore neither of them could be *Nabuchodonosor*, whose part they refused to take, and who sent to destroy them. Yet the time of *Xerxes* hath some conveniences, aptly fitting this History; and above all the opinion of a few ancient Writers (without whose Judgment the Authority of this Book were of no value) having placed this Argument in the *Persian* Monarchy, inclines the Matter to the Reign of this vain-glorious King. As for *Ochus*, very few, and they faintly, entitle him to the Business. Manifest it is, and granted, that in the time of this History, there must be a return from Captivity lately foregoing; the Temple rebuilt; *Joachim* High Priest; and a long Peace, of threescore and ten years or thereabout, ensuing. All these were to be among the *Jews*. Likewise on the other side, we must find a King that reigned in *Nineve*, eighteen years at the least; that vanquished and slew a King of the *Medes*; one whom the *Jews* refused to assist; one that sought to be generally adored as God, and that therefore commanded, all Temples of such as were accounted gods to be destroyed; one whose Vice-Roy or Captain General knew not the *Jewish* Nation, but was fain to learn what they were, of the bordering People.

Of all these Circumstances; the Priesthood of *Joachim*, with a return from Captivity, are found concurring, with either the time of *Manasses* before the destruction of *Jerusalem*, or of *Xerxes* afterward: the rebuilding of the Temple a while before, and the long Peace following, agree with the Reign of *Xerxes*; the rest of Circumstances requisite, are to be found all together, neither before, nor after the Captivity of the *Jews* and desolation of the City. Wherefore the brief decision of this Controversie is, *that the Book of* Judith

is not Canonical. Yet hath *Torniellus* done as much, in fitting all to the time of *Xerxes*, as was possible in so desperate a case. For he supposeth, that under *Xerxes* there were other Kings, among which *Arphaxad* might be one (who perhaps restored and re-edified the City of *Ecbatane*, that had formerly been built by *Dejoces*) and *Nabuchodonosor* might be another. This granted; he adds that from the twelfth year to the eighteenth of *Nabuchodonosor*, that is five or six years, the absence and ill fortune of *Xerxes*, in his *Grecian* expedition (which he supposeth to have been so long) might give occasion unto *Arphaxad*, of rebelling: and that *Nabuchodonosor* having vanquished and slain *Arphaxad*, might then seek to make himself Lord of all, by the Army which he sent forth under *Holofernes*. So should the *Jews* have done their duty, in adhering to *Xerxes* their Sovereign Lord, and resisting one that rebelled against him; as also the other circumstances, rehearsed before be well applyed to the argument. For in these times, the affairs of *Jewry* were agreeable to the History of *Judith*, and such a King as this supposed *Nabuchodonosor*, might well enough be ignorant of the *Jews*, and as proud as we shall need to think him. But the silence of all Histories, takes away belief, from this conjecture: and the supposition it self is very hard, that a Rebel, whose King was abroad, with an Army consisting of seventeen hundred thousand Men, should presume so far, upon the strength of twelve hundred thousand Foot, and twelve thousand Archers on Horseback, as to think that he might do what he list, yea that there was none other God than himself. It is indeed easie to find enough that might be said against this device of *Torniellus*: yet if there were any necessity, of holding the Book of *Judith*, to be Canonical, I would rather choose to lay aside all regard of prophane Histories, and build some defence upon this ground; than, by following the opinion of any other, to violate, as they also do, the Text it self. That *Judith* lived under none of the *Persian* Kings, *Bellarmine* (whose works I have not read, but find him cited by *Torniellus*) hath proved by many arguments. That she lived not in the Reign of *Manasses*, *Torniellus* hath proved very substantially, shewing how the Cardinal is driven, as it were, to break through a Wall, in saying that the Text was corrupted, where it spake of the destruction of the Temple foregoing her time. That the Kings *Arphaxad* and *Nabuchodonosor*, found out by *Torniellus*, are the Children of meer fantasie, it is so plain, that it needs no proof at all. Wherefore we may truly say, that they, which have contended about the time of this History, being well furnished of matter, wherewith to confute each other, but wanting wherewith to defend themselves (like naked men in a stony field) have chased *Holofernes* out of all parts of time, and left him and his great expedition, *extra anni solisque vias*, in an Age that never was, and in places that were never known.

Judith c. 2. vers. 23. & 25. Surely to find out *the borders of* Japheth, *which were towards the South, and over against* Arabia; or the Countries of *Phud* and *Lud*, that lay in *Holofernes* his way; I think it would as much trouble Cosmographers, as the former question had done Chronologers. But I will not busie my self herewith; having already so far digressed, in shewing who lived not with *Manasses*, that I think it high time to return unto mine own work, and rehearse what others I find, to have had their part, in the long time of his Reign.

§. VI.

Of other Princes and actions that were in these times.

THE first year of *Manasses* was the last of *Romulus*; after whose death, one year the Romans wanted a King. Then was *Numa Pompilius* a *Sabine* chosen; a peaceable Man and seeming very religious in his kind. He brought the rude people, which *Romulus* had employed only in Wars, to some good Civility, and a more orderly fashion of life. This he effected by filling their heads with superstition; as perswading them, that he had familiarity with a Nymph called *Egeria*, who taught him a many of Ceremonies, which he delivered unto the Romans as things of great importance. But all these devices of *Numa* were, in his own judgment, no better than meer delusions, that served only as rudiments, to bring the Savage multitude of Thieves and Out-laws, gathered into one body by *Romulus*, to some form of milder discipline, than their boysterous and wild natures was otherwise apt to entertain. This appeared by the Books that were found in his Grave, almost six hundred years after his death, wherein the Superstition taught by himself was condemned as vain. His Grave was opened by chance; in digging a piece of Ground that belonged to one *L. Petilius* a Scribe. Two Coffins or Chests of Stone were in it, with an inscription in Greek and Latine Letters, which said that *Numa Pompilius* the Son of *Pompo*, King of the *Romans* lay there. In the one Coffin was nothing found; his body being utterly consumed. In the other were his Books wrapped up in two bundles of wax; of his own Constitutions seven, and other seven of Philosophy. They were not only uncorrupted, but in a manner fresh and new. The Prætor of the City desiring to have a sight of these Books, when he perceived whereunto they tended, refused to deliver them back to the owner, and offered to take a solemn Oath, that they were against the Religion then in use. Hereupon the Senate, without more ado, commanded them to be openly burnt. It seems that *Numa* did mean to acquit himself, unto wiser Ages which he thought would follow, as one that had not been so fooliſh as to believe the Doctrine wherein he instructed his own barbarous times. But the poyson wherewith he had infected *Rome*, when he sat in his Throne, had not left working, when he ministred the Antidote out of his Grave. Had these Books not come to light, until the days of *Tully* and *Cæsar*, when the mist of ignorance was somewhat better discussed; likely it is that they had not only escaped the Fire, but wrought some good (and peradventure general) effect. Being as it was, they served as a confutation, without remedy, of Idolatry that was inveterate.

Numa Reigned three and forty years in continual peace. After him *Tullus Hostilius* the third King was chosen, in the six and fortieth of *Manasses*, and Reigned two and thirty years, busied, for the most part in War. He quarrelled with the *Albanes*, who met him in the Field; but in regard of the danger, which both parts had cause to fear, that might grow unto them from the *Thuscanes*, caused them to bethink themselves of a course, whereby without effusion of so much blood, as might make them too weak for a common Enemy, it might be decided, who should command, and who obey.

There

There were in each Camp three Brethren, Twins born at one Birth (*Dionysius* says that they were Cousin Germans) of equal years and strength, who were appointed to fight for their several Countries. The end was that the *Horatii*, Champions for the *Romans* got the Victory, though two of them first lost their lives. The three *Curatii* that fought for *Alba* (as *Livy* tells it) were all alive, and able to fight, yet wounded, when two of their opposites were slain; but the third *Horatius*, pretending fear, did run away, and thereby drew the others, who by reason of their hurts could not follow him with equal speed, to follow him at such distance one from another, that returning upon them, he slew them, as it had been in single fight, Man after Man, ere they could joyn together and set upon him all at once. *Dionysius* reports it somewhat otherwise, telling very particularly, what wounds were given and taken, and saying, that first one of the *Horatii* was slain, then one of the *Curatii*, then a second *Horatius*, and lastly the two *Curatii*, whom the third *Horatius* did cunningly sever one from the other as is shewed before.

This is one of the most memorable things in the old *Roman* History, both in regard of the action it self, wherein *Rome* was laid, as it were in wager, against *Alba*, and in respect of the great increase which thereby the Roman State obtained. For the City of *Alba* did immediatly become subject unto her own Colony, and was shortly after, upon some treacherous dealing of their Governor, utterly razed, the People being removed unto *Rome*, where they were made Citizens. The strong Nation of the *Latins*, whereof *Alba*, as the mother City, had been chief, became ere long dependent upon *Rome*, though not subject unto it, and divers petty States adjacent, were by little and little taken in: which additions, that were small, yet many, I will forbear to rehearse (as being the works of sundry ages, and few of them remarkable considered apart by themselves) until such time as this fourth Empire, that is now in the infancy, shall grow to be the main subject of this History.

The seventh year of *Hippomenes* in *Athens*, was current with the first of *Manasses*. Also the three last Governors for ten years, who followed *Hippomenes*, were in the same Kings time. Of these I find only the names, *Leocrates*, *Apsander*, and *Erixias*. After *Erixias* yearly Rulers were elected.

These Governors for ten years, were also of the race of *Medon* and *Codrus*, but their time of Rule was shortned, and from term of life reduced unto ten years; it being thought likely, that they would Govern the better, when they knew, that they were afterwards to live private Men under the command of others. I follow *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, in applying their times unto those years of the Olympiads, wherein the Chronological Table, following this work, doth set them. For he not only professeth himself to have taken great care in ordering the reckoning of times; but hath noted always the years of the *Greeks*, how they did answer unto the things of *Rome*, throughout all the continuance of his History. Whereas therefore he placeth the building of *Rome*, in the first year of the seventh Olympiad, and affirms, that the same was the first year of *Charops* his Government in *Athens*; I hope I shall not need excuse, for varying from *Pausanias*, who sets the beginning of these *Athenians* somewhat sooner. *Dion. Halic. l. 1. fol. 43. & 44.*

In the Reign of *Manasses* it was, that *Midas*, whom the Poets feigned to have had Asses Ears, held the Kingdom of *Phrygia*. Many Fables were devised of him; especially that he obtained of *Bacchus*, as a great gift, that all things which he should touch, might immediately be changed into Gold: by which means he had like to have been starved (his Meat and Drink being subject to the same transformation) had not *Bacchus* delivered him from his miserable faculty, by causing him to wash himself in the River *Pactolus*, the Stream whereof hath ever since forsooth, abounded in that precious Metal. Finally it is said, he dyed by drinking Bulls Blood; being invaded by the *Scythians*.

In this age flourished that *Antimachus*, who (saith *Plutarch* in the Life of *Romulus*) observed the Moons Eclipse at the Foundation of *Rome*.

The *Milesians*, or (as *Eusebius* hath it) the *Athenians*, having obtained some power by Sea, founded *Macicratis* a City on the Coast of *Ægypt*. *Psammiticus* herein seems to have assisted them, who used all means of drawing the *Greeks* into *Ægypt*, accounting them his surest strength. For neither *Miletus*, nor *Athens*, were now of power sufficient, to plant a Colony in *Ægypt* by force.

About this time *Archias* with his Companion *Miscellus*, and other *Corinthians*, founded *Syracuse* in *Sicily*: a City in after-times exceeding famous. *Plut. & Eusb.*

The City of *Nicomedia*, sometime † *Astacus*, was enlarged and beautified in this age, by *Zipartes* Native of *Thrace*. *Sibylla* of *Samus* according to *Pausanias* lived about this time.

† Whence in *Strabo* there is *sinus Astacenus*, a part of *Propontis* where this City standeth. *Paus. l. 5. Hal. l. 2.*

About these times also was *Croton* founded upon the Bay of *Tarentum* by *Miscellus*, the Companion of *Archias* that built *Syracuse*: *Strabo* makes it somewhat more ancient, and so doth *Pausanius*.

About the same time, the *Parthenians*, being of age, and banished *Lacedæmon*, were conducted by *Phalantus* into *Italy*, where it is said they founded *Tarentum*: but *Justine* and *Pausanias* find it built before, and by them conquered and amplified. Also about the same time, *Manasse* yet living, the City *Phaselis* was founded in *Pamphylia*, *Gela* in *Sicily*, *Interamne* in the Region of the *Umbri*, now called *Urbin* in *Italy*. About which time also *Chalcedon* in *Asia*, over-against *Byzantium*, (now *Constantinople*) was founded by the *Megarenses*: who therefore were upbraided as blind, because they chose not the other side of *Bosphorus*. It were a long work to rehearse all that is said to have been done in the five and fifty years of *Manasses*: that which hath already been told is enough: the rest, being not greatly worth remembrance, may well be omitted, reserving only *Ben Merodach*, and *Nabulassar*, to the business that will shortly require more mention of them. *Strabo l. 6. Justin. l. 3. Paus. l. 10.*

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the times from the death of Manasses *to the destruction of* Jerusalem.

§. I.

Of Ammon *and* Josias.

AMMON the Son of *Manasse*, a Man no less wicked than was his Father before his Conversion, restored the exercise of all sorts of Idolatry: for which
2 *King.* 21. 2 *Chron.* 33. God hardened the hearts of his own Servants against him: who slew him after he had reigned two years: *Philo*, *Eusebius* and *Nicephorus* give him ten years, following the *Septuagint*.

Josias succeeded unto *Ammon*, being but a Child of eight years old. He began to seek after the God of *David* his Father; and in his twelfth year
2 *King.* 22. 2 *Chron.* 34. he purged *Juda and Jerusalem from the high places, and the groves, and the carved and molten Images: and they brake down in his sight the Altars of Baalim.* He caused all the Images, as well those which were Graven, as Molten, to be stampt to Powder, and strewed on their Graves that had erected them: and this he commanded to be done throughout all his Dominions. He also slew those that sacrificed to the Sun and Moon, and caused the Chariots and Horses of the Sun to be burnt. Of *Josias* it was propheſied, in the time of *Jeroboam* the first, when he erected the Golden Calf at *Bethel*, that a Child should be born unto the House of *David*, *Josias* by name, and *upon thee* (said the Prophet speak-
1 *King.* 13. ing to the Altar) *shall he sacrifice the Priests of the high places, that burn incense upon thee.* A Prophecy very remarkable.

In the eighteenth year of his Reign, he rebuilt and repaired the Temple, at which time *Helkiah* the Priest found the Book of *Moses*, called *Deuteronomy*, or, *of the Law*, which he sent to the King: which when he had caused to be read before him, and considered of the severe Commandments therein written, the prosperity promis'd to those that observe them, and the sorrow and extirpation to the rest, he rent his Garments, and commanded *Helkiah*, and others, to ask Counsel of the Propheteſs *Huldah*, or, *Olda*, concerning the Book, who answered the Messengers in these words: *Thus saith the Lord, behold*
2 *Chron.* 34. 24. *I will bring evil upon this place, and upon the inhabitants thereof, even all the curses that are written in the Book, which they have read before the King of Juda, because they have forsaken me, and burnt incense to other Gods.* Only for the King himself, because
2 *King.* 22. 15. 2 *Chron.* 34. he was a lover of God and of his Laws, it was promised that this evil should not fall on *Juda* and *Jerusalem* in his days, but that he himself should inherit his Grave in peace.

Josias assembled the Elders, caused the Book to be read unto them, made a Covenant with the Lord, and caused all that were found in *Jerusalem* and *Benjamin* to do the like, promising thereby to observe the Laws and Commandments in the Book contained.

The execution done by *Josias* upon the Altar, Idols, Monuments, and Bones of the false Prophets, at *Bethel*, argueth his Dominion to have extended unto those Countries, that had been part of the Kingdom of the ten Tribes. Yet I do not think, that any Victory of *Josias* in War got possession of these places; but rather that *Ezekias*, after the flight and death of *Sennacherib*, when *Merodach* opposed himself against *Asarhaddon*, did use the advantage which the Faction in the North presented unto him, and laid hold upon so much of the Kingdom of *Israel*, as he was able to People. Otherwise also it is not improbable, that the *Babylonian* finding himself unable to deal with *Psammiticus* in *Syria* (as wanting power to raise the Siege of *Azotus*, though the Town held out nine and twenty years) did give unto *Manasses*, together with his liberty as much in *Israel*, as himself could not easily defend. This was a good way to break the amity that the Kings of *Juda* had so long held with those of *Ægypt*, by casting a Bone between them, and withal by this benefit of enlarging their Territory with addition of more than they could challenge, to redeem the friendship of the *Jews*, which had been lost by injuries done, in seeking to bereave them of their own. When it is said, that *Manasses* did after his deliverance from imprisonment, *put Captains of war* 2 *Chron.* 33. 14. *in all the strong Cities of Juda*; it may be that some such business is intimated, as the taking possession, and fortifying of places delivered into his hands. For though it be manifest that he took much pains, in making *Jerusalem* it self more defensible; yet I should rather believe, that he, having already compounded with the *Babylonian*, did fortifie himself against the *Ægyptians*, whose side he had forsaken, than that he travelled in making such provisions, only for his minds sake. The earnestness of *Josias* in the King of *Babel* his quarrel, doth argue, that the composition which *Manasses* had made, with that King or his Ancestor, was upon such friendly terms, as required not only a faithful observation, but a thankful requital. For no perswasions could suffice to make *Josias* sit still, and hold himself quiet in good neutrality, when *Pharaoh Neco* King of *Ægypt* passed along by him, to War upon the Countries about the River of *Euphrates*.

The last year of *Josias* his Reign it was, when as *Neco* the Son of *Psammiticus*, came with a powerful Army towards the border of *Judea*, determining to pass that way being the nearest toward *Euphrates*, either to strengthen the passages 2 *Chron.* of that River, about *Carcemish* or *Cercusium*, for 35. 20. the defence of *Syria* (as long after this; *Diocletian* is said by *Ammianus Marcellinus* to have done) or perhaps to invade *Syria* it self. For it seemeth that the travel of *Psammiticus* had not been idlely consumed about that one Town of *Azotus*, but had put the *Ægyptians* in possession of no small part of *Syria*, especially in those quarters, that had formerly belonged unto the *Adads* Kings of *Damasco*.

Neither was the industry of *Neco* less than his Fathers had been, in pursuing the War against *Babel*. In which War, two things may greatly have availed the *Ægyptians*, and advanced their affairs and hopes: the extraordinary valour of the mercenary *Greeks*, that were far better Souldiers than

Ægypt

Ægypt could of it self afford; and the danger wherein *Assyria* stood, by the force of the *Medes*, which under the command of more absolute Princes, began to feel it self better; and to shew what it could do. These were great helps, but of shorter endurance than was the War; as in place more convenient shall be noted. At the present it seems, that either some preparation of the *Chaldæans* to reconquer, did enforce, or some disability of theirs to make resistance, did invite the King of *Ægypt*, into the Countries bordering upon *Euphrates*; whither *Pharaoh Neco* ascended with a mighty Army.

These two great Monarchs, having their Swords drawn, and contending for the Empire of that part of the World, *Josias* advised with himself to which of these he might adhere, having his Territory set in the mid way between both, so as the one could not invade the other, but that they must of necessity tread upon the very face and body of his Country; Now though it were so that *Neco* himself desired by his Embassadors, 2 *Chron.* 35. leave to pass along by *Judæa*, protesting that he directed himself against the *Assyrians* only, without all harmful purpose against *Josias*; yet all sufficed not, but the King of *Israel* would needs fight with him.

Many examples there were, which taught, what little good the friendship of *Ægypt* could bring to those that had affiance therein: as that of *Hosea* the last King of *Israel*, who when he fell from the dependance of the *Assyrian*, and wholly trusted to *Sabacus* or *Sous* King of *Ægypt*, was utterly disappointed of his hopes, and in conclusion lost both his Life and Estate, which the *Assyrian* so rooted up and tare in pieces, as it could never after be gathered together or replanted. The calamities also that fell upon *Juda* in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of *Ezekia*, whilst that good King and his people relied upon *Sethon*; and more lately, the imprisonment of *Manasses*, were documents of sufficient proof, to shew the ill assurance, that was in the help of the *Ægyptians*, who (near neighbours though they were) were always unready; when the necessities of their friends required their assistance. The remembrance hereof might be the reason why *Neco* did not seek, to have the *Jews* renew there ancient league with him, but only craved that they would be contented to sit still, and behold the pastime between him and the *Assyrians*. This was an easie thing to grant; seeing that the countenance of such an Army, as did soon after this out-face *Nabulassar*, upon his own borders, left unto the *Jews*, a lawful excuse of fear, had they forborn to give it any check upon the way. Wherefore I believe, that this religious and vertuous Prince *Josias*, was not stirred up only by politick respects, to stop the way of *Neco*; but thought himself bound in Faith and Honour, to do his best in defence of the *Babylonian* Crown; whereunto his Kingdom was obliged, either by Covenant made at the enlargement of *Manasses*, or by the gift of such part as he held in the Kingdom of the ten Tribes. As for the Princes and people of *Juda*, they had now a good occasion to shew, both unto the *Babylonians*, of what importance their friendship was, and to the *Ægyptians*, what a valiant Nation they had abandoned, and thereby made their Enemy.

Some think, that this action of *Josias*, was contrary to the advice of *Jeremy* the Prophet; which I do not find in the Prophecy of *Jeremy*, nor can find reason to believe. Others hold opinion, that he forgat to ask the counsel of God: and this is very likely; seeing he might believe that an enterprise grounded upon fidelity and thankfulness due to the King of *Babel*, could not but be displeasing unto the Lord. But the wickedness of the people (in whom the corruptions of former times had taken such root, as all the care of *Josias* in reforming the Land, could not pluck up) was questionless far from hearkning how the matter would stand with Gods pleasure, and much farther from enquiring into his secret will, wherein it was determined, that their good King, whose life stood between them and their punishment, should now be taken from among them, and that in such sort, as his death should give entrance to the miseries ensuing. So *Josias* levying all the strength he could make, near unto *Megiddo*, in the half Tribe of *Manasses*, encountred *Neco*: and there he received the stroke of death, which lingring about him till he came to *Jerusalem*, brought him to the Sepulchres of his Ancestors. His loss was greatly bewailed of all the people and Princes of *Juda*, especially of *Jeremy* the Prophet: who inserted a sorrowful remembrance thereof into his Book of *Lamentations*. *Lament.* 4. *vers.* 20.

§. II.

Of Pharaoh Neco, *that fought with* Josias: *Of* Jehoahaz *and* Jehoiakim *Kings of* Juda.

OF these Wars, and particularly of this Victory, *Herodotus* hath mention, among the Acts of *Neco*. He tells us of this King, that he went about to make a Channel, whereby Ships might pass, out of *Nilus* into the Red-sea. It should have reached above a hundred Miles in length, and been wide enough for two Gallies to row in front. But in the midst of the work, an Oracle foretold that the Barbarians should have the benefit of it, which caused *Neco* to desist when half was done. There were consumed in this toilsome business twelve hundred thousand *Ægyptians*; a loss great enough to make the King forsake his enterprise, without troubling the Oracle for admonition. Howsoever it were he was not a Man to be idle; therefore he built a Fleet, and levied a great Army, wherewith he marched against the King of *Babel*. In this expedition he used the service, as well of his Navy, as of his Land-forces; but no particular exploits of his therein, are found Recorded, save only this Victory against *Josias*, where *Herodotus* calls the place *Magdolus*, and the *Jews Syrians*; which is a small error, seeing that *Judæa* was a Province of *Syria*, and *Magdolus* or *Magdala* is taken to have been the same place (though diversly named) in which this battel was fought. After this, *Necus* took the City of *Cadytis*, which was perhaps *Carchemish*, by *Euphrates*, and made himself Lord, in a manner, of all *Syria*, as *Josephus* witnesseth. *Joseph. Ant. Jud. l.* 10. *cap.* 7.

Particularly we find, that the *Phœnicians*, one of the most powerful Nations in *Syria*, were his Subjects, and that by his command they surrounded all *Africa*, setting sail from the Gulf of *Arabia*, and so passing along all the Coast, whereon they both landed, as need required, and sowed Corn for their sustenance, in that long Voyage which lasted three years. This was the first navigation about *Africa*, wherein that great *Cape*, now called *Of good Hope*, was discovered; which after was forgotten, untill *Vasco de Gama* the Portingal found it out, following a contrary course to that which the *Phœnicians* held; for they, beginning in the East, ran the way of the Sun, South and then Westward, after which they returned home by *Herod. l.* 4.

the Pillars and Streights of *Hercules* (as the name was then) called now the Straights of *Gibraltar*, having *Africk* ſtill on the right hand: but the *Portingals*, beginning their voyage not far from the ſame Straights, leave *Africk* on the Larboard, and bend their courſe unto the Eaſt. That report of the *Phœnicians*, which *Herodotus* durſt not believe, how the Sun in this journey was on their right hand, that is, on the Northſide of them, is a matter of neceſſary truth; and the obſervation then made hereof, makes me the better to believe, that ſuch a Voyage was indeed performed.

But leaving theſe Diſcourſes of *Neco* his magnificence, let us tell what he did, in matters more importing his Eſtate. The people of *Juda*, while the *Ægyptians* were buſie at *Carchemiſh*, had made *Jehohaz* their King, in the room of his Father *Joſias*. *Jer. c. 22. v. 32.* The Prophet *Jeremy* calls this new King *Shallum*, by the name of his younger Brother; alluding perhaps to the ſhort Reign of *Shallum* King of the ten Tribes: for *Shallum* of *Iſrael* Reigned but one month; *Jehoahaz* no more than three. He was not the eldeſt Son of *Joſias*: Wherefore it may ſeem that he was ſet up as the beſt affected unto the King of *Babel*; the reſt of his houſe being more *2 King. c. 34. v. 32.* inclined to the *Ægyptian*, as appears by the ſequel. An Idolater he was, and thrived accordingly. For when as *Neco* had diſpatched his buſineſs in the North parts of *Syria*, then did he take order for the affairs of *Judæa*. This Country was now ſo far from making any reſiſtance, that the King himſelf came to *Riblah* in the Land of *Hamath*, where the matter went ſo ill on his ſide, that *Neco* did caſt him into Bonds and carry him priſoner into *Ægypt*, giving away his Kingdom to *Eliakim* his elder Brother, to whom of right it did belong. This City of *Riblath*, in after times called *Antiochia*, was a place unhappy to the Kings and Princes of *Juda*, as may be obſerved in divers examples. Yet here *Jehoiakim*, together with his new name, got his Kingdom, an ill gain ſince he could no better uſe it. But however *Jehoiakim* thrived by the bargain, *Pharaoh* ſped well, making that Kingdom, Tributary, without any ſtroke ſtricken, which three Months before was too ſtout to give him peace, when he deſired it. Certain it is, that in his march outward, *Neco* had a greater task lying upon his hands, than would permit him to waſt his forces upon *Judah*: but now the reputation of his good ſucceſs at *Megiddo*, and *Carchemiſh*, together with the diſſenſion of the Princes *Joſias* his Sons (of whom the eldeſt is probably thought to have ſtormed at the preferment of his younger Brother) gave him power to do even what ſhould pleaſe himſelf. Yet he did forbear to make a Conqueſt of the Land; perhaps upon the ſame reaſon which had made him ſo earneſt in ſeeking to hold peace with it. For the *Jews* had ſuffered much, in the *Ægyptians* quarrel, and being left by theſe their friends, in time of need, unto all extremities, were driven to forſake that party and joyn with the enemies; to whom if they ſhewed themſelves faithful, who could blame them? It was therefore enough to reclaim them; ſeeing they were ſuch a people, as would not upon every occaſion ſhift ſide, but endure more, than *Pharaoh*, in the pride of his Victories, thought that any hereafter ſhould lay upon them: ſo good a Patron did he mean to be unto them. Nevertheleſs he laid upon them a Tribute, of an hundred Talents of Silver, and one Talent of Gold; that ſo he might both reap at the preſent, ſome fruit of his pains taken, and leave unto them ſome document in the future, of greater puniſhment than verbal anger, due to them, if they ſhould rebel. So he departed carrying along with him into *Ægypt* the unfortunate King *Jehoahaz*, who died in his Captivity.

The Reign of *Jehoahaz* was included in the end of his Fathers laſt years, otherwiſe it would hardly be found, that *Jehoiakim* his ſucceſſor did Reign ten whole years; whereas the Scriptures give him eleven, that is current and incompleat. If any Man will rather caſt the three Months of this ſhort Reign, into the firſt year of the Brother, than into the Fathers laſt; the ſame Arguments that ſhall maintain his opinion, will alſo prove the matter to be unworthy of Diſputation; and ſo I leave it.

Jehoiakim in Impiety was like his Brother, in Faction he was altogether *Ægyptian*, as having received his Crown at the hand of *Pharaoh*. The wickedneſs of theſe laſt Kings, being expreſſed in Scriptures none otherwiſe than by general words, with reverence to all the evil that their Fathers had done; makes it apparent, that the poyſon wherewith *Ahaz* and *Manaſſes* had infected the Land was not ſo expelled by the zealous goodneſs of *Joſias*, but that it ſtill cleaved unto the chief of the people, *Yea unto the chief of the Prieſts alſo*; and therefore it was not ſtrange that the Kings had their part therein. *2 Chron. cap. 36. verſ. 14.* The Royal authority was much abaſed by the dangers wherein the Country ſtood, in this troubleſome Age: the Princes did in a manner what they liſted; neither would the Kings forbear to proſeſs, that they could deny them nothing. Yet the beginning of *Jehoiakim* had the countenance of the *Ægyptian* to grace it, which made him inſolent and cruel; as we find by that example of his dealing with *Uria* the Prophet: though herein alſo the Princes do appear to have been inſtigators. This holy Man denounced Gods judgments againſt the City, and Temple, in like ſort as other Prophets had formerly done, and did in the ſame Age. The King with all the men of power, and all the Princes, hearing of this, determined to put him to Death. Hereupon the poor Man fled into *Ægypt*: but ſuch regard was had unto *Jehoiakim*, that *Uria* was delivered unto his Embaſſador, and ſent back to the Death; contrary to the cuſtom uſed, both in thoſe days and ſince among all Civil Nations of giving refuge unto Strangers, that are not held guilty of ſuch inhumane Crimes, as for the general good of mankind ſhould be exempted from all priviledge.

It concerned *Pharaoh* to give all contentment poſſible to *Jehoiakim*; for the *Aſſyrian* Lion that had not ſtirred in many years, began about theſe times, to roar ſo loud upon the Banks of *Euphrates*, that his voice was heard unto *Nilus*, threatning to make himſelf Lord of all the *Foreſt*. The cauſes that hitherto had withdrawn the houſe of *Merodach* from oppoſing the *Ægyptian* in his Conqueſts of *Syria*, require our conſideration in this place; before we proceed to commit them together at *Charchemiſh*, where ſhortly after this, the glory of *Ægypt* is to fall.

§. III.

Of the Kings of Babylon *and* Media. *How it came to paſs that the Kings of* Babel *could not give attendance on their buſineſs in* Syria; *which cauſed them to loſe that Province.*

Merodach the Son of *Baladan* who taking the advantage that *Sennacherib's* miſadventure and death, together with the diſſention between his Children

Children presented, made himself King of *Babylon*, was eleven years troubled with a powerful Enemy *Asarhaddon* the Son of *Sennacherib*, reigning over the *Assyrians* in *Ninevie*; from whom whilst he could not any other way divert his cares, he was fain to omit all business in *Syria*, and (as hath been formerly shewed) to make over unto *Ezekia*, some part of the Kingdom of the ten Tribes. From this molestation, the death of *Asarhaddon* did not only set him free, but gave unto him some part of *Assyria*, if not (as is commonly but less probably thought) the whole Kingdom. How greatly this was to the liking of the *Assyrians* I will not here stand to enquire: his long Reign following, and his little intermedling in matters of *Syria* make it plain, that he had work enough at home, either in defending or in establishing that which he had gotten. *Josephus* gives him the honour of having won *Ninevie* it self; which we may believe; but surely he did not hold it long. For in the times soon following, that great City was free, and vanquished *Phraortes* the *Median*. Perhaps it yielded upon some capitulation: and refused afterwards to continue subject when the Kings being of the *Chaldean* race, preferred *Babylon* before it.

Some think that this was the *Assyrian* King whose Captains took *Manasses* Prisoner; but I rather believe those that told the contrary; for which I have given my reasons in due place: To say truth, I find little cause why *Merodach* should have looked into those parts, as long as the *Jews* were his Friends, and the *Ægyptians*, that maligned the Northern Empire, held themselves quiet at home, which was until the time of *Psammiticus*, about the end of this Kings Reign, or the beginning of his Son.

Ben Merodach the Son and successor of this King, is not mentioned in the Scriptures; yet is he named by good consent of Authors, and that speak little of his doings. The length of his Reign is gathered by inference to have been one and twenty years, for so much remaineth of the time that passed between the beginning of his Fathers and his Nephews Reigns (which is a known summ) deducting the years of his Father, and of his Son *Nabulassar*. This (as I take it) was he that had *Manasses* Prisoner and released him. He sped ill in *Syria*; where *Psammiticus*, by the vertue of his mercenary *Greeks*, did much prevail. This may have been some cause that he released *Manasses*, and did put into his hands some part more of the Kingdom of *Samaria*: which is made probable by circumstances alledged before.

Nabulassar that reigned in *Babylon* after his Father *Ben Merodach*, had greater business in his own Kingdom, than would permit him to look abroad: insomuch as it may be thought to have been a great negligence or over-sight of *Psammiticus* and *Neco*, that they did not occupy some good part of his Dominions beyond *Euphrates*. For it was in his time, that *Phraortes* King of the *Medes* invaded *Assyria*, and besieged *Ninevie*; from whence he was not repelled by any force of *Nabulassar*, but constrained to remove by the coming of *Scythians*, who in these ages did over-flow those parts of the World, laying hold upon all, that they could master by strong hand. Of these *Scythians*, and the Lordship that they held in *Asia*, it is convenient that I speak in this place; shewing briefly afore-hand, how the *Medes*, upon whom they first fell, were busied in the same times with hopes of conquering *Assyria*.

Phraortes, the Son of *Dejoces*, King of the *Medes*, having by many Victories enlarged his Dominions, conceived at length a fair possibility of making himself Lord of *Ninevie*.

That City (as *Herodotus* reports it) having been a Sovereign Lady was not forsaken of all her dependants; yet remained in such case, that of her self she was well enough. *Herod. lib.* 1.

This makes it plain, that howsoever *Merodach* had gotten possession of this Imperial Seat, and made it subject as was the rest of the Country; yet it found the means to set it self at liberty: as after this again it did appear, when it had been regained by *Nabulassar* his Grand-child.

Sharp War, and the very novelty of suddain violence, use to dismay any State or Country, not inured to the like: but custom of danger hardeneth even those that are unwarlike. *Ninevie* had been the Palace of many valiant Kings lately reigning therein; it had suffered, and resisted all the fury, wherewith either Domestical tumults between the Sons of *Sennacherib*, or Foreign War of the *Babylonians*, could afflict it: and therefore it is the less wonderful, that *Phraortes* did speed so ill in his journy against it. He and the most of his Army perished in that expedition: whereof I find no particular circumstances (perhaps he undervalued their Forces, and brought a less power than was needful.) It is enough, that we may herein believe *Herodotus*.

Cyaxares the Son of *Phraortes*, a braver Man of War than his Father, wan as much of *Asia* the less, as lay Eastward, from the River of *Halys*; he sought revenge upon the *Assyrians* for the death of his Father, and besieged *Ninevie* it self, having a purpose to destroy it. I rather believe *Eusebius, that he took the City and fulfilled his displeasure upon it*, than *Herodotus, that the* Scythian *Army came upon him whilst he lay before it*. For where equal Authorities are contradictory (as *Eusebius*, though far later than *Herodotus*, yet having seen other Authors, that are now lost, is to be valued according to his great reading) there do I hold it best, to yield unto the best likelihoods.

To think that the *Scythians* came upon *Cyaxares*, whilst he lay before *Ninevie*, were to accuse him of greater improvidence, than ought to be suspected in one commended as a good Soldier. But to suppose that he was fain to leave the Town, when a War so dangerous fell upon his own Country, doth well agree both with the condition of such business as that *Scythian* expedition brought into those parts, and with the State of the *Chaldean* and *Assyrian* affairs ensuing.

The destruction of this great City is both foretold in the Book of *Tobit*, and there set down as happening about these times; of which Book whosoever was the Author, he was ancient enough to know the Story of those ages, and hath committed no such error in reckoning of times, as should cause us to distrust him in this. As for the Prophecy of *Nahum*, though it be not limited unto any certain term, yet it appears to have taken effect, in the final destruction of *Ninevie* by *Nabuchodonosor*, according to the common opinion. For the Prophet hath mention of a Conquest of *Ægypt*, foregoing this calamity, whereof we will speak in due place. Some that ascribe more Authority, than the reformed Churches yield, to the Book of *Tobit*, are careful, as in a matter of necessity, to affirm, that about these times *Ninevie* was taken; but they attribute (conjecturally) the Victory over it, to *Ben Merodach*: a needless conjecture, if the place of *Eusebius* be well considered. Yet I hold it probable, that *Nabulassar* the Son of *Ben Merodach* did seize upon it, and place a King or Viceroy therein, about such

ſuch time as the Country of *Aſſyria* was abandoned by *Cyaxares*, when the *Scythian* War overwhelmed *Media*. For then was the Conqueſt wrought out ready to his hand; the ſwelling ſpirits of the *Ninivites* were allaied, and their malice to *Babylon* ſo aſſwaged, that it might be thought a great favour, if *Nabulaſſar*, appointing unto them a peculiar King, took him and them into protection: though afterwards, to their confuſion, this unthankful People and their King, rebelled again, as ſhall be ſhewed in the Reign of *Nabuchodonoſor*.

§. IV.

The great expedition of the Scythians, *who ruled in* Aſia *eight and twenty years.*

†. I.

The time of this expedition.

NOW that I have ſhewed, what impediment was given by the *Aſſyrians* and the *Medes*, to the *Babylonians*, who thereby were much diſabled, to perform any action of worth upon the *Ægyptians* in *Syria*: it is time that I ſpeak of that great *Scythian* expedition, which grievouſly afflicted not only the *Babylonians*, but the *Medes* and *Lydians*, with the Countries adjacent, in ſuch wiſe that part of the trouble redounded even to the *Ægyptians* themſelves. Of the *Scythian* People in general, *Herodotus* makes very large diſcourſe, but interlaced, as of matter ill known, with many Fables; of this expedition he tells many particulars, but ill agreeing with conſent of time. Concerning his fabulous reports, it will be needleſs to recite them, for they are far enough diſtant from the buſineſs in hand. The computation of times, which by inference out of his relations, may ſeem very ſtrange, needeth ſome anſwer in this place: leſt otherwiſe I ſhould either ſeem to make my ſelf too bold with an Author, in citing him after a manner different from his own tale; or elſe to be too forgetful of my ſelf, in bringing to act upon the Stage, thoſe Perſons, which I had already buried. Eight and twenty years he ſaith that the *Scythians* reigned in *Aſia*, before *Cyaxares* delivered the Country from them. Yet he reports a War, between *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes* the *Lydian*, as foregoing the Siege of *Ninivie*; the Siege of *Ninivie* being ere the *Scythians* came. And further he tells, how the *Scythians*, having vanquiſhed the *Medes*, did paſs into *Syria*, and were encountred in *Paleſtina* by *Pſammiticus* King of *Ægypt*, who by gifts and entreaty procured them to depart from him. Theſe Narrations of *Herodotus* may, every one of them, be true; though not in ſuch order of time as he hath marſhalled them. For *Pſammiticus* was dead before *Cyaxares* began to Reign: and *Cyaxares* had ſpent half of his forty years, ere *Halyattes* was King of *Lydia*; ſo that he could not, after thoſe *Lydian* Wars, Reign eight and twenty years together with the *Scythians*. It is true, that *Euſebius* doth alſo call *Pſammis* the Son of *Pharaoh Neco*, by the name of *Pſammiticus*; and this King *Pſammis* may, by ſome ſtrained conjecture, be thought to have been he that met with the *Scythians*: for he lived with both *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes*. But *Euſebius* himſelf refers all that buſineſs of the *Scythian* irruption into *Paleſtina*, to *Pſammiticus* the Father of *Neco*, whom he leaves dead before the Reign of *Halyattes*. Therefore I dare not relie upon *Herodotus*, in this matter, otherwiſe than to believe him, that ſuch things were in theſe ages, though not in ſuch order as he ſets them down.

It remains, that I collect as well as I can, thoſe Memorials which I find of this expedition ſcattered in divers places: a work neceſſary, for that the greatneſs of this action was ſuch, as ought not to be omitted in a general Hiſtory; yet not eaſie, the conſent of thoſe that have written thereof, being nothing near to uniformity.

I have noted before, that in the Reign of *Ardys* King of *Lydia*, the *Cimmerians* over-ran that Kingdom, and were not expelled, until *Halyattes* the Nephew of *Ardys* got the uper hand of them. In theſe times therefore of *Ardys*, *Sadyattes*, and *Halyattes*, are we to find the eight and twenty years, wherein the *Scythians* reigned over *Aſia*. Now foraſmuch as *Pſammiticus* the *Ægyptian* had ſome dealings with the *Scythians*, even in the heighth of their proſperity, we muſt needs allow more than one or two of his laſt years, unto this their Dominion. But the beginning of *Halyattes* his Reign in *Lydia*, being three and twenty years compleat after the death of *Pſammiticus*, leaves the ſpace very ſcant, either for the great Victories of the *Scythians*, neceſſarily ſuppoſed before they could meet the *Ægyptian* in *Syria*, or for thoſe many loſſes, which they muſt have received ere they could be driven quite away. To increaſe this difficulty, the victorious Reign of *Nabuchodonoſor* in *Babylon*, is of no ſmall moment. For how may we think it poſſible, that he ſhould have adventured the ſtrength of his Kingdom againſt the *Ægyptians* and *Jews*, had he ſtood in daily fear of loſing his own; to a more mighty Nation, that lay upon his Neck? To ſpeak ſimply as it appears to me; the Victories aſcribed to *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes* over theſe warlike People, were not obtained againſt the whole body of their Army, but were the defeatures of ſome Troops, that infeſted their ſeveral Kingdoms; other Princes, and among theſe, *Nabulaſſar* having the like ſucceſs, when the pleaſures of *Aſia* had mollified the outrages of theſe hardy Northern Lads. Wherefore we may probably annex the eight and twenty years of the *Scythians* Rule, to as many almoſt the laſt of *Nabulaſſar*'s Reign, in compaſs whereof their power was at the greateſt. This is all that I can ſay of the time, wherein *Aſia* ſuffered the violence of theſe Oppreſſors.

†. II.

What Nations they were that brake into Aſia; *with the cauſe of their journy.*

TOuching the expedition it ſelf, *Herodotus* tells us, that the *Cimmerians* being driven out of their Country by the *Scythians*, invaded and waſted ſome part of *Aſia*; and that the *Scythians* not contented with having won the Land of the *Cimmerians*, did follow them, I know not why, into far removed quarters of the World, ſo (as it were by chance) falling upon *Media* and *Ægypt*, in this purſuit of Men that were gone another way into *Lydia*. Hereby we may gather that the *Cimmerians* were an odious and baſe People; the *Scythians*, as miſchievous and fooliſh; or elſe *Herodotus*, and ſome other of his Country Men, great ſlanderers of thoſe, by whom their Nation had been beaten, and *Ionia*, more than once, grievouſly ranſackt. The great valour of the *Cimmerians* or *Cimbrians* is ſo well known, and their many Conqueſts

ſo

ſo well teſtified in Hiſtories of divers Nations, that the malice of the *Greeks* is inſufficient to ſtain them with the note of Cowards. Theſe were the poſterity of *Gomer*, who peopled the greateſt part of our Weſtern World; and whoſe re-flow did overwhelm no ſmall portion of *Greece* and *Aſia*, as well before and after, as in the age whereof we do now entreat. He that would more largely inform himſelf of their Original and Actions, may peruſe *Goropius Becanus* his *Amazonica*; of many things in which Book, that may be verified, which the learned *Ortelius* is ſaid to have ſpoken, of all *Goropius* his works, *that it is eaſie to laugh at them, but hard to confute them*: There we find it proved, by ſuch Arguments and Authorities, as are not lightly to be regarded, that the *Cimmerians*, *Scythians*, and *Sarmatians*, were all of one Lineage and Nation; howſoever diſtinguiſhed in name, by reaſon of their divers Tribes, Profeſſions, or perhaps Dialect of Speech. *Homer* indeed hath mention of the *Cimmerians*; whoſe Country whether he place in the Weſt, as near unto the Ocean and bounds of the Earth, or in the North, as being far from the Sun, and covered with Eternal darkneſs; certain it is that he would have them near Neighbors to Hell: for he had the ſame quarrel to them, which *Herodotus* had, and therefore belike would have made them ſeem a kind of *Goblins*. It was the manner of this great Poet (as *Herodotus* writing his Life affirms) to inſert into his Works the names of ſuch as lived in his own times, making ſuch mention of them, as the good or ill done by them to himſelf deſerved. And for this reaſon it is proved by *Euſtathius*, that the *Cimmerians* were ſo diſgraced by him, becauſe they had waſted his Country. Perhaps, that Invaſion of *Phrygia* by the *Amazons*, whereof *Homer* puts a remembrance into *Priamus* his Diſcourſe with *Helen*, was the very ſame, which *Euſebius* noteth to have happened ſomewhat before the age of *Homer*, at what time the *Cimmerians* with the *Amazons*, together invaded *Aſia*.

This is certain, that both the *Amazons* and the *Cimmerii* (who in after-times were called *Cimbri*) did often break into *Greece* and *Aſia*; which though it be not in expreſs terms written, that they did with joynt Forces, yet ſeeing they invaded the ſelf-ſame places, it may well be gathered, that they were Companions. One journy of the *Amazons* into *Greece*, mentioned alſo by *Euſebius*, was by the Streights of the *Cimmerians*, as we find in *Diodore*, who further telleth us, that the *Scythians* therein gave them aſſiſtance. The ſame Author, before his entry into thoſe diſcourſes of the *Amazons*, which himſelf acknowledgeth to be fabulous, doth report them to have been Wives of the *Scythians*, and no leſs Warlike than their Husbands; alledging the example of that Queen, who is ſaid to have ſlain the great *Perſian Cyrus*. That it was the manner of the *Cimbri* to carry their Wives along with them to the Wars; and how deſperate the courage was of thoſe Women; the terrible deſcent of them into *Italy*, when *Marius* the *Roman* overthrew them, gives proof ſufficient. I will not here enter into a diſcourſe of the *Amazons*; other place will give me better leiſure to ſpeak of them: but ſeeing that they are noted by divers Hiſtorians to have belonged unto the *Cimmerians*, to the *Scythians*, and to the *Sarmatians*, we may the better approve *Goropius* his concluſion, That theſe three Nations were one, at leaſt that they were near Allies.

Diod. lib. 4. c. 2.

Diod. lib. 2. c. 11.

Now concerning the expulſion of the *Cimmerians* by the *Scythians*, it appears to have been none other than the ſending a Colony of them forth into *Aſia*, with an Army of *Scythians* to help them, in purchaſing a new Seat, and eſtabliſhing the Plantation.

The *Sarmatians* alſo were Companions in this journy. For the City of *Novograd* in *Ruſſia* (which Country is the ſame that was called *Sarmatia*) ſtood in their way homewards, as ſhall anon be further ſhewed. So that all the North was up in Arms: and therefore it is no marvel though many Countries felt the weight of this great inundation. Such another voyage was that, which the ſame People made five hundred years and more after this, when they were encountred by the *Romans*. For they iſſued from the parts about the Lake *Meotis*; they were then likewiſe aſſiſted (ſaith *Plutarch* in the moſt likely report of them) by the *Scythians* their Neighbors; they had in their Army above three hundred thouſand fighting Men, beſides a huge Multitude of Women and Children; they wandered over many Countries, beating all down before them; and finally, thinking to have ſetled themſelves in *Italy*, they divided their Company, for the more eaſie paſſage thither, and were conſumed in three terrible Battels by the *Roman* Conſuls. Mere neceſſity enforced theſe poor Nations, to trouble the World, in following ſuch hard adventures. For their Country, being more fruitful of Men than of ſuſtenance, and ſhut up on the North-ſide with intolerable cold, which denied iſſue that way to their overſwelling Multitudes; they were compelled to diſcharge upon the South, and by right or wrong to drive others out of poſſeſſion, as having title to all that they had power to get, becauſe they wanted all, that weaker, but more civil, People had. Their ſturdy Bodies, patient of hunger, cold, and all hardneſs, gave them great advantage over ſuch as were accuſtomed unto a more delicate life, and could not be without a thouſand ſuperfluities. Wherefore commonly they prevailed very far; their next Neighbours giving them free paſſage, that they might the ſooner be rid of them; others giving them, beſides paſſage, Victuals and Guides to conduct them to more wealthy places; others hiring them to depart with great preſents; ſo as the farther they went on, the more pleaſant Lands they found, and the more effeminate People.

Plutarch in the Life of Marius.

†. III.

Of the Cimmerians *War in* Lydia.

THE firſt Company of theſe, conſiſting for the moſt part of *Cimmerians*, held the way of the *Euxine* Seas, which they had ſtill on the right hand; leaving on the other ſide, and behind them, the great Mountains of *Caucaſus*. Theſe having paſſed through the Land of *Colchis*, that is now called *Mengrelli*, entered the Country of *Pontus*, and being arrived in *Paphlagonia*, fortified the Promontory whereon *Sinope*, a famous Haven Town of the *Greeks*, was after built. Here it ſeems that they beſtowed the weakeſt and moſt unſerviceable of their Train, together with the heavieſt part of their Carriages, under ſome good Guard: as drawing near to thoſe Regions, in Conqueſt whereof they were to try the utmoſt hazard. For in like ſort afterwards did the *Cimbri* (of whom I ſpake even now) diſpoſe of their impediments, leaving them in a place of ſtrength, where *Antwerp* now ſtands, when they drew near unto *Gaul*, upon which they determined to adventure themſelves in the purchace. From *Sinope*, the way into *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, and *Ionia*, was fair and open to the *Cimmerians*, without any ledge of Mountains or any deep

Herod. lib. 4.

deep Rivers to ſtay their march: for *Iris* and *Halys* they had already paſſed.

What Battels were fought between theſe Invaders and the *Lydians*, and with what variable ſucceſs the one or other part wan and loſt, I find not written nor am able to conjecture. This I find, that in the time of *Ardys*, the *Cimmerians* got poſſeſſion of *Sardes* the Capital City of *Lydia*; only the Caſtle holding out againſt them. Further I obſerve, that whereas *Herodotus* tells of the acts performed by *Gyges* and *Ardys* Kings of *Lydia*, before this Invaſion, and by *Halyattes* and *Cræſus* in the times following; all that *Ardys* did againſt the *Cimmerians*, and all, ſave burning the *Mileſians* Corn-fields, that was done in twelve years by *Sardiattes* his Son (who perhaps had his hands ſo full of this buſineſs, that he could turn them to nothing elſe) is quite omitted: whereby it may ſeem, that neither of the two did any thing worthy of remembrance in thoſe Wars, but were glad enough that they did not loſe all.

Certainly, the Miſeries of War are never ſo bitter and many, as when a whole Nation, or great part of it, forſaking their own Seats, labours to root out the eſtabliſhed poſſeſſors of another Land, making room for themſelves, their Wives and Children. They that fight for the maſtery are pacified with Tribute, or with ſome other ſervices and acknowledgments, which had they been yielded at the firſt, all had been quiet, and no Sword bloodied. But in theſe migrations, the Aſſailants bring ſo little with them, that they need all which the Defendants have, their Lands and Cattle, their Houſes and their Goods, even to the Cradles of the ſucking Infants. The mercileſs terms of this controverſie arm both ſides with deſperate reſolution: ſeeing the one part muſt either win, or periſh by Famine; the other defend their Goods, or loſe their lives without redemption. Moſt of the Countries in *Europe* have felt examples hereof; and the mighty Empire of *Rome* was overthrown by ſuch Invaſions. But our Iſle of *Britain* can beſt witneſs the diverſity of Conqueſts; having by the happy Victory of the *Romans*, gotten the knowledge of all civil Arts; in exchange of Liberty, that was but ſlenderly inſtructed therein before, whereas the iſſue of the *Saxon* and *Daniſh* Wars, was, as were the cauſes, quite contrary. For theſe did not ſeek after the Dominion only, but the entire poſſeſſion of the Country, which the *Saxons* obtained, but with horrible cruelty, eradicating all of the *Britiſh* Race, and defacing all memorial of the ancient inhabitants through the greater part of the Land. But the *Danes* (who are alſo of the *Cimmerian* Blood) found ſuch end of their enterpriſe, as it may ſeem that the *Cimmerians* in *Lydia*, and *Scythians* in the higher *Aſia*, did arrive unto. So that by conſidering the proceſs of the one, we ſhall the better conceive the fortune of the other. Many Battles the *Danes* won; yet none of ſuch importance, as ſufficed to make them abſolute Conquerors: Many the *Saxons* won upon the *Danes*, yet not ſo great, as could drive them quite away, and back from hence, after they had gotten firm footing. But in courſe of time, the long continuance even of utter enmity, had bred ſuch acquaintance between them, as bowing the natures of both theſe People, made the one more pliant unto the other. So their diſagreeable qualities, both ill and good, being reduced into one mild temper, no ſmall number of the *Danes* became peaceable cohabitants with the *Saxons*, in *England*, where great ſlaughter had made large room; others returning home, found their own Country wide enough to receive them, as having diſburthened it ſelf of many thouſands, that were ſent to ſeek their Graves abroad. And ſuch (as I think) was the end of the *Cimmerian* War in *Lydia*; whereunto though ſome Victory of *Halyattes* may have haſtened the concluſion, yet the wearisome length of time ſeems to have done moſt in compelling them to deſire of reſt. I know not why I ſhould fear to add hereunto my further conjecture; which is, that the matter was ſo compounded between the *Cimmerians* and *Halyattes*, that the River of *Halys* ſhould divide their Territories. For *Halys* was henceforth the border of the *Lydians*, and on the Eaſtern-ſide of the River was the Country of the *Amazons*, that is indeed, of the *Cimmerians* and other *Scythian* People; whoſe Wives and Daughters theſe warlike Women are ſuppoſed to have been.

And hereunto the quarrel enſuing, between *Halyattes* and *Cyaxares* the *Mede*, hath very good reference. For *Halyattes* (as is ſaid) fought in defence of certain *Scythians*, upon whom the *Median* ſought revenge. And it ſtands with reaſon, that the *Lydians* and *Cimmerians*, being much weakened with mutual ſlaughters, ſhould have joyned in a League of mutual defence, for their common ſafety: though otherwiſe it had been dangerous to *Halyattes*, if he had permitted the *Median* to extend his Kingdom ſo far Weſtward, whatſoever the pretences might be, of taking revenge upon ſuch as had ſpoiled each of their Countries. As for that occaſion of the War between theſe two Kings, which *Herodotus* relates, I find it of litle weight, and leſs probability. He tells of *Scythians*, that being chaſed out of their Country by faction, came unto *Cyaxares*; who committed unto them certain Boys, to be inſtructed in the *Scythian* Tongue, and feat of Archery. Now it ſo fell out (ſaith he) that theſe *Scythians* uſing much to hunt, and commonly bringing home ſomewhat with them, did nevertheleſs otherwhiles miſs of their Game, and come home as they went. Hereupon the King being froward and cholerick, bitterly reviled them; and they, as impatient as he, killed one of the Boys that was under their charge, whom, dreſſing like Veniſon, they preſented unto him; which done they fled unto *Halyattes*. This *Herodotus* delivers, as the ground of a War that laſted ſix years between the *Medes* and *Lydians*; the one King demanding theſe Fugitives to be delivered into his hand; the other refuſing to betray ſuch Men as were become his ſuppliants. To this I will ſay no more, than that I ſee no cauſe that might induce the *Scythians*, to betake themſelves to either of theſe Kings, unto whom their Nation had wrought ſo much diſpleaſure. Particularly they had reaſon to diſtruſt *Cyaxares*, for the treachery that he ſhewed in the maſſacring of their Country Men, that were in his Kingdom; of whom it is now meet that we ſhould ſpeak. *Herod. lib. 1.*

†. IV.

The War of the Scythians *in the higher* Aſia.

AS the *Cimmerians* held their courſe Weſterly, along the ſhoars of the *Euxine* Sea: ſo the *Scythians* and *Sarmatians* took the other way, and having the *Caſpian* Sea on their left hand, paſſed between it and *Caucaſus* through *Albania*, *Colchene*, and other obſcure Nations, where now are the Countries of *Servan* and *Georgia*, and ſo they entered into *Media*. The *Medes* encountered them in Arms; but were beaten, and thereupon glad to come to any agreement with them. This was in

in the time of *Phraortes*, whilst *Psammiticus* Reigned in *Ægypt*. If it were in the sixth year of *Nabulassar*'s Reign over *Babylon* (supposing him to have Reigned five and Thirty; otherwise we must allow to *Ben Merodach* what we take from him) then do the eight and twenty years of their Dominion end, one year before the Great *Nabuchodonosor* was King; so giving him good leave to provide securely, for the Invasion of *Syria*, which Expedition he began while his Father yet lived, as *Josephus* out of *Berosus* relates the History.

Now the *Medes*, desirous to save themselves as well they might, from this terrible Nation, which when they had no lust to a second trial of the Sword, refused not to undergo the burthen of a Tribute, but thought nothing dishonourable, that would serve to remove these troublesome Guests into some other lodging. On the other part, the *Scythians* finding still the Countries pleasanter and better, the further that they marched into the South, did suffer themselves to be perswaded, that a little more travel, would add a great deal more to their content. For they relied so much upon their own valour, that they feared no resistance; and being the bravest Men, they thought it reason that they should dwell in the best Region. That *Phraortes* perswaded them into *Ægypt*. I do not think: *Babylon* was near enough; whither if he could send these Locusts to graze, then should not his unfriendly Neighbours have cause to laugh at his misfortune. What shift *Nabulassar* made with them, or that at all he had any dealings with them I do not read. But it is well known, that his Dominions lay in the midst between *Media* and *Ægypt*; as also, that they made all those parts of *Asia* Tributary; wherefore we may very well believe, that they watered their Horses in his Rivers, and that he also was content to give them Provender.

Psammiticus hearing of their progress (like the jealous Husband of a fair Wife) took care that they might not look upon *Ægypt*; lest the sight thereof should more easily detain them there, than any force or perswasion, that he could use, would send them going. Therefore he met them in *Syria*, presuming more on the great gifts which he meant to bestow upon them, than on his Army that should keep them back. *Ægypt* was rich; and half the riches thereof had not been ill spent in saving all. Yet *Psammiticus* took the most likely course, whereby to make his part good against them by strong hand, in case they had been so obstinate as to refuse all indifferent composition. For he lay close upon the edge of the Wilderness in *Gaza* (as I take it) the Southermost border of *Palæstina*; whence he never advanced to meet with the *Scythians*; but gave them leave to feel as much of the scalding Sun-beams, ill agreeing with their temper, as all the length of *Syria* could beat upon them. When they were come as far as *Ascalon*, the next City to *Gaza*, then did he assay them with goodly words, accompanied with gifts, which were likely to work so much the better, by how much the worse they were pleased with the heat of a Climate so far different from their own. *Psammiticus* had at his back a vast Wilderness, over the scorching sands whereof, the *Scythians* more patient of Cold and wet, than of the contrary destempers, could ill have indured to pursue him, through unknown ways, had they fought with him and prevailed: especially the Kingdom of *Ægypt* being ready to entertain him with relief, and them with new trouble at the end of their weary journy. Wherefore they were content to be intreated, and taking in good part his courteous offers, returned back to visit their acquaintance in the high Countries. The *Ægyptian* King (besides that he preserved his own Estate from a dangerous adventure, by hiring this great Army to depart from him) found all his Cost well repayed in the process of his Wars in *Syria*, where the Nations beyond *Euphrates* had no power to molest him, being more than ever troubled themselves, with the return of their oppressors. For the *Scythians*, resolved now to seek no further, began to demand more than the Tribute formerly imposed. And not contented to fleece the Naturals with grievous exactions, they presumed to live at discretion upon the Country, taking what they listed from the Owners; and many times (as it were to save the labour of taking often) taking all at once. This Tyrannous Dominion they long used over the higher *Asia*, that is, over the Country lying between the *Caspian* and Red Seas, and between *India* and *Asia* the Less. Happy it was for the poor people, that in so large a space of ground, there was room enough for these new Comers; otherwise the calamity that fell, as it were by chance, upon those private Men, to whose wealth any *Scythian* did bear a fancy, would have lighted in general upon all at one clap, leaving few alive, and none able to relieve their fellows. Yet it seems that the heaviest burthen lay upon *Media*; for it was a fruitful Country not far from their own home, and lay under a Climate well agreeing with the Constitution of their Bodies; there also it was that they had the fatal blow, by which their insolent Rule was taken from them.

Cyaxares King of the *Medes*, who in this extremity was no better than a Rent-gatherer for the *Scythians*, perceiving that his Land lay unmanured and waste, through the negligence of his people, that were out of heart by daily oppressions, and that the matter could not be remedied by open force, resolved to prove what might be done by Stratagem. The managing of the business is thus delivered in brief; That he, and his *Medes*, feasted the better part of the *Scythians*; made them drunk; and slew them; recovering hereby the possession of all that they had lost. *Herod. lib.* 1.

Such another slaughter was committed upon the *Danes* in *England*; but it was revenged by their Countrimen, with greater cruelties than ever they had practised before. That the *Scythians*, which escaped this bloody Feast, made any stir in *Media*, I do not find; neither do I read that either in revenge hereof, or upon other pretence, the *Medes* were troubled by Invasion from *Scythia* in time following.

This is the more strange, for that the Army returning home out of *Media* was very strong, and encountred with opposition (as *Herodotus* reports it) no less than it had found abroad. Wherefore it may be, that the device of *Cyaxares* to free his Country, took good effect, with less blood shed than hath been supposed. For if he surprised all the chief of them, it was no hard matter to make a good composition. Many of them doubtless in eight and twenty years had so well setled *Herod. lib.* 4.

themselves, that they were desirous of rest, and might be permitted, without any danger, to remain in the Country; many (of whom I shall speak anon) having done what they could in the business, for which they came forth, were willing to return home, with what they had gotten; such as were not pleased with either of these two courses, might go joyn with the *Cimmerians* in *Lydia*, or seek their fortunes in other Provinces, among their own Companions. Whereas *all the Families of the North* are said to have been with *Nabuchadnezzar*, it may be understood, that a great part of the *Scythians*, upon hope of gain, or desire to keep what they had already gained, were content to become subject unto *Nabulassar*: Mens love of their wealth being most effectual, in taming the more unquiet love of inordinate liberty. This is certain, that *Nabuchadnezzar*, as ever after, so in his first beginning of War, did beat the *Ægyptians*, who in Ages foregoing had been accustomed to deal with the *Babylonians*, after another fashion: and this new success of that King may be imputed, in regard of humane means, to such addition as this of new Forces.

Jer. 25.9.

Of the *Scythian* Army returning out of *Media*, divers Authors report a Story, which confirms me in the opinion, that this Company went forth to assist their Kindred and Friends, in acquiring a new Seat, and establishing their Plantation. For these had left their Wives behind them; a good argument to prove that they meant to come again. The *Scythian* Women to comfort themselves in their Husbands absence, became bed-fellows to their Slaves. These got a lusty brood of youths, that were loth to be troubled with Fathers-in-Law, and therefore prepared to fight with them at their return. If they were only the Children of Slaves which compounded an Army (as *Herodotus* would have it, who tells us, that the *Scythians* were wont to pull out all their Bond-mens Eyes) it must needs be that they were very Boys, or else that the Women did very little while continue chast. Wherefore I rather believe the Tale as it is told by the *Russes* themselves, who agreeing in the rest with the consent of Histories, make that report of their Ancestors returning homewards, which I will set down, as I find it, in Mr. *Doctor Fletcher* his exact discourse of the *Russe Common-wealth*. *They understood by the way that their Cholopey, or Bond-slaves whom they left at home, had in their absence possessed their Towns, Lands, Houses, Wives, and all. At which news being somewhat amazed, and yet disdaining the Villany of their Servants, they made the more speed home: and so not far from* Novogrod *met them in Warlike manner marching against them. Whereupon advising what was best to be done, they agreed also to set upon them with no other shew of Weapon but with their Horse-whips (which as their manner is every Man rideth withall) to put them in remembrance of their servile condition, thereby to terrifie them, and abate their courage. And so marching on, and lashing all together with their Whips in their hands, they gave the onset. Which seemed so terrible in the ears of their Villains, and struck such a sense into them of the smart of the Whip, which they had felt before, that they fled all together like Sheep before the Drivers. In memory of this Victory, the* Novogradians *ever since have stamped their Coin (which they call a Dingoe Novogrodskoy, current through all* Russia) *with the figure of a Horseman shaking a Whip aloft in his Hand.* It may seem, that all the Women of that Country, have fared the worse ever since, in regard of this universal Fault: for such a Podkey or Whip, as terrified those Slaves, curiously wrought by her self, is the first Present that the *Moscovian* Wife, even in time of Wooing, sends to him that shall be her Husband, in token of subjection; being well assured, to feel it often on her own Loins. But this was a Document unto the *Scythians*, or rather *Sarmatians*, (for *Novograd* stands in the Country that was called *Sarmatia*) to beware of absenting themselves any more so long from their Wives; which after this, I find not that they did.

Ruſ. Com. monw. cap. 4.

Thus much I thought good to set down of the *Scythian* Expedition; not only because it is the most memorable act performed abroad by that Nation, famous in Histories, and terrible to many Countries; but for that it appears to have been a great cause, of the *Ægyptians* prevailing hitherto in *Syria*, and about *Judea*, which continues yet a while the Centre of our Discourse.

§. V.

Of Princes living in divers Countries in those Ages.

HAving thus far digressed from the matters of *Juda*, to avoid all further occasion of doing the like, I will here insert a note of such Kings and Men of Mark, as were between the death of *Manasses*, and the ruine of *Jerusalem*. Of the *Ægyptians*, *Babylonians*, *Medes*, and *Lydians*, I have spoken as much, as I thought needful. In *Rome*, *Tullus Hostilius* held the Kingdom, until the one and twentieth year of *Josias*; at which time *Ancus Marcius* succeeding Reigned four and twenty years. After him *L. Tarquinius Priscus*, a new-come Stranger, but very rich, prevailed so far by his graciousness among the people, that he got the Kingdom to himself, disappointing the Sons of *Ancus*, over whom he was Tutor. He began in the fourth year of *Zedekia*, and Reigned eight and thirty years. In this time it was, namely in the second year of the thirtieth Olympiad, that the *Lacedæmonians*, bethinking them how to be avenged of the *Arcadians*, who gave succour to the *Messenians* against them in the former War, entred the Territory, took the City of *Phigalia* or *Phialia*, from whence their Garrisons were soon after beaten out. *Cypselus* expelling the Race of the *Bacida* made himself Lord of *Corinth* about these times, and governed it in peace thirty years; leaving for Successor his Son *Periander*, one of the seven Sages, but a cruel Tyrant: who among other vile Acts, slew his own Wife, and afterwards, as in her honour, stripped all the *Corinthian* Women stark naked, burning their Apparrel, as an acceptable offering to her Ghost. Hereby we may perceive that the wisdom of the *Greeks*, was not excellent in those days; when such a one as this could be admired as excelling all the Country.

In these times also were *Zaleucus*, and *Draco*, famous Law givers, the one among the *Locrians* in *Italy*, the other in the City of *Athens*. The Laws of *Draco* were so rigorous, that he was said to have written them with blood: for he rewarded every

every small offence with death. Wherefore his Constitutions were soon abrogated, and power given to *Solon*, by the *Athenians*, to make new in their stead. But the Laws of *Zaleucus* were very mild. He forbad any Gentlewoman to walk abroad with more than one Bond-woman attending on her, *unless it were when she was Drunk*; or to go forth of the Town by Night, unless it were to some Sweet-hearts Bed; or to dress herself up in immodest bravery, unless it were to inveigle a Lover. By which pleasant Ordinances, he effected his desire: for none would seem, in breaking the Statutes, to be in such case as challenged the Dispensation. It is noted in this Man as a singular example of justice, that when his own Son had committed Adultery, and was therefore to lose both his Eyes, he did not cause him to be pardoned, but gave one Eye of his own to save the young Man (who also lost one) from utter blindness.

I shall not henceforth need, so far to wander, as hitherto I often have done, in pursuing of actions collateral to the History, for inserting them in their order of time. The *Chaldæans* will soon fall under the *Persians*; the *Persians*, ere long, encounter with the *Greeks*, the *Greeks* with the *Romans*; the *Romans*, with many Nations. Concerning all these, as they shall successively present themselves, in their flourishing Estate; it will be enough to recapitulate the most memorable accidents, that befel them in their Minority. But in the long space of more than thirteen hundred years, which passed between *the calling of Abraham*, and the destruction of *Jerusalem*, we find little matter, wherein the History of *Israel* had any dealing with other Nations, than the very neerest borderers. Yet read we of many Kingdoms, that in these many Ages, were erected, and thrown down: as likewise, many memorable Acts were performed in *Greece* and elsewhere, though not following one another at any near distance; all which must have been quite omitted, or else reserved unto a very unseasonable rehearsal, had they not been disposed in this method, whereof he that will not allow the conveniency, may pardon the necessity.

§. VI.

The oppression of Judæa, *and destruction of* Jerusalem *by the* Chaldæans.

NOW to return to the *Jewish* Story, from whence we have so far digressed. In the third year of *Jehoiakim*, *Nabuchodonosor* the second, his Father yet living, entred *Judæa* with a great Army, who besieging and forcing *Jerusalem*, made *Jehoiakim* his Vassal in despight of *Necho* that had established him King, and took with him for pledges *Daniel*, being as yet a Child, with *Ananias*, *Misael*, and *Azarias*. Also he took a part of the Church-Treasures; but staied not to search them throughly; for *Necho* hasted to the succour of *Jehoiakim*, hoping to find *Nabuchodonosor* in *Judæa*: wherein this great *Babylonian* had no disposition to hazzard himself and his Army, it being a Country of an evil affection towards him, as also far off from any succour or sure place of retreat. If he had, as may be supposed, any great strength of *Scythian* Horse-men in his Army; it was the more wisely done of him, to fall back, out of that rough, mountainous, and over-hot Country, into places that were more even and temperate. But besides all these reasons, the death of his Father, happening at the same time, gave him just occasion to return home; and take possession of his own Kingdom, before he proceeded further in the second care, of adding more unto it. This he did at reasonable good leisure: for the *Ægyptian* was not ready to follow him so far and to bid him battel, until the New Year came in; which was the fourth of *Jehoiakim*, the first of *Nabuchodonosor*, and the last of *Necho*. In this year the *Babylonian* lying upon the Bank of *Euphrates* (his own Territory bounding it on the North-side) attended the arrival of *Necho*. There, after a resolved contention for Victory, *Necho* was slain, and his Army remaining forced to save it self, which full ill it did, by a violent retreat. This Victory *Nabuchodonosor* so well pursued, as he recovered all *Syria*, and whatsoever the *Ægyptians* held out of their proper Territory towards the North. The *Ægyptians* being in this conflict beaten, and altogether for the present discouraged, *Jehoiakim* held himself quiet, as being friend in heart unto the *Ægyptian*, yet having made his peace with the *Chaldæan* the year before; who contented with such profit as he could then readily make, had forborn to lay any Tribute upon *Juda*. But this cool reservedness of *Jehoiakim* was, on both sides, taken in ill part. The *Ægyptian* King *Psammis*, who succeeded unto *Necho*, began to think upon restoring *Jehoahaz*, taken Prisoner by his Father, and setting him up, as a Domestical Enemy, against his ungrateful Brother. Against all such accidents, the *Judæan* had prepared the usual remedy, practised by his Forefathers: for he had made his own Son *Jechonia* King with him long before, in the second year of his own Reign, when the Boy was but *Eight years old*. As for this rumour of *Jehoahaz* his return; the Prophet *Jeremy* foretold, that it should prove idle, saying: *He shall not return thither, but he shall die in the place whither they have led him Captive, and shall see this Land no more*. The *Ægyptians* indeed, having spent all their Mercenary forces, and received that heavy blow at *Carchemish*, had not remaining such proportion of sharp Steel, as of fair Gold, which without other help, is of little effect. The valour of *Necho* was not in *Psammis*. *Apries* who Reigned after *Psammis*, did once adventure to shew his face in *Syria*; but after a bigg look, he was glad to retire, without adventuring the hazzard of a battel. Wherefore this decaying Nation fought only with brave words; telling such frivolous tales, as Men, that mean to do nothing, use, of their glorious Acts forepassed, against *Josias* and *Jehoahaz*. In this case it was easie for *Jehoiakim* to give them satisfaction, by letting them understand, the sincerity of his affection towards them; which appeared in time following. But *Nabuchodonosor* went to work more roundly. He sent a peremptory message to *Jehoiakim*, willing him not to stand upon any nice points, but acknowledge himself a Subject, and pay him Tribute: adding hereunto such fearful threats, as made the poor *Judæan* lay aside all thought of *Pharaoh*, and yield to do, as the more mighty would have him. So he continued in the obedience of *Nabuchodonosor* three years. At this time *Jeremy* the Pro-

2 *Chron.* 36. 9.

Jer. 22, 11, & 12.

Joseph. Ant. lib. 10. *cap.* 7.

phet cried out against the *Jews*, putting them in mind that he had now three and twenty years exhorted them to Repentance, but because they had stopt their Ears against him, and the rest of the Prophets, he now pronounced their Captivity at hand, and that they should endure the yoke of bondage full seventy years. The same calamity he threatned to all the Neighbouring Nations, to the *Ægyptians*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Idumæans*, and the rest; foretelling that they should all drink out of the *Babylonian* Pitcher, the Wine of His Fury, whom they had forsaken, and after the seventy years expired, that the *Babylonians* themselves should taste of the same Cup, and be utterly subverted by the *Medes*, and the *Judæans* permitted to return again into their own Fields and Cities. The first imprisonment of the Prophet *Jeremy* seems to have been in the fourth year of this *Jehoiakim*, at which time *Baruch* the Scribe wrote all his Prophecies out of his mouth, whom he sent to read them unto the people, and afterward to the Princes, who offered them to the King: but fearing the Kings fury they had first set *Jeremy* at liberty, and advised him and *Baruch* to hide themselves.

Jer. 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51.

Jehoiakim after he heard a part of it and perceived the ill news therein delivered, made no more ado but did cut the Book in pieces and cast it into the Fire. All which *Jeremy* caused to be new written, with this addition; that the dead Body of *Jehoiakim*, should be cast out, exposed in the day to the Heat, and in the night to the Frost, and that there should be none of his Seed to sit on the Throne of *David*.

Time thus running on, while *Jehoiakim* rested secure of all danger, as Tributary to the *Babylonian*, yet well thought of by the *Ægyptian*; the mighty City of *Tyre* opposed it self against the *Chaldæan* Forces; and upon just confidence of her own strength, despised all preparation that could be made against her. Now forasmuch as the term of seventy years, was prescribed unto the desolation, as well of *Tyre*, as of *Jerusalem*, and other Towns and Countries; it is apparent, that they which refer the expugnation of this City unto the nineteenth year of *Nabuchodonosor*, have sure Authority for their warrant. Whereupon likewise it follows of necessity, that the Siege thereof began in the seventh of his Reign; as having lasted thirteen years.

Here I will take leave to intrude a brief note, concerning the several beginnings that are reckoned of this great Prince his Rule, whereupon hath risen much disputation. The third year of *Jehoiakim*, was the last of *Nabulassar*, who being delivered from other cares, took notice of such as had revolted from him unto *Pharaoh Necho*, and sent this Noble Prince, his Son, with an Army into *Syria*, to reclaim them. In this expedition was *Daniel* carried away, who therefore makes mention of the same year. The year next following, being the fourth of *Jehoiakim*, was the first of *Nebuchadnezzar*; which *Jeremy* affirmeth in express words; and from this we reckon all his time and actions that follow. In his three and twentieth year he conquered *Ægypt*; and then began to Reign as a great Monarch, finding none that durst offend him. The second from this year it was, wherein he saw that Vision, of the Image consisting of sundry Metals; which did prefigurate the succession of great Kingdoms, that should rule the Earth, before the coming of Christ. I will not stand to dispute about this, which is the best conclusion that I find, of long disputations: but return unto the Siege of *Tyre*, which began in the seventh of his Reign.

Dan. c. 1. v. 1.

Jer. 25. 1.

The City of *Tyre* covered all the ground of an Island, that was divided from the Main, by a deep and broad Channel of the Sea. The *Chaldæans* had no Fleet, and were no Sea-men; the *Tyrians*, in multititude of goodly Ships, and skill to use them, excelled all other Nations; and every Wind, from one part or other, brought needful provisions into the City. Wherefore neither Force, nor Famine could greatly hurt the place; whereof nevertheless the Judgments of God (denounced against it by *Isaiah*, *Jeremy*, *Ezekiel*,) had threatned the destruction; and the obstinate resolution of *Nebuchodonosor*, had fully determined to perform it. This high-minded King, impatient of resistance, undertook a vast piece of work; even to fill up the Sea, that parted the Island from the Continent. The City of old *Tyrus*, that stood opposite to the new, upon the firm Land, and the Mountain of *Libanus* near adjoyning that was loaden with Cedars, and abundance of other Trees, might furnish him with materials. Thirteen years were spent, in this laborious, and almost hopeless business. Which needeth not seem strange: for *Alexander* working upon that Foundation which was remaining of *Nabuchodonosor*'s Peer; and being withal assisted by a strong Fleet, was yet seven months ere he could make way into the City. Wherefore, if the raging of the Sea was able to carry away that wherewith *Alexander* laboured to cover a Shelve; with much more violence could it overturn, and as it were consume, the work of *Nabuchodonosor*, who laid his Foundations in the bottom of the deep; striving as it were, to fill the empty Belly of this Cormorant; whereas the *Macedonian* did only stop the throat of it. Every Man knows, God could have furthered the accomplishment of his own threats, against this place (though it had not pleased him to use, either Miracle, or such of his more immediate Weapons, as are Earth-quakes, and the like) by making at least the Seas calm, and adding the favourable concurrence of all second helps. But so it pleaseth him oftentimes, in chastising the pride of Man, to use the hand of Man; even the hand of Man striving, as may seem, against all resistance of Nature and Fortune. So in this excessive labour of the *Chaldæans*, *Every head was made bald, and every shoulder was made bare.* Yet *Nabuchodonosor* would not give over till he was Master of the Town.

Isai. 23. Jer. 25. Ezek. 26.

Ezek. 29.

When he was entred upon this desperate service; whether it were so, that some losses received, some mutiny in his Army, or (which is most likely; and so *Josephus* reports it) some glorious rumors of the *Ægyptians*, gave courage to his evil willers; *Jehoiakim* renounced his subjection, and began to hope for the contrary of that which quickly fell out. For *Nabuchodonosor* gave him no leisure to do much hurt: but with part of his Army marched directly into *Judea*; where the amazed King made so little resistance (the *Ægyptians* having left him, as it were in a Dream) that he entred *Jerusalem*, and laid hands on *Jehoiakim*: whom he first bound and determined to send to *Babylon*, but changing Counsel, he caused him to be slain

Jos. An. Jud. l. 10. c. 7.

slain in the place, and gave him the Sepulchre of an Ass, to be devoured by Beasts and ravenous Birds, according to the former Prophecies: leaving in his place, *Jehoiakim* or *Jechonias* his Son; whom after three months and ten days *Nabuchodonosor* removed and sent Prisoner to *Babylon*, with *Ezekiel*, *Mardochæus*, and *Josedech*, the High Priest. The Mother of *Jechonias*, together with his Servants, Eunuchs, and all the ablest Men, and best Artificers of the Land, were also then carried away Captives. This *Jechonias*, following the Counsel of *Jeremy* the Prophet, made no resistance, but submitted himself to the Kings will: wherein he both pleased God, and did that which was best for himself; though at the present it might seem otherwise, to such as considered the evil that befel him, rather than the greater evil that he thereby avoided. This only particular act of his is recorded; which was good. But it seems that he was partaker, at least, of his Fathers faults, if not an instigator: which was the cause, that his submitting himself to Gods pleasure did not preserve his Estate: for so we read in general words, that *he did evil in the sight of the Lord, according to all that his Father had done.* In his stead *Nabuchodonosor* established *Mathania* his Uncle in the Kingdom of *Juda*, and called him *Zedekias*, which is as much to say, as *the Justice of God.* For like as *Necho*, King of *Ægypt*, had formerly displaced *Jehoahaz*, after his Father *Josias* was slain, and set up *Jehoiakim* the Son of another Mother; so *Nabuchodonosor* slew *Jehoiakim* who depended on the *Ægyptians*, and carrying his Son *Jechonias* Prisoner to *Babel*, gave the Kingdom to this *Zedekias*, that was whole Brother to that *Jehoahaz*, whom *Neco* took with him into *Ægypt*. From *Zedekias* he required an Oath for his faithful obedience, which *Zedekias* gave him, and called the living God to witness in the same, that he would remain assured to the Kings of *Chaldea*.

In the first year of *Zedekias*, *Jeremy* saw and expounded the Vision of the ripe and rotten Grapes, the one signifying those *Judæans* that were carried away Captive, the other those that stayed, and were destroyed.

In the fourth of *Zedekiah*, *Jeremy* wrote in a Book all the evil that should fall upon *Babylon*, which Book or Scroll he gave to *Sheraia*, when he went with the King *Zedekias* to *Babylon*, to visit *Nabuchodonosor*; willing him first to read it to the Captive *Jews*, and then to bind it to a Stone, and cast it into *Euphrates*, pronouncing these words: *Thus shall Babel be drowned, and shall not rise from the evil that I will bring upon her.* The journy of *Zedekias* to *Babel* is probably thought to have been in way of Visitation, carrying some Presents. But I further think, that he had some Suit there to make, which his Lordly Master refused to grant, and sent him away discontented. For at his return all the bordering Princes sent Messengers to him, inciting him (as it seems) to those unquiet courses, from which *Jeremy* dehorted both him and them. *Jer. 27.* The Prophet, by Gods appointment, made Bonds and Yokes; one of which he wore about his own Neck, others he sent unto the five Kings of *Edom*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Tyre*, and *Zidon*, by those Messengers which came to visit *Zedekias*: making them know, that if they and the Kings of *Juda* abode in the obedience of *Babylon*, they should then possess and enjoy their own Countries; if not, they should assuredly perish by the Sword, by Fire, and by Pestilence.

He also foretold them, that those Vessels, which as yet remained in *Jerusalem*, should also travel after the rest, and at length they should be restored again.

The same year *Ananias*, the false Prophet, took off the wooden Chain which *Jeremy* ware, in sign of the Captivity of the *Jews*, and brake it: Vaunting, that in like manner, after two years, God would break the strength of *Babel*, and the yoke which he laid on all Nations; restore *Jechonias*, and all the *Jews*, with the Vessels and Riches of the Temple, and give an end to all these troubles. But *Jeremy* instead of his wooden Yoke ware a Collar of Iron: and in sign that *Ananias* had given a deceitful and false hope to the People, he foretold the death of this cold Prophet, which seized upon him in the second month. After this, when *Zedechias* had wavered long enough between Faith and Passion, in the eighth year of his Reign he practised more seriously against *Nabuchodonosor*, with his Neighbours the *Edomites*, *Ammonites*, *Moabites*, *Tyrians*, and others that were promised great aids of the *Ægyptians*: in confidence of whose resistance, he determined to shake off the *Babylonian* Yoke. Hereof when *Nabuchodonosor* had knowledge, he marched with his Army in the dead of Winter, toward *Jerusalem*, and besieged it. *Jeremy* perswaded *Zedekias* to render the City and himself: but being confident of the help from *Ægypt*, and being perswaded by his Counsellors, and false Prophets, that it was impossible that the Kingdom of *Juda* should be extirpate, until the coming of *Silo* (according to the Prophecy of *Jacob*) he despised the words of *Jeremy* and imprisoned him. For *Gen. 49. 10.* *Jeremy* had told the King, that the City should be taken and burnt; that the King should not escape, *Jer. 32. & 34.* but be taken Prisoner, and brought to the presence of *Nabuchodonosor*; that he should not perish by the Sword, but being carried to *Babel*, die his natural death.

Jerusalem being, the following year, surrounded by *Nabuchodonosor*'s Army; the King of *Ægypt*, *Pharaoh Hophra* according to *Jeremy* (*Herodotus* *Jer. 44.* calleth him *Apries*) entred the border of *Juda*, with *Herod. l. 2.* his Army, to succour *Zedekias*, of whose revolt he had been the principal Author. But *Jeremy* gave the *Jews* faithful Counsel, willing them not to have any trust in the succours of *Ægypt*: for he assured them, that they should return again, and in no sort relieve them. And it fell out accordingly. For when the *Chaldæans* removed from *Jerusalem* to encounter the *Ægyptians*, these vaunting Patrons abandoned their enterprise, and taking *Gaza* in their way homeward returned into *Ægypt*, as if they had already done enough; leaving the poor People of *Jerusalem* to their destined miseries.

In the mean while the *Jews*, who, in their first extremity, had manumised their *Hebrew* Bondmen (as Gods Law required at the year of *Jubilee*) and made them Free, thereby the better to encourage them to fight; did now upon the breaking up of the *Chaldæan* Army, repent them of their Charity: and thinking all had been at an end, held them perforce to their former slavery. But the *Chaldees* being returned to the Siege, *Jer. 34.* the

Levit. 25. 39, 40, &c.

the Prophet *Jeremy*, when the State of *Jeruſalem* began now to grow to extremity, counſelled *Zedekias* to render himſelf unto them; aſſuring him of his own life, and the ſafety of the City, if he would ſo do. But his obſtinate heart conducted him to that wretched end, which his neglect of God, and his Infidelity and Perjury, had provided for him.

Jer. 39. Three and twenty Months (as ſome do reckon it) or according to *Joſephus* eighteen; the *Babylonian* Army lay before *Jeruſalem*, and held it exceeding ſtraitly beſieged. For *they built Forts againſt it round about*, or (as *P. Martyr* hath it) *extruxerunt contra eam turrem ligneam per circuitum, they ſurrounded the City with wooden Towers*, ſo as the beſieged could neither ſally out, nor receive into the City any ſupply of Men or Victuals. *Joſephus* reports, that they over-topped the Walls, with high Towers raiſed upon Mounts; from which they did ſo beat upon the Wall with their Engines, that the Defendants were compelled to forſake their ſtations. Now although it were ſo that the beſieged alſo raiſed Counter-buildings, like unto theſe, yet the great King of *Babel*, who commanded all the Regions thereabouts, and had the Woods and Rivers to obey him, found means to overthrow all the Citizens endeavours; and to beat down as faſt from without, as they raiſed from within; the Body and Foundation of his own Works being guarded, by the Walls of *Jeruſalem* interpoſed; and theirs within, laid open to their Enemies diſturbance. Beſides, both Famine and Peſtilence (which commonly accompany Men ſtraitly beſieged) grew on faſt upon them, whereby, when the number, ſtrength, and courage of the *Jews* failed, the *Chaldæans* made a breach, and forcing an entry, their Princes did ſeat themſelves, as Lords of the Town, in the middle Gate. *Zedekias* beholding this uncomfortable ſight, and finding no remedy of the danger preſent, loſt both his courage and his hope at once; and ſhifted himſelf together with his Wives, Children, Princes, and principal Servants, out of the City, by a way under ground; leaving his amazed and guideleſs People, to the mercileſs Swords of their Enemies. Thus he, who, when *Jeremy* the Prophet perſwaded him to render himſelf, deſpiſed both the Counſel of God and the force of *Nabuchodonoſor*; uſed now that remedy, which *Wolphius* truly termeth, *triſte, turpe, & infelix, woful, ſhameful*, and *unfortunate*.

Joſeph. Ant. Jud. lib. 10. cap. 11.

By this ſecret ſubterrane Vault, *Zedekias* making his ſtealth, recovered (by the help of the dark night) the Plains or Deſerts of *Jericho*: but by reaſon of the Train, that followed him and his, (every one leading with him thoſe whom they held moſt dear unto them) he was eaſily traced and purſued. How great ſoever the company was that attended on him, yet, as *Joſephus* reports it, they on whoſe fidelity he moſt repoſed himſelf, no ſooner beheld the *Chaldæans* approach, but they all abandoned his defence, and ſhifted themſelves into the Deſarts as they could. For whom God had forſaken, no Man followed, but the Miniſters of his Vengeance; by whom *Zedechias* being made Priſoner, with his Children, and Princes, he was conveighed to *Rebla* or *Reblath* a City (as ſome think) of *Nepthalim*, where *Nabuchodonoſor* then lay, as a place indifferent between *Jeruſalem* and *Tyre*, with both which at once he had to do.

Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 10. cap. 11.

Now after *Nabuchodonoſor* had laid before *Zedechias* the many graces and benefits conferred upon him, together with the notable falſhood and perjury wherewith he had requited them; he commanded his Children, Princes, and Friends to be ſlain before his Face. This being done, to the end that ſo lamentable a ſpectacle ſhould be the laſt, that ever he ſhould behold in the World, he cauſed his Eyes to be torn out of his Head, and ſo carried him in a ſlaviſh manner to *Babel*, where he conſumed the reſt of his wretched life in perpetual impriſonment. Herein this moſt marvelous Prophecy of *Ezechiel* was performed; *Adducam eum in Babylonem & ipſam non videbit. I will bring him into* Babylon *and he ſhall not ſee it.*

Thus in the Eleventh and laſt year of *Zedekias* which was the Eighteenth of *Nabuchodonoſor*, the *Chaldæans* entred the City by force, where ſparing no Sex nor Age, they committed all to the Sword that they therein found. *Ezech. 12.*

In the year next following, *Nabuzaradan*, General of the Army, burnt the Kings Palace, and the reſt of *Jeruſalem*: and after this fire had laſted from the ſeventh to the tenth day, he alſo burnt the Temple of God to the Ground, when it had ſtood four hundred thirty and one years. 3434

After this upon a ſecond ſearch, *Nabuzaradan* (not yet ſatiated with blood) commanded ſeventy and two others to be ſlaughtered, which had hidden themſelves from the firſt fury, to wit, the chief and the ſecond Prieſt, two Commanders of *Zedechias* his Men of War, five of his Houſehold-ſervants, and others to that number; carrying away to *Babylon* the ableſt of the people throughout all *Judæa*, and leaving the pooreſt labouring Souls, with ſome that followed the party of *Nabuchodonoſor*, to till the ground: over whom he left Governour, *Godolia* the Nephew of that *Saphan*, whom *Joſias* had formerly employed in the reformation of Religion, who is, for his juſtice and equity, by *Joſephus* highly commended. This Man, a *Jew* by Nation, left *Zedechias*, as it ſeemeth, in the beginning of the War: and by *Jeremie's* deſire to live with him, it appeareth that he had embraced the ſame advice, which the Prophet gave unto *Zedechias*; which was, to ſubmit himſelf altogether to the *Babylonian*, who being ordained by God to exerciſe his juſtice, was therefore reſiſtleſs. The Prophet *Jeremy* being left to his own choice, either to live in *Chaldæa*, or elſewhere, he made election of *Godoliah*, to whom he was recommended; who not only embraced *Jeremy*, but gave comfort to all the other *Jews* that were left under his charge, promiſing them favour and liberty, ſo long as they remained obedient Subjects to *Nabuchodonoſor*, by whom he was eſtabliſhed Provincal Governour of his own Nation. *2 King. ult.*

But ere that year was expired, a Prince of the late Kings houſe (who during the Siege of *Jeruſalem*, had kept himſelf out of the ſtorm, with *Baalis* King of the *Ammonites*) being followed by ten other choſen Men, while *Godoliah* feaſted them in *Maſpha* or *Mitſpa*, the City of his reſidence, traiterouſly ſlew him, together with divers *Chaldæans* and *Jews* that accompanied him. This done, he made an eſcape, and in his way encountring with eighty perſons, repairing towards *Godoliah* with Preſents he ſlew the moſt of them, and ſpared the reſt, becauſe they

they promiſed to diſcover unto him ſome Treaſures, hidden in the fields during the War. He alſo took with him a Daughter of *Zedechiah*, committed to the care of *Godoliah* by *Nabuchodonoſor*. This practice and intent of *Iſmael* had been formerly diſcovered unto *Godoliah* by *Johanan*, one of the Leaders of the few remaining *Jews*; but *Godoliah* was incredulous.

Judæa being now left without a Governour (for *Iſmael* durſt not take it upon him, but retired himſelf, or rather fled as faſt as he could to the *Ammonites*) the reſidue of the *Jews*, fearing the revenge of the *Chaldæans*, reſolved to flie away into *Ægypt*, and beſought *Jeremy* to aks counſel of God for them: who readily made them anſwer, That if they remained in *Judæa*, God would provide for them and ſhew them mercy; but if they ſought to ſave themſelves in *Ægypt*, that they ſhould then undoubtedly periſh. Notwithanding this advice, the *Jews* held their determination; and deſpiſing the Oracle of God, and conſtraining *Jeremy* and *Baruch* to accompany them, they travelled into *Ægypt*, and inhabited by the permiſſion of *Pharaoh*, near unto *Taphnes*: where, when *Jeremy* often reprehended them for their Idolatry, foretelling both the deſtruction of themſelves, and the *Ægyptians* alſo, he was by theſe his own hard-hearted and ungrateful Countrimen, ſtoned to Death; and by the *Ægyptians*, who greatly reverenced him, buried near the Sepulchre of their own Kings.

Finis Libri Secundi.

THE

THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD:

Intreating of the Times from the deſtruction of JERUSALEM *to the time of* PHILIP *of* MACEDON.

The THIRD BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of the time paſſing between the Deſtruction of Jeruſalem, *and the Fall of the* Aſſyrian *Empire.*

§. I.

Of the connexion of Sacred and Prophane Hiſtory.

THE courſe of Time; which in Prophane Hiſtories might rather be diſcerned through the greateſt part of his way, hitherto paſſed in ſome out-worn foot-ſteps, than in any beaten path, having once in *Greece* by the *Olympiads*, and in the Eaſtern Countries by the account from *Nabonaſſar*, left ſurer marks, and more appliable to actions concurrent, than were the War of *Troy*, or any other token of former date; begins at length in the ruine of *Jeruſalem* to diſcover the connexion of Antiquity fore-ſpent, with the Story of ſucceeding Ages. Manifeſt it is, that the original and progreſs of things could ill be ſought in thoſe that were ignorant of the firſt Creation: as likewiſe that the Affairs of Kingdoms and Empire afterwards grown up are not to be found among thoſe, that have now no ſtate nor policy remaining of their own. Having therefore purſued the Story of the World unto that Age, from whence the memory of ſucceeding accidents is with little interruption or fabulous diſcourſe derived unto us,

I hold it now convenient briefly to shew, by what means and circumstances the History of the *Hebrews*, which of all other is the most ancient, may be conjoyned with the following times, wherein that Image of sundry Metals, discovered by God unto *Nabuchadnezzar*, did Reign over the Earth, when *Israel* was either none, or an unregarded Nation.

Herein I do not hold it needful, to insist upon those Authorities, which give, as it were by hearsay, a certain Year of some old *Assyrian* King unto some action or event, whereof the time is found expressed in Scripture: for together with the end of *Ninus* his Line in *Sardanapalus*, if not before, all such computations were blotted out; the succession of *Belochus* and his issue that occupied that Kingdom afterwards, depending upon the uncertain relations of such, as were neither constant in assigning the years of his beginning, nor of credit enough for others to relie upon. Let it therefore suffice, that the consent and harmony, which some have found in the years of those overworn Monarchs, doth preserve their names, which otherwise might have been forgotten. Now concerning the later Kings of that Nation, howsoever it be true that we find the names of all or most of them in Scriptures, which are recorded by Prophane Historians, yet hereby could we only learn in what age each of them lived, but not in what year his Reign began or ended, were it not that the Reign of *Nabuchadnezzar* is more precisely applied to the times of *Jehoiakim* and *Zedekia*. Hence have we the first light whereby to discover the means of connecting the Sacred and Prophane Histories. For under *Nabuchadnezzar* was the beginning of the Captivity of *Juda*, which ended when 70. years were expired; and these 70. years took end at the first of *Cyrus*, whose time being well known affords us means of looking back into the Ages past, and forwards into the Race of Men succeeding. The first year of *Cyrus* his Reign in *Persia*, by general consent, is joyned with the first year of the 55. *Olympiad*, where, that he reigned three and twenty years before his Monarchy, and seven years afterwards, it is apparent, and almost out of controversie. Giving therefore four hundred and eight years unto the distance between the fall of *Troy*, and the instauration of the *Olympiads* by *Iphitus*; we may easily arrive unto those Antiquities of *Greece*, which were not meerly fabulous. As for Princes ruling the whilst in sundry parts of the World, S. *Augustine* and others may be trusted in setting down their times, which they had by Tradition from Authors of well-approved Faith and Industry.

From *Cyrus* forwards, how the times are reckoned unto *Alexander*, and from him to the Battel of *Actium*, it were (peradventure) in this place impertinent to set down. But seeing that the beginning and end of the *Babylonian* Captivity are the marks whereby we are chiefly directed, in passing from the first unto the latest years of the World, through any Story, with least interruption, it is very expedient that we take some pains to inform our selves truly of the 70. years, during which it continued, even from *Nabuchadnezzar* unto *Cyrus*.

§. II.

A brief rehearsal of two Opinions, touching the beginning of the Captivity: with an Answer to the cavils of Porphyry, *inveighing against S.* Matthew, *and* Daniel, *upon whom the later of these Opinions is founded.*

MAny Commentators, and other Historians, and Chronologers find, that the Captivity then began when *Jechonias* was carried Prisoner into *Babylon*, eleven years before the final destruction of *Jerusalem* under *Zedekias*. This they prove out of divers places in *Ezekiel*, especially out of the fourteenth Chapter, where he makes a plain distinction between the beginning of the Captivity, and utter destruction of *Jerusalem* by *Nabuzaradan*, in these words: *In the five and twentieth year of our being in captivity in the beginning of the year, in the tenth day of the month, in the fourteenth year after that the City was smitten.* In which words he beginneth the Captivity in plain terms, eleven years before the City was destroyed. *Beroaldus* is of opinion that it began in the first of *Nabuchodonosor*, and the fourth of *Joakim*, which he endeavours to prove out of the second of *Chronicles*, but more especially out of S. *Matthew*, and *Daniel*, whose words afford matter of long disputation, but serve not to make good so much as *Beroaldus* would enforce. That place of S. *Matthew*, and the whole Book of *Daniel*, have ministred occasion of scoffing and railing at the Christian Religion to that wretched Man *Porphyry*, who, not understanding how the Sons of King *Josias* were called by divers names, as *Epiphanius* hath shewed at large, thought that the Apostle had spoken he knew not what in reckoning the Sons, or, according to some Translations, the Son and Nephews of that good King, begotten about the time of the Captivity. Upon *Daniel* also the same *Porphyry* doth spend the twelfth of his malicious Books written against the Christians, affirming that these Prophecies and Visions remembred by *Daniel*, were written long after his death, and at, or near the time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. This fond supposition of his, *Eusebius*, *Apollonius*, and others, have sufficiently answered. For the seventy Interpreters who converted the *Old Testament* about an hundred years before *Epiphanes*, did also turn this Book of *Daniel* out of *Hebrew* into *Greek*, as a part of Scripture received. And were there no other Argument to confound *Porphyry*, than that of *Alexander Macedon*, it were sufficient, who lived divers years before *Antiochus Epiphanes*. For *Jaddus* the high Priest shewed that great Conqueror, when he came towards *Jerusalem* to have destroyed it, this Book of *Daniel*, wherein he beheld his own glory foretold, as the same was plainly expounded unto him; which not only staied his hand from the harm of that City and People, but his assurance and resolution was so confirmed and strengthned thereby, as despising all future peril and resistance, he conquered *Darius*, and the Eastern Empire in a shorter time than *Nabuchodonosor* had done one City, to wit, *Tyre* in *Phœnicia*.

Ezek. c. 1. v. 2. c. 3. v. 11. & 15.

1 Mac. 1.

Jos. Ant. 11.

It is true indeed that the *Jews* themselves give less Authority to *Daniel*, than to *Moses*, and the Prophets, accounting his Book among those which they call *Cetaphim*, or *Hagiographa*, or Holy Writings, which they say *Esdras* and the Seniors of the Synagogue compiled after their return from *Babylon*.

bylon. But first, that the Book of *Daniel* (I mean so much as is found in the *Hebrew*) is Canonical: Secondly, that it was written by *Daniel* himself, and not by *Esdras* and the Seniors; we may assure our selves by testimony of Councils, and Fathers. For in the Council of *Laodicea* held about the year of our Lord 368 after the death of *Jovinian* the Emperor, and after the *Nicene* Council three and forty years, this Book of *Daniel* was received, verified and confirmed among the other Canonical Scriptures, as in the *Epitome* of the same Council it may be seen, and so doth *Meliton* the most ancient Bishop of *Sardis* number it, witness *Eusebius* in his Ecclesiastical History, the fourth Book, and five and twentieth Chapter, so doth the same Author in the Catalogue of Canonical Books upon *Origen*, so doth *Hilarius* in his Preface upon the Psalms, and *Epiphanius* in his Book of Weigths and Measures, &c. To these I may add S. *Hierom*, *Gregory Nazianzen*, and others. For the *Hagiographa* Books or holy Writings the *Jews* and *Rabbins* reckon to be these, *Daniel*, *Psalms*, *Proverbs*, *Job*, *Canticles*, *Ruth*, *Lamentations*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Hester*, *Esra*, *Nehemiah*, and the *Chronicles*. And that it was *Daniel*, and not *Esdras*, that wrote this Book, Gods commandment unto him by his Angel, to seal up the same to the time appointed, is an unanswerable testimony. Yea that which exceedeth all strength of other proof, our Saviour Christ who citeth no Apocryphal Scripture, in *Matthew* and *Mark* alledgeth *Daniel* the Prophet, to wit, the last verse of his nineteenth Chapter. Further, in the fifth of *John*, Christ distributeth the risen from the dead, as in *Daniel* the twelfth, verse the second. S. *Paul* describeth *Antichrist* out of *Daniel*, and the Revelation is wholly an interpretation of *Daniel*'s visions.

Matth. 24. 15. Mark. 13. 14. Dan. 12.

§. III.

That the 70 years of Captivity are to be numbred from the destruction of Jerusalem; *not from the migration of* Jechonia.

HAving thus far digressed, in maintaining that Authority, which must often be cited in the present argument, it is now convenient, that we return unto the differences of opinion, concerning the beginning of these 70 years. Neither will I stand to trouble my self and others with laying open the grounds or weakness of that which *Eusebius* and some few nameless Authors, have sometimes held in this point, which is lately revived by *Beroaldus*; but will forth-with enter into consideration of that opinion, which many both ancient and late Writers have so earnestly maintained, that it wants not much of being common.

Four Kings of *Juda* were carried away Captives to *Babylon*: First *Manasses*; then *Jehoiakim*, and with him among others, *Daniel* the Prophet: thirdly *Jechonias*, and with him *Ezekiel*: lastly, *Zedekias*, at which time the City and Temple were destroyed. To the first of these Captivities the beginning of the 70 years is referred by none that I have read; to the second by few and with weak proof; to the third by very many and with much confidence. For besides those places of *Ezekiel* already cited, there is a strong argument gathered out of *Jeremy*, which may seem to make the matter plain. For the Prophet in comforting the people that were carried away with *Jechonias*, useth these words. *Thus saith the Lord: After 70 years be accomplished at* Babel, *I will visit you, and perform my good promise towards you, and cause you to return to this place.* Jerem. 29. 10.

But it stands indeed with little reason that we should seek the interpretation of a Prophecy out of circumstances, when the Prophecy is such as doth sufficiently expound it self. *Jeremy* had already in the fourth year of *Jehoiakim*, denounced the judgment of God against the Land, for the sins and impenitency of that obstinate people, in these words. *Behold, I will send and take to me all the Families of the North, saith the Lord, and* Nabuchadnezzar, *the King of* Babel, *my Servant, and will bring them against this Land, and against the Inhabitants thereof, and against all these Nations round about, and I will destroy them, and make them an astonishment, and an hissing, and a continual desolation. Moreover, I will take from them the voice of mirth, and the voice of gladness, the voice of the Bridegroom, and the voice of the Bride, the noise of the Mill-stones, and the light of the Candle, and this whole Land shall be desolate, and an astonishment, and these Nations shall serve the King of* Babel 70 *years. And when 70 years are expired, I will visit the King of* Babel. Here we see prescribed unto the Captivity the term of 70 years, which were to commence, neither when the Prophecy was uttered; nor when *Jehoiakim*, who then Reigned, was taken by *Nabuchodonosor*; nor yet in the time of *Jechonia*; but with the utter desolation of the City, whereof *Jeremy* did again give notice to those that were already in *Babylon*, at such time as he sent them the comfort of deliverance before rehearsed. And so did the people understand this Prophecy, in those times when they saw it accomplished, beginning the 70 years at the time of the desolation, as manifestly appears in the end of the History of *Juda*, where it is said thus. *They burnt the house of God, and brake down the wall of* Jerusalem, *and burnt all the Palaces thereof with fire, and all the pretious Vessels thereof to destroy all: And they that were left by the Sword, carried he away to* Babel, *and they were Servants to him and to his Sons, until the Kingdom of the* Persians *had rule, to fulfill the word of the Lord by the mouth of* Jeremiah, *until the Land had her full of her Sabbaths: for all the days that she lay desolate, she kept Sabbath, to fulfill 70 years. But in the first year of* Cyrus *King of* Persia (*when the word of the Lord, spoken by the mouth of* Jeremiah, *was finished*) *the Lord stirred up the Spirit of* Cyrus. We seldom find one piece of Scripture so precisely and plainly expounded by another, as in this Prophecy, to have afterwards been the subject of altercation. For one can hardly devise, how either the desolation could have been expressed more sensibly than it was by the Prophet, or the event of the Prophecy have been more exactly set down, than it was in the place now last of all cited. If it be requisite that we bring more proof in so evident a case, the ninth Chapter of *Daniel* yields testimony sufficient, unto this exposition of *Jeremiah* his Prophecy, that *Jerusalem* was to lie wast 70 years. For in the first year of *Darius* the *Mede*, which was the last of the 70 *Daniel* obtained of God the deliverance that had been promised by Prayer, which he made upon consideration of the time that was expired: as he telleth us in these words. *In the first year of his Reign, I* Daniel *understood by Books the number of the years, whereof the Lord had spoken unto* Jeremiah *the Prophet, that he would accomplish 70 years in the desolation of* Jerusalem. So that howsoever the time of *Daniel* his own Captivity be reckoned from the taking of *Jehoiakim*, and that the people carried away with *Jechonia*, did account, as well they might, the years of their own Captivity; yet with the general desolation of the Country, wherein were few or none of the *Israelites* left remaining to inhabit, began in the Jerem. 29. vers. 16, 17, & 18. 2 Chron. 36. 19. Dan. 9. 2.

nineteenth year of *Nabuchodonosor* the great Captivity, which by Gods appointment continued unto the end of 70. years. This I will not further seek to prove, by the Authority of *Josephus* and others affirming the same; forasmuch as that which already hath been produced, is enough to satisfie any Man that hath not fully determined to hold the contrary.

§. IV.

Sundry opinions of the Kings which reigned in Babylon *during the* 70 *years.*

WHat Kings reigned in *Babylon*, during these 70 years of the Captivity, and how long each of them did wear the Diadem, it is a matter of no great importance to know, for as much as neither their acts were notable in the Age wherein they lived, nor the length of their Reigns any way helpful to the concordance of times, foregoing or succeeding. The Conquests recounted by *Xenophon* of *Syria*, *Arabia*, (or rather some part of it) *Hyrcania*, *Bactria*, and perhaps of some other Countries, may seem fruits of the Victories obtained by *Nebuchadnezzar* the Great (or by some of his Ancestors) in the former part of his life, before he betook himself to ease, and to the sumptuous Building of his great *Babel*, for the House of his Kingdom, and for the honour of his Majesty, where it may seem that he and his Heirs kept a great State, and did very little. The idle behaviour of the *Assyrian* Soldiers, in such Skirmishes as afterwards they had with the *Medes*, doth argue no less. For whereas under *Nebuchadnezzar*, they were so stout and industrious, that (to omit other proofs) they attempted, and finished, that hardy piece of Work, of winning the strong City of *Tyre*, by joyning it unto the Continent, filling up the deep and broad Channel of the Sea, dividing it from the Main with a Mole, or Peer of Earth, and other matter, the reparation whereof, when the Sea had washed it away, was the very greatest of *Alexander*'s Works in the times following, they became timorous, that they durst not approach nearer to the Enemy than their Bows would carry, but were ready to turn their backs, as soon as any, though inferiour in numbers, adventuring within the distance offered to charge them.

Xenophon. Cyropæd. lib. 1.

Now as their actions, from the end of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s Wars, till the ruin of their Empire, were not worthy to be recorded; so was the distinction of their times, and Reign of their several Kings, unworthy of the great labour that hath in vain been taken in that business. For when it is granted, that the Captivity of *Juda*, ending with that Empire, lasted 70 years, we may as reasonably forbear to search into the particular continuance of two or three slothful Kings, as we are contented to be ignorant of the ages of the Patriarchs, and their Children, living in the *Ægyptian* servitude; resting satisfied in both with the general assured summ.

Xenophon. Cyropæd. 1. & l. 3.

Yet for as much as many have travelled in this business, upon desire (as I take it) to approve the beginning and end of the 70 years, not only by the Reigns of other Princes, ruling elsewhere, but by the times of the *Assyrians* themselves: I will not refuse to take a little pains in collecting their Opinions, and shewing what I think, may best be held for likely, if the certain truth cannot be found.

Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 4.

The Opinions are many, and greatly repugnant, both in recounting the Kings themselves, and in setting down the years of their several Reigns. The first (as I take it) the surest, is theirs, who meerly follow the Authority of the Scriptures, without borrowing any help from others. These name only three Kings, *Nabuchadnezzar*, *Evilmerodach*, and *Balthasar*. Neither have they only the silence of *Daniel*, who names none other to be their warrant, but the Prophecy of *Jeremy* precisely, and in a manner purposely teaching the very same. For God, by the Mouth of that Prophet, shewing that he being absolute Lord of all would dispose of all, according to his own Will, and making it known that he had some Countries here named, into the hands of the King of *Babel*, saith thus: *And all Nations shall serve him, and his Son, and his Sons Son, until the very time of his land come also; then many Nations and great Kings shall serve themselves of him.* These words expressing the continuance of the *Chaldæan* Empire, and number of the Kings, will hardly be qualified with any distinction. But indeed I find no other necessity of qualification to be used herein than such as may grow out of Mens desire to reconcile the Scriptures unto Prophane Authors. And this desire were not unjust, if the consent of all Histories were on the one side, and the Letter of the Holy Text were single on the other side.

Jer. 27. v. 7.

But contrariwise, the Authors which are cited in this case, are so repugnant one to the other, and the proofs of their different reports are so slender and unsufficient, that the succession of these Princes, had it not been thus delivered in Scriptures, but only set down by some Author of equal credit with the rest, might very well have found and deserved as good belief, as any of those things which they have delivered in this point. For some there are, who following *Josephus*, derive that Empire, as by descent from father to son, through five Generations; beginning with *Nabuchodonosor* the Great, and giving to him 43 years, to *Evilmerodach* 18, to *Nigliſar* the Son of *Evilmerodach* 40, to *Labosardach* the Son of *Nigliſar* 9 months, and lastly to *Balthasar* (whom *Josephus* intimates to be of the Race of *Nabuchodonosor*, without naming his Father) 17 years. And this Opinion (save that he forbears to reckon the years, and plainly calls *Balthasar* the Son of *Labosardach*) Saint *Jerome* doth follow, alledging *Berosus*, and *Josephus* as a Sectator of *Berosus* for his Authors; though *Berosus*, as he is cited by *Josephus*, report the matter far otherwise. For he tells us that *Evilmerodach* the Son of *Nabuchodonosor* did Reign but two years, being for his wickedness and lust, slain by his Sisters Husband *Nizaglissoroor*, who occupied the Kingdom after him four years, and left it to his own Son *Labosardach*, who being an ill-conditioned Boy, was at the end of nine months slain by such as were about him, and the Kingdom given to one *Nabonidus*, who held it by the election of the Conspirators, and left it unto *Cyrus* after 17 years. This relation ill agrees with that of *Josephus*, and both of them as bad with the Scriptures, in number either of Years, or of Generations; yet the particularities which they handle, have procured unto them some Authority, so that the Names which they have inserted, are taken as it were upon Trust. There is a third opinion, which makes the three last

Jos. An. lib. 10. cap. 12.

Jos. cont. Appion. lib. 1.

laſt Kings Brethren, and Sons of *Evilmerodach*; and this may well enough agree with the Scripture: though I had rather believe *Xenophon*, who ſaith that the laſt King of *Babylon* was immediate Succeſſor to his Father. But whereas the Author of the Scholaſtical Hiſtory, who is founder of this Opinion, placeth between him that took *Jeruſalem*, and *Evilmerodach*, another *Nabuchodonoſor*: plain it is that he hath, out of any Hiſtory ſacred or profane, as little warrant to guide him, as we have reaſon to follow him. *Euſebius*, *Sulpitius Severus*, and *Theodoret*, upon better ground, have ſuppoſed, that *Evilmerodach* and *Balthaſar* were Brethren and Sons of the great *Nabuchadonoſor*. This is built on the fifth Chapter of *Daniel*, wherein *Balthaſar* (for of *Evilmerodach* there is none that ever doubted) is often called *Nebuchodonoſor* his Son. And ſo common grew this Explication, that Saint *Jerome* called it the vulgar opinion. But the place of *Jeremy* before cited, proves that *Balthaſar* was not the Son indeed, but the Grand-child of that great Conquerour, though by the Phraſe very common in Scriptures, and familiar in thoſe *Eaſtern* Languages, he was called the Son.

Annius his *Metaſthenes* hits very rightly the ſeventy years of captivity, giving to *Nabuchodonoſor* 45 years, to *Evilmerodach* 30 years, and to the three Sons of *Evilmerodach*, Nephews of *Nabuchodonoſor* 14 years; that is, to *Reg-Aſſer* the eldeſt Son three years, to *Lab-Aſſer Dach* the ſecond Son ſix years, and to *Balthaſar* the third Son five.

To this Accompt agreeing with the Scriptures, both in the whole ſumm of years, and in the number of Generations, I have ſometime ſubſcribed, as not daring to reject an appearance of truth, upon no greater reaſon than becauſe the Author was of *Annius* his edition. Yet could I not ſatisfie my ſelf herein; both for that none of the ancient, and few ſuch of the modern Writers as deſerve to be regarded, have conſented with *Metaſthenes*; and for that in making *Balthaſar* to ſucceed unto his Brother in the Kingdom, and not unto his Father, he is wholly againſt *Xenophon*, whoſe Hiſtory of the elder *Cyrus* in his *Aſſyrian* War I cannot ſlightly value in many reſpects, and eſpecially becauſe it is very agreeable to the Scriptures, in the taking of *Babylon*, while the King was at his drunken Feaſt.

Seeking therefore diligently into all Circumſtances that might give any light in this obſcurity, I found manifeſt proof, that the time allotted unto *Balthaſar*, by *Annius* his *Metaſthenes*, was far ſhort of the truth, which is enough to render all ſuſpected that he hath ſaid in diſtributing what part of the 70 years he pleaſed among the reſt. For in the third year of *Belthaſar*, *Daniel* ſaw a Viſion, after which he was ſick certain days, but when he roſe up he did the Kings Buſineſs: from which Buſineſs, that he did afterwards withdraw himſelf, and live retired, ſo long that he was forgotten in the Court, it appears plainly, both by the many words which the old *Queen* uſed to ſet out his ſufficiency, and by the *Kings* asking of him, when he came into his preſence, whether he were *Daniel*. Now to think that a Man of ſuch Account and Place as *Daniel* had held, could in two years have been worn out of remembrance, were in my Judgment a very ſtrange Conceit, which rather than I would entertain, I can well be contented, to think the whole Story (thus related) a part of *Annius* his Impoſtures.

Out of theſe Reports of *Joſephus*, *Beroſus*, and others, many new opinions are framed, by conjectures of late Writers. For the endurance of the Captivity being 70 years, and theſe years extending unto the firſt of *Cyrus*, in which courſe of time *Nebuchadnezzar*, his Son and Grand-child, muſt have reigned; it hath ſeemed needful to ſupply the years of theſe three deſcents, by inſerting ſome whoſe Reigns might fill up the whole continuance of the Captivity, with which the time allotted by *Beroſus* and others, to *Evilmerodach* and *Balthaſar*, joyned unto the years following the nineteenth of *Nebuchadnezzar*, (wherein *Jeruſalem* was laid deſolate) are nothing even.

Therefore *Mercator* and others following him, faſhion the years of *Evilmerodach* in this ſort. They ſay, that the 18 years given to him by *Joſephus* in the tenth of his Antiquities, ſhould be read and numbred 28 years, and the two years that *Beroſus* hath allowed to *Evilmerodach* ſhould be written 23: in the firſt number the figure of [1] is miſtaken for the figure of [2] and in the latter there ſhould have been added the figure of [3] to that of [2:] this granted [to wit] that *Evilmerodach* reigned 28 years, whereof five together with his Father, and 23 after his death, and the ſame number of 23 added to the 25 which *Nabuchodonoſor* lived after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, make 49, then 4 years of *Niglisar* according to *Beroſus*, 9 Months of *Labaſſardach* his Son, and 17 years of *Labonidus* or *Balthaſar* make up the number of 70 years to the firſt of *Cyrus*. But whether by Errour in Figures, or in Words, the Numbers be utterly miſtaken, in all Copies extant; upon how weak a foundation do they build, who have nothing to help them, ſave only the bare Names of two unknown *Kings*, found in Authors manifeſtly corrupted, and ſuch as if they had been entirely extant, were not worthy, to have that place of *Jeremy* called into diſpute, in regard of their Authority?

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§. V.

A more particular examination of one opinion touching the Number, Perſons, and Reigns of the Babylonian *Kings.*

OTher ſuppoſitions, little different in ſubſtance from this of *Mercator*, I purpoſely forbear to rehearſe, as falling under the ſame Anſwer. That of *Joſeph Scaliger* I may not forget, as deſerving to be conſidered apart from the reſt. He gives to *Nabuchadnezzar* 44 years, to *Evilmerodach* 2, to *Belſazer*, 5: and to *Nabonidus* 17. So that from the 19 of *Nabuchadnezzar*, in which *Jeruſalem* was deſtroyed, unto the time of *Cyrus* he accompteth only 59 years; beginning as (many do) the Captivity 11 years ſooner, from the Tranſportation of *Jechonia*. But hereof enough hath been ſaid already. That which we are now to conſider, is his diſtribution of the time running between the 19 of *Nabuchadnezzar*, and the fall of the *Chaldaan* Empire: wherein if he have erred, then is all further inquiſition frivolous.

Concerning the length of *Nabuchadnezzar*'s Reign, I ſhall hereafter upon better occaſion deliver my opinion. The time which he gives to *Evilmerodach* is very ſhort, and more preciſely agreeing with *Beroſus* than with the Scriptures. For we find in *Jeremy*, that this *Evilmerodach* in the firſt of his Reign, ſhewing all favour to *Jechonia*, did among

Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 4.

Dan. ch. 8. v. 1. & 27.

Dan. c. 5. verſ. 11, 12, & 13.

Dan. 2. 9.

among other things take order for him at his Table; and that he did continually eat Bread before him all the days of his life. His Portion was a continual Portion given him of the King of *Babel*, every day a certain, all the days of his life until he died. The very ſound of theſe words (which is more to be eſteemed, than the Authority of *Beroſus*, were he perfectly extant) imports a far longer time than two years, wherein *Jechonia*, under this gentle Prince, enjoyed the comfort ſent by God, whoſe Commandment he had obeyed in yielding himſelf to *Nabuchadnezzar*. Indeed how long *Jechonia* did live it cannot be proved; but plain it is hereby that all his remaining days he eat Bread before this King. Now that he lived not ſo ſhort a while after this as two years, it is more than likely, for he was but 55 years old when he was ſet at liberty, having been 37 years in the Priſon, whereinto he was caſt at the age of 18 years; after which time it ſeems plain that he begat *Salathiel*, as well by the age of *Zorobabel*, who is ſaid to have been but a young Man, and one of *Darius* his Pages threeſcore years after this, as by other circumſtances of his impriſonment it ſelf.

Jerem. 52. *ver.* 33. & 34.

Of *Belſazer*, to whom *Scaliger* gives the next five years, naming him alſo *Laboroſoardoch*, I ſhould wonder why he calls him *Nabuchadnezzar*'s Daughters Son, were it not that herein I find him very careful to help out *Beroſus*, by ſhifting in his *Nirigliſſoroor*, as Husband to *Nabuchadnezzar*'s Daughter, and Protector of his Son four of theſe years; by which means there remains about one year to *Belſazer* alone, agreeing nearly with the 9 months aſſigned by *Beroſus* to the Son of *Nigliſar*. But *Jeremy* hath told us that it was to *Nabuchadnezzar*, and to his Son, and to his Sons Son (not to his Daughters Son) that the Empire was promiſed: which difficulty if *Scaliger* could not help, it was well done of him, to paſs it over with ſilence.

Nabonidus the laſt of theſe, whom others (deſirous to reconcile *Beroſus* to the Scriptures) have judged to be all one with *Balthaſar*, is by *Scaliger* thought to be *Darius* of the *Medes*. But herein *Scaliger* is no firm *Beroſian*: for *Beroſus* makes him of the ſame Stock or Race a *Babylonian*. I ſpeak not this to diſgrace the Travel of that moſt learned Man (for it highly commends his diligence and judgment, that he was not ſo wedded to any Author, as affected with the love of truth) but to ſhew that he himſelf having in ſome points diſliked thoſe Writers, whom in general he approveth, might with greater reaſon have wholly reformed them by the Scriptures, wherein can be no error. Two things there are which chiefly did breed or confirm this opinion in *Scaliger*, that he whom *Beroſus* calls *Nabonidus*, was the ſame whom *Daniel* had called *Darius* of the *Medes*: Firſt, the Phraſe of Scripture, which ſignifies unto us, that *Darius* took the Kingdom, not ſaying that he won it by force of Arms. Secondly, a fragment of *Megaſthenes* found in *Euſebius*, wherein this *Nabonidus* is called the *Median*. Touching the word of the Original, or of the *Greek* Tranſlation, which expreſſing no force of Arms doth only ſignifie, that *Darius* took or received the Kingdom; I ſee no reaſon why we ſhould thereupon infer, that the next King entred by Election: ſeeing *Daniel* relateth not the means and circumſtances of *Balthaſar*'s death, but only the ſwift accompliſhment of his own Prophecy. Neither could it indeed have properly been ſaid (if *Daniel* had cared to uſe the moſt expreſſive terms) that *Darius* of the *Medes* breaking into the City, did win the Kingdom; ſeeing this was performed by *Cyrus* in the abſence of *Darius*, though by his Forces, and to his uſe. Now concerning the fragment of *Megaſthenes*, true it is, that in *Euſebius* his Works printed at *Baſil*, in the year 1559. I find only thus much of *Megaſthenes*, cited out of *Alphenus*; That *Nabuchodonoſor*, was more valiant than *Hercules*; that he ſubdued all *Lybia*, and the reſt of *Aſia* as far as to the *Armenians*; and that as the *Chaldaans* report, being returned into his Kingdom, and rapt with a Divine fury, he cried with a loud voice, *O* Babylonians, *I foretell ye of a great Calamity that ſhall come upon you, which neither* Bel, *nor any of the Gods ſhall avert: There will come a* Perſian, *half an Aſs, that ſhall bring ſlavery upon ye:* and that, this and the like when he had ſpoken, he vaniſhed. Of all this I believe little or nothing, ſaving that *Nabuchodonoſor* knew before hand, that his Empire ſhould be tranſlated, as *Daniel* had foretold from the Golden Head, to the Silver Breaſt. But that he won all *Africa* or *Lybia*, I hold it neither true nor probable.

If *Scaliger*'s Copy of *Euſebius* were the more perfect, out of which *Megaſthenes* tells us that *Nabuchodonoſor* won both *Africk* and *Spain*, I believe the fragment ſo much the leſs: and am as little moved with the Authority of it, where it calls a *Median* the pride and confidence of the *Aſſyrians*, as where it tells of *Nabuchadnezzar* his own vaniſhing away. Indeed that ſame Title of half an Aſs, by which he calleth *Cyrus*, makes me to ſuſpect the fable as cunningly forged out of *Apollo* his Oracle, wherein he termeth him a *Mule*, becauſe his Parentage was more Noble on the Mothers ſide, than on the Fathers; as *Mules* are begotten by *Aſſes* upon *Mares*. And thus much in anſwer of the two principal Foundations whereon this Opinion is built. As for the concinnity and coherence which it hath within it ſelf, I eaſily allow it. But this proves nothing, for meer fictions have not wanted theſe commendations: neither can any Man believe that one ſo judicious, induſtrious and deeply learned as *Joſeph Scaliger*, would over-ſhoot himſelf in ſetting down repugnancies.

It now remaineth to examine the agreement of this with the Scriptures, from which there is no appeal. And herein it ſeems that *Scaliger*, well knowing his own ſufficiency, hath been little careful to ſatisfie Men that would frame Arguments againſt him. For if the Prophecy of *Daniel* were true, that the Kingdom of *Balthaſar* was divided, and given to the *Medes* and *Perſians*, either we muſt think that *Darius* of the *Medes* was not *Nabonidus*, or elſe we muſt bethink our ſelves what *Perſian* it might be that ſhared the Kingdom with him. For it is not more certain, that *Balthaſar* loſt his Life and Kingdom, than that his Kingdom was divided and given to the *Medes* and *Perſians*. Neither did the *Medes* and *Perſians* fall out and fight for it, as by ſuppoſing *Nabonidus* to have been *Darius*, they ſhould be thought to have done; but theſe two Nations did compound the body of that Empire, and were accounted as Lords over all the ſubject Provinces, inſomuch that the *Greek* Hiſtorians did commonly call thoſe Wars which *Darius*, and after him *Xerxes*, made upon *Greece*, The Wars of the *Medes*. Yea to clear this point, even *Daniel* himſelf reſembles that King, with whom *Alexander* fought, unto a Ram with two Horns, calling him the King of the *Medes* and *Perſians*. Wherefore the whole Nation of *Chronologers* were not to have been condemned by *Joſeph Scaliger*, for maintaining upon ſuch good grounds, that *Darius* of the *Medes*, was Partner with

Dan. 8. 20.

with *Cyrus* in his Victories, and not a *Chaldean* King by him subdued. Neither was *Josephus* to be the less regarded for affirming that *Balthasar* was destroyed by *Darius* of the *Medes*, and his Nephew *Cyrus*, though herein he varied from *Berosus*, and others, whose Authority elsewhere he gladly citeth. For *Josephus* had no reason to believe any Mans Faith or Knowledge of those times, half so well as *Daniel's*, whom I believe that he understood as far as was needful in this case. Lawful it was for him to alledge all Authors that had any mention, though unperfect of the same things that were contained in the Writings of the *Jews*, to whose Histories thereby he procured reputation in the *Roman* World, where they were Strangers, and might seem fabulous. Even so do *Eusebius*, and other Christian Writers, willingly embrace the Testimonies of Heathen Books making for the truth in some particulars; yet will they not therefore be tried in general by the self-same *Ethnick* Philosophers, but leave them where they are against the truth; as *Josephus* in this case hath left *Berosus*. And thus much I thought it meet to say of *Scaliger's* Opinion in this point; holding nevertheless in due regard his Learning and Judgment, which if in some things it had not failed, the Miracle had been very great.

§. VI.

What may be held as probable of the Persons and Times of Nabuchodonosor *his Successors.*

IT now remains that I freely acknowledge mine own weakness, who cannot find how the 70 years of Captivity are to be divided among them which reigned in *Babylon*, though I find that the distribution made of them, in such wise as already is rehearsed, be ill agreeable to the Holy Scriptures. Wherefore I may truly say with *Pererius*, that we ought liberally to pardon those whose Feet have failed them in the slippery ways of *Chronology*, wherein both learning and diligence are subject to take a fall at one time or other, by ignorance, forgetfulness, or heedless reckoning. Yet will I adventure to deliver my Opinion, wherein the Judgment of *Lyra* and others (holding those only to have reigned over *Chaldeans*, whose names are found in the Scriptures) appears more conformable to reason and account of time, than any of the other Sentences or Conjectures before rehearsed. Not that I will take upon me to defend *Lyra* his Conjectures, when he supposeth by *Nigliſar* and *Labosardach* to be meant the same Persons which are called in Scriptures *Evilmerodach* and *Balthasar* (for this can by no good colour be maintained) but only to shew that the Kings by him cited, are likely to have occupied the whole time of seventy years. First therefore let us consider the Reign of *Nebuchadnezzar*, in whose eighteenth year *Jerusalem* was taken and sackt, but in his nineteenth laid utterly desolate.

Most of Writers have given to him 43 years of Reign, following therein *Berosus*. There are who have added one year more; and some have made it up 45. To dispute about the certainty were needless: for in shewing by what length of time the Scriptures measure him, we shall shew the certain truth.

2 *Kin.* 2. 5. 8. & *Jer.* 51. 12. 2 *King.* 24. 12. Manifest it is, that the 19 year of *Nabuchadnezzar*, is joyned with the 11 of *Zedekia*; as also that his eighth year, was the first year of *Jechonia* his Captivity; the Reign of *Zedekia* occupied all the mean space being of 11 years. This is generally agreed upon, so that it needs no further proofs: As for the beginning of his Successor *Evilmerodach*, it was in the seven and thirtieth year of *Jechonia* his Captivity; so that *Nebuchadnezzar* after his eighth year (which was the first of *Jechonia* his bondage) reigned 35 whole years, and peradventure a good part of the six and thirtieth, forasmuch as *Jechonia* was inlarged with so great favour, not until the end of the year. Substracting therefore out of these four and forty, which *Nebuchadnezzar's* Reign did well-near occupy, those eighteen years of his which passed away before the Captivity of *Juda*, and ruin of the city, we have remaining six and twenty years of the seventy, that were almost wholly spent, when his Son began to Reign. 2 *King.* 25. 27. & *Jer.* 52. 31.

It is now to be considered how the remainder of the seventy years were divided between the Kings ruling in *Babylon* until the first of *Cyrus*. A question more difficult (as I said before) than greatly needful: the whole summ being certain, and the distinction of times affording no benefit in knowledge of their actions, who were slothful Princes. Neither can any Man the more justly suspect the beginning or end of the whole 70 years, for that the distribution of some part of them is only conjectural; seeing that none who gives any other terms to their beginning or end, hath refused to follow both unlikely and separate conjectures in dividing them. I will therefore be bold to do as others have done; knowing well before hand, that whosoever shall discover my error, must do me the pleasure (which I could rather wish in a case more material) of making me to understand the truth.

Of the four and forty years remaining in account at *Nabuchadnezzar's* death, we are to take away the last, which was the first of *Darius* the *Mede*, and then having Authority good enough to warrant us from blame of presumption, in giving us seventeen years to *Balthasar*, we find left in our hands to bestow upon *Evilmerodach* six and twenty years. Of the year belonging to *Darius* the *Mede* I have already spoken what I thought sufficient, in delivering my opinion of the beginning and continuance of this Captivity. That *Balthasar* did Reign seventeen years, we have the Authority of *Josephus*, before cited in expres words; we have also the general consent of all, or the most late Writers, interpreting *Berosus* his *Nabonidus*, who reigned so long; and *Balthasar* to have been one. But nothing moveth me so much to believe this Tradition, as first those evident places in *Daniel*, shewing that in the third year of *Balthasar* he followed the Kings business, and yet was forgotten ere the end of his Reign, (a proof sufficient of no few years, passing under this Man, especially seeing it is no where found that *Daniel's* employments took end either that year or the next.) Secondly, the consideration of *Cyrus* his Wars against the *Assyrians*, which beginning with the death of this Mans Father, and being always prosperous, could hardly have occupied any longer time, though we make large allowance to his deeds in the lower *Asia*, which fell out in the midway: I have already shewed, that there appears in the Scriptures likelihood enough to make it credible that the Reign of *Evilmerodach* was not short; and that Men of Great Judgment have found it most probable that he was King three and twenty years. More, I think, they would have allowed him, had not the desire of satisfying *Berosus* caused them to rest content with this. And surely it were greatly to be wished, that Books of such Antiquity, *Dan.* 8. *v.* 1. & 27. & 9. *v.* 11, 12, & 13.

Antiquity, as those of *Berosus*, were extant without corruption; a great light (no doubt) they would yield in many dark passages of Antiquity. I will yet confess, that were his Works never so excellent, and in all things else unquestionably true, I would not therefore condescend unto him in some one point, wherein the Scriptures were his open Enemy. How much less ought I to obey a broken fragment of his, containing only seven or eight Lines, and part even of the Title corrupted, as they believe that follow him in the rest? The Scriptures have told us that God gave the Empire to *Nabuchadnezzar*, to his Son, and to his Sons
Jer. 27. 7. Son: How long each of them held it, we find not expressed; yet would we gladly know it of *Berosus*, or of any other that would teach us; provided always, that helping us in a particularity, he destroy not thereby the general Truth. More words are needless. It is enough to say with others, that *Berosus* or *Josephus* who cited him, hath been wronged by the carelessness of Scribes; and that it was as easie for those Scribes to err in writing two for six and twenty, as for three and twenty, or perhaps more easie. For the omission of the second Figure, was as likely the one way as the other; and the Character ς. signifying 6. hath a nearer resemblance of β that stands for 2. than hath γ which is used for 3. So that the numeral Notes β ς. expressing 26. were not safe enough from being mistaken in the true Copy, and might be altered, as ill written, if some crooked Hand, or other mischance not unusual, had omitted the first stroke of the former Letter, or added a dash to the latter, which might cause them to seem not two different Figures, but the one a correction of the other, which how it could be supposed in βγ standing for 23. I do not well perceive. As for the Arithmetical Figures now in use, they were long after the time of *Josephus* brought in by the *Arabians*, and therefore do not appertain to this Business; unless we should guess that his Works were corrupted in that unlearned Age, which following the *Saracen* Conquest, was little occupied in the Studies of Humanity, but in a sort wholly given over to the Doctrine of *Aristotle*. If this will serve to make *Berosus* our Friend, so let it be; if not, I will not purchase the favour of his Authority, by forsaking *Jeremy* and *Daniel*; when they seem his opposites.

§. VII.

Of the Victories which Nabuchodonosor *obtained between the Destruction of* Jerusalem *and Conquest of* Ægypt.

With what Actions this time of 70 years was entertained by the *Babylonian* Kings, few have written, or little is remaining in Record. Which may peradventure have been some cause that the time it self was, and is yet sought to be abridged, as not having left sufficient matter to witness the length of it. But by such an Argument we might as well deny to many People even their being. For every Nation (I know not whom I should except) between the beginning and last end of it, hath in some slothful Age rather dreamt away the time, than spent it. It is therefore no marvel, if the Posterity of *Nabuchodonosor*, finding all things ready to their hand, which their hearts could have desired, betook themselves to their Ease and Pleasures, thinking perhaps, like the prodigal Sons of greedy Fathers, their own wisdom greater, which knew how to enjoy, than that of their Ancestors, which wearied away their days in the restless travel of purchasing. Though indeed the Reign of *Nabuchodonosor* was so divided, that his youthful and stronger years having been exercised in Victorious Arms, no small part of his Life was remaining to be spent in establishing what was gotten, and gathering the fruit of his worthy Labours past. The nineteenth year of his Reign it was, when destroying utterly the great and mighty City of *Jerusalem*, he enriched himself with abundance of Spoil, and terrified all that would offer to resist him, by that fearful example. From that time forward, until his three and twentieth year, he laboured in the Conquest of those adjoyning Regions, which God had exposed unto his Sword, and commanded to wear his Yoke; namely the *Edomites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Tyrians*, *Sidonians*, and *Ægyptians*, though some of these were already become his Followers, and served under him, when *Jerusalem* was beaten down and burnt. But the *Tyrians* whose City was founded on an Iland, safe enough from any danger of a Land-Army, and whose Fleet was so strong that they needed not to fear any Enemy at Sea, were neither daunted with the fall of their Neighbour Cities, nor with the obstinate Resolution of this mighty Prince, imploying all his Power to their subversion.

That the City of *Tyre* was rather well pleased than any way discouraged with the fall of *Jerusalem* (which had held the same course that *Tyrus* did, and endured all that might be in the same Quarrel against the common Enemy) it appears by the words which *Ezekiel* condemneth as the common Voice of *Tyrus*; *Aha, the Gate of the People* Ezek. 26. 2
is broken, it is turned unto me; for seeing she is desolate, I shall be replenished. Yet at the length, even in the nineteenth year of *Nabuchodonosor*, that great Work of his, whereof we have already spoken, began to appear above the Waters, and threaten them with inevitable mischief.

But those Prophecies of *Jeremy* and of *Esay*, *Jer.* 25. *Esai.* 23. 15.
which appoint unto this desolation of *Tyre* the same term of 70 years, that was prescribed unto the Reign of the *Chaldæans*, do plainly shew, that she followed *Jerusalem*, the same nineteenth year of *Nabuchodonosor*, in the same, or a very like Fortune. The Particularities which doubtless were memorable in the issue of so great and laborious a Siege, are in a manner utterly lost. Thus much we find, that the Citizens perceiving the Town unable to hold out, embarked themselves, and fled into the Isle of *Cyprus*. Nevertheless it seems that this evasion served only the principal Men, who escaping with their Goods, abandoned the poorer sort unto the Enemies fury. For not only such People of *Tyre* as dwelt on the Continent (who are called her Daughters in the Field) were put to the Sword; but the like execution was done in the streets, into which with excessive labour the *Assyrian* made way for his Horses and Chariots. Thus *Nabuchodonosor caused his Army to serve a great* Ezek. 29. v. 8. 10, 11. Ezek. 29. 18.
service against Tyrus, wherein every head was made bald, and every shoulder was made bare, yet had he no wages, nor his Army; but was fain to rest contented with the Honour of having destroyed that City, which in all Mens Judgments had been held invincible.

The destruction of these two great and powerful Cities, having made the Name of the *Chaldæans* dreadful in the Ears of all the Nations thereabout, *Nabuchodonosor* used the advantage of that Reputation which he had obtained by Victories already gotten, to the getting of more, and more profitable with less pain. The Kingdom of *Ægypt* was the Mark at which he aimed; a Country

so

so abounding in all Riches and Pleasures, that it might well have tempted any Prince, finding himself strong enough, to seek occasion of Quarrel against it; and so far an Enemy to the Crown of *Babylon*, that had it been poorer, yet either it must have been subdued, or the Conquest of *Syria* could ill have been established. Nevertheless it was needful that before he entred into this Business, the Countries adjacent should be reduced into such terms, that either they should wholly stand at his devotion, or at least be unable to work him any displeasure. And herein the Decree of God concurred, as in all prosperous Enterprises, with Reason of State. For the People of *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, *Damascus*, *Kedar*, *Hazor*, and other adjoyning Regions, whom God for their sins had condemned to fall under the *Babylonian* Swords, were such, as regarding only their own Gain, had some of them, like Ravens, followed the *Chaldean* Army, to feed upon the Carcasses that fell by the cruelty thereof; others taking advantage of their Neighbours miseries, occupied the Countries which were by his Victories belonging to *Nabuchodonosor*; all of them thinking, that when the *Assyrian* had satisfied his Fury, he should be fain to forsake those desolate parts, and leave the possession to those that could lay hand upon it. Particularly the *Edomites* and *Philistims* had shewed much malice to the *Jews* when their City was taken. What good Service they had done to the *Chaldeans*, I find not; if they did any, it is likely to have been with reference to their own Purposes, wherein they were disappointed. The *Ammonites* were not contented to rejoyce at the fall of *Jerusalem*, but presently they entred upon the Country of *Gad*, and took possession, as if not the *Assyrians*, but they, had subdued *Israel*. Neither can I perceive what other ground that Practice had of *Baalis* King of the *Ammonites*, when he sent *Ismael*, a Prince of the Blood of *Juda*, to murther *Gedalia*, whom the King of *Babel* had left Governour over those that remained in *Israel*, and to carry captive into the *Ammonites* Country the People that abode in *Mispah*, than a desire of embroiling *Nabuchodonosor* with so many Labours at once, as should make him retire into his own Country, and abandon those wasted Lands to himself and others, for whom they lay conveniently. Such or the like Policy the *Moabites* did exercise; whose Pride and Wrath were made frustrate by God, and their dissimulation condemned, as not doing right.

Ezek. 25. 12. & 15.
Ezek. 25. 3. Jer. 49. 1.
Jerem. 40. 14. & 41. 2. & 10
Jerem. 28. 27, &c.

All these Nations had the Art of Ravening, which is familiar to such as live or border upon Desarts; and now the time afforded them occasion to shew the uttermost cunning of their thievish Wits. But *Nebuchadnezzar* did cut asunder all their Devices by sharp and sudden War, overwhelming them with unexpected Ruine, as it were in one Night; according to the Prophecies of *Esay*, *Jeremy*, and *Ezekiel*, who fore-told with little difference of words, the greatness and swiftness of the Misery that should come upon them. With which of them he first began, I find not; it seems that *Moab* was the last which felt his hand: for so do many good Authors interpret the Prophecy of *Esay*, threatning *Moab* with destruction after three years, as having reference to the third year following the ruine of *Jerusalem*; the next year after it being spent in the *Ægyptian* Expedition. This is manifest, that all the principal Towns in these Regions were burnt, and the People slain, or made Slaves, few excepted, who being preserved by Flight, had not the courage to return to their Habitations over-hastily, much less to attempt any thing against *Nabuchodonosor*, but lived as miserable Out-Laws, or at least oppressed Wretches, until the end of the seventy years, which God had prescribed unto the desolation of their Countries, as well as of the Land of *Juda*.

Esay 16. 14.

§. VIII.

That Ægypt *was conquered, and the King therein reigning slain by* Nabuchodonosor, *contrary to the Opinion of most Authors, who following* Herodotus *and* Diodorus, *relate it otherwise.*

WHen by a long course of Victory *Nabuchodonosor* had brought into subjection all the Nations of *Syria*, and the bordering *Arabians*, in such wise that no Enemy to himself, nor Friend of the *Ægyptian*, was left at his Back, that might give impediment unto his proceeding, or take advantage of any misfortune; then did he forthwith take in hand the Conquest of *Ægypt* himself, upon which those other Nations had formerly been depending. Of this Expedition, and the victorious issue thereof, the three great Prophets *Esay*, *Jeremy*, and *Ezekiel*, have written so plainly, that I hold it altogether needless to look after more Authority, or to cite for Proof half of that which may be alledged out of these. Nevertheless we find many and good Authors, who following *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, are well contented to strain these Prophecies with unreasonable diligence unto such a Sense, as gives to *Nabuchodonosor* little more than the Honour of having done some spoil in *Ægypt*, omitting the Conquest of that Land by the *Babylonian*, and referring the death of *Apries* or *Hophra* to a chance long after following, which had no coherence with these times or affairs. So preposterous is the delight which many Men take in the means and second helps conducing to their Purpose, that often-times they prefer the Commentator before the Author; and to up-hold a Sentence giving Testimony to one Clause, do carelesly overthrow the History it self, which thereby they sought to have maintained. The Reports of *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, concerning the Kings of *Ægypt*, which reigned about these times, are already rehearsed in the former Book: but that which they have spoken of *Apries*, was purposely reserved unto this place. *Herodotus* affirms that he was a very fortunate King, but wherein he telleth not; (unless we should understand that he was Victorious in the War which he is said to have made upon *Tyrus* and *Sidon*) that he reigned five and twenty years, and was finally taken and put to death by his own Subjects; who did set up *Amasis*, as King, which prevailed against him. The Rebellion of the *Ægyptians* he imputeth to a great Loss which they received in an Expedition against the *Cyrenians*, by whom almost their whole Army was destroyed. This calamity the People of *Ægypt* thought to be well pleasing to their King, who had sent them on this dangerous Expedition, with a purpose to have them consumed; that so he might with greater security reign over such as stayed at home. So they who escaped, and the Friends of such as were slain, rebelled against *Apries*, who sent *Amasis* to appease the Tumult; but *Amasis* became Captain of the Rebels, and was by them chosen King. Finally, the whole Land consented unto this new Election; whereby *Apries* was dri-

Herod. l. 2. & l. 4.

ven to truſt unto his foreign Mercenaries, the *Ionians* and *Carians*, of whom he kept in readineſs thirty thouſand good Souldiers that fought valiantly for him, but were vanquiſhed by the great numbers of the *Ægyptian* Forces, amounting unto two hundred and fifty thouſand, which were all by Birth and Education, Men of War. *Apries* himſelf being taken Priſoner, was gently intreated by *Amaſis* for a while, until the *Ægyptians* exclaiming upon him as an extream Enemy to the Land, got him delivered into their hands, and ſtrangled him, yet gave him Honourable Burial. Such is the Report of *Herodotus*, with whom *Diodorus Siculus* nearly agrees, telling us that *Apries* did vanquiſh the *Cyprians* and *Phœnicians* in Battel at Sea, took by force and demoliſhed *Sidon*, wan the other Towns of *Phœnicia*, and the Iſle of *Cyprus*, and finally periſhed as is before rehearſed, when he had reigned two and twenty years. This Authority were enough (yet not more than enough) to inform us of *Apries* his Hiſtory, if greater Authority did not contradict it. But the deſtruction of *Ægypt* by the *Babylonian*, foretold by the Prophets, which hath no coherence with theſe Relations, hath greater force to compel our Belief, than have the Traditions of *Ægyptian Prieſts* (which *Greek* Hiſtorians followed) and greater Probabilities to perſwade thoſe that look only into Humane Reaſons. For *Eſay* propheſied long before of the ſhameful Captivity of the *Ægyptians*, whom the King of *Aſſhur* ſhould carry away naked, young and old, in ſuch wiſe that the *Jews* who fled unto them for deliverance from the *Aſſyrian*, ſhould be aſhamed of their own vain confidence in Men ſo unable to defend themſelves.

Diod. Sic. lib. 1. ca. 2.

Eſa. 20. v. 4, 5, & 6.

But *Ezekiel* and *Jeremy*, as their Prophecies were nearer to the time of execution, ſo they handled this Argument more preciſely. For *Ezekiel* telleth plainly, that *Ægypt* ſhould be given to *Nabuchadnezzar*, as Wages for the Service which he had done at *Tyre*: Alſo he recounteth particularly all the chief Cities in *Ægypt*, ſaying, That theſe by Name ſhould be deſtroyed and go into captivity; yea, that *Pharaoh and all his Army ſhould be ſlain by the Sword*. Wherefore it muſt needs be a violent Expoſition of theſe Prophecies, which by applying the iſſue of ſuch Threatnings to an Inſurrection and Rebellion, concludes all, without any other alteration in *Ægypt*, than change of the Kings Perſon, wherein *Amaſis* did ſucceed unto *Apries*, by force indeed, but by the uniform Conſent of all the People. Certainly, if that notable place of *Jeremy*, wherein he foretelleth how the *Jews* in *Ægypt* ſhould ſee *Pharaoh Hophra* delivered into the hand of his Enemies, as *Zedekia* had been, were to be referred unto the time of that Rebellion whereof *Herodotus* hath ſpoken, as the general Opinion hath over-ruled it, then was it vainly done of the ſame Prophet (which God forbid that any Chriſtian ſhould think, ſeeing he did it by the appointment of God himſelf) to hide in the Clay of a Brick-hill, thoſe very Stones, upon which the Throne of *Nabuchodonoſor* ſhould be ſet, and his Pavilion ſpread. Yea then was that Prophecy no other than falſe, which expreſſed the end of *Pharaoh* thus. *Behold, I will viſit the common People of No, and Pharaoh and Ægypt, with their Gods and their Kings, even Pharaoh, and all that truſt in him: and I will deliver them into the hands of thoſe that ſeek their lives, and into the hand of Nabuchadnezzar King of* Babel, *and into the hands of his Servants*. The clearneſs of this Prophecy being ſuch as could not but refute that interpretation

Ezek. 29. verſ. 20. & c. 30. Ezek. 32. verſ. 31.

Jer. 44. 30. Jer. 43. 10.

Jerem. 46. v. 25. & 26.

of many other places, which referred all to the Rebellion of *Amaſis*, it cauſed me to wonder what thoſe *Commentators* would ſay to it, who are elſewhere ſo diligent in fitting all to the *Greek* Hiſtorians. Wherefore looking upon *Junius*, who had in another place taken the Enemies of *Pharaoh Hophra* to be *Amaſis*, and his followers, I found him here acknowledging that the *Ægyptian* Prieſts had notably deluded *Herodotus* with Lies, coined upon a vain-glorious Purpoſe of hiding their own Diſgrace and Bondage. And ſurely it may well be thought, that the Hiſtory of *Nebuchadnezzar* was better known to the *Jews* whom it concerned, than to the *Greeks* that ſcarcely at any time heard of his Name. Therefore I ſee no cauſe why we ſhould not rather believe *Joſephus*, reporting that *Nabuchodonoſor* in the three and twentieth year of his Reign, and the fifth year of the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, did conquer *Ægypt*, kill the *King* thereof, and appoint another in his ſtead, than *Herodotus* or *Diodore*; who being meer ſtrangers to this Buſineſs had no greater reaſon to labour in ſearching out the Truth, but might reſt contented with any thing that the Prieſts would tell them. Now if ſetting aſide all advantage of Authority, we ſhould only conſider the Relations of *Joſephus*, and of the *Greek* Hiſtorians, as either of them might be verified of it ſelf by apparent Circumſtances, without reflecting upon the *Hebrew* Prophets or *Ægyptian* Prieſts; me-thinks the death of *Apries* can no way be approved as having been wrought by conſent of the People, but affords great matter of ſuſpicion; yea though no Man had oppoſed the Reports of *Herodotus* and *Diodore*. For the great Love and Honour which the *Ægyptians* did bear unto their Kings, is notorious by the uniform Teſtimony of all others that have handled the matters of that Countrey, as well as by the Report of *Diodore* himſelf. How then can we think it probable, that *Apries* having won great Victories, did for one only loſs fall into the hatred of all his People, or which may ſerve to perſwade us, that a *King* of *Ægypt* would ſeek, or ſo demean himſelf, that he might be thought to ſeek the deſtruction of his natural Subjects? As for that Army of thirty thouſand Souldiers *Carians* and *Ionians*, which the King of *Ægypt* whom *Amaſis* took Priſoner, is ſaid to have kept for his Defence: doth it not argue that he was a Foreigner, and one that armed himſelf againſt the *Ægyptians*, wiſhing them few and weak; rather than any of the *Pharaohs*, who accounted the force of the Countrey, as aſſuredly their own, as the ſtrength of their own Bodies? It were more tedious than any way needful, to uſe all Arguments that might be alledged in this Caſe. The very death of this ſuppoſed *Apries*, which the clamours of the People obtained of *Amaſis*, who ſought to have kept him alive, doth intimate that he was ſome Foreign Governour, not a natural Prince; otherwiſe the People would have deſired to ſave his Life, and *Amaſis* to take it quickly from him. I will not labour any further to diſprove that opinion, whereunto I ſhould not have yielded, though it had ſtood upon great apparence of Truth, conſidering that the voice of Truth it ſelf cries out againſt it; but leave the Circumſtances proving the Conqueſt of *Ægypt* by *Nabuchodonoſor* to be obſerved, where due occaſion in courſe of the Story following ſhall preſent them.

Jun. in Jer. c. 44. verſ. 30.

Joſephus de Antiq. Jud. l. 10. c. 11.

§. IX.

§. IX.

How Ægypt was subdued and held by Nebuchadnezzar.

IT is a great loss, that the general History of the World hath suffered, by the spoil and waste which Time hath made of those Monuments, that should have preserved the memory of such famous Actions as were accomplished by this mighty Prince *Nabuchodonosor*; wherein, whether his Vertue, or Fortune were greater, it is now uncertain. That his Victories following the Conquest of *Syria*, and the Neighbour-Provinces, were such as did more enlarge his Dominion, than all his former Wars had done, it may easily be gathered out of *Ezekiel*: who reckons up in his thirtieth Chapter (besides the whole Countrey of *Ægypt*) *Phut* and *Lud*, with other Nations that may seem to have reached out into *Mauritania*, as People subdued by this great *Babylonian*. The Circumstances of these Wars are in a manner utterly lost; but that the Victory was easie and swift, any Man shall find, who will take the pains to confer the places, wherein the three great Prophets touch this Argument. Thus much I think worthy of more particular observation; that *Pharaoh*, who (as is already noted in the former Book) thought himself safe in *Ægypt* by the well defenced situation of his Countrey, did very unwisely in suffering his Enemies to sweep the way clean unto his own doors, by consuming all his Friends and Adherents in *Syria*. For as the labour of this Business did more harden than weary the *Chaldean* Army, so the confidence and vain security of the *Ægyptians*, relying upon the difficult passages which the Enemy was to make through the *Arabian* Deserts, and the much advantage which the great River of *Nilus* would afford unto themselves, did little avail them in Provision for the War, and much astonish them (as may justly be thought) in the time of execution: it being usually seen, that the Hearts of Men fail, when those Helps fail, in which they had reposed more confidence than in their own Vertue. Hitherto the Kingdom of *Ægypt* had flourished under the Rule of the *Pharaohs*, about a thousand and five hundred and fourscore years; but from this time forward it remained forty years without a *King*, under the subjection of the *Babylonians*; and then at length it began to recover by little and little the former greatness, yet so, that it was never dreadful unto others, God having said of that People, *I will diminish them that they shall no more rule the Nations*. For whereas it hath been said of *Pharaoh*: *I am the Son of the Wise, I am the Son of the ancient Kings*; and whereas he had vaunted, *The River is mine, and I have made it*; the Princes of *Ægypt* now became Fools, the River failed them, the King himself was taken and slain, and that ancient Linage quite extinguished. This came to pass in the first year after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the three and twentieth of *Nabuchadnezzar*, at which time (saith *Josephus*) *He slew the King then reigning, placed another in his Room, and carried Captives thence to* Babylon, *the* Jews *whom he found in that Country*. Now concerning the time which *Josephus* gives unto this Business, and the Business it self, I have already shewed, that it is warranted by all the Prophecies which insinuate the same. As likewise the last destruction of *Jerusalem*, and carrying away those unto *Babel*, who inhabited the miserable Ruines of that great City; which was in the same *three and twentieth of* Nebuchadnezzar, is not unprobably thought by good Authors to have been at the return from this *Ægyptian* Expedition. But whereas *Josephus* tells us that there was another King put in the Room of *Apries* by *Nebuchadnezzar*, we must understand, that he was only a *Viceroy*, and not (as some have mistaken it) think that that this was *Amasis*. For to place the beginning of *Amasis* his Reign in the three and twentieth of *Nebuchadnezzar*, were as well repugnant unto the Prophecies before alledged, as to all Chronology and History. Some there are, which to help this inconvenience imagine that there were two successively bearing the Name of *Amasis*; others that there were two *Apries*, the one slain by *Nabuchadnezzar*, the other by *Amasis*: a question of small importance, because the difference is only about a Name, it being once granted that the Person mentioned in Scriptures, was deprived of Life and Kingdom by the *Assyrians*. Yet for any thing that I can perceive, that *Apries* of whom the *Greek* Historians wrote, could not be the Deputy of *Nebuchadnezzar*, seeing that he was the Grand-child of *Pharaoh Neco*, and made War (as they report) upon the *Phœnicians*, who were, before the *Ægyptians*, become subject unto the Crown of *Babylon*. I might add perhaps, that he whom *Nabuchadnezzar* left as Governour of *Ægypt*, was more likely to have had some *Chaldean* or *Assyrian* than *Ægyptian* Name; unless we should think that he had been a Traitor to his natural Prince, and so rewarded by the Conquerour with Lieutenantship of the Country: about which it were but frivolous to dispute. Thus much in brief we ought to believe, that *Nabuchodonosor* made an absolute Conquest of *Ægypt*; that he was not so fooliish as to give it away, any Man may guess; that he appointed one to Rule the Country, it is consequent unto the former, and hath Authority of *Josephus*; that this Governour (or some Successour of his) was afterward taken and slain by *Amasis*, I see probability enough to perswade my self; and yet can well be content, that others use their liberty, and believe what they list. As for the Army which this *Ægyptian* King *Apries* is supposed to have kept of *Ionians* and *Carians*; I hold them to be none other than the Garrisons of mercenary Souldiers which were left by the *Assyrian* for the Guard of his *Viceroy*, and custody of the new subdued Province: as likewise the Company returning from *Cyrene* and *Barce*, who together with the Friends of such as were slain in that Expedition, remembred before out of the *Greek* Historians, deposed and slew *Apries*, I take them to have been the *Ægyptian* Fugitives which then recovered their own Country. Sure it is that this Prophecy of *Ezekiel* was verified, *At the end of forty years will I gather the Ægyptians from the People where they were scattered, and I will bring again the Captivity of Ægypt, and will cause them to return into the Land of Pathros into the Land of their Habitation, and they shall be there a small Kingdom*. If the *Ægyptian* Priests alluded hereunto in the Tale which they made of *Amasis* his obtaining the Kingdom, then are they to be helped with this or the like interpretation; if they devised Matter that had no shadow of Truth, only to keep the *Greeks* from knowledge of their Countries disgrace; then are they little to be regarded, since we know the Truth with them.

Jer. 52. 30.

Ezek. 30. *v.* 13 & 14.

Ezek. 29. 13, 14, 15.

Esay 19. 11.

Ezek. 22. 5.

Joseph. Ant. Jud. li. 10. *cap.* 11.

§. X.

Of the ſundry Accompts drawn from ſundry Acts of Nebuchadnezzar *and of the deſtruction of* Ninivie, *by him; the time of which Action is uncertain.*

THeſe Victories brought the Greatneſs of the *Aſſyrian* Empire to the full, and from them was reckoned the time of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s Reign in ſundry places of Scripture. To ſpeak any more of the Queſtions ariſing about the ſupputation of *Nebuchadnezzar* his times, might ſeem to be the over-handling of one Argument: Yet thus much I will note; that whereas *Daniel* was carried captive in the third year of *Jehoiakim*'s Reign (which ran along with ſome part of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s firſt year) and was kept in Diet three years more, before he was brought into the King's preſence; it could not be the ſecond of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s Kingdom, wherein he interpreted the forgotten Dream of the great Image, foreſhewing the Succeſſion of *Monarchies*, but the ſecond of his Empire. The ſame or the like may be ſaid of divers places which refer ſundry Matters unto their ſet years; as that of *Ezekiel* before-cited, where he fore-tells that *Ægypt* ſhould be given in Reward for the Service done before *Tyrus*, dating his Prophecy in the ſeven and twentieth year; and that of *Daniel*, placing the Erection of the Golden Image in the eighteenth year: for theſe years held no dependance upon either the beginning of *Nabuchadnezzar*'s Kingdom, or of his Empire, nor yet upon any of the Captivities, but had reference to ſome memorable Action, omitted in Scripture, and therefore not eaſie to be found, nor worth the labour of uncertain ſearch.

Dan. c. 1. & 2.

Of any War made by *Nabuchadnezzar* after ſuch time as he returned from the Conqueſt of *Ægypt* I do not read: excepting that againſt *Ninivie*, the deſtruction whereof was fore-told by the Prophet *Nahum*. *Ninivie* had long before been taken by *Merodach* (as in due place hath been ſhewed) and together with the reſt of *Aſſyria* made ſubject to *Babylon*. Yet was it left under a peculiar King, who rebelling againſt the *Chaldæan*, as *Jehoiakim* and *Zedekias* tributary Kings of *Juda* had done, taſted likewiſe of the ſame Fortune. That the deſtruction of *Ninivie* followed the Conqueſt of *Ægypt*, it appeareth by the Compariſon which *Nahum* the Prophet made between this City that was to fall, and the City of *No* in *Ægypt* that was fallen already. But how long after this came to paſs, it is (me-thinks) unpoſſible to find out. For whereas it is found in an *Hebrew* Chronology, that it was in the firſt of *Nabuchadnezzar*'s Reign; the place of *Nahum* laſt cited is enough to diſprove it. Whereas it is referred by ſome unto the firſt of his *Monarchy*, which began at the end of the *Ægyptian* Wars; the whole Prophecy of *Nahum* which went between the one and the other, argueth ſtrongly, that there was a longer ſpace of time intercurrent. So that to enquire into the very year of this deſtruction, or other Circumſtances of the War, whether managed by *Nabuchodonoſor* in Perſon, or by his Lieutenants, were ſomewhat like unto the vain Curioſity of *Tiberius Cæſar*, enquiring who was the Mother of *Hecuba*; or to the like idle pains which he ſhould take; who would ſeek to learn what Woman that *Huzzah* Queen of *Ninivie* was, whoſe woful Captivity the ſame Prophet *Nahum* likewiſe did fore-tell.

Nahum 3.8.

§. XI.

Of the latter time of Nebuchadnezzar; *his Buildings, Madneſs, and Death.*

OF the Time which this great Monarch ſpent in quiet, I think there are no Monuments extant; ſave thoſe which we find among the Prophecies of *Daniel*. Among theſe we may reckon his great Works at *Babylon*, wherewith he pleaſed himſelf ſo well that he brake out into theſe glorious words. *Is not this great* Babel *that I have built for the Houſe of the Kingdom, by the might of my Power, and for the honour of my Majeſty?* Surely if thoſe things be true that are by *Joſephus* rehearſed of him out of *Beroſus* and *Megaſthenes*, he might well delight himſelf with the contemplation of ſuch goodly and magnificent Buildings. For it is ſaid, That he fortified *Babylon* with a triple Wall; that beſides other ſtately Works, he raiſed thoſe huge Arches wherewith were born up the high Orchards, hanging as it were in the Air, and equalling the tops of Mountains, which moſt ſumptuous Frame, that out-laſted all the remainder of the *Aſſyrian*, and all the *Perſian* Empire, is ſaid to have been reared, and finiſhed in fifteen days. *Dan. 4. 27.*

But of all this, and other his magnificence, we find little elſe recorded, than that (which indeed is moſt profitable for us to conſider) his over-valuing of his own Greatneſs abaſed him unto a Condition, inferiour to the pooreſt of Men. And not undeſervedly fell theſe Judgments of God upon him. For whereas God had honoured him, not only with many Victories, and much happineſs in his own Life, but with a diſcovery of things to come after him, yea and had approved the certainty of his Dream, by the miraculous reducing of it into his memory, and interpretation thereof by *Daniel* the Prophet: he nevertheleſs became ſo forgetful of God, whoſe wonderful Power he had ſeen and acknowledged, that he cauſed a golden Image to be ſet up and worſhipped: ordaining a cruel Death as Reward unto them that ſhould dare to diſobey his Kingly Will and Pleaſure, which was utterly repugnant to the Law of him that is *the King of Kings*. Hereof S. *Jerome* hath well noted; *Velox oblivio veritatis, ut qui dudum ſervum Dei quaſi Deum adoraverat, nunc ſtatuam ſibi fieri jubeat, ut ipſe quaſi Deus in ſtatuâ adoraretur: A haſty forgetfulneſs of the Truth, that he who ſo lately had worſhipped* (Daniel) *the ſervant of God, as if he had been God himſelf, ſhould now command a Statua to be erected unto himſelf, wherein himſelf might be worſhipped as God.* From this impiety it pleaſed God to reclaim him, by the ſtrange and wonderful delivery of thoſe bleſſed Saints out of the fiery Furnace; who being thrown into it bound, for refuſing to commit Idolatry, were aſſiſted by an Angel; preſerved from all harm of the Fire; looſened from their Bands; and finally called out with gracious words, and reſtored to their former Honour, by the King: who amazed at the Miracle, made a decree tending to the Honour of God, which by erection of his Image he had violated. Yet this devotion of *Nabuchadnezzar* was not ſo rooted in him, that it could bring forth fruit anſwerable to his haſty zeal. Therefore was he forewarned by God in a Dream of the terrible Judgment hanging over his Head, which *Daniel* expounding, adviſed him to *break off his ſin by righteouſneſs, and his iniquity by mercy towards*

towards the poor, that there might be an healing of his Error. Hereby it seems that Injustice and Cruelty were the Faults, for which he was threatned, but this threatning sufficed not unto his reformation. For that so great a Monarch should be driven from among Men (according to the tenor of the Dream and interpretation) yea compelled to dwell with the Beasts of the Field, and made to eat Grass as the Oxen, was a thing so incredible in Man's Judgment, that easily it might be thought an idle Dream, and much more easily be forgotten at the years end. One whole years leisure to repent was given to this haughty Prince: which respite of the execution may seem to have bred in him a forgetfulness of Gods Sentence. For at the end of twelve Months; walking in the Royal Palace of *Babel*, he was so overjoyed and transported with a vain Contemplation of his own seeming Happiness, that without all fear of Gods heavy Judgment pronounced against him, he uttered those lofty words before rehearsed, in vaunting of the Majestical Works which he had reared, as well beseeming his Majestical Person. But his high Speeches were not fully ended, when a Voice from Heaven, telling him that his Kingdom was departed from him, rehearsed over unto him the Sentence again, which was fulfilled upon him the very same hour.

That *Salomon* and many other Princes and great ones, have taken delight in their own Buildings, it cannot any way be doubted; yet I do not remember that ever I have read of any, that were punished for rejoycing in Works of this kind (though it is hard in Joy, or any passion of the Mind to keep a just measure) excepting only this *Nebuchadnezzar*.

The like may be said of *David:* for other (and some very godly) Kings have mustered all their Forces to the very last Man; but few or none have been known to have been punished as *David* was. Surely I not only hold it lawful to rejoyce in those good things, wherewith God hath blessed us; but a note of much unthankfulness to entertain them with a sullen and unfeeling disposition. Yet as all humane Affections, wherein due reference to God is wanting, are no better than obscure Clouds, hindring the influence of that blessed Light, which clarifies the Soul of Man, and prediſposeth it unto the brightness of eternal Felicity; so that insolent joy, which Man in the pride of his vain imagination conceiveth of his own Worth, doth above all other Passions blast our Minds, as it were with Lightning, and make us to reflect our thoughts upon our seeming inherent greatness, forgetting the whilst him, to whom we are indebted for our very being. Wherefore these *mala mentis gaudia; The evil joys of the Mind*, were not unaptly, by the Prince of *Latine* Poets, bestowed in the entrance of *Hell*, and placed further inward than sorrows, Cares, and Fears; not far from the Iron Cabbins of the *Furies*. And certainly it is no unlikely Token of Vengeance near at hand, when these unreasonable flushes of proud and vain Joy, do rage in a Mind, that should have been humbled with a just Repentance and acknowledgment of ill deserving.

This was verified upon *Nebuchadnezzar*, whose Punishment was singular and unexampled. For he ran among Beasts in the Fields and Woods, where for seven years he lived, not only as a salvage Man, but as a salvage Beast, for a Beast he thought himself *secundum suam imaginationem*, as *Thomas* noteth, and therefore fed himself in the same manner, and with the same Food that Beasts do; Not that he was changed in Figure external according to *Mediana*, in so much as he appeared a Beast to other Mens Eyes, as S. *Jerome* in the Life of *Hilarius* (how true God knows) speaks of a Woman that appeared to all other Mens sight a Cow, but to *Hilarius* only a Woman; neither was he changed as *Iphigenia* the Daughter of *Agamemnon* was said to be into a Hind, nor made a Monster as *Dorotheus* and *Epiphanius* dreamed: but according to S. *Jerom*'s Exposition of these words. *At the same time was my Understanding restored unto me, &c. Quando dicit* (saith S. *Jerome*) *sensum sibi redditum, ostendit non formam se amisisse sed mentem; When he saith that his Sense was restored unto him, he sheweth that he had not lost his humane Shape, but his Understanding.* Seven years expired, it pleased God to restore *Nabuchodonosor*, both to his Understanding, and his Estate, for which he acknowledged and praised God all the rest of his Life, confessing his Power and everlasting Being; that he was the Lord of Heaven and Earth, and wrought without resistance what he pleased in both; that his Works were all Truth, and his Ways righteous. Which gave Argument to many of the Fathers, and others, not to doubt of his salvation; namely S. *Augustine*, *Theodoret*, *Lyra*, *Carthusianus*, and others. And for that place of *Esay* the fourteenth, out of which his perdition may be gathered, the aforenamed Authors apply the same to *Balthasar*, because *Isay* both in the thirteenth and fourteenth Chapter speaketh of the King, and the destruction of *Babylon* joyntly.

L. 2. de Reg. pri.

Med. l. 2. de recta in Deum fide cap. 7.

Dor. in Synops. Ep. in vit. Dan.

Dan. 4. v. 32. & 34.

§. XII.

Of EVILMERODACH.

HAving already spoken what I could of the Succession and Years of *Nabuchadnezzar*'s Posterity; the most that may be said of him, is said of *Evilmerodach*, which I will not here again rehearse.

He lost some part of that which his Father had gotten; and left his Kingdom burning in a War that consumed it to Ashes. He lost *Ægypt* by rebellion of the People, in the nineteenth year of his Reign, which was forty years after his Father had conquered it. But this agrees neither with the Accompt of *Herodotus*, who allows to *Amasis* four and forty years of Reign; nor with that of *Diodorus*, who gives him five and fifty, saying that he died in the third year of the threescore and third *Olympiad*, when *Cambyses* did conquer *Ægypt*. There were indeed but seven and thirty years, which passed between the second year of the four and fiftieth *Olympiad*, (which was the nineteenth of *Evilmerodach*, and the first of *Amasis*) and the fifth of *Cambyses* his Reign, wherein he wan *Ægypt*; of which seven and thirty years it is credibly held, that *Psamennitus*, the Son of *Amasis*, reigned three: so that *Amasis* could be no longer King than four and thirty years. But seeing that these two *Greek* Historians have been abused by *Ægyptian* Priests, in the substance of that which was spoken of *Amasis*, it is no marvel though they were also deceived in the length of his Reign. This is the plain Answer to this Objection. For to say either that the numbers were miswritten, and four and forty set down in stead of four and thirty, or that *Amasis* did temporise a while with the *Assyrians*, and not bear himself as absolute King of *Ægypt*, until the nineteenth of *Evilmerodach* (at which time, and

not before, it hath been proved out of *Ezekiel*, that *Ægypt* became again a Kingdom) I hold it a superfluous excuse.

Whether these *Ægyptian* Troubles did animate the King of the *Medes* to deal with *Evilmerodach*, as with a Prince greater in Fame, and Reputation, gotten by the decayed Valour of his People, than in present Forces; or whether (as I rather think) some foil received by the *Assyrian* invading *Media*, emboldened the *Ægyptians* to rebel against him: I will neither undertake, nor seek to define.

Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 1. *Xenophon* tells that the first Service of young *Cyrus* in War was under *Astyages* King of the *Medes*, his Grand-father, in a prosperous Fight against the *Assyrian* Prince, who did set upon him; at which time *Cyrus* was fifteen or sixteen years old. If therefore *Cyrus* lived threescore and three years (as he is said to have died well stricken in years) which is held to be the ordinary term of no short Life, then was this Encounter in the third year of *Evilmerodach* his Reign. Yet by the same reckoning it should follow, that the War began more early between these Nations, for as much as the manner of their Fight in former times, with other Circumstances insinuating as much, are found in

Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 8. the same place of *Xenophon*. And it may well be, that the death or destruction of *Nabuchodonosor* gave courage unto those that had felt him a troublesome Neighbour, to stand upon prouder Terms with the *Assyrians*, than in his flourishing Estate they durst have used. Howsoever the Quarrel began, we find that it ended not before the last ruine of the *Assyrian* Monarchy. For the *Babylonian*, being too proud to digest the losses which he received by the *Medes* and their Allies the *Persians*, drew unto his Party the *Lydians*, and all the People of the lesser *Asia*, with Gifts and strong Perswasions, hoping so to over-whelm his Enemies with a strong Invasion, whom in vain he had sought to weary out with a lingring War.

This happened after the death of *Astyages*, who left the World in the nineteenth year of *Evilmerodach*, at which time *Amasis* took possession of *Ægypt*. So that the *Assyrian* having his hands already full of Business, which more earnestly did affect him, seems thereby to have given the better means unto the *Ægyptians*, of new erecting their Kingdom, which by long distance of place did sundry times find occasion to rebel in after-ages, and set up a King within it self, against the far more mighty *Persian*.

The issue of these great Preparations made by *Evilmerodach* against the *Medes*, was such as opened the way unto the fulfilling of those Prophecies, which were many years before uttered against *Babel* by *Esay* and *Jeremy*.

For the *Assyrians*, and their Confederates, who, trusting in their Numbers, thought to have buried the *Medes*, and *Persians*, under their thick showers of Arrows and Darts, were encountred with an Army of stout and well-trained Men, weightily armed for close Fight, by whom they were beaten in open Battel, wherein *Evilmerodach* was slain. So that great Frame of Empire which *Nabuchodonosor* had raised and upheld, being shaken and grievously crackt under his unfortunate Son, was left to be sustained by his unworthy Nephew: a Man more likely to have overthrown it, when it was greatest and strongest, than to repair it, when it was in way of falling.

§. XIII.

A private Conjecture of the Author; serving to make good those things, which are cited out of Berosus, *concerning the Successors of* Evilmerodach, *without wrong to the Truth, the Quality, and Death of* Balthasar.

THough I have already (as it seems to me) sufficiently proved that *Balthasar* was the Son, and immediate Successour to *Evilmerodach*, yet considering earnestly the Conjectures of those Writers, which following *Berosus*, insert *Niglisar* or *Nirigliſſoroor*, and his Son *Labassardach* between them: as also that which I find in *Herodotus* of *Nitocris* a famous Queen of *Babylon*, who greatly adorned and fortified that City; I have thought it not superfluous here in this place to shew, by what means it was possible that some Errour might have crept into the History of those times, and thereby have brought to us a needless trouble of searching out the Truth, as it were by Candle-light, in the uncertain fragments of lost Authors, which we might have found by Day-light, had we adhered only to the Scriptures. First, therefore I observe, that the time which *Berosus* divides betwixt *Evilmerodach*, and the two next Kings, agrees with the years in which *Nebuchadnezzar* lived wild among brute Beasts in the open Field: Secondly, that the suddenness of this Accident, which came in one hour, could not but work much perturbation in that State, wherein doubtless the Honour of so noble a Prince was highly regarded, his Calamity pitied, and his Restitution hoped; the Prediction of *Daniel* finding Reputation in that Clause which promised his Recovery, as being verified in that which had been more incredible. Now if we do in common Reason judge, what course was like to be taken by the great ones of the Kingdom, for settling the Government, whilst the King was thus distracted, we shall find it most likely, that his Son and Heir did occupy the Royal Throne, with Condition to restore it unto his Father, when God should enable him to repossess it. In this his Rule *Evilmerodach* being to supply the utter want of Understanding in his Father, as *Protectors* do the unripeness of it in young, but *Herod. l. 1.* reasonable Kings, might easily either commit the Insolencies, or fall into the Troubles, incident to such an Office. That he had in him very small Ability of Government, it appears by his ill maintaining the Empire, when he held it in his own Right. That his Sister *Nitocris* (if *Nitocris* were his Sister) was a Woman of an high Spirit, it appears by that which *Herodotus* reports of her, saying that she was more cunning than *Semiramis*, as appeared in her magnificent and useful Works about the River of *Euphrates*, and her Fortification of *Babylon* against the *Medes*, who had gotten many Towns from the *Assyrians*, and amongst them *Ninive*. Wherefore it were not unreasonable to think, that such a Woman, seeing how the Empire went to decay through her Brothers misgovernment, used Practices to get the Rule into her own hands, and afterwards, as a Mother, to leave it unto her ungracious Son. Other time than this, wherein *Nitocris* could have reigned, we do not find; but we find in *Berosus* (as *Josephus* hath cited him) that *Niglisar*, who got the Kingdom from *Evilmerodach*, was his Sisters Husband; which argues this to have been the same Woman. As for *Labassardach* the Son of *Niglisar*, if at the end of nine Months Reign he were for his lewd Conditions slain by the Nobility,

as

as the same *Berosus* reporteth, it seems that God prepared here by the way for *Nebuchadnezzar*'s restitution (whose term of punishment was then expired) by raising such troubles as should make him the more desired, both of the Princes and the People. I will not here use many words to confute that which *Berosus* hath further set down of *Evilmerodach*, telling us that he was slain by his Sisters Husband: for the plain words of Scripture naming the year wherein he gave liberty to *Jechonia*, do plainly testifie that he out-lived the three or four and fortieth year of his Fathers Reign, which was the last of his life.

This may suffice to shew, that they who are said to have succeeded *Evilmerodach* in the Kingdom, might indeed have so done, though not when he held it in his own right. Of *Balthasar* who was his Son and Heir, we find, that he had such conditions, as God permitteth to be in a King for the ruine of the People. He was from his young years of a mischievous nature; having in his Fathers time slain a Noble young Man that should have married his Sister, only for spight and envy to see him kill two wild Beasts in hunting, at which himself having thrown his Javeline had missed them. Another great Lord he had gelded, because a Gentlewoman commending his Beauty, said it were a happy Woman that should be his Wife. Such barbarous villanies caused many which had loved his Father (as a good and gracious, though unfortunate Prince) to revolt from him unto the Enemy as soon as he was King. Neither do I find that he performed any thing worthy of Record, but as a Coward and a Fool he lost all; sitting still, and not once daring to give Battel to them that daily took somewhat from him; yet carelessly feasting when danger had hemmed him in on every side, and when death arrested him by the hands of those whom he had wronged in his Fathers life. So the end of him was base and miserable; for he died as a Fool taken in unexcusable security, yet had not that happiness (such as it is) of a death free from apprehension of fear, but was terrified with a dreadful Vision, which had shewed his ruin not many hours before even whilst he was drinking in that Wine, which the Swords of his insulting Enemies drew out of him, together with his latest Blood. It is therefore in this place enough to say of him, That after a dishonourable Reign of seventeen years he perished like a Beast, and was slain as he deserved. The rest that concerneth him in question of his time, hath been spoken heretofore; in matter of his affairs, shall be handled among the acts of *Cyrus*, to whose Story that of *Balthasar* is but an Appendix.

CHAP. II.

Of the Original and first Greatness of the Persians.

§. I.

That the Medes *were chief Actors in the subversion of the* Babylonian *Empire.*

THE Line of *Belochus* being now extinguished in *Balthasar*, the Empire of *Babylon*, and of *Assyria*, was joyned first to that of *Media*, which then was governed by *Cyaxares* or *Darius Medus*, after whom *Cyrus* became Lord and Monarch, both of *Assyria* and of *Media* it self.

Of the Race of *Phul Belochus* there were ten Kings besides himself, and of *Arbaces* as many are found by *Metasthenes*. These two Provincial Governors having cut down the last branch of *Ninus* in *Sardanapalus*, divided between them the Eastern Empire, *Cyaxares* (whom the Scriptures call *Darius Medus*) the last of the Race of *Arbaces* dying about two years after that the Line of *Belochus* was ended in *Balthasar*; the Dominions as well of the Conqueror, as of the conquered, fell to a third Family, namely, to *Cyrus* of the House of *Achæmenes*, the Princes of which Blood reigning in *Persia*, had formerly been dependants on the *Medes*, and were of as little power at home, as of fame abroad in the World.

Of the Family of *Achæmenes*, and Line of the *Persian* Kings, we shall hereafter find occasion in due place to intreat.

The Nation of the *Medes* descended from *Madai* the third Son of *Japhet*; that they had Kings soon after the Flood, *Lactantius* and *Diodorus* have found Record; For *Lactantius* remembreth an ancient King of the *Medes* called *Hydaspes*, and *Diodore* speaketh of *Pharnus* with his seven Sons, slain by the *Assyrian* in the beginning of their Empire.

But of these who succeeded *Arbaces* the first, that freed his Nation from the *Assyrians*; I take the List and Number from *Eusebius*, adding *Darius Medus*: of whom I have spoken in their proper places heretofore; and they are these:

Arbaces	Who reigned	28 years.
Sosarmus		30 years.
Medidus		40 years.
Cardiceas		13 years.
Diocles		53 years.
Phraortes		24 years.
Cyaxares		32 years.
Astyages		38 years.
Darius Medus		

And though the *Greeks* ascribe the Conquest of *Babylon* to *Cyrus* alone, yet the Scriptures teach us that *Darius* was not only King of *Media*, and had the *Persians* his followers, but that the Army victorious over *Balthasar* was his; as the *Assyrian* and

and *Babylonian* Empire alſo was during his own life. For we find in *Daniel* that *Darius* of the *Medes* took the Kingdom being threeſcore and two years old. And further what Officers it pleaſed him to ſet over the Kingdom. And ſo was it prepheſied by *Iſaiah* long before: *Behold I will ſtir up the Medes againſt them*, &c. And by *Jeremy*, *The Lord hath raiſed up the Spirit of the King of the Medes, for his purpoſe is againſt Babel to deſtroy it*; and in the eight and twentieth Verſe, *Prepare againſt her the Nations, with the King of the Medes, the Dukes thereof, the Princes thereof, and all the Land of his Dominion.* Theſe Scriptures *Julius Africanus* doth well open, who taking Authority from *Diodor*, *Caſtor*, *Thallus*, and others, delivereth that *Babylon* was taken before *Cyrus* began to Reign, which alſo agreeth with *Strabo*, where he ſaith, That as the *Medes* were ſubjugated by the *Perſians*, ſo before that, both the *Babylonians* and *Aſſyrians* were maſtered by the *Medes*. And therefore the reports of *Juſtin*, and *Herodotus*, are not to be received, who attribute the taking of *Babylon* to *Cyrus* alone.

Cap. 13. *v.* 17, 51. *v.* 11, & 28.

Lib. 16.

§. II.

By what means the Empire was tranſlated from the Medes *to the* Perſians.

HOW the Kingdom of the *Medes* fell into the hands of *Cyrus*, it is a doubt not ſufficiently cleared by Hiſtorians: but rather their different relations of his beginnings have bred the former opinion of thoſe who give the Conqueſt of *Babel* to the *Perſian* only. For ſome there are who deny that *Aſtyages* had any other Succeſſor than *Cyrus* his Grand-child by *Mandane*. Whereas *Cteſias* on the contrary ſide affirmeth that *Cyrus* was no way deſcended from *Aſtyages* (whom he calleth *Aſtygas* or *Apama*) but only that having vanquiſhed him in Battel, and confined him to *Bactria*, he married his Daughter *Amytis*. But I find the relations of *Cteſias* often cited and ſeldom followed, and himſelf ſometimes very juſtly reproved of wilful untruth.

Viginier a diligent and learned Hiſtorian of this Age, produceth many probable reaſons that *Aſtyages* had no ſuch Son as *Cyaxares*, or *Darius Medus*; and to confirm his opinion the more, he citeth *Diodore*, *Juſtin*, *Strabo*, *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, *Iſocrates*, and before them *Caſtor*, *Thallus*, and *Phlegon*, who do not find any ſuch Succeſſor. Neither do *Tatianus*, *Theophilus Antiochenus*, *Julius Africanus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Juſtin Martyr*, *Lactantius*, *Euſebius*, S. *Jerome*, or S. *Auguſtine*, make report out of any faithful Author by them read, that hath given other Son or Succeſſor to *Aſtyages* than *Cyrus*.

Yet ſeeing that this manner of Argument, *ab authoritate negativè*, doth never inforce conſent; we may be the bolder (all this great Liſt of Noble Writers by him alledged notwithſtanding) to affirm that either *Aſtyages* himſelf muſt have been *Darius* of the *Medes*, which cannot agree with his place in the courſe of time; or elſe to give him ſome other Succeſſor, according to *Joſephus*, and *Xenophon*, the ſame whom *Daniel* calleth *Darius*. For it is manifeſt, and without diſpute, that the King of the *Medes* commanded in chief, and was abſolute Lord of that Conqueſt, *Cyrus* during his life being no other than the Lieutenant of his Army, and ſubject to his Authority; the ſtrength of both Nations, to wit, the *Medes* and *Perſians*, with other the Vaſſals of *Darius*, being joyned together to compound it.

Zon. l. 1. *c.* 19. *Joſ. Ant. l.* 10. *c.* 13. *Xen. l.* 8. *Ped.*

But it is very certain that the honour of that great Victory over *Babylon* was wholly given to *Cyrus*, who was the inſtrument preordained and forenamed by God himſelf, not only for this action, but for the delivery of his Church; a greater work in the Eyes of God, than the ſubverſion of any State or Monarchy, how powerful ſoever.

And it may well be thought, that the Soldiers imployed in that ſervice did rather aſcribe the glory to him that was the beſt Man of War, than to the *Median*, who was greateſt in Riches and Power. All which alſo falling upon *Cyrus* by ſucceſſion, and continuing in his Poſterity, did much augment the fame of his vertue, which among Prophane Hiſtorians over-grew altogether the honour due to *Cyaxares*, both becauſe he was old, and did nothing in Perſon; as alſo becauſe he ſoon after quitted the World, and left all to *Cyrus*, who was poſſeſt of whatſoever belonged to *Darius*, before the fame of any ſuch King or Conqueror was carried far off.

And for the *Greek* Hiſtorians, they took all things from the relations of the *Perſians*, who gave to *Cyrus* all the praiſe of a moſt excellent Prince, making none his equal. Only *Daniel* in the firſt, fifth, and ſixth Chapters of his Prophecies, makes it plain that himſelf not only lived a great Officer under King *Darius*, but that he continued in that eſtate to the firſt of *Cyrus*, which being the year of *Daniel*'s death, could not have been diſtinguiſhed from the Reign of *Darius*, if they had begun together and reigned joyntly; neither can it be imagined that *Darius* held the Kingdom by *Cyrus*'s permiſſion, conſidering that *Cyrus* began after him.

§. III.

Xenophon's *relation of the War which the* Medes *and* Perſians *made with joynt Forces upon the* Aſſyrians *and others.*

THESE Teſtimonies of the Scriptures, which need no other confirmation, are yet made more open to our underſtanding, by that which *Xenophon* hath written of theſe Wars: The cauſe whereof, according to his report, was this.

When the *Aſſyrian* had inlarged his Empire with Victories, and was become Lord of all *Syria*, and many other Countries, he began to hope that if the *Medes* could be brought under his ſubjection, there ſhould not then be left any Nation adjoyning able to make head againſt him. For the King of the *Medes* was able to bring into the Field threeſcore thouſand Foot, and above ten thouſand Horſe, to which the Forces of *Perſia* being joyned made an exceeding ſtrong Army.

The *Aſſyrian* conſidering the ſtrength of ſuch a Neighbour, invited *Cræſus* King of *Lydia*, a Prince very mighty both in Men and Treaſure, and with him other Lords of *Aſia* the leſs to his aſſiſtance, alledging that thoſe Eaſtern Nations were very powerful, and ſo firmly conjoyned by League and many

many Alliances, that it would not be eaſie, no not poſſible, for any one Nation to reſiſt them. With theſe incitements ſtrengthned with great preſents, he drew to himſelf ſo many adherents as he compounded an Army of two hundred thouſand Foot, and threeſcore thouſand Horſe; of which, ten thouſand Horſe, and forty thouſand Foot were led by *Cræſus*, who had great cauſe of enmity with the *Medes*, in regard of the War made by them againſt his Father *Alyattes*; but this great Army was by *Cyaxares* King of the *Medes*, and by *Cyrus* General of the *Perſian* Forces, utterly broken; upon which Defeat the *Aſſyrian* King being alſo ſlain, ſo many of the *Aſſyrians* revolted, as *Babylon* it ſelf could not longer be aſſured without the ſuccours of Mercenaries, waged with great ſumms of Mony out of *Aſia* the leſs, *Ægypt*, and elſewhere. Which new gathered Forces were alſo ſcattered by *Cyrus*, who following his advantage, poſſeſt himſelf of a great part of the leſſer *Aſia*, at which time it was, as I take it, that *Cræſus* himſelf was alſo made priſoner.

The attempt of *Babylon* following ſoon after, the Army lying before it being paid by *Darius*, whom *Xenophon* calleth *Cyaxares*, and led by *Cyrus* his Siſters Son, prevailed againſt *Balthaſar*, as in due time ſhall be ſet down.

Thoſe *Perſians* which followed *Cyrus*, and by him levied, are numbred thirty thouſand Foot-men, of which a thouſand were armed Gentlemen, the reſt of the common ſort were Archers, or ſuch as uſed the Dart and the Sling. So far *Xenophon*. Of whom in this Argument, as it is true, that he deſcribed in *Cyrus* the pattern of a moſt Heroical Prince, with much Poetical addition: So it cannot be denied, but that the bulk and groſs of his Narration was founded upon meer Hiſtorical truth.

Neither can it indeed be affirmed of any the like Writer, that in every ſpeech and circumſtance he hath preciſely tied himſelf to the Phraſe of the Speaker, or nature of the occaſion, but borrowed in each out of his own invention, appropriating the ſame to the times and perſons of whom he treated. Putting therefore apart the Moral and Politick diſcourſe, and examining but the Hiſtory of things done, it will eaſily appear that *Xenophon* hath handled his undertaken ſubject in ſuch ſort, that by beautifying the face thereof, he hath not in any ſort corrupted the body.

§. IV.

The eſtate of the Medes *and* Perſians *in times foregoing this great War.*

FOR it is commonly agreed upon, that *Achæmenes*, the Son of *Perſes* being Governor of *Perſia*, did aſſociate himſelf with *Arbaces*, who commanded in *Media* in that Rebellion againſt *Sardanapalus*, and that each of them after the Victory obtained, held for himſelf the Dominion of thoſe Countries which he had formerly ruled for the *Aſſyrians*; as alſo that they conveighed over the ſame honour and power to their Poſterity; which in *Media* was not abſolutely Regal, but with ſome reſtraint limited, until ſuch time as *Dejoces* took upon him the full Authority and Majeſty of a King. From the death of *Sardanapalus* to the Reign of *Dejoces*, are uſually accounted about an hundred and forty years, in the laſt ſixty whereof there reigned in *Aſſyria* mighty Princes, namely *Salmanaſſar* and his Succeſſors, whoſe great atchievements in *Syria* and elſewhere witneſs, that the *Medes* and *Perſians* found it not for their advantage to undertake any offenſive War againſt thoſe victorious Kings, it being alſo probable that the League continued as yet between theſe the Succeſſors of *Belochus*, and *Arbaces*, who had formerly ſhared the Empire.

Now from the beginning of *Dejoces* to the firſt of *Aſtyages*, there paſt above ninety years, in which if *Herodotus* have written truly, that *Phraortes* conquered *Perſia*, and how he and other the Kings of *Media* by many Victories greatly enlarged their Dominions, and commanded many parts of *Aſia*, it had been but an unadviſed enterpriſe of the *Aſſyrians* and *Babylonians*, to have waſted themſelves againſt the *Syrians* and *Ægyptians*, leaving ſo able and victorious a Nation on their backs. But that the *Medes* had done nothing upon the South parts of *Perſia*, and that the *Perſians* themſelves were not Maſters of *Suſiana* in *Nabuchodonoſor*'s time, it is manifeſt in *Daniel*, who was then Governor for the *Babylonians* in *Suſa* or *Suſan*, the chief City thereof. It is true indeed, that the *Medians*, either under *Cyaxares* or *Aſtyages*, or both, had quarrel with *Halyattes* the Father of *Cræſus*, which after ſome ſix years diſpute was compounded.

How the affairs of *Perſia* ſtood in ſo many ages, I do not find any memory. It ſeemeth that the roughneſs of the mountainous Country which they then poſſeſt, with the confederacy which they continued with the *Medes*, gave them more ſecurity than fame: For if their Kings, being the Poſterity of *Achæmenes*, had done any memorable acts, the greatneſs which they afterward obtained would not have ſuffered any forgetfulneſs thereof. But as we find all *Xenophon*'s reports, both of theſe Wars and the ſtate of thoſe Countries to be very conſonant and agreeable to the relation of many other good Authors, ſo it appears, that the Race of *Achæmenes* held the Principality of *Perſia* from Father to Son for many deſcents. And therefore we may better give credit to *Xenophon*, who affirmeth, That *Cambyſes* the Father of *Cyrus* was King of *Perſia*: than to thoſe that make him a mean Man, and ſay, that *Aſtyages* gave him his Daughter *Mandane* in Marriage, to the end that her Son (whoſe Nativity he feared) might be diſabled from any great undertaking by his Fathers ignobility.

For what cauſe of grief could it be to *Aſtyages*, that the Son of his Daughter ſhould become Lord of the beſt part of *Aſia*? No; it was more likely, that upon ſuch a Prophecy his love to his Grand-child ſhould have encreaſed, and his care been the greater to have married her to ſome Prince of ſtrength and eminent vertue.

Yea, the ſame *Herodotus*, who is the firſt Author, and as I think the deviſer of the miſchief intended againſt *Cyrus* by his Grand-father, doth confeſs, That the Line of the *Achæmenidæ* was ſo renowned, that the great King *Xerxes* in the height of his Proſperity did thence derive himſelf, and vaunt of it: which he would never have done, had they been ignoble, nor had they been the Vaſſals of any other King or Monarch.

For in this ſort *Xerxes* in the ſeventh of *Herodotus* deriveth himſelf.

Achæmenes.

Achæmenes.
Cambyſes.
Cyrus.
Teiſpeus.
Ariaramnes.
Arſamnes.
Hyſtaſpes.
Darius.
Xerxes.

Of the *Achæmenidæ* there were two Races: of the firſt was *Cyrus* the great, whoſe iſſue Male failed in his two Sons, *Cambyſes* and *Smerdis*. This Royal Family is thus ſet down by the learned *Reineccius*.

Achæmenes, the Son of *Perſes*, firſt King of *Perſia*.
Darius.
Cyrus, the firſt of that name, had *Cambyſes* and *Atoſſa*, who, married to *Pharnaces*, King of *Cappadocia*, had *Artyſtona* and other Daughters.
Cambyſes had
Cyrus the Great, *Cyrus* had
Cambyſes, who ſucceeded him, and *Smerdis* ſlain by his Brother *Cambyſes*.

Of the ſecond were thoſe ſeven great Princes of *Perſia*, who having overthrown the uſurped Royalty of the *Magi*, choſe from among themſelves *Darius* the Son of *Hyſtaſpes* King.

This Kingdom of *Perſia* was firſt known by the name of *Elam*, ſo called after *Elam* the Son of *Sem*, and the People therein inhabiting *Elamitæ*; by *Elianus*, *Elymæ*; by *Joſephus*, *Elymi*.

Suidas derives this Nation ſometimes from *Aſſur*, ſometime from *Magog*, of whom they were called *Maguſæi*; which *Maguſæi*, according to *Euſebius*, are not to be taken for the Nation in general, but for thoſe who were afterward called the *Magi*, or wiſe Men. So do the *Greeks*, among many other their ſayings of them, affirm, That the *Perſians* were anciently written *Artæi*, and that they called themſelves *Cephenes*. But that they were *Elamitæ*, *Moſes* and the Prophets, *Iſaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*, and *Eſdras* in many places confirm: which alſo S. *Jerome* upon *Jeremy* the five and twentieth, upon *Daniel* the eight and twentieth, and in his *Hebrew* queſtions approveth, ſaying, *Elam à quo Elamitæ Principes Perſidis*; *Elam, of whom were the Elamites Princes of Perſia.*

Euſeb. l. 6. c. 8. d. Prep. Evang. Gen. 10. Iſai. 11. 21, 22. Jer. 25, & 29. Ezek. 32. Dan. 8. Eſd. 4.

And that City which the Author of the ſecond Book of the *Maccabees* calleth *Perſepolis*, is by the Author of the firſt called *Elimais*, but is now called *Siras*, being the ſame which *Antiochus*, for the great Riches thereof, twice attempted in vain, and to his great diſhonour. And yet this City, now called *Siras*, was not the old *Perſepolis*; for *Alexander*, at the requeſt of *Thais* the Harlot, burnt it.

2 Mac. 9. 1 Mach.

The firſt King of *Perſia* to us known, if we follow the current of Authors interpreting the fourteenth Chapter of *Geneſis*, was *Chedorlaomer*, who lived with *Amraphel* or *Ninias*, and joyned with him in the War againſt thoſe *Arabians*, who was afterward extinguiſhed by the Forces of *Abraham*.

Gen. 14

Herod. l. 1. 3, 4, &c

CHAP. III.

Of CYRUS.

§. I.

Of Cyrus *his name and firſt actions.*

AS touching the name of *Cyrus*, *Strabo* ſaith, That the ſame was taken from a River which watereth *Perſia*; this great Prince having *Agradatus* for his proper name. But the great *Cyrus* was not the firſt of that name; *Herodotus* otherwiſe; and that *Cyrus* ſignifieth a Father in the *Perſian* Tongue, and therefore ſo intituled by the People.

Strab. l. 15.

It is true that for his Juſtice and other excellent vertues he was indeed called a Father; but that the name of *Cyrus* had any ſuch ſignification, I think it be miſtaken.

Plutarch hath a third opinion, affirming, That *Cyrus* is as much to ſay as the Sun, in the ſame Language. Howſoever it be, yet the Prophet *Iſaiah*, almoſt two hundred years before *Cyrus* was born, gives him that name, *Thus ſaith the Lord unto Cyrus his anointed*, &c.

Plut. in vit. Artax.

Before the Conqueſt of *Babylon*, the Victories which *Cyrus* obtained were many and great: among which, the Conqueſt of *Lydia*, and other Provinces thereto ſubject, together with the taking of *Cræſus* himſelf, are not recounted by *Euſebius*, *Oroſius*, and others, but placed among his later atchievements, whoſe opinion for this difference of time is founded upon two reaſons; namely, That of the *Median* there is no mention in that laſt War againſt *Cræſus*: and that the obtaining of *Sardis* is referred to the eight and fiftieth *Olympiad*, and the glorious Victory which *Cyrus* had over *Babylon*, to the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*.

Athen. l. 14. c. 17.

The

The former of which might have been used (and was by the *Greeks*) to exclude the *Medes* from the honour of having won *Babylon* it self, which in due place I have answered. The later seems to have reference to the second War which *Cyrus* made upon *Lydia*, when it rebelled; at which time he so established his former Conquest, as after that time these Nations never offered to revolt. Wherefore I like better in this particular to believe with *Herodotus*, whom the most of Chronologers follow, and find the enterprise of *Sardis* to precede that of *Babylon*.

§. II.

Of Crœsus *the King of* Lydia, *who made War upon* Cyrus.

I Have in the last Book spoken somewhat of *Crœsus*, of his Race and Predecessors, as also of those Kings which governed *Lydia* in more ancient times: of which the first (to Prophane Authors known) was *Lydus*, the Son of *Atys*: which Family extinguished, the Kingdom was by an Oracle conferred upon *Argon*, descended from *Hercules*, whereof there were two and twenty Generations, *Candaules* being the last, who by shewing his fair Wife naked to *Gyges* his favorite, he was by the same *Gyges* (thereto urged upon peril of his own life by the Queen) the next day slain. Which done, *Gyges* enjoyed both the Queen and the Kingdom of *Lydia*, and left the same to *Ardys* his Son, who was Father to *Sadyattes*, the Father of *Halyattes* (who thrust the *Cimmerians* out of *Asia*) and *Halyattes* begat *Crœsus*: which five Kings, of a third Race, enjoyed that Kingdom an hundred and seventy years. *Halyattes* the Father of *Crœsus* was an undertaking Prince, and after he had continued a War against *Cyaxares* the *Median*, a Prince very powerful, and maintained it six years, a Peace was concluded upon equal conditions between them.

Herod. l. 1. p. 34, & 5.

Astyages, the Son of *Cyaxares*, and Grandfather to *Cyrus*, thought himself greatly honoured by obtaining *Aryenis*, *Crœsus* Sister, whom he married.

But *Crœsus* so far enlarged his Dominions after his Fathers death, as he was nothing inferior in Territory to any King or Monarch of that age: Of which, about that time there were four in effect of equal strength; to wit, the *Median*, the *Babylonian*, the *Ægyptian*, and the *Lydian*: only *Nabuchodonosor*, after he had joyned *Phœnicia*, *Palestina*, and *Ægypt* to his Empire, had thence-forward no Competitor during his own life.

But *Crœsus*, notwithstanding the Men and Treasure spent in the quarrel of the *Babylonians*, he yet mastred *Æolis*, *Doris*, and *Ionia*, Provinces possest by the *Greeks* in *Asia* the less, adjoyning to *Lydia*; gave Law to the *Phrygians*, *Bithynians*, *Carians*, *Mysians*, *Paphlagonians*, and other Nations. And that he also inforc'd the *Ephesians* to acknowledge him, notwithstanding they compassed their City with *Diana's* Girdle, *Herodotus* witnesseth. Moreover, *Athenæus* out of *Berosus* (which also *Strabo* confirmeth) makes report of a signal Victory which *Crœsus* obtained against the *Sacæans*, a Nation of the *Scythians*, in memory whereof the *Babylonians* his Allies did yearly celebrate a Feast, which they called *Sacea*: All which he performed in fourteen year.

Athen. l. 14. c. 17.

And being now confident in the continuance of his good fortune, and envious of *Cyrus's* fame, doubting also, that his prosperous undertakings might in the end grow perillous to himself, he consulted with the Oracle of *Apollo*, whom he presented with marvellous rich Gifts, what success he might hope for against *Cyrus*, if he undertook him: from whom he received this Riddle, Crœsus *passing over the River* Halys, *shall dissolve a great Dominion*. For the Devil being doubtful of the success, paid him with Merchandize of both sides like, and might be inverted either way to the ruin of *Persia*, or of his own *Lydia*.

§. III.

Crœsus *his Expedition against* Cyrus.

HEreupon *Crœsus* being resolved to stop the course of *Cyrus's* fortunes, if he could, despised all the Arguments used by *Sandanes* to the contrary, who desired him to fore-think, That he urged a Nation inhabiting a barren and mountainous Region, a People not covered with the soft Silk of Worms, but with the hard Skins of Beasts; not fed with such Meat as they fancied, but content with what they found; drinkers of Water, not of Wine: and in a word, a Nation warlike, enduring, valiant and prosperous; over whom if he became victorious, he could thereby enrich himself in nothing but fame, in which he already excelled: and if by them beaten, and subjected, so great would his loss appear of all things which the World hath in account, as the same could neither hastily be told, nor readily conceived.

Notwithstanding this solid Counsel, *Crœsus* having prepared a powerful Army, he led the same towards *Media*, but in his passage he was arrested at *Pterium*, a City of great strength in *Cappadocia*; which while he sought by all means to surprize or force, *Cyrus* came on, and found the *Lydians* encamped before it. That each was inferior to other in strength or opinion, I do not find: for out of doubt, *Crœsus* as he excelled any Prince of that age in Riches and Ability; so was he not under any in territory and fame that then lived.

But as *Cratippus* of *Mitylene* answered *Pompey* when he complained against the Gods, because they favoured a Disturber and Usurper of the Commonweal against him who fought for the *Roman* liberty, That Kingdoms and Commonweals had their encrease and period from Divine Ordinance: so at this time was the Winter of *Crœsus* Prosperity at hand, the Leaves of his flourishing fortune ready to fall, and that of *Cyrus* but in the Flower and first Spring. The God of all Power, and not *Admetis Herdsman*, *Apollo*, had given date to the one, and a beginning of glory to the other.

When these two Armies were in view of each other, after the entertainment of divers Skirmishes, the

the *Persians* and *Lydians* began to joyn in gross Troops: supplies from both Kings thrust on upon the falling off, and advancement of either Nation: and as the *Persians* had somewhat the better of the Day, so when the dark veil of Night had hidden each Army from the others view, *Cræsus* doubting what success the rising Sun would bring with it, quitted the Field to *Cyrus*, and with all speed possible retired, and taking the next way into *Lydia*, recovered *Sardis* his first City and Regal Seat, without any pursuit made by *Cyrus* to retard him. Where being arrived, and nothing suspecting *Cyrus*'s approach, or any other War for that Winter, he dismissed the Soldiers, and sent the Troops of his sundry Nations to their own Provinces, appointing them to re-assemble at the end of five months, acquainting his Commanders with his intents for the renewing of the War at the time appointed.

§. IV.

The Conquest of Lydia *by* Cyrus.

Cyrus in the following morning finding the *Lydians* departed, put his Army in order to pursue them, yet not so hastily, and at their heels, as to be discovered. But having good intelligence of *Cræsus* his proceeding, he so measured his Marches, as he presented not himself before *Sardis*, till such time as *Cræsus* had disposed his Army to their wintring Garrisons: when being altogether unlooked for, and unfeared, he surrounded *Sardis* with his Army: wherein *Cræsus* having no other Companies than his Citizens and ordinary Guards, after fourteen days Siege the same was entred by assault, and all executed that resisted. *Cræsus* having now neither Arms to fight, nor Wings to flie, *Sardis* being on all parts strongly encompassed, thrust himself into the heap and miserable Multitude of his Vassals, and had undergone the common fortune of common Persons vanquished, had not a Son of his, who had been dumb all his life (by extremity of passion and fear enabled) cried out to the Soldiers to spare *Cræsus*. Who thereupon being taken and imprisoned, despoiled of all things but the expectation of death, he was forthwith tied in Fetters, & set on the top of a great and high heap of Wood, to be consumed to ashes thereon. To which when the fire was set and kindled, remembring the discourse which he had had with the *Athenian* Law-giver, he thrice cried out on his name, *Solon, Solon, Solon*: and being demanded what he meant by that invocation, he first used silence: but urged again, he told them, That he now found it true which *Solon* had long since told him, That many Men in the race and courses of their lives might well be accounted fortunate, but no Man could discern himself for happy indeed, till his end.

In communi calamitate suam quisq; habet fortunam. Curt.

Memoriam metus perimit: timor vocis est incitamentum, &c. Solin. c. 7.

Of which answer *Cyrus* being speedily informed, remembring the changes of fortune and his own mortality, he commanded his Ministers of Justice to withdraw the fire with all diligence to save *Cræsus*, and to conduct him to his presence: which done, *Cyrus* demanded of him, who it was that had perswaded him? or what self-reason had conducted him to invade his Territory, and to make him of a Friend an Enemy? To whom he thus answered, It was thy prosperous and my unprosperous destiny (the *Gracian* God flattering therewithal my ambition) that were the inverters and conductors of *Cræsus* War against *Cyrus*.

Homo qui in homine calamitoso misericors est meminit sui. Cass.

Cyrus being pierc'd with *Cræsus*'s answer, and bewailing his estate, though victorious over it, did not only spare his life, but entertained him ever after as a King and his Companion, shewing therein a true effect of mercy indeed, *Qua non causam sed fortunam spectat.*

And herein is the real difference discerned between that behaviour which we call *Beneficium latronis, & gratiam Principis*: A Thief sometime sparing the life of him which is in his power, but unjustly: A King that giveth breath, and a continuance of being, to him that was the cause and author of his own evil.

The report made by *Xenophon* is, That *Cyrus* did friendly entertain *Cræsus* at the first sight, not mentioning that which *Herodotus* delivers, and is here already set down, that he should have been burnt alive. It may well be, that *Xenophon* pourtraying (in *Cyrus*) an Heroical Prince, thought an intent so cruel fitter to be forgotten than rehearsed, as too much misbeseeming a generous nature. And it is very likely, that nearness of Alliance might withhold *Cyrus* (had he been otherwise vitious) from so cruel a purpose against his Grand mothers Brother. Howsoever it was, the Moral part of the Story hath given credit and reputation to the report of *Herodotus* (as to many the like it often doth) and made it pass for currant, though the trust reposed in *Cræsus* afterwards may seem to argue, that *Cyrus* did not use him inhumanely at the first.

For as *Herodotus* himself telleth us, when *Cyrus* past with his Army over *Araxes* into *Scythia*, he left *Cræsus* to accompany and advise his Son *Cambyses*, Governor of the Empire in his absence, with whom he lived all the time of *Cyrus*, and did afterward follow *Cambyses* into *Ægypt*, where he hardly escaped his tyrannous hand. What his end was I do not find.

But in this time the Races of three of the greatest Kings in that part of the World took end; to wit, of the *Babylonians*, *Medians*, and *Lydians*; in *Balthasar*, *Cyaxares*, and *Cræsus*.

§. V.

How Cyrus *won* Babylon.

After this *Lydian* War ensued the great Conquest of *Babylon*, which gave unto *Cyrus* an Empire so large and mighty, that he was justly reputed the greatest Monarch then living upon Earth. How long time the preparations for this great action took up, it is uncertain; only it seems, that ten whole years did pass between his taking those two Cities of *Sardes* and *Babylon*, which nevertheless I do not think to have been wholly occupied in provision for the *Assyrian* War, but rather to have been spent in

in settling the Estate which he had already purchased. And hereunto perhaps may be referred that which *Ctesias* hath in his fragments, of a War made by *Cyrus* upon the *Scythians*, though related as foregoing the victory obtained against *Crœsus*. He telleth us, That *Cyrus* invaded *Scythia*, and being victorious over that Nation, took *Amorges* their King prisoner: but being in a second battel overthrown by the wife of *Amorges*, *Sparetha*, and therein taken, the one King was delivered for the other.

Likewise it may be thought that no small part of those troubles which arose in the lower *Asia*, grew soon after the departure of the victorious Army, before the Conquest was fully established.

For after *Cyrus* was returned out of *Asia* the less, many Nations, conquered formerly by *Crœsus*, and now by *Cyrus*, revolted from him; against whom he employed *Pactias*, and then *Harpagus*, who first reduced the *Phocians* under their former obedience, and then the rest of the *Greeks* inhabiting *Asia* the less, as the *Ionians*, *Carians*, *Æolians*, and *Lycians*, who resolvedly (according to the strength they had) defended themselves. But in the attempt upon *Babylon* it self, it is not to be doubted, that *Cyrus* employed all his forces, having taken order before-hand, that nothing should be able to divert him, or to raise that siege, and make frustrate the work upon which he did set all his rest. And great reason there was, that he should bend all his care and strength unto the taking of that City, which beside the fame and reputation that it held, as being head of an Empire thereon depending, was so strongly fenced with a treble wall of great height, and surrounded with Waters unfoordable, so plentifully victualled for many years, that the inhabitants were not only free from all doubt and fear of their estate, but despised and derided all purposes and power of their besiegers.

The only hope of the *Medes* and *Persians*, who despaired of carrying by assault a City so well fortified and man'd, was, in cutting off all supplies of victuals, and other necessaries: whereof though the Town was said to be stored sufficiently for more than twenty years, yet might it well be deemed, that in such a world of people as dwelt within those gates, one great want or other would soon appear, and vanquish the resolution of that unwarlike multitude. In expecting the success of this course, the Besiegers were likely to endure much travel, and all in vain, if they did not keep strict watch and strong guards upon all quarters.

This was hard to do, in regard of the vast circuit of those walls which they were to gird in, with numbers neither great enough, nor of men sufficiently assured unto their Commander: The consideration whereof ministred unto the *Babylonians* matter of good pastime, when they saw the *Lydians*, *Phrygians*, *Cappadocians*, and others, quartered about their Town to keep them in, who having been their ancient friends and allies, were more likely to joyn with them, if occasion were offered than to use much diligence on the behalf of *Cyrus*; who had, as it were yesterday, laid upon their necks the galling yoke of servitude. Whilst the besieged were pleating themselves in this deceitful and vain gladness, that is the ordinary fore-runner of sudden calamity, *Cyrus*, whom the Ordinance of God made strong and constant, and inventive, devised, by so many channels and trenches as were sufficient and capable of *Euphrates*, to draw the same from the walls of *Babylon*, thereby to make his approach the more facile and assured: which when by the labour of many hands he had performed, he stayed the time of his advantage for the execution: for he had left certain banks or heads un-cut, between the main River which surrounded the City, and his own Trenches.

Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 7.

Now *Balthasar*, finding neither any want or weakness within, nor any possibility of approach for his enemies without, prepared an exceeding sumptuous Feast, publick Plays, and other Pastimes; and thereto invited a thousand of his Princes or Nobility, besides his Wives, Curtizans, and others of that trade. This he did either to let the besiegers know, that his provisions were either sufficient, not only for all needful uses, but even for jollity and excess; or because he hoped that his enemies, under the burthen of many distresses, were well near broken; or in honour of *Bel* his most reverenced Idol; or that it was his Birth or Coronation-day; or for many or all these respects. And he was not contented with such magnificence as no Prince else could equal, but (using *Daniel's* words) *he lifted himself up against the Lord of Heaven:* for he and his Princes, Wives and Concubines, made carousing cups of the vessels of God, in contempt of whom, he praised his own Puppets, made of Silver and Gold, of Brass, Iron, Wood, and Stone; *Quanta fuit stultitia invasibus aureis bibentes, ligneos & lapideos deos laudare? How great a foolishness was it* (saith St. *Hierom*) *drinking in golden Cups, to praise gods of Wood and Stone?* While *Balthasar* was in this sort triumphing, and his brains well filled with vapours, he beheld a hand, which by divine power wrote on the wall opposite unto him, certain words which he understood not: wherewith so great a fear and amazement seised him, as *the joynts of his loyns were loosed, and his knees smote one against the other.* Which passion, when he had in some part recovered, he cryed out for his *Chaldeans*, Astrologians, and Southsayers, promising them great rewards, and the third place of honour in the Kingdom to him that could read and expound the writing: but it exceeded their Art. In this disturbance and astonishment, the Queen hearing what had past, and of the King's amazement, after reverence done, used this speech: *There is a Man in thy Kingdom, in whom is the spirit of the holy Gods, and in the dayes of thy Father, light and understanding, and wisdom, like the wisdom of the Gods was found in him, whom the King* Nabuchodonosor, *thy Father, the King (I say) thy Father made chief of the Inchanters, Astrologians,* Chaldeans, *and South sayers, because a more excellent spirit, and knowledge, and understanding,* &c. *were found in him, even in* Daniel, *&c. Now let* Daniel *be called, and he will declare the Interpretation.*

Dan. 5. 6.

This Queen, *Josephus* takes for the Grandmother *Origen* and *Theodoret*, for the Mother of *Balthasar*; either of which may be true: for it appeareth that she was not any of the King's Wives, because absent from the feast; and being past the age of dancing, and banquetting, she came in upon the bruit of the miracle, and to comfort the King in his distraction. And whereas *Daniel* was forgotten and neglected by others both of younger years and times, this old Queen remembred well what he had done in the days of *Nabuchodonosor*, Grandfather to this *Balthasar*, and kept in mind both his Religion and divine gifts.

Orig. & Theod. in Dan. Joseph. Ant. 10.

When *Daniel* was brought to the King's presence, who acknowledged those excellent graces wherewith God had enriched him, he prayed him, together with promises of reward and honour, to read and interpret those words miraculously written; to whom *Daniel* made answer in a fat different stile from that he used towards his Grandfather: for, the evil which he foretold *Nabuchodonosor*, he wished that the same might befall his enemies; but to this King (whose neglect of God, and vice, he hated) he answered in these words, *Keep thy rewards to thy self, and give thy gifts to another; yet will I read the writing unto the King, and shew him the interpretation.* Which, before he had performed, he gave him first the cause of God's just Judgement against him, and the reason of

this terrible sentence, whereof the King and all his Wise men were utterly ignorant. Which being written at large in *Daniel*, hath this effect, That forgetting God's goodness to his Father, whom all Nations feared and obeyed, and that for his pride and neglect of those benefits, as he deprived him of his estate and understanding, so upon the acknowledgement of God's infinite Power he restored him to both. This King, notwithstanding, lifted himself up against the same God; and presuming both to abuse those Vessels dedicated to holy uses, and neglecting the Lord of all power, praised and worshiped the dead Idols of Gold, Silver, Brass, Iron, Stone and Wood: and therefore those words, from the Oracle of a true God delivered, (to wit) *Mene Tekel Upharsin*, gave the King knowledge, that God hath numbred the time of his Kingdom, and finished it; That he was weighed in the ballance of God's Justice, and found too light; and that his Empire was divided and given to the *Medes* and *Persians*.

Dan. 5. 18, 19, 20.

The very evening or night of this day, wherein *Balthasar* feasted and perished, *Cyrus*, either by his espyals, according to *Xenophon*; or inspired by God himself, whose ensign he followed in this War, found the time and opportunity to invite him: and therefore while the Kings head, and the heads of his Nobility were no less filled with the vapors of Wine, than their hearts with the fear of God's judgement, he caused all the banks and heads of his trenches to be opened and cut down with that diligence, as by them he drew the great River of *Euphrates* dry for the present, by whose channel running, his Army made their entrance, finding none to disturb them. All the Town lay buried (as the Poet saith) in sleep and wine: such as came in the *Persians* way, were put to the sword, unless they saved themselves by flight, as some did, who ran away crying, and filling the streets with an uncertain tumult.

Such *Assyrian* Lords as had revolted from *Balthasar*, and betaken themselves to the party of *Cyrus*, did now conduct a selected company to the King's Palace; which having easily forced, they rushed into the Chamber where the King with his Princes were banquetting, slew both him and them without any mercy, who struggled in vain to keep those lives which God had newly threatned to take away. And now was the Prophecy of *Jeremy* fulfilled, and that of *Esay* two hundred years before this subversion; who in his seven and fortieth Chapter, and elsewhere, writeth this destruction so feelingly and lively, as if he had been present both at the terrible slaughter there committed, and had seen the great and unfeared change and calamity of this great Empire; yea, and had also heard the sorrows and bewailings of every surviving soul thereunto subject. His Prophecy of this place he beginneth in these words; *Come down, and sit in the dust, O Virgin Daughter of* Babel: *sit on the ground, there is no throne*, &c. And again, *Sit still, and get thee into darkness, O daughter of the* Chaldeans; *for thou shalt no more be called the Lady of Kingdoms.* For, though it cannot be doubted, that God used *Nabuchodonosor*, and the *Chaldeans*, to punish the Idolatty of the *Judeans*; yet *Esay* teacheth us in this place, That he did not yet forget, that the execution of his judgements was mixt with a rigorous extremity. For (saith *Esay*) in the person of God, *I was wroth with my people, I have polluted mine inheritance, and given them into thine hand: thou didst shew them no mercy, but thou didst lay thy very heavy yoke upon the ancient. I will rise up against them, saith the Lord of Hosts, and will cut off from* Babel *the Name, and the Remnant, and the Son, and the Nephew.* And in the thirteenth, *Every one that is found, shall be stricken thorow: whosoever joyneth himself, shall fall by the sword, their children also shall be broken in pieces before their eyes, their houses spoiled, and their Wives ravished.* So as there is no Historian who was either present at this Victory of *Cyrus*, or that received the report from others truly as it was, that could better leave the same to posterity after it happened, than *Esay* hath done in many places of his Prophecies, which were written two hundred years before any thing attempted.

Jer. 27. *Isa.* 47.

Cap. 47.

Isa. 14. To wit, *Evilmerodach* and *Balthasar*

The greatness and magnificence of *Babylon*, were it not by divers grave Authors set down, might seem altogether fabulous: for, besides the reports of Saint *Hierom*, *Solinus*, and *Orosius*, *Aristotle* in the third of his *Politicks*, the second Chapter, received the report for true, That one part of the City knew not that the rest was taken three days after. Which is not impossible, if the testimony of *Diodorus Siculus* may be taken; who finds the compass at three hundred and threescore *Stadia* or Furlongs, which makes five and forty Miles: the walls whereof had so great a breadth, that six Charriots mights pass in front thereon. And of height, according to *Ctesias* and *Clitracus*, three hundred threescore and five foot, garnished with an hundred and fifty Towers. *Strabo* in the beginning of his sixteenteth Book of Geography, gives it a greater circuit, adding five and twenty Furlongs more to the former compass, reckoning the same at three hundred fourscore and five Furlongs, which make eight and forty Mile and one Furlong, but finds the Wall far under that which *Diodore* reports: and so doth *Curtius* measure their thickness but at two and thirty foot, and their height at an hundred cubits, which is also very much; every cubit containing a foot and a half of the large measure, though to the whole circuit of the City he gives the same with *Siculus*, and eight Furlongs more. *Herodotus* finds a greater content than *Strabo* doth, namely, four hundred and fourscore furlongs circle; the thickness of the wall he measures at fifty cubits, and the height at two hundred of the same regal cubit. For entrance, it had an hundred Gates of Brass, with Posts and Hooks to hang them on of the same metal: and therefore did the Prophet *Esay* rightly intitle *Babylon*, The Princess and Glory of Kingdoms.

Diod. l. 3.

Her. l. 1.

Isa. 47. 13

But when *Cyrus* had won her, he stript her out of her Princely Robes, and made her a slave; dividing not only all her goodly houses, and her whole Territory, with all the riches therein contained, among his Souldiers; but bestowing the inhabitants themselves as bond-slaves upon those that had taken possession of their goods.

Touching the reign of *Cyrus*, and the time which he enjoyed in rest and pleasure, I can say no more of it, than that it is generally agreed by all Chronologers to have lasted only seven years: in which time he made such Constitutions as differ little from the Ordinances of all Wise Kings that are desirous to establish a royal Power to themselves and their posterity.

§ VI.

The end of Cyrus.

THe last War, and the end of this great King *Cyrus*, is diversly written. *Herodotus* and *Justin* deliver, That after the Conquest of *Asia* the less, *Cyrus* invaded the *Massagetes*, a very warlike Nation of the *Scythians*, governed by *Tomyris* their Queen: and that in an encounter between the *Persians* and these Northern *Nomades*, *Tomyris* lost her Army, and her Son *Spargapises* that commanded it: In revenge whereof, this Queen making new levies of men of War, and following the War against *Cyrus*, in a second battel, beat the *Persians* Army, and taking *Cyrus* prisoner, cut off his head from his body, and cast the same into a bowl of blood, using these words,

words; *Thou that hast all thy life time thirsted for blood, now drink thy fill and satiate thy self.*

It should hereby seem, that *Cyrus* knowing the strength and multitude of those frozen Nations, was perswaded to abate their fury by some forcible invasion and depopulation, because in the time of *Cyaxares*, Father to *Astyages*, those *Scythians* invaded *Media* and *Asia* the less, and held the same in a servile subjection eight and twenty years.

This War, which *Metasthenes* calleth *Tomyrique*, lasted (saith he) six years, and took end at the end of *Cyrus*.

But in this particular I believe with *Viginier*, that this *Scythian* War was rather the same which *Cyrus* made against the *Sacians*, before the conquest of *Lydia*, according to *Ctesias* before cited, who calleth *Tomyris*, *Sparetha*, though he deliver the success of that War otherwise than *Herodotus* doth: The rather (saith *Viginier*) because *Strabo* in his eleventh Book reciteth, that *Cyrus* surprized the *Sacians* by the same stratagem by which *Justin* saith, he defeated the son of *Tomyris*. And the same *Ctesias* also reporteth, That the last War which *Cyrus* made, was against *Amorrhæus* King of the *Derbicians*, a Nation (as the rest) of *Scythia*; whom though he overcame, yet he then received the wound of his death, which he suffered three days after.

Vig. prim. part. Bib.

Cte. l. 15. hist. part.

Strabo also affirmeth, That he was buried in his own City of *Pasagardes*, which himself had built, and where his Epitaph was to be read in his time; which is said to have been this: *O vir, quicunquees, & undecunque advenis, neque enim te adventurum ignoravi: Ego sum* Cyrus *qui Persis imperium constitui, pusillum hoc terræ quo meum tegitur corpus mihi nè invideas, O thou Man, whosoever thou art, or whencesoever thou comest; for I was not ignorant that thou should'st come: I am* Cyrus *that founded the* Persian *Empire, do not envy unto me this little earth, with which my body is covered.*

Strab. l. 15.

This Tomb was opened by *Alexander*, as *Qu. Curtius* reporteth, either upon hope of treasure, supposed to have been buried with him (or upon desire to honour his dead body with certain ceremonies) in which there was found an old rotten Target, two *Scythian* Bows, and a Sword. The Coffin wherein his body lay, *Alexander* caused to be covered with his own garment, and a Crown of Gold to be set upon it. These things well considered, as they give credit to the reports of *Xenophon* and *Zonaras*, so they derogate much from *Herodotus*, who leaves his body in the hands of *Tomyris*.

Qu. Curt

Xen. pæd. 8 Zon. l. 1. p. 20.

And surely, had *Cyrus* lost the Army of *Persia* in *Scythia*, it is not likely, that his Son would so soon have transported all his remaining forces into *Egypt*, so far off from that quarter; the *Scythian* Nation then victorious, and bordering *Media*: neither had *Cambyses* been able in such hast to have undertaken and performed so great a Conquest. Wherefore I rather believe *Xenophon*, saying, that *Cyrus* died aged, and in peace: and that finding in himself, that he could not long enjoy the world, he called unto him his Nobility, with his two Sons *Cambyses* and *Smerdis*; or, after *Xenophon*, *Tanaoxares*: and, after a long Oration, wherein he assured himself, and taught others, of the immortality of the Soul, and of the punishments and rewards following the good and ill deserving of every man in this life; he exhorted his Sons by the strongest arguments he had, to a perpetual concord and agreement. Many other things he uttered, which make it probable, that he received the knowledge of the true God from *Daniel*, when he governed *Susa* in *Persia*, and that *Cyrus* himself had read the Prophecy of *Esay*, wherein he was expressly named, and by God (for the delivery of his people) preordained. Which act of delivering the *Jews* from their Captivity, and of restoring the holy Temple and City of *Jerusalem*, was in true consideration the noblest work that ever *Cyrus* performed. For in other actions he was an instrument of God's power, used for the chastising of many Nations, and the establishing of a Government in those parts of the world, which was not long to continue. But herein he had the Grace to be an instrument of God's goodness, and a willing advancer of his Kingdom upon Earth; which must last for ever, though Heaven and Earth shall perish.

§. VII.

Of Cyrus *his Decree for building the Temple of God in* Jerusalem.

HAving therefore spoken of his great Victories, mentioned by sundry Historians, the glory of all which was a reward of this his service done unto him that was Authour of them and of all goodness: I hold it meet at length to speak of the Decree made in the first of his Reign, being perhaps the first that ever he made after his possession of the *Babylonian* Empire: That the captive *Jews* should return again into their own Territory, and re-build the House of God in *Jerusalem*, having now endured and finished the threescore and ten years captivity, by the Prophets foretold. For the accomplishing whereof, he gave order to his Treasurers to furnish them with all things necessary and wanting. He also restored unto them five thousand four hundred threescore and nine Vessels of Gold and Silver, whereof *Nabuchodonosor*, the Grandfather of *Balthasar*, had formerly robbed the Temple.

The number of the *Jews* which returned out of *Chaldea* under their Leader *Zorobabel*, the Son of *Salathiel*, and Nephew to King *Jeconias*, and *Jesus* or *Josua* the Son of *Josadak*, were about fifty thousand; where, as soon as they arrived, they built an Altar to the living God, and sacrificed thereon, according to their own Law, and afterward bethought themselves how to prepare materials for the rebuilding of the Temple.

1 Esd. 2. 2 Esd. 7. Phil. in bre.

1 Esd. 3. 3. Esd 5.

But no sooner did the *Jews* begin to lay any one stone, than the *Samaritans* and other Idolatrous Nations adjoyning, gave all the impediment they could. So did the Governors of those Provinces under *Cyrus* altogether countenance the disturbers, and in no sort favoured the *Jews*, nor the labours nor purposes they had in hand. And not only those which were but Provincial Lieutenants, and other officers of less place, but *Cambyses* himself; who having the charge of the whole Empire, while *Cyrus* was busied otherwise, countermanded the building begun. And whereas some Authours make doubt, that whatsoever *Cambyses* did when himself had obtained the Empire, yet during the life of *Cyrus* there was no such impediment or prohibition: they may herein resolve themselves out of *Esdras*, That by the conspiracies of the neighbouring Nations, the building was hindred all the time of King *Cyrus*'s life, *&c.* And therefore it is true, what the *Jews* themselves affirm, as it is written in the second of *John*, That the Temple was 46. years in setting up, having received so many hinderances from the first foundation to the second of *Darius*.

1 Esd. 4. 5. Fos. l. Ant. 11. 1 Es. 2. 16. Esd. 2. 16. 1 Es. 5. 33. 1 Esd. 4. 5.

And if we seek the natural and politick courses which moved *Cambyses* to withstand his Father's Decree, as well while he Governed under him, as when himself became sole and Soveraign Monarch, we shall find them in that Epistle remembred by *Esdras*, written by *Belemus*, *Mithridates*, and the rest, Presidents and Counsellours in *Phenicia*, wherein they complain that the *Jews* were evermore rebellious and troublers of Kings; that their City being once built, they would then refuse to pay tribute, and fall from the obedience of the Empire, as they had formerly done in the times of other Kings.

Esd. 1. c. 4.

But that which for that preſent ſeemed the moſt forcible impediment, was, that *Cambyſes* having in his reſolution to invade *Egypt*, and that it was a common opinion, That the *Jews* were deſcended of thoſe Nations, becauſe they iſſued thence under *Moſes*, when they conquered *Judea*; their City being once repaired and fortified, they might return to their old vomit, and give the ſame diſturbance to *Cambyſes's* Conqueſt, which they did to *Sennacherib*, *Nabuchodonoſor*, and other Kings of *Babylon*. For, as it is written in *Ezekiel*, Egypt *was the confidence of the houſe of* Iſrael. *Ezek. c. 29*

But it is to be underſtood, as *Codoman* and others have obſerved, that *Artaxerxes*, to whom the Counſellours and Governours of *Phœnicia* complained againſt the *Jews*, did not precede, but ſucceed *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, as in the ſixth and ſeventh Chapters of *Eſdras* it is made plain: and alſo that thoſe Governours (whoſe Epiſtle ſheweth as much) did not withſtand the building of the Temple, but the fortifying and encloſing of the City, as by the reaſons given in the ſaid Epiſtle, and by the King's Anſwer, it is evident.

Alſo in the ſixth of *Ezra*, the fourteenth verſe, the Kings are named in order as they Governed, and *Artaxerxes* written after *Darius*; as: *And they built and finiſhed it* (to wit the Temple) *by the appointment of the God of* Iſrael, *and by the commandment of* Cyrus *and* Darius, *and* Artahſhaſte *Kings of* Perſia. Laſtly, in the ſeventh of *Ezra* it is written; *Now after theſe things, in the reign of* Artahſhaſte *King of* Perſia: which was as much as to ſay, after the finiſhing of the Temple in *Darius's* time. And therefore *Artaxerxes* in the ſecond of *Eſdras* is there named by anticipation, not in his own time and place.

And thus much concerning the re-building of the City and Temple of *Jeruſalem*. Which action though proſpered by the hand of God, was very ſlowly purſued by the men whom it moſt concerned, but firſt ſet on foot by *Cyrus*. The other Ordinances of *Cyrus*, with his form and manner of Government, are to be found in *Xenophon*. At his death, he bequeathed the Empire unto his eldeſt Son *Cambyſes*, appointing *Smerdis* or *Tanaoxares* his younger ſon to be *Satrapa*, or Lieutenant of *Media*, *Armenia*, and *Caduſia*; and then died, after he had reigned (ſaith *Herodotus*) one and thirty years, or (according to *Juſtine*) but thirty.

§. VIII.

Of Cyrus *his Iſſue: and whether* Atoſſa *were his Daughter, or (as ſome think) were the ſame with Queen* Heſter.

CYrus had iſſue two ſons, *Cambyſes* and *Smerdis*, with three daughters, *Atoſſa*, *Meroe*, and *Artyſtona*: *Cteſias* addeth to theſe, *Amytis*. *Atoſſa* and *Meroe* their brother *Cambyſes* married; *Artyſtona*, *Darius Hiſtaſpes* obtained; ſo did he *Atoſſa*, *Cambyſes* being dead: who (as ſome Writers have ſuppoſed) inflamed both her husbands, *Darius* and *Xerxes* after him, to invade *Greece*, to be avenged of the whole Nation for the cruel intent that *Aman* (whom the old Tranſlation calleth a *Macedonian*) had againſt the *Jews*, though the opinion of *Joſephus* be more probable, who finds *Aman* to be an *Amalekite*. But it is hard to be underſtood, how *Atoſſa*, the daughter of *Cyrus*, ſhould have been *Eſther*, whoſe Hiſtory ſeems rather to appertain to the time of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, than of *Darius* the Son of *Hyſtaſpes* or *Xerxes*. The deſire of *Atoſſa* to have *Greece* brought under the yoke of *Perſia*, was partly grounded upon the honour which thereby ſhe thought her husband might obtain, partly upon a feminine humour of getting many brave Dames, *Corinthians*, *Athenians*, and others of that Nation to be her bond-women. Wherefore I cannot give aſſent to the opinion of *Codoman*, who upon the near ſound of the two names, *Atoſſa* and *Hadaſſa*, (by the latter of which *Eſther* was alſo called) makes them to have been one perſon. For though it be true that *Eſther* concerning her parentage, a while might be taken for a great Lady; yet *Codoman's* inference is nothing probable, that ſhe ſhould therefore, and for the great affection which the King bare unto her, be thought the daughter of *Cyrus*. Certain it is, that *Eſther* did at length diſcover her Kindred and Nation; whereby, if Hiſtories could be kept free from this errour, yet the people, and eſpecially the Nobility, muſt needs have underſtood the truth: who nevertheleſs did ſo well know the parentage of *Atoſſa*, that for her ſake, as being daughter of *Cyrus*, her ſon *Xerxes* was preferred to the Kingdom before his elder Brother, againſt whom alſo he could have pretended a very weak claim. But of theſe things more hereafter in fitter place.

CHAP. IV.

The Eſtate of things from the Death of Cyrus *to the Reign of* Darius.

§. I.

Of the Number and Names of the Perſian *Kings.*

OF the Succeſſors of *Cyrus*, and the continuance of the *Perſian* Empire, there are many opinions; As that of *Metaſthenes*, who hath numbred the *Perſian* Kings, and their times as followeth.

Darius Medus, and *Cyrus* joyntly.	2	years.
Cyrus alone.	22	
Priſcus Artaxerxes.	20	
Darius Longimanus.	37	
Darius Nothus.	19	
Artaxerxes Mnemon.	55	
Artaxerxes Ochus.	26	
Arſes, or *Arſames*.	4	
Darius, the laſt, conquered by *Alexander*.	6	

To which *Philo* agreeth; which number of years added, make in all an hundred ninety and one. But in this Catalogue *Metaſthenes* hath left out *Cambyſes* and *Xerxes*, and names *Artaxerxes Aſſuerus*, for the immediate ſucceſſor of *Cyrus*; in place (ſaith *Melanchon*) of *Darius* the Son of *Hyſtaſpes*: for *Metaſthenes* as *Melanchon* conjectureth, doth not account *Cambyſes* in the Catalogue, becauſe his reign was confounded with that of *Cyrus*.

There is a ſecond Opinion, though ridiculous, of *Sedar Olam*, who finds but four *Perſian* Kings from the beginning to the end of that Empire.

Genebrard, *Schubert*, ond *Beroaldus*, have alſo a differing account from the *Greeks*; whom nevertheleſs *Euſebius*, and moſt of the Latins follow, and ſo *Krentzheim*, who hath fully anſwered; and as I take it, refuſed all the former Authours varying from that account. For in this ſort do the *Greeks* marſhal the *Perſian* Kings with the times of their Reigns. *Chro. Kren. fo. 135.*

Cyrus

Melanct. gives Cyrus but 29.	*Cyrus* in all.	30	
	Cambyſes with the *Magi*.	8	
	Darius Hyſtaſpes.	36	
	Xerxes.	21	
Melanct. but 10.	*Artaxerxes Longimanus*.	40	
	Darius Nothus.	19	years.
	Artaxerxes Mnemon.	43	
Melanct. but 40.	*Artaxerxes Ochus*.	23	
	Arſames.	3	
Melanct. 26. Melanct. 4	*Darius* the laſt.	6	

Which numbers put together, make in all two hundred and thirty.

This account (as I have ſaid) the moſt Chronologers, and the beſt learned approve. Theſe *Perſian* Princes, being all warranted by the authority of the Scriptures, as *Peucer* in his hiſtorical Animadverſions, hath gathered the places; finding firſt *Cyrus* in the ſecond of *Chronicles*, *ch.* 36. *verſ.* 22, 23. *Ezra*, 1. *ch.* 1. *verſ.* 1. and often elſewhere.

Secondly, *Cambyſes* in the eleventh of *Daniel*, who may indeed be well eſteemed for one of thoſe three Kings in the ſecond verſe named, and ſo the Marginal Commentator upon the *Geneva* underſtands that place; but under correction, miſtakes the matter greatly, when he ſaith in the ſame note, that *Darius Hyſtaſpes* was an enemy to the people of God, and ſtood againſt them: his great favour and liberality to the *Jews* being elſewhere proved.

Thirdly, Is *Darius Hyſtaſpes* found in *Ezra* the firſt, *c.* 4. *v.* 5. who in the ſixth verſe is alſo named *Ahaſſuerus*.

Fourthly, In the eleventh of *Daniel*, verſe the ſecond, *Xerxes* is plainly foretold and deſcribed, and the great War which he ſhould make againſt the *Greeks* by *Daniel* alſo remembred.

Fifthly, *Artaxerxes Longimanus* in *Ezra* the fourth, verſe ſeven, who is alſo called *Arthaſaſtha*, *c.* 4. *l.* 1. *Ezra v.* 7. and *chap.* 7. *v.* 7.

Sixthly, *Darius Nothus*, *Ezra cap.* 4. *v.* 24. and *cap.* 5. *v.* 6. *Nehem. cap.* 12. *v.* 22.

Seventhly, *Artaxerxes Mnemon* in *Nehem. cap.* 2. *v.* 1. who was father to *Artaxerxes Ochus*, and *Arſames*: for *Darius* the laſt, he was of another Family, the Line of *Cyrus* the Great ending in *Ochus*, who deſcended from *Xerxes* the ſon of *Atoſſa*, *Cyrus* his Daughter; and the iſſue male of *Cyrus* failing with his own Sons.

But to proceed, *Euſebius*, with the *Latins* following the *Greeks*, apply the beginnings and ends of every *Perſian* King with their Acts, to ſome certain *Olympiad*; As the War of *Aſtyages* (*Cyrus* his maternal Grandfather) and *Alyattes* (*Crœſus* his Father) to the nine and fortyeth *Olympiad*; The beginning of *Cyrus*'s reign, to the beginning of the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*; The taking of *Sardis* by *Cyrus* to the eight and fiftieth *Olympiad*; The invaſion of *Egypt* by *Cambyſes* to the third year of threeſcore and third *Olympiad*; and ſo of the reſt. Which reference with good agreement between ſeveral forms of computation, add the more credit unto both.

Again, this hiſtorical demonſtration is confirmed by the Aſtronomical computation of *Ptolemy*, who refers the death of *Alexander* the Great, who died the 12. of *November*, in the beginning of the hundred and fortieth *Olympiad*, to the four hundred and four and twentieth year after *Nabonaſſar*. And the *Æra* of *Nabonaſſar* began on the ſix and twentieth of *February*: which, conferred with the *Olympiad*, was in the ninth month of the firſt year of the eighth *Olympiad*; So that whether we follow the accounts of the *Olympiads*, as do the *Greek* Hiſtorians, or that of *Nabonaſſar* with *Ptolemy*, we ſhall find every memorable accident to fall out right with each computation.

Alm. l. 3. *c.* 6.

For *Ptolemy* reckons the time anſwerable to two hundred and four and twenty *Julian* years, and an hundred and forty days from *Nabonaſſar* to the ſixteenth of *July*, in the ſeventh year of *Cambyſes*.

The *Greeks*, and namely *Diodorus Siculus*, place the taking of *Egypt* by *Cambyſes* in the ſecond or third year of the threeſcore and third *Olympiad*, and the beginning of *Cambyſes*'s ſeventh year, in the firſt of the threeſcore and fourth *Olympiad*: which firſt of the threeſcore and fourth *Olympiad* runs along with part of the two and twentieth of *Nabonaſſar*. The like agreement is conſequently found about the beginning and end of *Cyrus*.

Likewiſe the twentieth of *Darius*, who ſucceeded *Cambyſes*, is according to *Ptolomy* the two hundred and ſix and fortieth of *Nabonaſſar*, which (obſerving the differences of *Nabonaſſar*'s *Æra* and the *Olympiad*, *viz.* eight and twenty years) agrees with the third of the threeſcore and ninth *Olympiad*, wherein it is placed by the *Greeks*. In this *Joſephus* agrees with the *Greeks* throughout, ſaving that he joyneth *Darius Medus*, whom *Xenophon* calleth *Cyaxares*, with *Cyrus* in the deſtruction of *Babylon*; which is true, and not contrary to the *Greek* computation, but may very well ſtand with it.

Laſtly, The diſagreement and confuſed accompts of thoſe that follow the other Catalogue of the *Perſian* Kings formerly rehearſed, doth give the greater credit to this of the *Greeks*, which being conſtant in it ſelf, accordeth alſo with the computation of other Hiſtorians, and Aſtronomers, and likewiſe with the holy Scriptures.

§. II.

Of Cambyſes, *and the conquering of* Egypt *by him.*

WE will therefore according to the truth, give the Empire of *Perſia* to *Cambyſes*, the Son of *Cyrus*, though degenerate in all things, ſaving the deſire to increaſe the greatneſs of his Empire: whereof he was poſſeſt in his Father's time, while *Cyrus* made War in the North. *Cteſias* with others give him a longer Reign than agreeth with the *Græcian* accompt before received.

In the fifth year of his ſole reign, and in the third year of the threeſcore and third *Olympiad*, according to *Diodore* and *Euſebius*, he invaded *Egypt*, and having overthrown the King thereof, *Pſammeniticus*, he not only cauſed him to be ſlain, but alſo did put to death all his kindred and dependents, with the moſt of his children. *Lib.* 2. *c.* 2. *Her. l.* 3. *p.* 83, 84, 85.

Herodotus and *Cteſias* give for cauſe of this War (being no other indeed than the Ambition of *Cambyſes*) that when he ſent to *Amaſis* King of *Egypt*, to have his Daughter in marriage, *Amaſis* preſented him with *Nitetis* the Daughter of *Apries* his predeceſſor, which *Cambyſes* diſdained.

Howſoever it were; true it is, that *Cambyſes* gathered an Army fit for ſuch an enterprize, and cauſed the ſame to march. But before they entred *Egypt*, *Amaſis* died, and left *Pſammeniticus*, whom *Cteſias* called *Amyrteus*, his ſucceſſor; who enjoyed *Egypt* after his Father (according to the beſt Copies of *Herodotus*) but ſix months, though other Chronologers give him ſix years.

But how long ſoever he held the Crown, in one battle he loſt it, and was himſelf taken priſoner.

It is ſaid that *Cambyſes*, following therein the example of *Cyrus*, did not only ſpare life to the conquered King, but that he alſo truſted him with the Government of *Egypt*, and that upon ſome revolt, or ſuſpicion thereof, he cauſed him to be ſlaughtered.

But the race of this King was not ſo extirpated, if we may believe *Herodotus* and *Thucydides*, but that he left a Son called *Inarus*, who cauſed the *Egyptians*

to

to revolt both from *Xerxes* and *Artaxerxes*.

That *Psammeniticus*, was at the first entreated gently by *Cambyses*, I hold it very improbable, if it be true which is also written of him, That he so much hated *Amasis* the King of *Egypt*, who died before his arrival, that he caused his body to be drawn out of the grave, and after divers indignities used, commanded the same to be burnt, contrary to the custom both of the *Egyptians* and *Persians*. For the *Egyptians* used to powder their dead bodies with salt, and other drugs, to the end the Worms might not devour them. The* *Persians* durst not consume them with fire, which they esteemed as a God, and therefore feared to feed it with Carrion.

* Neither did the *Romans* ever consume their dead to ashes, till the time of *Sylla* Dictator, who caused his own to be devoured by that Element, fearing the Law called *Talionis*, or like for like, because himself had untombed the carcase of *Cajus Marius* after his death. *Her. l.* 3. *Plin. l.* 6. *c.* 54. *Strab. & Just. l.* 1. *pag.* 87, 88. *Her. l.* 3. *Sen. l.* 7.

§. III.

The rest of Cambyses *his Acts.*

After this victory obtained in *Egypt*, *Cambyses* sent an Army into *Cyprus*, and constrained *Evelthon* King thereof to acknowledge him who before held that Island of the *Egyptians*.

While *Cambyses* yet busied himself in *Egypt*, he so much detested the Idolatry of that Nation, as he caused the Images themselves, with the Temples wherein they were worshipped, to be torn down and defaced. This done, he directed a part of his Army into *Lybia* to overturn the Temple of *Jupiter Ammon*; but the Devil, in defence of his *Oratory*, raised such a Tempest of Sand, wherewith the greatest part of the Country is covered, as the *Persians* were therewith choaked and over-whelmed.

Notwithstanding which misadventure, *Herodotus* and *Seneca* report, that disdaining to be resisted, he prepared the rest of his Army, which himself meant to conduct into those parts, but that finding a beginning of those incommodities, which his first-sent troops had tryed, he changed his purpose. For though conquering Kings have power over-men, yet the Elements do not obey them; according to that old *English* Proverb, *Go, saith the King; Stay, saith the Tide.*

After his return from the attempt of *Æthiopia*, he caused *Apis* the *Egyptian* Bull, worshipped by that Nation as God, to be slain: a deed very commendable had it proceeded from true zeal, and been executed as in service of him that only is, and liveth. But soon afterwards, when in a dream it seemed unto him that *Smerdis* did sit in the Royal Throne of *Persia* (which apparition was verified in *Smerdis* the *Magus*) he gave in charge to his favourite *Praxaspes*, to murther *Smerdis* his Brother. And having married his own Sisters, contrary to the *Persian* Laws, he committed a most causeless and most detestable murder upon the one of them called *Meroe*, then by himself with child, because she bewailed the death of her Brother *Smerdis*. I find it written of this *Cambyses*, That because his Predecessours observed religiously the Ordinances of the Empire, he assembled his Judges and enquired of them, whether there were any Law among the *Persians* that did permit the Brother to marry his own Sister; it being his own intent so to do: the Judges (who had always either Laws or distinctions in store to satisfie Kings and times) made answer That there was not any thing written allowing any such conjunction, but they notwithstanding found it in their customs, that it was always left to the will of the *Persian* Kings, to do what best pleased themselves; and so as *Nauclerus* terms it, *invenerunt occasionem*: that is as much as to say, The Judges found a shift to please the King, and to secure themselves. And yet, where it concerned not the King's private satisfaction, he caused *Sisamnus*, one of his Judges, and perchance one of those which favoured his incestuous match, to be flayed alive, for an unjust judgement given, and the same his hide to be hung up over the judgement-seat. After which, bestowing the Father's Office on his Son, he willed him to remember that the same partiality deserved the same punishment.

Her. p. 89, 90.

Among other his cruelties, that which he exercised against the Son of his beloved *Praxaspes*, was very strange and ungrateful. For when he desired to be truly informed by him what the *Persians* thought of his condition, *Praxaspes* answered, That his virtues were followed with abundant praise from all men, only it was by many observed, that he took more than usual delight in the taste of Wine: with which taxation inflamed, he used this replication: And, Are the *Persians* double-tongued, who also tell me, that I have in all things excelled my Father *Cyrus*? Thou *Praxaspes* shalt then witness, whether in this report they have done me right: for if at the first shot I pierce thy Sons heart with an Arrow, then is it false that hath been spoken; but if I miss the mark, I am then pleased that the same be accounted true, and my subjects believed. This being spoken, he immediately directed an Arrow towards the innocent child, who falling down dead with the stroke, *Cambyses* commanded his body to be opened, and his heart being broached on the Arrow, this monstrous Tyrant greatly rejoycing, shewed it to the Father, with this saying instead of an Epitaph: *Now* Praxaspes *thou mayst resolve thy self, that I have not lost my wits with Wine, but the* Persians *theirs, who make such Report.*

Many other barbarous cruelties he exercised, till at the last, according to the phrase of our Law, he became *felon de soy*. For when he was informed, that *Patizites*, and *Smerdis* the *Magi* (*Cedrenus* writeth them *Sphendanis* and *Cimerdius*) Ministers of his domestical affairs, taking advantage of the great resemblance between *Smerdis* the King's Brother, and *Smerdis* the *Magus*, possest themselves of the Empire, he made all hast towards *Persia*; and in mounting hastily on horse-back, his sword dis-sheathing, pierced his own Thigh, wherewith deadly wounded, falling into an over-late and remedilesse repentance of the slaughter which he had executed upon his own Brother, he soon after gave up his wicked ghost, when he had reigned eight years, accounting therein those seven months in which the *Magi* governed, while he was absent.

Curt. l. 4.

In *Cambyses* the Male-Line of *Cyrus* failed. For he had no issue either by *Atossa* or *Meroe*: yet *Zonaras* out of *Hierom* gives him a Daughter called *Pantaptes*, and a Son called *Orontes*: who being drowned in the River *Ophites* by *Antioch*, the same was afterward, in memory of the Princes death, called *Orontes*.

Zon. Cur. 2. p. 117.

He built the City of *Babylon* in *Egypt*, in the place where *Latopolis* was formerly seated, and that of *Meroe* in the Island of *Nilus*, calling it by the name of his Sister *Meroe*.

Her. l. 2

§. IV.

Of the Inter-regnum *between* Cambyses *and* Darius.

Cyrus and his two Sons being now dead, and the Kingdom in the possession of one of the *Magi*, the counterfeit of *Smerdis*, the Princes, or *Satrapa's*, or Provincial Governours of the Empire (to wit, *Otanes*, *Intaphernes*, *Gobrias*, *Megabysus*, *Asphatines*, *Hidarnes*, and *Darius*, who were all descended from *Achæmenes* the first *Persian* King) having discovered the fraud of this imposture, joyned their forces toge-

* *Herodot. pag.* 154. *pag.* 130. *pag.* 101. & 202. *pag.* 108. 109. *Her. l.* 6. 186. *pag.* 186. 190.

ther

ther surprized and rooted out the Conspirator with his Companions and Assistants. In which action (saith *Justin*) *Intaphernes*, and *Asphatines* were slain: but *Herodotus* otherwise, that they were only wounded; for he avoweth, that all the seven Princes were present at the election following.

For the Empire being now without a Governour, these Princes grew into a consultation how the same might be ordered from thenceforth. *Otanes* (one of the Seven) did not fancy any election of Kings, but that the Nobility and Cities should confederate, and by just Laws defend their Liberty in equality, giving divers reasons for his Opinion, being, as it seemed, greatly terrified by the cruelties of *Cambyses*: As first, that it was not safe to give all power to any one, seeing greatness it self, even in good men, doth often infect the mind with many vices, and that liberty and freedom in all things is most apt to insult, and to commit all manner of wicked outrage. Again, that Tyrants do commonly use the service of wicked men, and favour them most; they usurp upon the Laws of their Country; take other mens wives by force, and destroy whom they please without Judgement.

Megabysus was of another opinion, affirming that the tyranny of a multitude was thrice more intolerable than that of One. For the multitude do all things without judgement, run into business and affairs with precipitation, like raging and over-bearing floods.

He therefore thought it safest to make election of a few, and those of the best, wisest, and most vertuous, because it is ever found, that excellent Counsels are ever had from excellent men.

Darius gave the third judgement, who perswaded the creation of a King, because even among few diuturnity of concord is seldom found, and in great Empires it doth ever happen, that the discord of many Rulers hath enforc'd the election of One Supreme. It were therefore, saith *Darius*, far safer to observe the Laws of our Country, by which Kingly Government hath been ordained.

The other four Princes adhered to *Darius*, and agreed to continue the same Imperial Government, by God established and made prosperous. And to avoid partiality, it was accorded that the morning following, these seven Princes should mount on Horse-back and on him the Kingdom should be conferred, whose Horse, after the Sun-rising, should first neigh or bray. In the Evening, after this appointment was made, it is said, that *Darius* consulted with the Master of his Horse *Oebarus*, who, in the Suburbs of the City, where the election was resolved of, caused the same Horse, whereon in the morning *Darius* was mounted, to cover a Mare, who, as soon as he came into the same place, was the first Horse that brayed. Whereupon the other six Princes descended from their Horses, and acknowledged *Darius* for their Lord and King. *Her.* 3. p. 100, 101.

Plato, in the third of his Laws affirmeth, that in memory of the seven Princes, whereof *Darius* himself was one, that delivered the Empire from the usurpation of the *Magi*, he divided the whole into seven Governments; *Herodotus* saith, into twenty *Satrapies*.

CHAP. V.

Of Darius *the Son of* Hystaspes.

§ I.

Of Darius *his Lineage*,

Darius was descended of the Ancient *Persian* Kings, to wit, of the *Achemenide*, of which *Cyrus* the Great was the lineal successor. For in this sort *Herodotus* derives him as before;

Cyrus the first, who had
Tispius, who begat
Ariaramnes, who was Father of
Arsames, the Father of
Hystaspes, the Father of
Darius, Sir-named *Celus*, the Father of *Xerxes*.

Curt. l. 4. *Hystaspes* accompanied *Cyrus* the Great, in the wars against the *Scythians*: at which time *Cyrus* being made jealous of *Darius* by a dream of his own, caused him to be sent into *Persia*; others say to be imprisoned, from whence by the death of *Cyrus* he was delivered, and made Governour of the *Persian Magi*. He afterward followed *Cambyses* into *Egypt*; he then joyned with the rest of the Princes against the *Magi*, *Her. l. 3.* and either by the neighing of his Horse, or, as others affirm, by strong hand he obtained the Empire, which he the more assured to himself by taking two of *Cyrus's* Daughters, and as many of his Nieces for his Wives.

* *Herodot. pag. 154. pag. 130. pag. 101. & 202. pag. 108, 109. Her. l. 6. p. 180. pag. 186. Aegu.* *Hystaspes*, according to * *Herodotus*, had, besides *Darius*, these three sons, who were great Commanders in the War which *Darius* made in *Asia* the less, *Thrace*, *Macedon*, and *Greece*; *Ataynes*, *Artaphernes*, and *Artabanus*, who dissuaded *Xerxes*, from the second *Grecian* War. *Hystaspes* had also a Daughter married to *Gobrias* the Father of *Mardonius*, who commanded the Army of *Darius* in *Macedon*, and married the Daughter of *Darius Artaxastre*, his Cosin german.

Reineccius gives to *Hystaspes* five sons, *Darius* who succeeded *Cambyses*, *Artabanus*, *Artaphernes*, *Otanes*, and *Atarnes*, with two Daughters. *p. 179, p. 200, 204. & p. 213, 285, 286. p. 214, 254. De Reg. Persar. fol. 32.*

§ II.

Of Darius *his Government, and suppressing the rebellion of* Babylon.

Darius devised equal Laws whereby his Subjects might be governed, the same being formerly promised by *Cyrus*. He gave access to all his Subjects, and behaved himself so mildly to all men, that many Nations desired and offered themselves to become his Vassals: Only he laid divers payments and taxes on the people which had not been accustomed in *Cyrus's* time, to the value of fourteen thousand five hundred and threescore talents, saith *Herodotus*.

The war which *Cambyses* made afar off in *Egypt*, and the contention between the *Magi* and the Princes of *Persia* for the Empire, gave heart to the *Babylonians* to recover their liberty, and to shake off the *Persian* yoke; whereof *Darius* being advertised, he prepared an Army to recover that City and State revolted. But finding the same a difficult work, he used the service of *Zopyrus*, who for the love he bare *Darius*, did cut off his own Ears and Nose, and with other wounds yet fresh bleeding, he seemed to fly to the *Babylonians* for succour, to whom he accused the cruelty of *Darius*: who, for having given him advice to give over the siege of their City, had in this sort dismembred and deformed him; whereupon the *Babylonians* gave

gave him that credit, as they truſted him with the diſpoſition and commandment of their greateſt forces; which when *Zopyrus* had obtained, after ſome ſmall colourable overthrows given to the *Perſians* upon ſallies, he delivered the City into *Darius* his hands, who had lyen before it twenty months.

Her. l. 3.

§. III.

Of Darius *his favour to the* Jews *in building the Temple.*

IN the ſecond year of *Darius*, he gave order that the building of the Temple at *Jeruſalem* ſhould go on, and commanded that the ſame ſhould be finiſhed at his own charge, and out of the revenues of the Crown. And whereas the Governours of thoſe Provinces which are ſituate between *Euphrates* and the *Phœnician*, and midland Sea (whom *Ezra* calleth the Captains beyond the River) had hindred the work in *Cambyſes* his time, *Darius* gave commandment that they ſhould not thenceforth come near unto *Jeruſalem*, to give any impediment to the building, but that they ſhould withdraw themſelves, and get them far off till all were finiſhed and at an end. In the old *Latin* it is written, *Procul recedite ab illis*; *With-draw your ſelves far from them*, In our *Engliſh*, *Be ye far from thence*, to wit, from the City and Temple now in building.

Ezra c. 6.

He alſo made a Decree which concerned his own Subjects, That whoſoever ſhould thenceforth hinder the ſetting up of the Temple of God, that his houſe ſhould be torn down, and the diſturber hanged on the Gallows made of the Timber thereof. He alſo in the ſame Decree maketh invocation to God; *That hath cauſed his Name to dwell there* (to) *deſtroy all Kings and people that put their hands to alter, and to deſtroy this houſe of God which is in Jeruſalem, &c.* In four years after which Decree (the *Jews* being really furniſhed with money and all things neceſſary from *Darius*) the Temple was in all finiſhed, to wit, in the beginning of the Spring, in the ſixth year of *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, and in the two and fortieth after their firſt return.

Ezra 6.11

Ezra 6.

§. IV.

Of Darius *his Scythian War.*

AFter the recovery of *Babylon* he invaded the *Scythians*, whoſe King *Juſtin* calleth *Lauthinus*, and ſaith, that *Darius* undertook this War againſt him, becauſe he refuſed him his Daughter in marriage. The better to convoy his Army into *Scythia*, he built a bridge of ſmall Veſſels over the River *Iſter* or *Danubius*, and gave the cuſtody of the ſame in charge (among others of *Aſia* the leſs) to the *Ionians* and *Æolians*, among whom was *Miltiades*, who perſwaded the *Aſian Grecians* to break down the bridge, to the end *Darius* might not return thereby, and if by any other way, then not without great difficulty; but the ſame was reſiſted by *Hiſtiæus* Prince of *Milet*, a City of *Ionia*, which Nation, being a *Colony* of the *Greeks*, *Diodorus* calleth Traytors to their Country, becauſe they joyned themſelves to *Darius*. But the *Scythians* more elegantly termed them good ſlaves, for as much as they would not run away from their Maſter, but were more mindful of doing their duties, than of ſhaking off their bondage, when they were preſented with as fair an occaſion of liberty as could have been deſired. For the great Army of *Darius* entring the Deſart Country called *Beſſarabia*, found in it neither people to reſiſt them, nor any ſuſtenance to relieve them. For the *Scythians* were then, as are the *Chrim Tartars*, their poſterity, at this day, all horſe-men, uſing the Bow and Sword. They were not Plough-men, but Graſiers, driving their Herds from one place to another, as opportunity of Paſture led them. Standing Towns they had none, but uſed for Houſes the Waggons wherein they carried their wives and children. Theſe Waggons they place at every Station in very good order, making Streets and Lanes in the manner of a great Town, removeable at their pleaſure. Neither hath the Emperour himſelf, called now the great *Chrim*, any other City than ſuch as *Agora* (as they name it) or Town of Carts. When as therefore *Darius* had wearied himſelf, and waſted his proviſion in thoſe deſolate Regions, wherein he found neither ways to direct him, victuals to refreſh him, nor any houſes, fruitful trees, or living creatures, nor any thing at all, which either he himſelf might make uſe of, or by deſtroying it might grieve his enemies, he began to perceive his own folly, and the danger into which he had brought him. Yet ſetting a good face upon a bad game, he ſent brave meſſages to the *Scythian*, bidding him to ceaſe his flight, and either to make trial of his valour and fortune in plain battle; Or, if he acknowledged himſelf the weaker, then to yeild by fair means, and become his Subject; giving him Earth and Water, which the *Perſians* uſed to demand, as a ſign that all was yielded unto them. To this challenge the *Scythian* returned an *Hieroglyphical* anſwer; ſending a *Bird*, a *Frog*, a *Mouſe*, and five *Arrows*: which dumb ſhew *Darius* interpreting by his own wiſh, thought that he did yield all the Elements wherein thoſe creatures live, and his weapons withall into his hands. But *Gobryas*, one of the ſeven Princes, who had ſlain the *Magi*, conſtrued their meaning aright, which was thus; *O ye* Perſians, *get ye wings like Birds, or dive under the water, or creep into holes in the Earth, for elſe ye ſhall not eſcape our Arrows.* And this interpretation was ſoon verified by the *Scythians* themſelves, who aſſailed the *Perſian* Camp, drave the horſe-men into the Trenches, and vexed the Army with continual Allarums day and night; were ſo fearleſs of this great Monarch, and ſo little regarded him, that within his hearing, and even in his ſight, they did not forbear the paſtime of courſing a Hare, which they had ſtarted by chance. By this boldneſs of theirs, *Darius* was ſo diſcouraged, that he forſook his Camp by night, making many fires, and leaving all that were ſick, and weak behind him, and ſo with all ſpeed marched away towards the River *Iſter*. He was purſued hardly by the *Scythians*, who miſt him; yet arriving at the Bridge before him, perſwaded the *Ionians* to depart, aſſuring them that the *Perſian* King ſhould never more be able to do them either good or harm. Which words had certainly been proved true, had not *Hiſtiæus* the *Mileſian* prevailed with his people, to attend the coming of *Darius*, whom the *Scythians* did likewiſe fail to meet, when they returned from *Iſter* to ſeek him out.

Her. l. 4.
Juſt. l. 2.

Diod. l. 11

§. V.

Some actions of the Perſians *in* Europe, *after the* Scythian *War.*

DArius having thus eſcaped out of *Scythia*, determined the invaſion of *Thrace* and *Macedon*, in which War he employed *Megabaſus*, who maſtered the *Paonians*, and tranſplanted them, and poſſeſt *Perinthus*, *Chalcedon*, *Byzantium*, and other places, being alſo ſoon after ſubjected, and added to the *Perſian* Empire by *Otanes*, the Son of *Syſamnes*, whom *Cambyſes* had excoriated for falſe Judgement. So were the Cities of * *Selybria*, and ▪ *Cardia* likewiſe taken in from the *Perſian*, who having now reduced

Her. l. 5.
* A ma
timus C

of Thrace to the South of Constantinople. a Cardia, a City upon the Chersonesus of Thrace, afterward Lysimachia. Pto. pauf

duced under his obeysance, the best part of *Thrace*, did send his Ambassadours to *Amintas* King of *Macedon* adioyning, demanding of him by the Earth and Water, the Soveraignty over that Kingdom. *Amintas* doubting his own strength, entertained the Embassadors with gentle words, and afterwards invited them to a solemn and magnificent feast; the *Persians* greatly desired that the *Macedonian* Ladies might be present: which being granted, the Embassadors, who were well filled with wine, and presumed upon their greatness and many Victories, began to use such embracings, and other lascivious behaviour towards those noble Ladies, as *Alexander* the King's Son, great Grandfather to *Alexander* the Great, disdaining the *Persians* barbarous presumption, besought his Father to withdraw himself from the assembly, continuing notwithstanding all honourable respect towards the Embassadors, whom withall he entreated that the Ladies might refresh themselves for a while; promising their speedy return. This being obtained, *Alexander* caused the like number of well-favoured young men to clothe themselves in the same garments, and to use the same attires which the Ladies had worn at the Feast, giving them in charge, That when the *Persians* offered to abuse them, they should forthwith transpierce them with their long knives, of which they were provided for that purpose, which was accordingly performed. Charge was soon after given by *Darius* for a severe revenge of this murder: But *Alexander* somewhat before the death of *Amintas*, gave his Sister *Gygea* in marriage to *Bubaris*, a principal Commander of *Darius's* forces on that side, who perswading her husband how helpful the Alliance of *Macedon* would prove for the invasion of *Attica* intended, so prevailed, as *Alexander* escaped that Tempest, which threatned to fall upon him very suddenly; the war of *Asia* the less, called *Ionick*, falling out at the same time.

§. IV.

The first occasion of the War which Darius *made upon* Greece, *with a rehearsall of the Government in* Athens, *whence the quarrel grew.*

NOw the better to understand the reason and motives of that great War, which followed soon after, between the *Persians* and *Grecians*, it is necessary to make a short repetition of the state of *Athens*, which City endured the hardest and worst brunt of *Darius's* invasion on that side the Sea, with admirable success. Neither do I hold it any impertinency to be large in unfolding every circumstance of so great a business as gave fire to those wars, which never could be throughly quenched, until in the ruin of this great *Persian* Monarchy, *Persepolis* the Capital City of the Empire, was at the request of an *Athenian* Harlot consumed with a flame, as dreadful, as in the pride of their greatness, the *Persians* had raised in *Athens*.

Now therefore as out of the former books it may be gathered, how *Athens*, and other parts of *Greece*, were anciently Governed, the same being already set down, though scatteringly, and in several times among other the Contemporary occurrents of the Eastern Emperours, and the Kings of *Judea*; so I thought it very pertinent in this place to remember again the two last changes in the State of *Athens*. As for the *Lacedemonians*, they maintained still their ancient polity under Kings, though these also after some fifteen descents were bridled by the *Ephori*.

Codrus King of the *Athenians*, in the former books remembred, who willingly died for the safety of his people, was therefore so honoured by them, as (thinking none worthy to succeed him) they changed their former Government from Monarchial to Princes for term of life, of which *Medon* the Son of *Codrus* was the first, after whom they were called *Medontidæ*; and of these there were twelve Generations besides *Medon*, to wit,

Agestus.

Archippus, in whose times the *Greeks* transported themselves into *Ionia*, after *Troy* an hundred and fourscore years, according to *Eusebius*: which migration all other Chronologers (such as follow *Eusebius* herein excepted) find in the year after *Troy* fallen one hundred and forty.

Therippus.

Phorbas.

Mezades.

Diogenetus, in whose time *Lycurgus* gave Laws to the *Spartans.*

Pheredus.

Ariphron.

Theispius, in whose time the *Assyrian* Empire was overthrown by *Belocus* and *Arbaces.*

Agamnestor.

Æschylus, in whose time the *Ephori* (according to *Eusebius*) were erected in *Lacedemon.* *Paus. pag.* 159. *Dyonis. l.* 3.

Alcamenon, the last Prince for life, after whose death the *Athenians* elected *Decennial* Governours: the former Princes for life having continued in all three hundred and sixteen years. The first of those that Governed for ten years, or the first *Archon*, was *Paus. p.* 169. *Paus.* 170. *Pag.* 331.

Charops, then

Æsymedes.

Elydicus.

Hippomines.

Leocrates.

Abs ander.

Erixias was the last *Archon* of the *decennial* Governours, which, from continuing threescore and ten years, was then changed into *annual* Magistrates, Mayors, and Burg-masters, of which *Theseus* was the first, according to *Pausanias*: others find *Leostratus*; and then

Antiphostenes.

Archimedes.

Miltiades.

Damisias.

Draco.

Megacles.

Solon, and others who are the less to be regarded, by reason of the yearly change.

This *Solon* being a man of excellent wisdom, gave Laws to the *Athenians*, which were published, according to *Gellius*, in the three and thirtieth year of *Tarquinius Priscus*, and were in after ages derived unto the *Romans*, and by the *Decem-viri* (Magistrates in *Rome* created for that purpose) reduced into Twelve Tables, which were the ground of the *Roman* Laws. But these goodly ordinances of *Solon*, were in his own days violated, and for a while almost quite extinguished. For whereas they were framed unto the practice and maintenance of a popular Government; the State of *Athens* was very soon changed into a Monarchy by *Pisistratus* the Son of *Hippocrates*: who finding the Citizens distracted into two factions, whereof *Megacles* and *Lycurgus*, two Citizens of Noble Families, were become the heads, took occasion by their contention and insolency to raise a third faction more powerful than the other two, and more plausible for that he seemed a Protector of the Citizens in General. Having by this means obtained love and credit, he wounded himself, and feigned that by malice of his enemies he

had like to have been slain for his love to the good Citizens; he procured a Guard for his defence, and with that band of men surprising the State-house, or Cittadel of *Athens*, he made himself Lord of the Town; *Hegesistratus* being then governour. But the Citizens, who in every change of Government had sought to remove themselves further and further from the form of a Monarchy, could so ill brook this usurpation of *Pisistratus*, that he was driven for lack of help, to fly the Town, as soon as *Megacles* and *Lycurgus* (joyning their forces) attempted his expulsion. Yet as the building of his Tyranny, founded upon the dissension of the Citizens, was ruined by their good agreement; so was it soon after well re-edified by the new breaking out of the old factions. For when *Megacles* found the power of *Lycurgus* to grow greater than his own, he did, (as is the usual practice of the weaker side) call in the common enemy *Pisistratus*, to whom he gave his Daughter in marriage; by which Alliance the Family of the *Alcmæonidæ*, whereof *Megacles* was chief, became very powerful, yet so, that *Pisistratus* by their power was made Master both of them and all the rest. But this agreement held not long; the *Alcmæonidæ*, and especially *Megacles*, being incensed against *Pisistratus* for his misdemeanour towards his Wife. Wherefore they practised with the Souldiers of the Town, proceeding in their treason so secretly, and so far, that *Pisistratus* (upon the first discovery of their intent) perceived no other remedy for his affairs, than to withdraw himself to *Eretria*, where he remained eleven years. Which time being expired, having hired Souldiers out of many parts of *Greece*, he again recovered the principality of *Athens* after which third obtaining his estate, he governed *Athens* seventeen years, according to *Aristotle*, and reigned in all thirty and three years, saith *Elianus*, but as *Justin* hath it, four and thirty; accounting the time belike as well before, as after his several expulsions. *Herodotus* gives the Father and the Son six and thirty years; *Aristotle* five and thirty. But *Thucydides* affirmeth, that he died very old, leaving for his successors, his two Sons, *Hippias* and *Hipparchus*, who governed the *Athenians* with such moderation, as they rather seemed the Lineal successors of a Natural Prince than of a Tyrant. But in the end, and some three years before *Hippias* was expelled out of *Athens*, his Brother *Hipparchus*, was murdered by *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*. The cause why, and the manner how performed, *Thucydides* hath written at large. And, though *Hipparchus* was charged with unnatural lust after *Harmodius*, yet *Plato* in his Dialogue, intituled *Hipparchus*, doth greatly magnifie him, affirming that he was a Prince of as many eminent virtues as that Age had any, altogether condemning the murderers, and authors of that scandal. *Hippias* fearing that this enterprize upon his Brother had more and deeper roots than were apparent, first sought to discover the further intents of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, by a Harlot of theirs called *Lemnia*: who because she would not reveal her Companions, did cut out her own tongue. Then did *Hippias* the better to strengthen himself, enter into a strait Amity with *Æantides*, Tyrant of the City *Lampsacus*, whom he knew to be greatly favoured by *Darius*, to whose Son *Hypoclus* he gave one of his Daughters in marriage. But some three years after the death of his Brother, doubting I know not what strong practice against himself, he began to use the Citizens with great severity, which neither *Pisistratus* the Father, nor *Hippias* himself had ever exercised, during their usurpation till this time. And therefore the *Athenians* fearing lest that this disease might rather increase than diminish in *Hippias*, they stirred up *Clistines*, one of the noblest and best able of their City, to practice their delivery: who, calling to his assistance the banished *Alcmæonidæ*, together with an Army of the *Lacedemonians* led by *Cleomenes* their King, so affrighted *Hippias*, as by his composition he gave over his estate, and the possession of *Athens*, and from thence imbarquing himself took Land at * *Sigeum*, whence he went to *Lampsacus* in *Mysia* governed by *Æantides*, who presented him to *Darius*. He was deprived of his estate, as *Herodotus* and *Thucydides* agree, twenty years before the battel of *Marathon*: all which time he continued, partly with *Æantides* at other times with *Artaphernes* Lieutenant for *Darius* in *Sardis*, the Metropolis of *Lydia*; perswading and practising the enterprize upon *Athens*, which *Darius* in the end to his great dishonour undertook, twenty years after *Hippias* had resigned his estate.

Thus far I have digressed from *Darius*, to the end the Reader may conceive the better, the Causes and Motives of this War: Whereof the hope that *Hippias* had to be restored to *Athens* by the help of *Darius*, which made him solicit and perswade the *Persians* to conquer *Greece*, was one, but not the most urgent.

* *Sigeum*, a promontory opposite to the Isle of *Tenedos*, which *Arist. in 5. Animal.* calls *Ile promontirium*.

Her. l. 12. Eretria a City of *Eubœa*, by others called *Melane* by *Stephanus Eretria. Pol 5. Heraclid. apud Elian pag. 262. Just. p. 28. Her. l. 6. Thucyd. l. 6. c. 10.*

Lampsacus a City of *Mysia* upon the *Hellespont. Her. l. 5. Thucyd. l. 6. c. 1.*

§ II.

Of the Ionian *Rebellion which was the principal cause of the Wars ensuing between* Greece *and* Persia.

ANother, and a strong motive to this expedition was the *Ionick* War, breaking out into *Asia* about the same time. The Colonies transported out of *Greece* into *Asia*, which occupied the greatest part of the Sea-coast, having enjoyed their Liberty about 500 years, even from the *Ionick* migration, to the time of *Crœsus*, were by this *Lydian* King made Tributaries, and afterwards as parcel of his Dominions were taken in by *Cyrus*, and left as hereditary Servants to the Crown of *Persia*.

But as it is the custom of Nations half-conquered (witness *Ireland*) to rebel again upon every advantage and opportunity: so did the *Ionians*, and other *Grecians*, both in *Cyrus* his life, and after him, seek by all means possible to free themselves.

At this time they found such men ready to spur them into Rebellion, as had by the *Persian* been given unto them for bridles to hold them in subjection. Every one of those Towns had a Lord to rule it, whom they (abhorring the Government of one man) called their Tyrants. These Lords were very true to the *Persian*, by whose only might they held the people in subjection. And this their dutiful affection they had well declared, when *Darius*, being in great extremity, they used all means to deliver him and his Army (that otherwise had been lost) out of the *Scythians* hand. Of this great piece of service *Histiæus* the Tyrant of *Miletus* expected the chief thanks, as having been chief Author of their expecting *Darius*, when the rest, either perswaded by the *Scythians*, or carried away with their own desires, were ready to have abandoned him. But it came so to pass, that *Darius* being more fearful of the harm that *Histiæus* (being powerful and crafty) might do to him in the future, than mindful of the good which he had already received at his hand, found means to carry him along to *Susa*, where he detained him with all kind usage of a friend, yet kept such good espial upon him, as an enemy, he could not start away. *Histiæus* had subtilty enough to discover the King's purpose, which ill agreed with his own desires. For he thought it more pleasant, and more honourable to rule as Prince in one fair City, having a small Territory, than to sit and feast at the great King's Table, and hear the Counsels by which a large Empire was managed; being himself an idle beholder, and enjoying with much restraint of liberty, none other pleasures than a private man might bestow upon himself.

Where-

Wherefore he bethought himself of raising of some tumults in the lower *Asia*, to pacifie which, if he might be sent, as one that had great experience and authority in those quarters, it would afterwards be in his power to stay at home, and either satisfie the King with excuses, or deal as occasion shall require. Resolving upon this course, he sent very secret instructions to *Aristagoras* his kinsman, whom he had left his Deputy at *Miletus*, advising him to stir up some Rebellion. These directions came seasonably to *Aristagoras*, who having failed in an enterprize upon the Isle of *Naxos*, through the false dealing of a *Persian* his Associate, stood in fear of disgrace, if not of some further ill that might befal him, as one that had wasted the King's treasures to no good purpose.

Therefore he readily embraced the counsel: and the better to draw the whole Countrey of *Ionia* into the same course which he determined to run, he abandoned his tyranny, and did set *Miletus* at liberty. This plausible beginning wan unto him the hearts of the *Milesians*: and his proceeding with other *Ionian* Tyrants, (of whom some he took and sold as slaves to their Citizens, others he chased away) caused the whole Nation to be at his command. The *Persian* Fleet, whereof he lately had been Admiral in the enterprize of *Naxos*, he had surprized in his first breaking out, together with the principal Officers and Captains; so that now he thought himself able to deal with the great King's Forces, lying thereabout either by Land or Sea. But likely it was, that the power of all *Asia* would shortly be upon his neck, and crush both him and his assistants to pieces, unless he were able to raise an Army that might hold the field which the *Ionians* alone were insufficient to perform. Therefore he took a journey to *Sparta*, where having assayed in vain with many arguments, and the offer of fifty Talents, to win to his party *Cleomenes* King of the *Lacedemonians*: he went from thence to *Athens*, and with better success besought the people to lend him their assistance. The *Athenian* Ambassadours which had been sent to the *Persian* King's Lieutenant in the lower *Asia*, desiring them not to give countenance to *Hippias*, now a banished man, and lately their Tyrant, were a while before this returned with ill answers having found very churlish entertainment. So that the evil which they were to expect in all likelihood from the *Persian*, made them willing to begin with him. To which purpose, their consanguinity with the *Ionians*, and the perswasions of *Aristagoras*, drew them on apace, if perhaps his treasure were not helping. Twenty ships the *Athenians* furnished for this Voyage; to which the *Eretrians* furnished five more, in regard of the ancient kindness that had passed between the *Ionians* and them. With these and their own forces joyned, the *Ionians* entred the River *Caistrus*, which falleth into the Sea by *Ephesus*: by which advantage they surprized *Sardis*, when no enemy was heard of or suspected; insomuch, as *Artaphernes*, who ruled as Vice-Roy in those parts, had no other hope of safety, than by retreating himself into the Castle, which the *Grecians* could not force: from whence he beheld the slaughter of the Citizens, and the City flaming.

The *Persians*, at length, mixt with the Burgers, began to encourage them to defence, and recovered the Market-place strengthened by the River *Pactolus*, which ran thorow it; and borrowing courage from desperation, they both defended themselves, and charged their enemies; who well advising themselves made all the haste they could toward the Sea-side. But *Artaphernes* having gathered all the strength he could, pursued the *Grecians*, and found them near *Ephesus*, where setting resolvedly upon them, he slaughtered a great part of their Army, the rest saving themselves in *Ephesus*. In this fight, *Evalcides*, Captain of the *Eritreans* perished: but his fame and memory was by that excellent Poet *Simonides* preserved. After this overthrow, the *Athenians*, which were before sent unto *Aristagoras*, and to the *Ionians*, could by no arguments of theirs, no not by their tears, be perswaded to make any second tryal of their fortunes on that side the Sea.

Yet the burning of *Sardis* made a greater noise in the world, than the late good success which the *Persians* had in one or two skirmishes, could raise. Wherefore the *Ionians* bravely proceeded, won a great part of *Caria*; and sending their Fleet into the *Hellespont*, got *Bizantium* and other Towns into their hands. Yea, the *Cyprians*, lately subdued by *Cambyses*, began hereupon to take heart; and entring into confederacy with the *Ionians*, who were able to give them aid by Sea, rebelled against the *Persians*.

These news coming to the ear of *Darius*, filled him with great indignation, and with an extreme hatred of the *Athenians*, upon whom he vowed to take sharp revenge. As for the *Ionians*, his contempt of them, and their knowledge of his power, made him to think, that they would not have dared to attempt such things, but by the instigation of those, to whom the ignorance of his great might had afforded them courage to provoke him. This was the main ground of the War commenced by *Darius*, and pursued by *Xerxes*, against *Athens*: To which the solicitation of *Hippias*, before remembred, gave only some form and assistance; the business when once it was thus far on foot, being like enough to have proceeded though he had perished, e're it were advanced any further.

Some other occurrences in this *Ionian* commotion extended the quarrel of *Darius* against many of the Islanders, if not against the whole Nation of the *Greeks*; for all of them gave to his Rebels free harbour: the Islandes moreover did help to furnish out a Navy of three hundred and sixty sail against him. These provocations did rather breed in him a desire to abate their pride, than any fear of harm that they were like to do him. For what they had done at *Sardis*, was but by surprize. In every fight they were beaten by the *Persians*, who had not yet lost the fruits of their Discipline wherein *Cyrus* had trained them, nor all their ancient Captains. In one Sea-fight by the Isle of *Cyprus*, the *Ionians* indeed had the upper hand; but they were *Phœnicians*, *Egyptians*, and *Cilicians*, whom they vanquished: neither was that victory of any use to them; the *Cyprians*, in whose aid they came, being utterly beaten by the *Persian* Army at Land, and reduced into their old subjection. So had the *Persians* likewise by open War and fair force overthrown the *Carians* in two battels, and reclaimed that Nation; as also they had recovered the Towns upon *Hellespont*, with some *Æolian* and *Ionian* Cities, when *Aristagoras* with his friends quitting *Miletus*, fled into *Thrace*, desirous to seat himself in *Amphipolis*, a Colony of the *Athenians*. But the *Edonians*, on whose Territory belike he landed, overthrew him, and cut his troops in pieces.

About the same time *Histiæus*, the first mover of this insurrection, came down into those quarters, who having undertaken the performance of great matters to *Darius*, was glad to flee from his Lieutenants, by whom his double dealing was detected.

But this Evasion preserved him not long. And after many vain attempts that he made, he was taken in fight by the *Persians*, and hastily beheaded, lest the King should pardon him upon remembrance of old good turns; as it seems that he would have done, by the burial which he commanded to be given to his dead body that was crucified, and by his heavy taking of his death.

Hiſtiæus had ſought to put himſelf into *Miletus*; but the Citizens, doubting his conditions, choſe rather to keep him out, and make ſhift for themſelves, without his help. The ſtrength of their City by Land, which had in old time withſtood the *Lydian* Kings and their good Fleet, which promiſed unto them the liberty of an open Sea, emboldned them to try the uttermoſt, when very few friends were left upon that Continent to take their part. But their Navy was broken as much by threatnings as by force; many of their companions and fellow-rebels forſaking them upon hope of pardon; and many being daunted with the cauſeleſs flight of thoſe that ſhould have aſſiſted them. Neither was it long before the Town it ſelf, being aſſaulted both by Land and Sea, was taken by force, the Citizens ſlain, their wives and children made ſlaves, and their goods a booty to the *Perſians*, whom for ſix years ſpace they had put to ſo much trouble.

§ VIII.

The War which Darius *made upon* Greece *with the battel of* Marathon, *and* Darius *his death.*

THis War with good ſucceſs finiſhed by the *Perſians*, and ſome attempts made on *Europe* ſide with variable ſucceſs; *Darius* obſtinate in the enterpriſe and Conqueſt of *Greece* (though at firſt he pretended to make the War but againſt the *Athenians* and *Eritræans*, who joyntly aſſiſted the *Ionians* againſt him, and burnt *Sardis* in *Lydia*) did now by his Ambaſſadours, demand an acknowledgement from them all: among whom, ſome of them not ſo well reſolved as the reſt, ſubmitted themſelves; as the *Æginets*, and others. Againſt theſe, the *Athenians* being inflamed, (by the aſſiſtance of the *Lacedemonians*) after divers encounters forced them to give pledges, and to relinquiſh the party of the *Perſians*. *Cleomenes* led the *Lacedemonians* in this War, and cauſed his companion King *Demaratus* to be depoſed: who thereupon fled to *Darius*, far the more confident of victory, by reaſon of theſe diſcords, alienations and civil Wars among the *Greeks*. He therefore gave order to *Hippagorus* to prepare a Fleet of Ships, fit to tranſport his Army over the *Helleſpont*: the ſame conſiſting of an hundred thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe. The charge in chief of his Army, he committed to *Datis*, accompanied and aſſiſted by *Hippias*, the Son of *Piſiſtratus*, expelled out of *Athens* twenty years before, and by *Artaphernes* his Brother, Governour of *Sardis*, and the Sea-coaſt of *Aſia* the leſs. Theſe Commanders having their Companies brought down to the Sea-ſide, imbarqued themſelves in ſix hundred Gallies and other Veſſels; and firſt of all attempted the Iſlands, called *Cyclades*, which lay in the mid-way between *Aſia* the leſs, and *Greece*. For (obtaining thoſe places) the *Perſians* had nothing to hinder the tranſportation of their forces over the *Ægean* Sea; but on the contrary they might always both relieve themſelves in the paſſage, and ſhroud themſelves from all ſudden tempeſts and out-rage.

To this end, they firſt poſſeſt themſelves of *Samos*; ſecondly, they attempted *Naxos*: Which Iſland, the Inhabitants deſpairing of their own forces, abandoned. So did the people of *Delos*, of which *Apollo* was Native: Which Iſland *Darius* did not only forbear to ſack, but recalling the Inhabitants, he gave order to beautifie the places and Altars of Sacrifice to *Apollo* erected. And having recovered theſe and other Iſlands, the *Perſians* directed their courſe for *Eretria* in *Eubœa* for that City (as already hath been ſhewed) had aſſiſted the *Ionians* at the taking and firing of *Sardis*. In this Iſland the *Perſians* took ground, and beſieged *Eretria* very ſtraitly, and after ſix days aſſault, partly by force, and in part by the treaſon of *Euphabus* and *Philagius*, they took it, ſackt it, and burnt it to the ground. Thus far the winds of proſperous fortune filled their ſayls. From *Eubœa* the *Perſians* paſt their Army into *Attica*, conducted and guided by *Hippias*, late Prince of *Athens*, and marching towards it, they encamped at *Marathon*, in the way from the Sea, where they landed, towards *Athens*.

The *Athenians*, finding the time arrived wherein they were to diſpute with their own vertues againſt Fortune, and to caſt lots for their liberty, for their wives, their children, and their lives, put themſelves in the beſt order they could to make reſiſtance, and withall ſent away with ſpeed to the *Lacedemonians* for ſuccour, imploying in that Negotiation one *Phidippides*; who paſſing through *Arcadia*, encountred in the way a familiar Devil, which he ſuppoſed to be *Pan*, who willed him to aſſure the *Athenians* of victory, promiſing that ſome one of the gods ſhould be preſent at the battel, to aſſiſt them and defend them againſt the multitude of their enemies. *Phidippides* at his return, ſeeing he could not bring with him any preſent ſuccours from *Sparta*, yet he thought it greatly availing to bring news from the gods, and promiſe of aſſiſtance from Heaven, which no doubt (though the device was ſomewhat likely to be his own, yet) it greatly encouraged the multitude and common people, who in all ages have been more ſtirred up with fond Prophecies and other like ſuperſtitious fooleries, than by any juſt cauſe or ſolid reaſon.

The *Athenians* being now left to themſelves, with one thouſand only of the *Plateans* (who having been formerly defended by the *Athenians* againſt the *Thebans*, did in this extremity witneſs their thankfulneſs and grateful diſpoſition) began to diſpute, Whether it were moſt for their advantage to defend the walls of *Athens*, or to put themſelves into the field with ſuch forces as they had, the ſame conſiſting of ten thouſand *Athenians*, and one thouſand of the *Plateans*. In the end, and after great diverſity of opinions, *Miltiades*, who perſwaded the trial by battel, prevailed.

The Armies being now in view, and within a mile of each other, the *Athenians* diſpoſed themſelves into three troops: two wings or horns, as they term them; and the body of a battel. The *Perſians* when they perceived ſo ſmall a troop advancing towards them, thought the *Athenians* rather diſpoſſeſt of their underſtandings, than poſſeſt with the reſolution whereof they made ſhew. So invincible and reſiſtleſs, the *Perſians* eſteemed their own numbers to be, and that ſmall troop of their enemies then in view, rather to be deſpiſed than to be fought withall: But in concluſion, the victory being doubtfully ballanced for a while, ſometime the vertue of the *Grecians*, and ſometimes the number of the *Perſians* prevailed; the *Grecians* fighting for all that they had, the *Perſians* for that they needed not, theſe great forces of *Darius* were diſordered and put to rout; the *Athenians* following their Victory even to the Sea-ſhore; where the *Perſians*, ſo many of them as loſt not their wits with their courage, ſaved themſelves in their Ships.

The *Perſian* Army conſiſted of an hundred thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe; of which there were ſlain in the place ſix thouſand three hundred, and of the *Grecians* an hundred fourſcore and twelve. For howſoever it came to paſs, either by ſtrange viſions, which were afterward called *Pannici terrores*, or by ſome other affright, it ſeemeth that the invading Army, after the firſt encounter, fought with their backs towards their enemy, and loſt that number, by *Herodotus*

Herod. l. 6. Whether this City or People were of *Peloponneſus* in *Sicyonia*, or of *Ægæ* between *Theſſalia* and *Macedon*, I do not know; but thoſe borderers, and next the enemy, were more likely to compound than the reſt far off. There is alſo a City called *Ægitum*, not far from *Ægæa*, *Livie* 32, 33, &c.

In Herod.

dotus set down, in their disorderly retreat, or rather in their flat running away. As for *Justin*'s report, That two hundred thousand of the *Persian* Army were slain, the same hath no appearance nor possibility of truth. In this fight *Hippias* the perswader of the enterprise was slain, saith *Justin* and *Cicero*; but *Suidas* tells us, That he escaped, and died most miserably in *Lemnos*. *Ad Art.*

The greatest honour of this Victory was cast upon *Miltiades*, who both perswaded the trial by battel, and behaved himself therein answerably to the counsel which he gave. *Themistocles* had his first reputation in this fight, being but young and of the first beard. Those of the *Grecians*, of mark and commandment, that fell in the first encounter, were *Callimachus* and *Stesileus*. It is also said, That *Cynegyrus* following the *Persians* to their embarking, laid hands on one of their Gallies, to have held it from putting off the shore, and having his right hand cut off, he yet offered to arrest it with his left; of which also being deprived, he took hold of it with his teeth. This encounter happened in the first year of the threescore and twelfth *Olympiad*, about the time of the war made by *Coriolanus* against his fellow Romans: *Alexander* the Son of *Amyntas* being then King of *Macedon*, and *Phanippus* then Governour of *Athens*, according to *Plutarch*, or *Hybilides*, after *Halycarnasseus*. *In vita Aryst.*

This great fray thus parted, and the *Persians* returned back into the lesser *Asia*, *Miltiades* sought and obtained an employment against the Islanders at *Paros*, one of the *Cyclades*, and passing over his Companies in threescore and ten Gallies, after six and twenty days assault he brake his thigh, in seeking to enter it by the Temple of *Ceres*, wherewith himself being made unable, and his Companies discouraged, he returned to *Athens*: where those ungrateful Citizens forgetting all his services past, and that of all other the most renowned at the battel of *Marathon*, did by the perswasion of *Xantippus*, the father of *Pericles*, (who envied his fame) cast him into prison, and set on him a fine of fifty Talents; where his weak and wounded body being not able to endure the one, nor his Estate to pay the other, he after a few days ended his life.

Which envy of the better sort to each other, with their private Factions, assisted by the unthankful and witless people, brought them, not many years after, from a Victorious and Famous Nation, to base subjection and slavery. *Miltiades* left behind him one son called *Cymon* begotten on *Hegesipila*, daughter of *Olorus* King of *Thrace*, who (saith *Plutarch*) was neither inferiour to his Father in valour, nor to *Themistocles* in understanding, but exceeded them both in Justice and good Government.

Now *Darius* taking greater care how to recover his honour, than sorrow for his loss he received in *Greece*, gave order for new levies of men, and all other warlike provisions. But the Egyptians revolting from his obedience (a Kingdom of great strength and revenue) greatly distracted his resolution for the re-invasion of *Greece*. The dissention also among his Sons, of whom the younger being born after he was King, and by so great a Mother as *Atossa*, disdaining to give place to his elder Brother, born before *Darius* obtained the Empire, greatly vexed him. And lastly, Death, who hath no respect of any man's affairs, gave end to all his consultations and enterprises, and joyned him to the earth of his Ancestors, about a year after the battel of *Marathon*, and after that he had reigned six and thirty years. He left behind him five sons, namely, *Artabasanes*, born before he obtained the Kingdom, *Xerxes* who succeeded him, *Achemenes* Governour of *Egypt*, *Massites* and *Anabignes*.

CHAP. VI.
Of Xerxes.

§ 1.
The preparations of Xerxes *against* Greece,

Xerxes received from his Father, as hereditary, a double War, one to be made against the Egyptians, which he finished so speedily, that there is nothing remaining in writing how the same was performed: the other against the Grecians, of which it is hard to judge, whether the preparations were more terrible, or the success ridiculous. In the consultation for the prosecution of this War, which was chiefly bent against the Athenians, the Princes of *Persia* were divided in opinion. *Mardonius*, who had formerly commanded in *Thrace* and *Macedon*, under *Darius*, and had also *Hystaspes* for his Grand-father, as *Xerxes* had, and married *Xerxes* his sister *Artozostres*, perswaded by many arguments the European War. But *Artabanus*, Brother to the late *Darius*, and Unkle to *Xerxes*, maintained the contrary counsel, laying before *Xerxes* the lamentable and ridiculous success of the two late Invasions, which *Darius* had made contrary to his counsel: The one in person upon the Scythians, the other by his Lieutenants upon the Greeks; in each of which *Darius* left to his Enemies both his Army and his Honour.

He therefore besought *Xerxes* to be right well advised before he did too far imbark himself in this business. For whatsoever undertaking hath deliberate and sound couse for conductor, though the success do not always answer the probability, yet hath Fortune nothing else thereof to vaunt, than the variableness of her own nature, which only the Divine Providence, and not any humane power can constrain.

But so obstinate was the resolution of *Xerxes* in prosecution of his former intent, that *Artabanus*, whether terrified by Visions (as it is written of him) or fearing the King's hatred, which he made known to all those that opposed his desire to this War (changing opinion and counsel) assisted the *Grecian* Expedition with all the power he had.

After the War of *Egypt* was ended, four years were consumed in describing and gathering an Army for this Invasion: which being compounded of all Nations subject to the *Persian* Empire, consisted of seventeen hundred thousand foot, and eighty thousand Horsemen, besides Charriots, Camels, and other Beasts of carriage, if we may believe *Herodotus*: for of this multitude, *Trogus* finds the number less by seven hundred thousand foot-men. *Hr. l. 7.*

The Commanders of the several Nations were the Princes of the blood of *Persia*, either by marriage in the King's house, or otherwise; for to these were all commandments of this nature given, some few people excepted, who had of their own Leaders.

The charge of the whole Army was bestowed on *Mardonius*, the Son of *Gobrias*, by a sister of *Darius*,

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to whom were joyned ſome others of *Xerxes* his neareſt kindred, as Generals over all; ſaving that the charge of ten thouſand ſelect *Perſians*, called the Immortal Regiment (becauſe if any one of the whole number died, or were ſlain, there was another preſently choſen in his ſtead) was given to *Hydarnes*; the eighty thouſand Horſemen were led by the ſons of *Datis*, who commanded the late Army of *Darius* in *Greece*.

The Fleet of Gallies were 2200. and eight furniſhed by the *Phenicians*, who had Commanders of their own Nation, and by the *Cypriots*, *Cilicians*, *Pamphylians*, *Lycians*, *Dorians*, *Carians*, *Ionians*, *Æolians*, and *Helleſpontines*; who were truſted with the furniſhing of their own Veſſels, though commanded by the Princes of *Perſia*, as by *Artabignes*, the Son of *Darius*, and others. The reſt of the Veſſels for tranſportation were three thouſand. There were alſo certain Gallies furniſhed by *Artemeſia*, the daughter of *Lygdames*, Princeſs of *Halicarnaſſens*, and the Iſlands adjoyning, which her ſelf commanded. Thoſe Gallies by her prepared and furniſhed, exceeded all the reſt of the Fleet, excepting of *Zidon*, in which *Xerxes* himſelf was imbarked.

§ II.

Xerxes's *Army entertained by* Pythius: *his cutting off Mount* Athos *from the Continent: his Bridge of Boats over the* Helleſpont: *and the diſcourſe between him and* Artabanus *upon the view of the Army.*

WHen this World of an Army was throughly furniſhed, he cauſed all the Nations of which it was compounded, to make their Rendezvouz, and repair at *Sardis* in *Lydia*. And when he had aſſembled to the number of ſeventeen hundred thouſand foot, as he entred the Border of *Celenus*, he was by one *Pythius* a *Lydian* entertained, who out of his Flocks and Herds of Cattel gave food to *Xerxes* and his whole Army. The feaſt ended, he alſo preſented him with two thouſand Talents of Silver, and in Gold four Millions, wanting ſeven thouſand of the *Perſian Darici*; which make ſo many of our Marks.

The King overcome with the exceeding liberality of *Pythius*, did not only refuſe his treaſure offered, but commanded that ſeven thouſand *Darici* ſhould be given him to make up his four Milions; of which, ſo many thouſands were wanting when he made the Preſent. But ſoon after, when *Pythius* beſought him to ſpare one of his five ſons from his attendance into *Greece* (becauſe himſelf was old, and had none whom he could ſo well truſt as his own ſon) *Xerxes* moſt barbarouſly cauſed the young man, for whom his Father ſought exemption, to be ſundered into two parts, commanding that the one half of his Carcaſe ſhould be laid on the right, and the other half on the left hand of the common way by which the Army marched.

Two things he commanded to be done before he came to the Sea-ſide. The one was a paſſage for Gallies to be cut behind Mount *Athos*, making the ſame (with the half Iſland or Head-land, whereon it ſtood) to be an entire Iſland, ſundring thereby from the Continent of *Thrace* five Cities, beſides the Mountain and the *Cherſoneſus*, or Neck of Land it ſelf: a work of more oſtentation, than of uſe, and yet an enterpriſe of no great wonder, the Valley which held it to the Continent having but twelve furlongs, (which make about a mile and a half) to cut through, and the ditch being broad enough only for two Gallies to paſs in front. The Cities ſo ſevered from the main, were *Dion*, *Olophyxus*, *Acrothoon*, *Thyſus* and *Gleonæ*.

He alſo gave order, that a Bridge upon Boats ſhould be made over the *Helleſpont* between *Abidus* and *Seſtos*, the Sea there having a mile of breadth, wanting an eighth part; which, after the finiſhing, was by a Tempeſt torn aſunder and diſſevered: wherewith *Xerxes* being more enraged than diſcouraged, commanded thoſe to be ſlain that were Maſters of the work, and cauſed ſix hundred threeſcore and fourteen Gallies to be coupled together, thereon to frame a new Bridge; which by the art and induſtry of the *Phenicians*, was ſo well anchored to reſiſt both winds blowing into, and from the *Euxine* Sea, as the ſame being well boorded and railed, the whole Army of ſeventeen hundred thouſand Foot, and fourſcore thouſand Horſe, with all the Moyles and Carriages, paſt over it into *Europe* in ſeven days and ſeven nights, without intermiſſion. This tranſportation of Armies did *Ceſar* afterward uſe. And *Caligula*, that mad Emperour, in imitation of *Xerxes* his Bridges, did build the like.

The Bridge finiſhed, and the Army brought near to the Sea-ſide, *Xerxes* took a view of all the Troops, aſſembled in the Plains of *Abidus*, being carried up, and ſeated on a place over-topping the Land round about it, and the Sea adjoyning: and after he had gloried in his own happineſs, to behold and command ſo many Nations, and ſo powerful an Army and Fleet, he ſuddenly (notwithſtanding) burſt out into tears, moved with this contemplation, That in one hundred years there ſhould not any one ſurvive of that marvellous multitude: The cauſe of which ſudden change of paſſion when he uttered to *Artabanus* his Unkle, *Artabanus* ſpake to the King to this effect: That which is more lamentable than the diſſolution of this great Troop within that number of years by the King remembred, is, That the life it ſelf which we enjoy is yet more miſerable than the end thereof: for in thoſe few days given us in the world: there is no man among theſe, or elſewhere, that ever found himſelf ſo accompanied with happineſs, but that he oftentimes pleaſed himſelf better with the deſire and hope of death, than of living; the incident calamities, diſeaſes and ſorrows whereto mankind is ſubject, being ſo many and inevitable, that the ſhorteſt life doth oftentimes appear unto us over long; to avoid all which, there is neither refuge nor reſt, but in deſired death alone.

With this melancholy diſcourſe, *Xerxes* being not much pleaſed, prayed *Artabanus* not to overcaſt thoſe joys which they had now in purſuit with ſad remembrances. And holding ſtill a doubtful conceit, that *Artabanus* utterly condemned the Invaſion of *Greece*, againſt which he had formerly given many ſtrong reaſons, deſired him to deal freely with him, Whether he were returned to his firſt reſolution, that the enterpriſe of *Greece* could not be proſperous; or whether, according to the change of mind put into him by his late Viſion, he was confident of good ſucceſs? *Artabanus*, notwithſtanding that he aſſured himſelf of the King's reſolution to go on, and dared not by any new arguments to batter the great purpoſe it ſelf, yet he told the King, That there were two things which marvellouſly affrighted him, and which the King ſhould find, as he feared, to be moſt adverſe; to wit, the Sea and the Land: The Sea, becauſe it had no where in that part of the World any Port capable of ſo great a Fleet; inſomuch, as if any tempeſt ſhould ariſe, all the Continent of *Greece* could hardly receive them, nor all the Havens thereof afford them any ſafety: and therefore when any ſuch ſhelter ſhall be wanting unto them, he prayed him to underſtand, that in ſuch a caſe of extremity, men are left to the will and diſpoſition of Fortune, and not Fortune to the will and diſpoſition

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of men. The Land, besides other incommodities, will be found by so much the more an enemy, by how much the unsatiate desire of man to obtain more and more thereof, doth lead him forward: for were there no man found to give resistance, yet the want of means to feed such an Army, and the Famine which cannot be prevented, will without any other violence offered, disinable and consume it. By these Arguments *Artabanus* hoped to have diverted *Xerxes*, not daring perchance to utter what indeed he most feared, to wit, the overthrow of the Army it self both by Sea and Land, which soon after followed. These cautions were exceeding weighty, if *Xerxes* his obstinacy had not misprised them. For to invade by Sea upon a perilous Coast, being neither in possession of any Port, not succoured by any party, may better fit a Prince presuming on his Fortune, than enriched with understanding. Such was the enterprise of *Philip* the second upon *England* in the year 1588. who had belike never heard of this Counsel of *Artabanus* to *Xerxes*, or forgotten it.

Now concerning the second point; It is very likely that *Xerxes* his Army, which could not have in it less than two millions of Souls, besides his Beasts for Service and Carriage, should after a few days suffer famine, and using *Machiavel*'s words, *Mourire sans consteo; die without a knife.* For it was impossible for *Greece*, being a ragged, strait, and mountainous Country, to yield food (besides what served themselves) for twenty hundred thousand strangers, whom they never meant to entertain, but with the sharpned points of their Weapons, destroying withall whatsoever they could not well inclose and defend. Nay, if we may believe *Herodotus*, the Army of *Xerxes*, being reviewed at *Thermopylæ*, consisted of five millions, two hundred eighty three thousand, two hundred twenty men, besides Landresses, Harlots and Horses, and was therefore likely to endure a speedy famine.

The effect of *Xerxes* his answer was, That it was impossible to provide for all things; and that whosoever should enterprise any greater matter, if he gave the hearing to all that could be objected of accidental inconveniences, he should never pursue the same farther than the dispute and consultation: which if his Predecessors, the *Persian* Kings had done, they had never grown to that greatness, or possest so many Kingdoms and Nations, as they now did; and therefore concluded, That great enterprises were never undertaken without great peril. Which resolution of *Xerxes* was not to be condemned, if any necessity had inforc'd him to that War. But seeing the many Nations newly conquered, which he already commanded, were more than could be constrained to obedience any longer than the powerful prosperity of the *Persians* endured, and that *Greece* were separated by the Sea from the rest of *Xerxes* his Dominions (of whose resolution his Father *Darius* had made a dear experience) the fruit of this War was answerable to the plantation, and the success and end agreeable to the weak counsel whereon it was grounded. Furthermore, those millions of men which he transported, and yet in his own judgement not sufficient, (for he gathered in, marching on, all the strength of *Thrace* and *Macedon*) were an argument, that he rather hoped to fear the *Greeks* by the fame of his numbers, than that he had any confidence in their valour and resolution, whom he conducted. For it is wisely said of those uncountable multitudes: *Non vires habent, sed pondus; & impedimenta potius sunt, quàm auxilium: They are great in bulk, but weak in forces, and rather a luggage than aid.*

Besides, as it was impossible to Marshal such a world of men in one Army, so the divers Nations, speaking divers languages, bred the same confusion among the *Persian* Commanders when they came to fight, as it did to the Builders of *Babel*, when they came to work. Whereas if *Xerxes* had of five millions compounded ten Armies of fifty thousand chosen Souldiers in each, and sent them yearly into *Greece* well victualled and furnished, he had either prevailed by the sword, or forced them to forsake their Territory, brought them into obedience by necessity and famine, which cannot be resisted. But while *Xerxes* resolved to cut down the banks of *Greece*, and to let in a Sea of men upon them, he was deceived both of his own hopes, and in their hearts whom he imployed, and beaten by the *Greeks*, both by Land and Sea; yea, he himself, conducted by his fear, fled shamefully into *Asia*. A great part of his Army was buried in *Greece*: the remainder whereof, which wintred in *Thessaly*, and led by *Mardonius* who perswaded the enterprise, was in the summer following utterly defeated, and himself slain.

§ III.

Of the fights at Thermopylæ *and* Artemisium.

After such time as *Xerxes* had transported the Army over the *Hellespont*, and landed in *Thrace* (leaving the description of his passage along that Coast, and how the River of *Lissus* was drunk dry by his multitudes, and the Lake near *Pissyrus* by his Cattel, with other accidents in his Marches towards *Greece*) I will speak of the encounters he had, and the shameful and incredible overthrows which he received. As first at *Thermopylæ*, a narrow passage of half an Acre of ground, lying between the Mountains, which did divide *Thessaly* from *Greece*, where sometime the *Phocians* had raised a wall with Gates which was then for the most part ruined. At this entrance *Leonidas* one of the Kings of *Sparta*, with three hundred *Lacedæmonians*, assisted with one thousand *Tegeatæ* and *Mantineans*, one thousand *Arcadians*, and other *Peloponnesians*, to the number of three thousand one hundred in the whole; besides one thousand *Phocians*, four hundred *Thebans*, seven hundred *Thespians*, and all the forces (such as they were) of the bordering *Locrians*, defended the passage two whole days together against that huge Army of the *Persians*. The valour of the *Greeks* appeared so excellent in this defence, that in the first days fight, *Xerxes* is said to have three times leaped out of his Throne, fearing the destruction of his Army by one handful of those men, whom not long before he had utterly despised: and when the second days attempt upon the *Greeks* had proved in vain, he was altogether ignorant how to proceed further; and so might have continued, had not a runnagate *Grecian* taught him a secreet way, by which part of his Army might ascend the ledge of Mountains, and set upon the backs of those who kept the Straits. But when the most valiant of the *Persians* Army had almost inclosed the small forces of the *Greeks*, then did *Leonidas*, King of the *Lacedemonians*, with his three hundred, and seven hundred *Thespians*, which were all that abode by him, refuse to quit the place which they had undertaken to make good, and with admirable courage not only resist that world of men which charged them on all sides; but issuing out of their strength, made so great a slaughter of their enemies, that they might well be called vanquishers, though all of them were slain upon the place. *Xerxes*, having lost in this last fight, together with twenty thousand other Souldiers and Captains, two of his own brethren, began to doubt what inconvenience might befal him by the vertue of such as had not been present at these battels, with whom he knew that

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he ſhortly was to deal. Eſpecially of the *Spartans* he ſtood in great fear, whoſe manhood appeared ſingular in this trial, which cauſed him very carefully to enquire what numbers they could bring into the Field. It is reported of *Dieneces* the *Spartan*, that when one thought to have terrified him by ſaying, That the flight of the *Perſian* Arrows was ſo thick as would hide the Sun, he anſwered thus; It is very good news, for then ſhall we fight in the cool ſhade.

Such notable reſolution having as freely been expreſſed in deeds, as was uttered in words, cauſed the *Perſian* to ſtand in great doubt, when he heard that the City of *Sparta* could arm well-nigh eight thouſand men of the like temper, and that the other *Lacedemonians*, though inferiour to thoſe, were very valiant men. Wherefore he asked counſel of *Demaratus*, a baniſhed King of the *Spartans*, who had always well adviſed and inſtructed him in the things of *Greece*, what courſe were fitteſt to be taken in his further proceedings. The opinion of *Demaratus* was, That all Land-forces ſhould aſſemble together to defend *Iſthmus*, that ſtreight neck of ground which joyneth *Peloponneſus* to the Continent. For which cauſe he adviſed, That three hundred Ships well manned, ſhould be ſent unto the Coaſts of *Laconia*, to ſpoil the Country, and to hold the *Lacedemonians* and their Neighbours buſied at home, whilſt *Xerxes* at his leiſure having ſubdued the reſt, might afterwards bring his whole power upon them, who remaining deſtitute of ſuccour, would be too weak alone to make reſiſtance. To this purpoſe alſo the ſame *Demaratus* further adviſed, That the ſaid Fleet of three hundred Ships ſhould ſeize upon the Iſland then called *Cythera*, now *Cerigo*, which lying near to the Coaſt of *Laconia*, might ſerve as a fit place of Rendezvouz upon all occaſions, either of their own defence, or endamaging the enemy: whereby that ancient Speech of *Chilon* the *Lacedemonian* ſhould be verified, that it were better for his Country-men to have that Iſle drowned in the Sea, than ſtand ſo inconveniently for them as it did. What effect this counſel might have taken, had it been followed, it is not eaſie to gueſs. But a contrary opinion of *Achemenes*, Brother to King *Xerxes*, was preferred as the ſafer. For the *Perſian* Fleet had been ſorely vexed with a grievous tempeſt, which continued three whole days together, wherein were loſt upon the Coaſt of *Magneſia*, four hundred Ships of War, beſides other veſſels innumerable, accordingly as *Artabanus* had foreſeen, that if any ſuch calamity ſhould over-take them, there would not be found any Harbour wide enough to give them ſuccour. Therefore *Achemenes* perſwaded his Brother not to diſperſe his Fleet; for if (he ſaid) after the loſs of four hundred Ships we ſhall ſend away other three hundred to ſeek all adventures, then will the *Greeks* be ſtrong enough by Sea to encounter the reſt of the Navy, which holding all together, is invincible. To this counſel *Xerxes* yielded, hoping that his Land Army and Fleet, ſhould each of them ſtand the other in good ſtead, whilſt both held one courſe, and lay not far aſunder. But herein he was far deceived; for about the ſame time that his Army had felt the valour of the *Greeks* by Land, his Navy likewiſe made a ſorrowful proof of their skill and courage at Sea. The *Grecians* Fleet lay at that time at *Artemiſium*, in the ſtraits of *Eubœa*, where the *Perſians* thinking to encompaſs them, ſent two hundred ſail about the Iſland to fall upon them behind, uſing a like ſtratagem to that which their King did practiſe againſt *Leonidas*, in a caſe not unlike, but with far different ſucceſs. For that narrow channel of the Sea, which divideth *Eubœa* from the Main, was in the ſame ſort held by a Navy of two hundred threeſcore and eleven ſail againſt the huge *Perſian* Armado, as the ſtraits of *Thermopyle* had formerly been maintained by *Leonidas*, till he was circumvented, as this Navy might have been, but was not. The departure of thoſe two hundred Ships that were ſent about the Iſland, and the cauſe of their voyage, was two well known in the *Perſian* Fleet, and ſoon enough diſcloſed to the *Greeks*, who ſetting ſail by night, met them with a counter-ſurpriſe, taking and ſinking thirty Veſſels, inforcing the reſt to take the Sea; where, being over-taken with foul weather, they were driven upon the Rocks, and caſt all away. Contrariwiſe, the Navy of the *Greeks* were increaſed by the arrival of fifty three *Athenian* Ships, and one *Lemnian*, which came to their party in the laſt fight. As theſe new forces encouraged the one ſide, ſo the fear of *Xerxes* his diſpleaſure ſtirred up the other to redeem their loſs with ſome notable exploit. Wherefore ſetting aſide their unfortunate policy, they reſolved in plain fight to repair their honour, and caſting themſelves into the form of a Creſcent, thought ſo to incloſe the *Greeks*, who readily did preſent them battel at *Artemiſium*.

The fight endured from noon till night, and ended with equal loſs to both parts. For, though more of the *Perſians* Ships were ſunk and taken, yet the leſſer loſs fell altogether as heavy upon the *Greekiſh* Fleet, which being ſmall, could worſe bear it. Herein only the *Barbarians* may ſeem to have had the worſe, that they forſook the place of fight, leaving the wrack and ſpoils to the enemy, who nevertheleſs were fain to abandon preſently even the paſſage which they had undertaken to defend; both for that many of their ſhips were ſorely cruſht in the battel, and eſpecially becauſe they had received advertiſement of the death of *Leonidas* at *Thermopyle*. Before they weighed Anchors, *Themiſtocles*, General of the *Athenians*, engraved upon ſtone at the watering-place an exhortation to the *Ionians*, that either they ſhould revolt unto the *Greeks* or ſtand neutral; which perſwaſion, he hoped, would either take ſome place with them, or at the leaſt make them ſuſpected by the *Perſians*.

§ IV.

The attempt of Xerxes *upon* Apollo's *Temple: and his taking of* Athens.

WHen *Xerxes* had paſt the ſtraits of *Thermopylæ*, he waſted the Country of the *Phocians*, and the Regions adjoyning: as for the Inhabitants, they choſe rather to fly, and reſerve themſelves to a day of battle, than to adventure their lives into his hands, upon hope of ſaving their wealth, by making proffer unto him of their ſervice. Part of his Army he ſent to ſpoil the Temple of *Delphi*, which was exceeding rich by means of many Offerings that had been made by divers Kings, and great Perſonages; of all which riches it was thought that *Xerxes* had a better Inventory than of the Goods left in his own Palace. To make relation of a great aſtoniſhment that fell upon the companies which arrived at the Temple to have ſacked it, and of two Rocks that breaking from the Mount *Parnaſſus*, overwhelmed many of the *Barbarians*, it were peradventure ſomewhat ſuperſtitious. Yet *Herodotus*, who lived not long after, ſaith, That the broken Rocks remained even to his memory in the Temple of *Minerva*, whither they rowled in their fall. And ſurely this attempt of *Xerxes* was impious; for ſeeing he believed that *Apollo* was a god, he ſhould not have dared to entertain a covetous deſire of enriching himſelf by committing ſacrilege upon his Temple. Wherefore it may poſſibly be true, that licenſe to chaſtiſe his impiety, in ſuch manner as is reported,

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was granted unto the Devil, by that Holy one, who ſaith, *Will a man ſpoil his Gods?* and elſewhere; *Hath any Nation changed their Gods, which yet are no Gods? Go to the Iſles of Kittim, and behold, and ſend to Kedar and take diligent heed, and ſee whether there be any ſuch things.* Now this impiety of *Xerxes* was the more inexcuſable, for that the *Perſians* alledged the burning of *Cybeles* Temple by the *Athenians*, when they ſet fire on the City of *Sardis* in *Aſia*, to be the ground and cauſe of the waſt which they made in burning of Cities and Temples in *Greece*. Whereas indeed, in the enterprize againſt *Delphos*, this Vizzor of holy and zealous revenge falling off, diſcovered the face of covetouſneſs ſo much the more ugly, by how much the more themſelves had profeſſed a deteſtation of the offence which the *Athenians* had committed in that kind by meer miſchance.

Judæ. 3. 2. *Jerem.* 2. 9. & 10.

The remainder of that which *Xerxes* did, may be expreſſed briefly thus. *He came to Athens, which finding forſaken, he took and burnt the Cittadel and Temple which was therein.* The Cittadel indeed was defended a while by ſome of more courage than wiſdom, who literally interpreting *Apollo's* Oracle; *that Athens ſhould be ſafe in woodden Walls*, had fortified that place with boards and *Paliſſadoes*: too weak to hold out long, though by their deſperate valour ſo well maintained at the firſt aſſault, that they might have yielded it upon tolerable conditions, had they not vainly relied upon the propheſie: whereof (being ſomewhat obſcure) it was wiſely done of *Themiſtocles*, to make diſcretion the interpreter, applying rather the words to the preſent need, than faſhioning the buſineſs to words.

§. V.

How Themiſtocles *the Athenian drew the Greeks to fight at* Salamis.

THe *Athenians* had before the coming of *Xerxes*, removed their wives and children into *Trœzene*, *Ægina*, and *Salamis*, not ſo highly prizing their houſes and lands, as their freedom, and the common liberty of *Greece*. Nevertheleſs this great zeal, which the *Athenians* did ſhew for the general good of their Country, was ill requited by the other *Greeks*, who with much labour were hardly intreated to ſtay for them at *Salamis*, whilſt they removed their wives and children out of the City. But when the City of *Athens* was taken, it was preſently reſolved upon, that they ſhould forſake the Iſle of *Salamis*, and withdraw the Fleet to *Iſthmus*: which neck of land they did purpoſe to fortifie againſt the *Perſians*, and ſo to defend *Peloponneſus* by Land and Sea, leaving the reſt of *Greece* as indefenſible to the fury of the Enemie. So ſhould the Iſlands of *Salamis* and *Ægina* have been abandoned, and the Families of the *Athenians* (which were there beſtowed as in places of ſecurity) have been given over into mercileſs bondage. Againſt this reſolution, *Themiſtocles*, Admiral of the *Athenian* Fleet, very ſtrongly made oppoſition, but in vain. For the *Peloponneſians* were ſo poſſeſſed with fear of loſing their own, which they would not hazard, that no perſwaſions could obtain of them, to regard the eſtate of their diſtreſſed friends, and Allies. Many remonſtrances *Themiſtocles* made unto them, to allure them to abide the Enemy at *Salamis*; As firſt in private unto *Eurybiades* the *Lacedæmonian*, Admiral of the whole Fleet; That the ſelf ſame fear which made them forſake thoſe coaſts of *Greece*, upon which they then anchored, would afterward (if it found no check at the firſt) cauſe them alſo to diſſever the Fleet, and every one of the Confederates to withdraw himſelf to the defence of his own City and Eſtate: Then to the Council of War which *Eurybiades* upon this motion did call together (forbearing to object what want of Courage might work in them hereafter) he ſhewed that the Fight at *Iſthmus* would be in an open Sea, whereas it was more expedient for them, having the fewer Ships, to determine the matter in the the ſtraights; and that, beſides the ſafeguard of *Ægina*, *Megara*, and *Salamis*, they ſhould by abiding, where they then were, ſufficiently defend *Iſthmus*, which the *Barbarians* ſhould not ſo much as once look upon, if the *Greeks* obtained victory by Sea: which they could not ſo well hope for elſewhere, as in that preſent place which gave them ſo good advantage. All this would not ſerve to retain the *Peloponneſians*, of whom one, unworthy of memory, upbraided *Themiſtocles* with the loſs of *Athens*, blaming *Eurybiades* for ſuffering one to ſpeak in the Council, that had no Countrey of his own to inhabit. A baſe and ſhameful objection it was, to lay as a reproach that loſs, which being voluntarily ſuſtained for the common good, was in true eſtimation by ſo much the more honourable, by how much it was the greater. But this indignity did exaſperate *Themiſtocles*, and put into his mouth a reply ſo ſharp, as availed more than all his former perſwaſions. He told them all plainly, That the *Athenians* wanted not a fairer City, than any Nation of *Greece* could boaſt of; having well-near two hundred good ſhips of War, the better part of the *Græcian* Fleet, with which it was eaſie for them to tranſport their Families and ſubſtance into any part of the World, and ſettle themſelves in a more ſecure Habitation, leaving thoſe to ſhift as well as they might, who in their extremity had refuſed to ſtand by them. Herewithal he mentioned a Town in *Italie* belonging of old to the State of *Athens*, of which Town he ſaid an Oracle had foretold, That the *Athenians* in proceſs of time ſhould build it a-new, and there (quoth he) will we plant our ſelves, leaving unto you a ſorrowful remembrance of my words, and of your own unthankfulneſs. The *Peloponneſians* hearing thus much began to enter into better conſideration of the *Athenians*, whoſe affairs depended not, as they well perceived, upon ſo weak terms, that they ſhould be driven to crouch to others; but rather were ſuch, as might inforce the reſt to yield to them, and condeſcend even to the uttermoſt of their own demands.

For the *Athenians*, when they firſt embraced that Heroical reſolution of leaving their Grounds and Houſes to Fire and Ruine, if neceſſity ſhould inforce them ſo far, for the preſervation of their Liberty; did imploy the moſt of their private Wealth, and all the common Treaſure, in building a great Navy. By theſe means they hoped (which accordingly fell out) that no ſuch calamity ſhould befall them by Land, as might not well be counterpoiſed by great advantages at Sea: Knowing well, that a ſtrong Fleet would either procure Victory at Home, or a ſecure paſſage to any other Country. The other States of *Greece* held it ſufficient, if building a few new ſhips they did ſomewhat amend their Navy. Whereby it came to paſs, that, had they been vanquiſhed, they could not have expected any other fortune than either preſent death, or perpetual ſlavery; neither could they hope to be victorious without the aſſiſtance of the *Athenians*, whoſe forces by

Sea did equal all theirs together; the whole conſiſting of no more than three hundred and fourſcore bottoms. Wherefore theſe *Peloponneſians* beginning to ſuſpect their own condition, which would have ſtood upon deſperate points, if the Fleet of *Athens* had forſaken them; were ſoon perſwaded, by the greater fear of ſuch a bad event, to forget the leſſer, which they had conceived of the *Perſians*: and laying aſide their inſolent Bravery, they yielded to that moſt profitable Counſel of abiding at *Salamis*.

§. VI.

How the Perſians conſulted about giving battel: and how Themiſtocles *by policy held the Greeks to their reſolution; with the Victory at* Salamis *thereupon enſuing.*

IN the mean ſeaſon the *Perſians* had entred into conſultation, whether it were convenient to offer Battel to the *Greeks*, or no. The reſt of the Captains giving ſuch advice as they thought would beſt pleaſe the King their Maſter, had ſoon agreed upon the Fight: but *Artemiſia* Queen of *Halicarnaſſus*, who followed *Xerxes* to this War in perſon, was of a contrary Opinion. Her Counſel was, that the King himſelf directly ſhould march toward *Peloponneſus*, whereby it would come to paſs that the *Greek* Navy, (unable otherwiſe to continue long at *Salamis* for want of Proviſion) ſhould preſently be diſſevered, and every one ſeeking to preſerve his own City and Goods, they ſhould, being divided, prove unable to reſiſt him, who had won ſo far upon them when they held together. And as the profit will be great in forbearing to give Battel, ſo on the other ſide the danger will be more (ſaid ſhe) which we ſhall undergo, than any need requireth us to adventure upon; and the Loſs, in caſe it fall upon us, greater than the Profit of the Victory which we deſire. For if we compel the Enemies to fly, it is no more than they would have done, we ſitting ſtill; but if they, as better Sea-men than ours, put us to the worſt, the Journey to *Peloponneſus* is utterly daſht, and many that now declare for us, will ſoon revolt unto the *Greeks*. *Mardonius*, whom *Xerxes* had ſent for that purpoſe to the Fleet, related unto his Maſter the common Conſent of the other Captains, and withal, this diſagreeing Opinion of *Artemiſia*. The King well pleaſed with her Advice, yet reſolved upon following the more general, but far worſe Counſel of the reſt; which would queſtionleſs have been the ſame which *Artemiſia* gave, had not fear and flattery made all the Captains utter that as out of their own Judgment, which they thought moſt comfortable to their Princes determination. So it was indeed that *Xerxes* had entertained a vain perſwaſion of much good, that his own Preſence upon the Shore to behold the Conflict, would work among the Soldiers. Therefore he incamped upon the Sea-ſide, pitching his own Tent upon the Mount *Ægalens*, which is oppoſite unto the Iſle of *Salamis*, whence at eaſe he might ſafely view all which might happen in that Action, having Scribes about him to write down the Acts and Behaviour of every Captain. The near approach of the *Barbarians*, together with the News of that timorous Diligence, which their Countrimen ſhewed in fortifying the *Iſthmus*, and of a *Perſian* Army marching apace thither, did now again ſo terrifie and amaze the *Peloponneſians*, that no intreaty nor conteſtation would ſuffice to hold them together. For they thought it meer madneſs to fight for a Country already loſt, when they rather ſhould endeavour to ſave that which remained unconquered; propounding chiefly to themſelves what miſery would befall them, if loſing the Victory, they ſhould be driven into *Salamis*, there to be ſhut up, and beſieged round in a poor deſolate Iſland.

Hereupon they reſolved forthwith to ſet ſail for *Iſthmus*: which had preſently been done, if the Wiſdom of *Themiſtocles* had not prevented it. For he perceiving what a violent Fear had ſtopt up their ears againſt all good Counſel, did practiſe another courſe, and forthwith labour to prevent the execution of this unwholſome Decree; not ſuffering the very hour of performance to find him buſie in wrangling altercation. As ſoon as the Council brake up, he diſpatched ſecretly a truſty Gentleman to the *Perſian* Captains, informing them truly of the intended Flight, and exhorting them to ſend part of their Navy about the Iſland, which incompaſſing the *Greeks* might prevent their eſcape; giving them withal a falſe hope of his aſſiſtance. The *Perſians* no ſooner heard than believed theſe good news, well knowing that the Victory was their own aſſured, if the *Athenian* Fleet joyned with them, which they might eaſily hope, conſidering what ability their Maſter had to recompence for ſo doing, both the Captains with rich Rewards, and the People with reſtitution of their City and Territories. By theſe means it fell out, that when the *Greeks* very early in the Morning were about to weigh Anchor, they found themſelves incloſed round with *Perſians*, who had laboured hard all night, ſending many of their Ships about the Iſle of *Salamis*, to charge the Enemy in Rear, and landing many of their men in the Iſle of *Pſyttalea*, which lieth over againſt *Salamis*, to ſave ſuch of their own, and kill ſuch of the *Græcian* Party, as by any misfortune ſhould be caſt upon the Shore. Thus did meer neceſſity enforce the *Græcians* to undertake the Battel in the Straights of *Salamis*, where they obtained a memorable Victory, ſtemming the foremoſt of the Enemies, and chaſing the reſt, who falling foul one upon another, could neither conveniently fight nor fly. I do not find any particular occurrences in this great Battel to be much remarkable. Sure it is, that the Scribes of *Xerxes* had a wearieſome task of writing down many Diſaſters that befel the *Perſian* Fleet, which ill acquitted it ſelf that day, doing no one peece of Service worthy the Preſence of their King, or the regiſtring of his Notaries. As for the *Greeks*, they might well ſeem to have wrought out that Victory with equal Courage, were it not that the principal Honour of that day was aſcribed to thoſe of *Ægina*, and to the *Athenians*, of whom it is recorded, That when the *Barbarians* did fly towards *Phalerus*, where the Land-Army of *Xerxes* lay, the Ships of *Ægina* having poſſeſſed the Straights, did ſink or take them, whilſt the *Athenians* did valiantly give charge upon thoſe that kept the Sea, and made any countenance of reſiſting.

§. VIII.

§. VII.

Of things following after the Battel of Salamis: *and of the flight of* Xerxes.

After this Victory, the *Greeks* intending, by way of ſcrutiny, to determine which of the Captains had beſt merited of them, in all this great Service; every Captain, being ambitious of that Honour, did in the firſt place write down his own name, but in the ſecond place, as beſt deſerving next unto himſelf, almoſt every Suffrage did concur upon *Themiſtocles*. Thus private affection yielded unto vertue, as ſoon as her own turn was ſerved. The *Perſian* King, as not amazed with this Calamity, began to make new preparation for continuance of War; but in ſuch faſhion, that they which were beſt acquainted with his temper, might eaſily diſcern his faint heart, through his painted looks. Eſpecially *Mardonius*, Author of the War, began to caſt a wary Eye upon his Maſter, fearing leſt his Counſel ſhould be rewarded according to the event. Wherefore purpoſing rather to adventure his life in purſuit of the Victory, than to caſt it away by undergoing his Princes indignation; he adviſed the King to leave unto him three hundred thouſand men, with which Forces he promiſed to reduce all *Greece* under the ſubjection of the *Perſian* Scepter. Herewithall he forgot not to ſooth *Xerxes* with many fair words; telling him, that the cowardiſe of thoſe *Ægyptians*, *Phœnicians*, and *Cilicians*, with others of the like metal, nothing better than Slaves, who had ſo ill behaved themſelves in the late Sea-ſervice, did not concern his Honour, who had always been Victorious, and had already ſubdued the better part of *Greece*, yea, taken *Athens* it ſelf, againſt which the War was principally intended. Theſe words found very good acceptance in the Kings ear, who preſently betook himſelf to his Journey homewards, making the more haſt, for that he underſtood, how the *Greeks* had a purpoſe to ſail to *Helleſpont*, and there to break down his Bridge, and intercept his paſſage. True it was that the *Greeks* had no ſuch intent, but rather wiſhed his haſty departure, knowing that he would leave his Army not ſo ſtrong, as it ſhould have been, had he in perſon remained with it. And for this cauſe did *Eurybiades* give Counſel that by no means they ſhould attempt the breaking of that Bridge, leſt Neceſſity ſhould inforce the *Perſians* to take Courage, and rather to fight like Men, than die like Beaſts. Wherefore *Themiſtocles* did, under pretence of Friendſhip, ſend a falſe Advertiſement to this timorous Prince, adviſing him to convey himſelf into *Aſia* with all ſpeed, before his Bridge were diſſolved: which Counſel *Xerxes* took very kindly, and haſtily followed, as before is ſhewed. Whether it were ſo that he found the Bridge whole, and thereby repaſſed into *Aſia*; or whether it were torn in ſunder by Tempeſts, and he thereby driven to Embark himſelf in ſome obſcure Veſſel, it is not greatly material; though the *Greeks* did moſt willingly embrace the latter of theſe reports. Howſoever it were, this flight of his did well eaſe the Countrey; that was thereby disburdened of that huge throng of People, which as Locuſts, had before over-whelmed it.

§. VIII.

The Negotiations between Mardonius *and the* Athenians, *as alſo between the* Athenians *and* Lacedæmonians; *after the flight of* Xerxes.

Mardonius with his three hundred thouſand had with-drawn himſelf into *Theſſaly*, whence he ſent *Alexander*, the Son of *Amyntas* King of *Macedon*, as Embaſſador to the *Athenians*, with promiſe of large amends for all their loſſes received, and of extending their Territories as far as their own deſires; allowing them to retain their Liberty and Laws, if they would make Peace with *Xerxes*, and aſſiſt him in that War.

The *Athenians* had now re-entred their City, but not as yet brought back their Wives and Children; for as much as they well perceived that the place could not be ſecure, till the Army of *Mardonius* were broken and defeated. Wherefore the *Lacedæmonians*, underſtanding what fair Conditions this Embaſſador would propound, were perplexed with very great fear, leſt he ſhould find good and ready acceptance. Hereupon they likewiſe very ſpeedily diſpatched their Embaſſadors for *Athens*, who arriving, before the *Macedonian* had Audience, uſed the beſt of their perſwaſion to retain the *Athenians* firm. They alledged that neither *Xerxes* nor *Darius* had any pretence of War againſt the reſt of *Greece*, but had only threatned the ſubverſion of *Athens*, till they and all their Confederates Arming themſelves in defence of that City, were drawn into the Quarrel, wherein the *Athenians* without much cruelty of injuſtice could not leave them. We know, ſay they, that ye have endured great Calamities, loſing the Fruit of the Grounds, and being driven to forſake the Town, the Houſes whereof be ruined, and unfit for your Habitation; in regard whereof, we undertake to maintain as our own, your Wives and Children amongſt us, as long as the War ſhall continue, hoping that ye, who have always procured Liberty to others, will not now go about to bring all *Greece* into Slavery and Bondage. As for the *Barbarians*, their promiſes are large, but their words and oaths are of no aſſurance. It was needleſs to uſe many Arguments to the *Athenians*, who gave anſwer to *Alexander* in preſence of the *Spartan* Embaſſadors; That whileſt the Sun continued his courſe they would be Enemies to *Xerxes*, regarding neither Gold nor any Riches, with which he might ſeek to make purchaſe of their Liberty. Concerning the maintenance of their Wives and Children, it was a burden which they promiſed to ſuſtain themſelves, only deſiring the *Lacedæmonians*, that with all ſpeed they would cauſe their Army to march, for as much as it was not likely, that *Mardonius* would long ſit ſtill in *Theſſaly*, having once received ſuch a peremptory anſwer. In this their Opinion of *Mardonius* his readineſs to invade *Attica*, they found themſelves nothing deceived. For he, as ſoon as *Alexander* had returned their obſtinate purpoſe of reſiſtance, did forthwith lead his Army towards them, and their City: they having now the ſecond time quitted it, and conveyed themſelves into places of more ſecurity abroad in the Countrey, where they expected the arrival of their Confederates.

From *Athens* he ſent his Agent unto them with inſtructions, not only to perſwade them to acceptance of the Conditions before to them propounded, but with great promiſes to allure the principal of them to his party. His hope was that either

the People, wearied with forſaking their Houſes ſo often, would be deſirous to preſerve them from Fire, and to have thoſe which were already laid waſte, re-edified at the Kings charges: Or if this affection took no place with them, but that needs they would relie upon their old Confederates, whoſe ſuccours did very ſlowly advance forwards, yet perhaps the Leaders might be won with great Rewards, to draw them to his purpoſe; all which projects if they ſhould fail, the deſtruction of *Athens* would be a good mean to pleaſe his Maſter King *Xerxes*, who muſt thereby needs underſtand, that *Mardonius* kept his ground, and feared not to confront the whole power of *Greece*, in the ſtrongeſt part of their own Countrey. But his expectation was beguiled in all theſe. For the *Athenians* ſo little regarded his offers, that when one *Lycidas*, or (as *Demoſthenes* calls him) *Cyrſilus*, adviſed the *Senate* to accept the Conditions, and propound them to the People; all the *Senators*, and as many as abiding without the Council-houſe heard what he had ſaid, immediately ſet upon him, and ſtoned him to death; not examining whether it were fear or money, that had moved him to utter ſuch a vile ſentence. Yea, the Women of *Athens* in the Iſle of *Salamis*, hearing of his bad Counſel, and bad end, aſſembling together, did enter his Houſe there, and put his Wife and Children to the like Execution. All this bravery notwithſtanding, when they perceived the ſlackneſs of the *Peloponneſians* in giving them aid, they were fain to betake themſelves to *Salamis* again, the old place of their ſecurity. Remaining there, and ſeeing little forwardneſs in thoſe whom it moſt concerned to aſſiſt them, they ſent very ſevere Meſſages to *Sparta*, complaining of their ſlackneſs, and threatning withall, to take ſuch courſe as might ſtand beſt with their own good, ſeeing that the common eſtate of all was ſo little regarded. Theſe Meſſengers were at the firſt entertained with dilatory anſwers, which every day grew colder, when as the *Peloponneſian* Wall, builded athwart the *Iſthmus*, was almoſt finiſhed. But as the *Lacedæmonians* waxed careleſs and dull, ſo the *Athenians* hotly preſſed them to a quick reſolution, giving them plainly to underſtand, that if they ſhould hold on in thoſe dilatory courſes, it would not be long ere the City of *Athens* took a new courſe, that ſhould little pleaſe them. All this while the *Perſian* Fleet lay upon the Coaſt of *Aſia*, not daring to draw nearer unto *Greece*, as being now too weak at Sea. Likewiſe the *Greekiſh* Navy contained it ſelf within the Harbours upon *Europe* ſide; both to do ſervice where need ſhould require at home; and withall to ſhun the danger which might have befallen any part of it, that being diſtracted from the reſt had adventured over far. So mutual fear preſerved in quiet the Iſlands lying in the midſt of the *Ægæan* Seas. But it was well and ſeaſonably obſerved by a Counſellor of *Sparta*, that the Wall upon *Iſthmus* would ſerve to little purpoſe for the defence of *Peloponneſus*, if once the *Athenians* gave ear to *Mardonius*: conſidering that many doors would be opened into that Demi-Iſland, as ſoon as the Enemy ſhould by winning the Friendſhip of *Athens*, become the Maſter of the Seas about it. The *Lacedæmonians* upon this admonition, making better peruſal of their own dangers, were very careful to give ſatisfaction to the *Athenian* Embaſſadors, who not brooking their delays, were upon point of taking leave, yea, as it ſeemed, of renouncing their Alliance. Wherefore diſpatching away five thouſand *Spartans* in the Evening, under conduct of *Pauſanias*; they gave Audience the next day to the Embaſſadors, whoſe complaints they anſwered with vehement proteſtations of their readineſs; deeply ſwearing that the Army of *Sparta* was already far upon the Journey; and giving them leave to take up other five thouſand *Lacedæmonians*, out of the Region adjoyning, to follow after them.

The *Athenians*, though diſtaſting ſuch want of gravity, in a matter ſo important, were nevertheleſs contented with the final concluſion; and levying the number appointed of *Lacedæmonian* Souldiers, made what haſte they could to encamp in *Atticæ*. The other *Grecians* were nothing ſlack in ſending forth Companies, whoſe near approach cauſed *Mardonius* to forſake *Attica* as a rough Countrey, and therefore of much diſadvantage to Horſe, wherein conſiſted the beſt of his power. Before his departure he burnt the City of *Athens*, beating down the Walls of it, and ruining all that had formerly eſcaped the fury of War.

§. IX.

The great Battel of Platææ.

IT were too long a rehearſal to ſhew all that happened in many Skirmiſhes between the *Greeks* and him, in the Countrey of *Bœotia*, which *Mardonius* had choſen to be the ſeat of that War. Much time was ſpent before the Quarrel was decided by tryal of one main Battel: for both parties did ſtand upon their guard, each expecting when the other ſhould aſſail them.

The Army of *Mardonius* contained about three hundred thouſand, which were by him choſen out of *Xerxes* his Army; to whom were adjoined the Forces of *Thebes*, *Macedony*, *Theſſaly*, and other parts of *Greece*, that now ſiding with the *Perſian*, furniſhed his Camp with fifty thouſand men. Againſt theſe the *Lacedæmonians*, *Athenians*, and their Confederates, had levied an Army of one hundred and ten thouſand, of which forty thouſand were waightily Armed, the reſt were only Aſſiſtants to theſe forty thouſand, being Armed more ſlightly, as rather to make excurſions and give chaſe, than to ſuſtain any ſtrong charges.

Theſe two Armies having eleven days confronted one the other, without performing any memorable piece of Service; *Mardonius*, whoſe Victuals began to fail, reſolved to begin the fray. The *Greeks* were promiſed Victory by an *Oracle*, if they fought in the Land of the *Athenians*, and in the Plain of *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*, making Prayers unto certain Gods, Demi-Gods, and Nymphs. But it was hard to find the certain place which the *Oracle* deſigned. For the Plain of *Ceres* was indeed in the Territory of *Athens*; but there was alſo an old Temple of *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*, near unto the place where they lay at that time encamped, as likewiſe the memorials of thoſe Nymphs, and Demi-Gods, were in the ſame place, upon Mount *Cithæron*, and the ground ſerved well for foot-men againſt Horſe; only the Land belonged unto the *Platæans*, and not unto the *Athenians*.

Whileſt the *Greeks* were perplexed about the Interpretation of this doubtful *Oracle*, the *Platæans*, to make all clear, did freely beſtow their Land on that ſide the Town upon the *Athenians*.

This Magnificence of the *Platæans* cauſed *Alexander* the Great, many Ages after, to re-edifie their City, which was ruined in the *Peloponneſian* Wars.

All things being ready for Battel; the *Lacedæmonian* General thought it moſt meet, that the *Athenians* ſhould ſtand oppoſite that day to the *Medes* and *Perſians*, whom they had formerly vanquiſhed

vanquished at *Marathon*; and that he, with his *Spartans*, should entertain the *Thebans* and other *Greeks* which followed *Mardonius*, as better acquainted with their fight, and having beaten them often-times before. This being agreed upon, the *Athenians* changed place with the *Lacedæmonians*; which *Mardonius* understanding (whether fearing the *Athenians*, of whose Valour the *Medes* and *Persians* had felt heavy proof, or desiring to encounter the *Spartans*, as thinking them the bravest Souldiers of *Greece*) he did also change the order of his Battel, and oppose himself to *Pausanias*. All the *Greeks* might well perceive how the Enemy did shift his wings, and *Pausanias* thereupon returned to his former Station; which *Mardonius* noting, did also the like. So one whole day was spent in changing to and fro. Some attempt the *Persians* made that day with their Archers on Horse-back, who did so molest the *Greeks* at their Watering-place, that they were fain to enter into consultation of retiring; because they could not without much loss to themselves, and none to the Enemy, lie near to that Fountain which did serve all the Camp. Having therefore concluded among themselves to dislodge; and part of the Army being sent away before day-light: *Mardonius* perceived their departure in the Morning, and thereupon being encouraged by their flight, (which to him seemed to proceed out of meer Cowardise) he charged them in the Rear with great violence. It may well be recorded as a notable example of patient Valour, That the *Lacedæmonians* being over-taken by the Enemies Horse, and over-whelmed with great flights of Arrows, did quietly sit still, not making any resistance or defence, till the Sacrifices for Victory were happily ended, though many of them were hurt and slain, and some of special mark lost, before any sign of good success appeared in the entrails.

But as soon as *Pausanias* had found in the Sacrifice those tokens, which the Superstition of that Age and Countrey accounted fortunate; he gave the Signal of Battel: and thereupon the Souldiers, who till then did sit upon the ground, as was their manner, arose altogether, and with excellent courage received the charge of the *Barbarians*, that came thronging upon them without any fear of such notable resistance. The rest of the *Greek* Army that was in march, being revoked by *Pausanias*, came in a-pace to succour the *Lacedæmonians*: only that part of the Army which was led by the *Athenians*, could not arrive unto the place of the great Battel, because the *Thebans*, and other *Greeks* confederated with the *Persians*, gave them check by the way. Nevertheless, the *Spartans*, with other their Assistants, did so well acquit themselves, that the *Persians* were vanquished, and *Mardonius* with many thousands more slain in the Field; the rest fled into the Camp, which they had fortified with wooden Walls, and there defended themselves with such Courage as desperate Necessity enforced them unto, holding out the longer, because the *Lacedæmonians* were not acquainted with the manner of Assaulting Fortresses, and Walls. In the mean season the *Athenians*, having found strong opposition of the *Thebans* and *Thessalians*, did with much labour and courage obtain Victory; which having not long pursued, they came to help the *Lacedæmonians*, whom they found wearily busied in Assaulting the Camp, with more Valour than Skill. Wherefore they themselves undertook it, and in short space forced a passage through the Wall, at which breach first, and then on all sides, the *Greeks* entred, with such fury, and just desire of vengeance, that of three hundred thousand they are said not to have left three thousand alive, excepting those who fled away with *Artabazus*, when the *Persian* Army first fell to rout.

If the execution were so great, as is reported, an especial cause of it was the foolish retreat, or rather flight into the Camp. For though it were so, that the place was well fortified, and the number of those who cast themselves into it, greater than of the Assailants; yet they being of several Nations and Languages, and having lost their General with other principal Commanders, it was impossible that they in such a terror and astonishment should make good that piece of ground, lying in the heart of an Enemies Countrey, against an Army of men far more Valiant than themselves, and inflamed with present Victory. Therefore the same Wall which for a few hours had preserved their lives, by holding out the Enemy, did now impale them, and leave them to the slaughtering fury of unpitiful Victors. *Artabazus* fled into *Thrace*, telling the People of *Thessaly*, and other Countries in his way, That he was sent by *Mardonius* upon some piece of Service: For he well knew, that had they understood any thing of that great discomfiture, all places would have been Hostile unto him, and sought with his ruine to purchase favour of the vanquishers. Therefore making so large Marches, that many of his Souldiers being feeble were left behind and lost, he came to *Byzantium*, whence he shipped his men over into *Asia*. Such was the end of the vain-glorious expedition, undertaken by *Xerxes* against the *Greeks*, upon hope of Honour, and great Conquest; though forting otherwise, accordingly as *Artabazus* had fore-seen, and rather worse, for as much as it began the Quarrel, which never ended, before the ruine of the *Persian* Empire was effected, by that Nation of the *Greeks* despised and sought to have been brought into Slavery. Hereby it may seem, that the Vision appearing to *Xerxes*, was from God himself, who had formerly disposed of those things, ordaining the subversion of the *Persian* Monarchy by the *Greeks*, who thus provoked, entred into greater consideration of their own strength, and the weakness of their Enemies.

§. X.

The Battel of Mycale, *with a strange Accident that fell out in the beginning of it: and Examples of the like.*

THE same day on which the Battel was fought at *Platæa*, there was another Battel fought at *Mycale*, a Promontory, or Head-land in *Asia*, where the *Persian* Fleet rode.

Leutychides the *Spartan*, with *Xantippus* the *Athenian*, Admirals of the *Greek* Navy, at the request of some Islanders and *Ionians*, did sail into those parts, to deliver the *Samians*, and procure the *Ionians* to revolt from the *Persian*. *Xerxes* himself at this time lay at *Sardis*, a City in *Lydia*, not far from the Sea-side, having left threescore thousand under the Command of *Tigranes*, for defence of *Ionia* and the Sea-coast. Therefore when *Artayntes* and *Ithramitres*, Admirals of the *Persian* Fleet, understood that the *Greeks* bent their course towards them; they did forth-with draw their Ships a ground, fortifying with *Palissadoes* and otherwise, as much ground as did seem needful for the encamping of all their Land and Sea-forces. *Leutychides* at his arrival, perceiving that they meant to keep within their strength, and resolving to force them out of it, rowed with his Gally close aboard

the

the Shore, and called upon the *Ionians* (who more for fear than good will were encamped among the *Persians*) exhorting them in the *Greek* Tongue to remember Liberty, and use the fair occasion which they now had to recover it. Herein he did imitate *Themistocles*, who had done the like at *Eubœa*; trusting that either these perswasions would prevail; or if the *Persians* did happen to understand them, that it would breed some jealosie in them, causing them to fight in fear of their own Companions. It need not seem strange, that this very same stratagem, which little or nothing availed *Themistocles*, did now very happily succeed. For *Xerxes* being in his full strength, it was a matter of much difficulty, to perswade those Inhabitants of *Asia* to revolt; who now, in his declining Estate, gave a willing ear to the sweet sound of Liberty. The *Persians* likewise, who in their former Bravery, little regarded, and less feared any Treason, to be contrived by their Subjects, were now so wary, that from the *Samians*, which were amongst them, they took away their Arms; the *Milesians*, whom they did suspect, but would not seem to mistrust, they placed far from them, as it were for defence of the straight Passages of *Mycale*; pretending that these *Milesians* did best of all others know those places. But these devices little availed them. For the *Samians* perceiving that they were held as Traitors, took courage in the heat of the Fight, and laying hold upon such Weapons as came to hand, assailed the *Persians* manfully within the Camp; which example the *Ionians* presently followed, being very glad to have found some that durst begin. It is said, that whilst the *Greeks* were yet in march towards the Enemies Camp, a Rumor suddenly ran in the Army that *Mardonius* was overthrown in *Greece*, which (though perhaps it was given out by the Captains to encourage the Soldiers) was very true. For the Battle of *Platæa* was fought in the morning, and this of *Mycale* in the evening of the same day.

The like report, of that great Battel, wherein *Paulus Æmilius* overthrew *Perseus* the last King of *Macedon*, was brought to *Rome* in four days, as *Livie* with others do record. And *Plutarch* hath many other examples of this kind. As that of the Battel by the River *Sagra* in *Italy*, which was heard of the same day in *Peloponnesus*: That of the Battel against the *Tarquinians* and the *Latines*, presently noised at *Rome*: And (which is most remarkable) the Victory obtained against *Lucius Antonius*, who was Rebel to *Domitian* the Emperor. This *Lucius Antonius* being Lievtenant of the higher *Germany*, had corrupted his Army with gifts and promises, drawing the barbarous people to follow him, with great hope to make himself Emperor; which news much troubling the City of *Rome*, with fear of a dangerous War; it was suddainly reported that *Antonius* was slain, and his Army defeated.

Hereupon many did offer sacrifice to the Gods, and shew all manner of publick joy, as in such cases was accustomed. But when better inquiry was made, and the Author of these tidings could not be found, the Emperor *Domitian* betook himself to his Journey against the Rebel; and being with his Army in March, he received advertisment by Post, of the Victory obtained, and the death of *Antonius*: whereupon remembring the Rumour noised before in *Rome*, of the self same Victory, he found that the Report and Victory were born upon one day, though twenty thousand Furlongs (which make about five and twenty hundred Miles) asunder. It is truly said of *Plutarch*, that this last example gives credit unto many the like. And indeed it were very strange, if among so many Rumours, begotten by forgery or mistakings, and fostered by credulous imagination, there should not be found (as happens in Dreams among many thousand vain and frivolous) a few precisely true. Howbeit we may find, that God himself doth sometimes use to terrifie those who presume upon their own strength, by these light means of tumultuous Noises; as he raised the Siege of *Samaria*, by causing a sound of Horses and Chariots to affright the *Aramites*; and as he threatned *Senacherib*, saying: *Behold, I will send a blast upon him, and he shall hear a noise, and return to his own Land.* Wherefore it may well have been true, that God was pleased by such a mean as this, to animate the *Greeks*; who (as *Herodotus* notes) went towards the Enemies with heavy hearts, being in great fear, least their own adventure should by no means fall out well; considering in what danger they had left their Country of *Greece*, which was ready to be subdued by *Mardonius*, whilst they went wandering to seek out Enemies afar off, upon the Coast of *Asia*. But the fame of the Battel fought at *Platææ* being noised among them; every man desired that his own Valour in the present Fight, might be some help to work out the full deliverance of *Greece*. In this alacrity of spirit, they divided themselves into two Battalions, whereof the *Athenians* led the one, by the way of the plain, directly towards the Enemies Camp; the *Lacedæmonians* conducted the other, by the Mountains and straight Passages, to win the higher Ground. The *Athenians* did first set upon the Camp (ere the *Lacedæmonians* could arrive on the other part) and being desirous to get all the honour of the day to themselves, did so forcibly assault it, that they brake way through the Palisadoes and Gabions, and made themselves Masters of the Place, slaying all that could not save themselves by flight. In this Fight the *Samians* did good Service, as is formerly mentioned. Isa. 37. 7.

But the *Milesians*, who upon the like jealousie, were placed by the *Persians* on the tops of *Mycale*, to defend the Passages; did now (as if they had been set on purpose to keep them from running away) put as many to the Sword as fell into their hands, letting none escape, except a very few, that fled through by-paths. The *Lacedæmonians* that day did little service, for the business was dispatched ere they came in: Only they broke such Companies as retired in whole Troops; making them fly dispersed in very much disorder, whereby the *Milesians* were enabled to do the greater execution upon them. This was the last Fight of that huge Army levied against *Greece*, which was now utterly broken, and had no means left to make offensive War.

§. XI.

Of the barbarous quality of Xerxes: *with a transition from the Persian Affairs, to matters of* Greece, *which from this time grew more worthy of regard.*

Xerxes lay at *Sardis*, not far from the place of this Battel; but little mind had he to revenge either this or other his great Losses, being wholly given over to the love of his Brothers Wife: with whom, when he could not prevail by intreaty, nor would obtain his desire by force, because he respected much his Brother her Husband, he thought it best to make a Match between his own Son *Darius* and the Daughter of this Woman; hoping by that means to find occasion of such familiarity

miliarity, as might work out his Desire. But whether it were so, that the Chastity of the Mother did still reject him, or the Beauty of her Daughter allure him; he soon after fell in love with his own Sons Wife, being a vitious Prince, and as ill able to govern himself in Peace, as to guide his Army in War. This young Lady having once desired the King to give her the Garment which he then wore, being wrought by his own Wife; caused the Queen thereby to perceive her Husbands Conversation with her, which she imputed not so much to the Beauty of her Daughter-in-law, as to the Cunning of the Mother, against whom thereupon she conceived extream hatred. Therefore at a Royal Feast, wherein the Custom was that the King should grant every Request, she craved that the Wife of *Masistes*, her Husbands Brother, the young Ladies Mother, might be given into her Disposition. The barbarous King, who might either have reformed the Abuse of such a Custom, or have deluded the importunate Cruelty of his Wife, by threatning her self with the like, to whatsoever she should inflict upon the innocent Lady, granted the Request, and sending for his Brother perswaded him to put away the Wife which he had, and take one of his Daughters in her stead. Hereby it seems, that he understood how villanously that poor Lady should be intreated, whom he knew to be vertuous, and whom himself had loved. *Masistes* refused to put her away; alledging his own Love, her deserving, and their common Children, one of which was married to the Kings Son, as reasons important to move him to keep her. But in most wicked mannan *Xerxes* reviled him; saying, That he now should neither keep the Wife which he had, nor have his Daughter whom he had promised unto him. *Masistes* was much grieved with these words, but much more, when returning Home, he found his Wife most butcherly mangled by the Queen *Amestris*, who had caused her Nose, Lips, Ears, and Tongue to be cut off, and her Breasts in like manner, which were cast unto Dogs. *Masistes* enraged with this Villany, took his way with his Children, and some Friends, towards *Bactria*, of which Province he was Governour, intending to rebel and avenge himself. But *Xerxes* understanding his purpose, caused an Army to be levied, which cut him off by the way, putting him and all his Company to the Sword. Such was the tyrannical condition of the *Persian* Government; and such are generally the effects of Luxury, when it is joyned with absolute Power.

Yet of *Xerxes* it is noted, that he was a Prince of much Virtue. And therefore *Alexander* the Great, finding an Image of his overthrown, and lying upon the Ground, said, That he doubted, whether, in regard of his Virtue, he should again erect it, or, for the Mischief done by him to *Greece*, should let it lye. But surely whatsoever his other good qualities were, he was fooliſh, and was a Coward, and consequently merciless.

Therefore we may firmly believe, that the Virtue of *Cyrus* was very great, upon which the foundation of the *Persian* Empire was so surely laid, that all the Wickedness and Vanities of *Xerxes*, and other worse Princes, could not overthrow it, until it was broken by a Virtue almost equal to that which did establish it. In Wars against the *Ægyptians*, the Fortune of *Xerxes* did continue, as at the first it had been very good; but against the general Estate of *Greece*, neither he, nor any of his Posterity, did ever make offensive War, but received many losses in *Asia*, to which the last at *Mycale* served but as an Introduction; teaching the *Greeks*, and especially the *Athenians*, that the *Persian* was no better Soldier at his own doors, than in a forraign Country: whereof good trial was made forthwith, and much better proof as soon as the Affairs of *Athens* were quietly setled and assured.

From this time forward I will therefore pursue the History of *Greece*, taking in the matters of *Persia*, as also the Estate of other Countries, collaterally, when the order of time shall present them. True it is, that the *Persian* Estate continued in her Greatness many Ages following, in such wise, that the known parts of the World had no other Kingdom representing the Majesty of a great Empire.

But this greatness depended only upon the Riches and Power that had formerly been acquired, yielding few actions or none that were worthy of remembrance, excepting some Tragedies of the Court, and examples of that excessive Luxury, wherewith both it, and all, or the most of Empires that ever were, have been enervated, made unweildy, and (as it were) fatned for the hungry Swords of poor and hardy Enemies. Hereby it came to pass, that *Xerxes* and his Successors were fain to defend their Crowns with money and base Policies; very seldom or never (unless it were with great advantage) daring to adventure the trial of plain Battel with that little Nation of *Greece*, which would soon have ruined the foundations laid by *Cyrus*, had not private Malice and Jealousie urged every City to envy the height of her Neighbours Walls, and thereby diverted the Swords of the *Greeks* into their own Bowels, which after the departure of *Xerxes* began very well, and might better have continued to hew out the way of Conquest on the side of *Asia*.

CHAP.

Chap. VII.

Of things that passed in Greece *from the end of the* Persian *War to the beginning of the* Peloponnesian.

§. I.

How Athens *was rebuilt and fortified.*

After that the *Medes* and *Persians* had received their last Blow, and were utterly beaten at *Mycale*: *Leotychides*, who then commanded the *Græcian* Army, leaving the pursuit of the War to the *Athenians*, assisted by the revolted *Iones*, returned with the *Lacedemonians* and other *Peloponnesians* to *Sparta*, and other places, out of which they had been levied. The *Athenians* in the mean while besieged *Sestos*, a City on the Straight of the *Hellespont*, between which and *Abydus*, *Xerxes* had lately fastned his Bridge of Boats: where the Inhabitants, desperate of succour, did not long dispute the defence thereof, but quitted it to the *Greeks*, who entertained themselves the Winter following on that side the *Hellespont*. In the Spring they drew homeward, and having left their Wives and Children, since the Invasion of *Attica*, and the abandonning of *Athens*, in divers Islands, and at *Troezen*, they now found them out, and returned with them to their own places.

And though the most part of all their Houses in *Athens* were burnt and broken down, and the Walls of the City over-turned, yet they resolved first on their common defence, and to fortifie their City, before they cared to cover themselves, their Wives and Children, with any private Buildings: Whereof the *Lacedæmonians* being advertised, and misliking the fortifying of *Athens*, both in respect that their own City of *Sparta* was unwalled, as also because the *Athenians* were grown more powerful by Sea, than either themselves or any other State of *Greece*, they dispatched Messengers to the *Athenians* to dissuade them; not acknowledging any private misslike or jealousie, but pretending, that if the *Persians* should return to invade *Greece* a third time, the *Athenians* being in no better state to defend themselves than heretofore, the same would serve to receive their Enemies, and to be made a Seat for the War, as *Thebes* had lately been. To this the *Athenians* promised to give them satisfaction by their own Embassadors very speedily. But being resolved to go on with their Works by the advice of *Themistocles*, they held the *Lacedæmonians* in hope of the contrary, till they had raised their Walls to that height, as they cared not for their misslikes, nor doubted their disturbance; and therefore (to gain time) they dispatched *Themistocles* towards *Lacedæmon*, giving him for excuse, that he could not deliver the *Athenians* resolutions, till the arrival of his Fellow-Commissioners, who were of purpose retarded. But after a while, the *Lacedæmonians* expectation being converted into jealousie (for by the arrival of divers persons out of *Attica*, they were told for certain, That the Walls of *Athens* were speedily grown up beyond expectation) *Themistocles* prayed them not to believe Reports and vain Rumors, but that they would be pleased to send some of their own trusty Citizens to *Athens*, from whose Relation they might resolve themselves, and determine accordingly. Which requeſt being granted, and Commissioners sent, *Themistocles* dispatched one of his own, by whom he advised the *Athenians*, first to entertain the *Lacedæmonians* with some such discourse as might retain them a few days, and in conclusion to hold them among them till himself and the other *Athenian* Embassadors, then at *Sparta*, had their Liberty also to return. Which done, and being also assured by his Associates and *Aristides*, that *Athens* was already defensible on all parts, *Themistocles* demanding audience, made the *Lacedæmonians* know, That it was true, that the Walls of *Athens* were now raised to that height, as the *Athenians* doubted not the defence of their City; praying the *Lacedæmonians* to believe, That whensoever it pleased them to treat with the *Athenians*, they would know them for such, as right well understood what appertained to a Common-weal and their own Safety, without direction and advice from any other: That they had in the War of *Xerxes* abandoned their City, and committed themselves to the woodden Walls of their Ships, from the resolution of their own Counsels and Courage, and not thereto taught or perswaded by others: and finally, in all that perillous War against the *Persians*, they found their own Judgments, and the execution thereof in nothing inferior, or less fortunate, than that of any other Nation, State, or Common-wealth among the *Greeks*; and therefore concluded, that they determined to be Masters and Judges of their own Affairs, and thought it good reason, that either all the Cities confederated within *Greece* should be left open, or else that the Wall of *Athens* should be finished and maintained.

The *Lacedæmonians* finding the time unfit for quarrel, dissembled their misslike, both of the fortifying of *Athens*, and of the Division, and so suffered the *Athenians* to depart, and received back from them their own Embassadors.

The Walls of *Athens* finished, they also fortified the Port *Pyreus*, by which they might under covert imbark themselves upon all occasions.

§. II.

The beginning of the Athenian *greatness, and prosperous Wars made by that State upon the* Persian.

The *Athenians* having setled things in good order at Home, prepared thirty Gallies for the pursuit of the War against the *Persians*, to which the *Lacedæmonians* added other twenty; and with this Fleet, strengthened by the rest of the Cities of *Greece* confederated, they set sail for *Cypres*, under the conduct of *Pausanias* the *Lacedæmonian*; where after their landing, having possest themselves of many principal places, they imbarked the Army again, and took land in *Thrace*, recovering from the *Persians* by force the City *Byzantium*, now *Constantinople*:

ſtantinople: from whence, *Pauſanias* behaving himſelf more like a Tyrant than a Captain, eſpecially towards the *Ionians*, lately revolted from *Xerxes*, was called back by the Council of *Lacedæmon*, and not only accuſed of many inſolent Behaviors, but of Intelligence with the *Medes*, and Treaſon againſt his Country. In his ſtead they imployed *Dorcis*, who either gave the ſame cauſe of offence, or elſe the *Athenians*, who affected the firſt Commandment in that War, practiſed the Souldiers to complain; though indeed the wiſe and vertuous Behaviour of *Ariſtides*, General of the *Athenian* Forces, a man of rare and incomparable ſincerity, had been able to make a good Commander ſeem ill in compariſon of himſelf; and therefore was much more available in rendring thoſe deteſted, whoſe Vices afforded little matter of excuſe. Howſoever it were, the *Lacedæmonians* being no leſs weary of the War, than the *Athenians* were eager to purſue it, the one obtained their Eaſe, and the other the Execution and Honor, which they deſired: for all the *Greeks* (thoſe of *Peloponneſus* excepted) willingly ſubjected themſelves to the Commandment of the *Athenians*, which was both the beginning of their Greatneſs in that preſent Age, and of their Ruine in the next ſucceeding. For the charge of the War being now committed unto them, they began to rate the confederated Cities, they appointed Receivers and Treaſurers, and began to levy Money according to their Diſcretion, for the Maintenance of the general Defence of *Greece*, and for the recovering of thoſe places on *Europe* ſide, in *Aſia* the leſs, and the Iſlands, from the *Perſians*. This Tribute (the firſt that was ever paid by the *Greeks*) amounted to four hundred and threeſcore Talents, which was raiſed eaſily by the honeſt care of that juſt man *Ariſtides*, to whoſe diſcretion all the Confederates referred themſelves, and no one man found occaſion to complain of him. But as the Vertue of *Ariſtides*, and other worthy Citizens, brought unto the *Athenians* great Commodity; ſo the deſire which they conceived of encreaſing their Commodity, corrupted their Vertue, and robbing them of the general Love which had made them powerful, abandoned their City to the defence of her Treaſure, which with her in the next Age periſhed. For it was not long ere theſe four hundred and threeſcore Talents were raiſed to ſix hundred, nor long after that, ere their covetous Tyranny had converted their Followers into Slaves, and extorted from them yearly thirteen hundred Talents. The Iſle of *Delos* was at the firſt appointed for the Treaſure-houſe wherein theſe Sums were laid up; and where, at the general Aſſembly, the Captains of thoſe Forces, ſent by the Confederates, were for Form ſake called to Conſultation. But the *Athenians*, who were ſtronger by Sea than all *Greece* beſides, had lockt up the common Treaſure in an Iſland under their own Protection, from whence they might tranſport it at their pleaſure, as afterward they did.

The general Commander in this War, was *Cimon* the Son of *Miltiades*, who firſt took *Eiona*, upon the River *Strimon*; then the Iſle of *Sciros*, inhabited by the *Dolopes*: they maſtered the *Cariſtij*, and brought into ſervitude the *Naxij*, contrary to the form of the Confederacy: So did they other the Inhabitants of *Greece*, if at any time they failed of their Contribution, or diſobeyed their Commandments; taking upon them and uſurping a kind of ſovereign Authority over the reſt: which they exerciſed the more aſſuredly, becauſe they were now become Lords of the Sea, and could not be reſiſted. For many of the confederated Cities and Nations, weary of the War in their own Perſons, and given up altogether to their eaſe, made choice rather to pay their parts in Money, than either in Men of War, or in Ships; leaving the proviſion of both to the *Athenians*. Hereby the one grew weak in all their Sea-defences, and in the exerciſe of the Wars; the other greatly ſtrengthened their Navy and their Experiences, being always armed and employed in Honourable Services, at the coſt of thoſe, who having lifted them into their Saddles, were now enforced to become their foot-men. Yet was the Tribute-money, levied upon theſe their Confederates, employed ſo well by the *Athenians* at the firſt (as ill proceedings are often founded upon good beginnings) that no great cauſe of repining was given. For they rigged out a great Fleet of Gallies, very well Manned, wherewith *Cimon* the Admiral ſcouring the *Aſiatick* Seas, took in the City of *Phaſelis*; which having formerly pretended Neutrality, and refuſed to relieve, or any way aſſiſt the *Greeks*, were enforced to pay ten Talents for a Fine, and ſo to become followers of the *Athenians*, paying yearly contribution.

From thence he ſet Sail for the River *Eurymedon* in *Pamphylia*, where the *Perſian* Fleet rode, being of ſix hundred Sail, or (according to the moſt ſparing report) three hundred and fifty; and having a great Land-Army, encamped upon the ſhoar: All which Forces having been provided for advancing the Kings affairs in *Greece*, were utterly defeated in one day, and two hundred Ships taken by the *Athenians*, the reſt being broken to pieces, or ſunk, ere ever they had ſwam in the *Greekiſh* Seas. *Cimon* having in one day obtained two great Victories, the one by Sea, and the other by Land, was very ſoon preſented with a third. For fourſcore Sail of *Phœnicians* (who were the beſt of all Sea-men, under the *Perſian* Command) thinking to have joyned themſelves with the Fleet before deſtroyed, arrived upon the ſame Coaſt, ignorant of what had paſſed, and fearing nothing leſs than what enſued. Upon the firſt notice of their approach *Cimon* weighed Anchor, and meeting them at an Head-Land, called *Hydra*, did ſo amaze them, that they only ſought to run themſelves on ground; by which means preſerving few of their Men, they loſt all their Ships. Theſe loſſes did ſo break the Courage of the *Perſian*, that, omitting all hope of prevailing upon *Greece*, he condeſcended to whatſoever Articles it pleaſed the *Athenians* to propound, granting liberty unto all the *Greeks* inhabiting *Aſia*; and further Covenanting, That none of his Ships of War ſhould ſail to the Weſtward of the Iſles, called *Cyaneæ* and *Chelidoniæ*.

This was the moſt Honourable Peace that ever the *Greeks* made; neither did they in effect, after this time, make any War that redounded to the profit or glory of the whole Nation, till ſuch time as, under *Alexander*, they overthrew the Empire of *Perſia*; in which War few, or perhaps none of them, had any place of great Command, but ſerved altogether under the *Macedonians*.

§. III.

The Death of Xerxes *by the Treaſon of* Artabanus.

BEſides theſe loſſes, which could not eaſily have been repaired, the troubles of the Empire were at this time ſuch, as gave juſt cauſe to the *Perſian* of ſeeking Peace upon any terms not altogether intolerable. For *Artabanus*, the Uncle of *Xerxes*, perceiving that the King his Maſter did

easily take small occasions to shed the Bloud of such, as in Kindred or Place were near unto him, began to repose less hope of safety in remaining faithful, than of obtaining the Sovereignty, by destroying a Prince that was so hated for his Cruelty, and despised for his Cowardice and Misfortunes. Having conceived this Treason, he found means to execute it by *Mithridates* an Eunuch, in such close manner, that (as if he himself had been innocent) he accused *Darius* the Son of *Xerxes*, and caused him to suffer Death as a Parricide. Whether it be true, that by this great Wickedness he got the Kingdom, and held it seven Months; or whether intending the like evil to *Artaxerxes* the Son of *Xerxes*, he was by him prevented and surprized, it were hard to affirm any certainty. But all Writers agree upon this, That taken he was, and with his whole Family put to Death by extream Torments, according to the sentence, whereof the truth is more ancient than the Verse.

Raro antecedentem scelestum
Deseruit pede pœna claudo.

Seldom the Villain, though much haste he make,
Lame-footed Vengeance fails to overtake.

§. IV.

The Banishment of Themistocles: *His flight to* Artaxerxes *newly reigning in* Persia; *and his Death.*

ARtaxerxes being established in his Kingdom, and having so compounded with the *Athenians*, as the present necessity of his affairs required, began to conceive new hopes of better fortune against the *Greeks*, than he or his Predecessors had ever hitherto found. For the People of *Athens*, when the *Persians* were chased out of *Greece*, did so highly value their own merits in that service, that they not only thought it fit for themselves to become the Commanders over many Towns and Islands of the *Greeks*, but, even within their own Walls, they would admit none other form of Government than meerly *Democratical*. Herein they were so insolent, that no integrity nor good desert was able to preserve the Estate of any such as had born great Office, longer than, by flattering the rascal multitude, he was contented to frame all his words and deeds to their good liking.

This their intolerable demeanor much offended *Themistocles*; who, though in former times he had laid the foundations of his greatness upon Popularity, yet now presuming upon his good services done to the State, he thought that with great reason they might grant him the liberty to check their inordinate proceedings. But contrariwise, they were so highly offended with his often rehearsing the benefits which they had received from him, that they laid upon him the punishment of *Ostracism*, whereby he was Banished for ten years, as a man over-burthensome to the Common-wealth.

Before the time of his return was half expired, a new Accusation was brought against him by the *Lacedæmonians*, who charged him of consulting with *Pausanias*, about betraying the whole Country of *Greece* unto *Xerxes*. Hereupon *Themistocles* finding no place of security against the malice of two such mighty Cities, was driven, after many troublesom flights, and dangerous removings, to adventure himself into *Persia*; where he found *Artaxerxes* newly settled, and was by him very honourably entertained. But the great hope which *Artaxerxes* had conceived of advancing his Affairs by the Counsel and Assistance of *Themistocles*, proved altogether fruitless. For when the *Athenians*, in favour of *Inarus* the *Lybian*, (who infested *Ægypt*, causing it to rebel against the *Persian*) had sent a Fleet to Sea, landing an Army in *Ægypt*, and scowring those Eastern Seas, to the great hindrance of *Artaxerxes*, and (for ought that I can understand) to the manifest breach of that Peace, which to their great Honour they had concluded with *Xerxes*; then did the King send his Letters to *Themistocles*, requiring him to make good the hopes which he had given, of assuring the *Persian* estate against the *Greeks*.

But whether *Themistocles* perceived much unlikelines of good success, in leading a great Army of dastardly *Persians* against the Warlike People of *Greece*; or else (as in favour of his vertue it is more commonly reported) the love of his Country would not permit him to seek Honour by the ruine of it: sure it is, that being appointed by *Artaxerxes* to undertake the conduct of great Forces against the *Athenians*, he decided the great conflict between thankfulness to his well-deserving Prince, and natural affection to his own ill-deserving People, by finishing his life with a cup of Poison.

§. V.

How the Athenians, *breaking the Peace, which to their great Honour they had made with the* Persian, *were shamefully beaten in* Ægypt.

THen was *Artaxerxes* driven to use the service of his own Captains in the *Ægyptian* War, wherein it appeared well, That a just cause is a good defence against a strong Enemy. An *Athenian* Fleet of two hundred Sail strong was sent forth under *Cimon*, to take in the Isle of *Cyprus*: which Conquest seemed easie both to make and to maintain, the *Persian* being utterly broken at Sea, and thereby unable to relieve the Island. Now although it were so, that a Peace had been concluded, which was likely to have been kept sincerely by the *Persian*, who had made so good proof of the *Grecian* Valour, that he was nothing desirous to build any Ships of War (without which the *Greeks* could receive no harm from him) whereof if any one should be found sailing towards *Greece*, the Peace was immediately broken, and if not, his whole Estate; yet all the Sea-coast (no small part of his Dominions) exposed to the waste of an Enemy too far over-matching him. Yet whether the *Athenians* were in doubt, left the League which in his own worser fortunes he had made with the[illegible]e would break in theirs; and therefore sought to get such assurance into their hands, as might utterly disable him from attempting ought against them; or whether the increase of their Revenues and Power, by adding that rich and great *Island* to their Empire, caused them to measure Honour by Profit; they thought it the wisest way, to take whilest they might, whatsoever they were able to get and hold, and he unable to defend.

The *Isle* of *Cyprus* lying in the bottom of the Straights between *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and *Ægypt*; is very fitly seated for any Prince of State, that being mighty at Sea, doth either seek to enrich himself by Trade with those Countries, or to infest one or more of them when they are his Enemies. And this being the purpose of the *Athenians*, their *Ambition* which had already devoured, in conceit, this *Island*, was on the sudden well-nigh choaked with a greater morsel, to snatch at which, they let *Cyprus* alone, which they might easily have swallowed

lowed and digested. For *Inarus* King of the *Lybians* confining *Ægypt*, having found how greatly the Country was exhausted by the late Wars, and how weakly defended by very slender *Persian* Garisons, conceived rightly, that if such small Forces as the *Satrapa* or *Viceroy* could make on the sudden of his own *Guards*, or levy out of the ordinary *Garisons*, were by him defeated, the naturals of the Country, not long since oppressed by *Cambyses*, and after a revolt very lately subdued by *Xerxes*, would soon break faith with him who had no other Title to that Kingdom than a good Sword. Further, he perswaded himself that the People, unable to defend themselves against the *Persian* without his assistance, would easily be drawn to accept him, the Author of their deliverance, for King. Neither did this hope deceive him: For having taken and cruelly slain *Achæmenes* the *Viceroy*, divers *Cities* forthwith declared themselves for him, and Proclaiming him King, shewed the most of their endeavour for prosecution of the War. But he considering his own weakness, and that the means of the *Ægyptians* his adherents were not answerable to their desires, perceived well, that to resist the power of *Artaxerxes*, far greater Forces than his and theirs were to be procured, at what price soever he obtained them. Therefore hearing of the great *Athenian* Fleet, and knowing well the virtue of the Souldiers therein embarqued; he invited the Commanders to share with him the Kingdom of *Ægypt* as a far greater Reward of their Adventure, than such an addition as that of *Cyprus* could be to their Estate. Whether he or they (if things had wholly sorted according to their expectation) would have been contented with an equal share, and not have fallen out in the partition, were perhaps a divination unnecessary. He was possessed of the Peoples love, they were of most power. But the issue of those affairs was such as left them nothing to communicate but misfortunes, which they shared somewhat equally. Yet had the beginnings of their enterprise very good and hopeful success: For they entred the Land as far as to *Memphis*, the principal City; and of the City it self they took two parts: to the third part, which was called the White Wall, they laid such hard Siege, that neither those Forces of the *Persians*, which then were in *Ægypt*, were strong enough to remove them; neither could *Artaxerxes* well devise what means to use for the recovery of that which was lost, or for the preservation of the remainder. The best of his hope was by setting the *Lacedæmonians* upon *Athens*, to enforce the *Athenians* to look home-wards to their own defence. This was the first time that the *Persian* sought to procure Assistance of the *Greeks* one against the other, by stirring them up with Gold to the entertainment of private Quarrels, for the good of their common Enemy. To this purpose he sent *Megabazus* to *Sparta* with much Treasure; who, after great expence, finding that the *Lacedæmonians* were nothing forward in employing their whole Force against the *Athenians*, whom in many conflicts of great importance they had found to be their matches, notwithstanding the absence of their Army in *Ægypt*; he thought it his wisest way to employ the rest of his money and means to their relief, who had now the space of six years defended his Masters right in *Ægypt*. Therefore he hastily dispatched another of his Name, the Son of *Zopyrus*, who arriving in *Ægypt*, was first encountred by the revolted People; over whom he obtained a Victory, which made him Master of the Country, whilest the *Athenians* lay busied about *Memphis* the great City. It cannot be doubted, but that long abode in a strange Air, and want of supply, had much enfeebled the *Athenians*: Sure it is, that when *Megabazus*, having reduced the Country to Obedience, attempted the City it self, whether his former success had amended the Courage of the *Persians*, or want of Necessaries made the *Athenians* inferior to themselves, he chased them out of *Memphis*, and pursued them so near, as they were forc'd to fortifie themselves in the Isle of *Prosopites*, where *Megabazus*, after eighteen Months Siege, turning away one part of the River by divers Trenches, assaulted the *Athenian* without impediment of Waters, took their Gallies, and put all to the Sword, save a few that saved themselves by flight into *Lybia*; the same Entertainment had fifty other Gallies which they sent to the succour of the first two hundred. For those *Athenians* having heard nothing that their Fleet and Army was consumed, entred by the branch of *Nilus*, called *Mendesium*, and fell unawares among the *Phœnician* Gallies and the *Persian* Army; so as the *Persians* recovered all *Ægypt*, but that part held by *Amyrteus*, and *Inarus* the King of *Lybia*, being by them taken and hanged. This was the end of the *Athenians* six years War in *Ægypt*, and the reward of their vanity and indiscretion to undertake many Enterprises at once.

Prosopites, an Island between the Rivers of *Taly* & *Pharmuthiacus*, two of the outlets of *Nilus*, towards *Alexandria*; *Mendesius* is an Island in the mouth of *Nilus*, between the out-let called *Busiriticus* and *Diolcos*. But the branch of *Nilus*, called *Mendesium*, runneth into the Sea by the City *Panæphysis*.

§. VI.

Of other Wars made by the Athenians *for the most part with good success, about the same time.*

NOtwithstanding these overthrows in *Ægypt*, yet the *Athenians* in their home-wars waded through many difficulties, and held the reputation of their Forces against the *Lacedæmonians*, *Corinthians*, and others, rather to their advantage than otherwise. For as they were beaten near unto *Halia* by the *Corinthians* and *Epidaurians*, so they obtained two great Victories soon after; the one over the *Peloponnesians*, near unto *Cecryphalia*; the other over the *Æginets*, near unto *Ægina*; where they sunk and carried away threescore and ten Gallies of their Enemies. Furthermore, they Landed their Forces on the sudden, and Besieged *Ægina*, from whence they could not be moved, notwithstanding that the *Corinthians*, to divert them, invaded *Megara*; where, after a great Fight, with equal loss, the *Corinthians*, when they returned again to set up their *Trophy*, as Victors in the former Battel, were utterly broken and slaughtered by the *Athenian* Garisons, and *Megarians*, to their great loss and dishonour.

Again, as the *Athenians* were discomfited near to *Tanagra* by the *Lacedæmonians*, who returned from the succour of the *Dorians* against the *Phocians*, (at which time the *Thessalian* Horse-men turned from their Allies, the *Athenians*, and fought against them) so about threescore days after, the *Athenians* entred *Bœotia* under the conduct of *Myronides*, where beating that Nation, they wan *Phocis* on the Gulf *Oeteus*, and evened the Walls of *Tanagra* to the ground. Finally, they enforced *Ægina* to render upon most base Conditions; as to beat down the Walls of their City, and to give them Hostages for Tribute; the Siege whereof they had continued, notwithstanding all their other brabbles and attempts elsewhere. Besides these Victories, they sack'd and spoiled many places upon the Sea-coast of *Peloponnesus*, belonging to the *Lacedæmonians*; wan upon the *Corinthians*, and overthrew the *Sicyonians* that came to their succour. These were the undertakings of the

Athenians, and their Allies, during the time of thoſe ſix years that a part of their Forces made War in *Ægypt*. In the end whereof they attempted *Theſſaly*, perſwaded thereunto by *Oreſtes*, but were reſiſted by the King *Pharſalus*, who had chaſed *Oreſtes* out of his Dominions. They alſo Landed in *Sicyonia*, and had Victory over thoſe that reſiſted; after which, they made Truce with the *Peloponneſians* for five years, and ſent *Cimon* into *Cyprus* with two hundred Ships, but they were again allured by *Amyrteus*, one of the race of their former Kings, who held the Mariſh and Woody parts of *Ægypt* from the *Perſians*, to whom they ſent ſixty of their Ships. The reſt of their Army failing in their enterpriſe of *Cyprus*, and their fortunate and victorious Leader *Cimon* dying there, as they coaſted the Iſland, encountred a Fleet of the *Phœnicians* and *Cilicians*, over both which Nations they returned Victorious into *Greece*; as alſo thoſe returned ſafe which were ſent into *Ægypt*.

§. VII.

Of Artaxerxes Longimanus, *that he was* Ahaſhueroſh, *the Husband of Queen* Heſter.

THeſe *Ægyptian* troubles being ended, the Reign of *Artaxerxes* continued peaceable, whereof the length is by ſome reſtrained into twenty years, but the more and better Authors give him forty, ſome allow unto him four and forty. He was a Prince of much Humanity, and noted for many examples of gentleneſs. His favour was exceeding great to the *Jews*, as appeareth by the Hiſtories of *Eſdras* and *Nehemias*, which fell in his time.

To prove that this was the King who gave countenance and aid to that great Work of Building the Temple, it were a needleſs travel; conſidering that all the late Divines have taking very much pain, to ſhew, That thoſe two Prophets were licenſed by him, and ſuccoured in that Building, in ſuch ſort as appears in their Writings.

This was likewiſe that King *Ahaſhueroſh* who Married *Heſter*. Whereof if it be needful to give proof, it may ſuffice; That *Ahaſhueroſh* lived in *Suſa*, reigning from *India* to *Æthiopia*, and therefore muſt have been a *Perſian*; That he lived in Peace, as appears by the circumſtances of the Hiſtory, and uſed the Counſel of the ſeven Princes, the Authority of which Princes began under *Darius*, the Son of *Hyſtaſpes*; wherefore he could be neither *Cyrus* nor *Cambyſes*.

The continual Wars which exerciſed King *Darius*, the Son of *Hyſtaſpes*, together with the certainty of his Marriages with ſundry Wives, from none of whom he was Divorced, but left his firſt Wife *Atoſſa*, the Daughter of *Cyrus*, alive in great Honour, ſhe being Mother to *Xerxes* the ſucceeding King; do manifeſtly prove that *Heſter* was not his. Whereunto is added by *Philo* the *Jew*, That at the perſwaſion of *Mardochæus*, *Joiachim* the High Prieſt, the Son of *Jeſua*, cauſed the Feaſt of *Purim* to be inſtituted in memory of that deliverance. Now the time of *Joiachim* was in the Reign of *Artaxerxes*, at the coming of *Eſdras* and *Nehemias*: *Jeſua* his Father dying about the end of *Darius*.

The ſame continuance of Wars, with other his furious and Tragical Loves, wherewith *Xerxes* did conſume ſuch little time as he had free from War, are enough to prove, that the ſtory of *Heſter* pertained not unto the time of *Xerxes*, who lived but one and twenty years, whereas the two and thirtieth of *Abaſuerus* or *Artaſaſtha* is expreſſed by *Nehemias*. Again, it is well known, that *Xerxes* in the ſeventh year of his Reign (wherein this Marriage muſt have been celebrated) came not near to *Suſa*. Of the Princes that ſucceeded *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, to prove that none of them could be *Ahaſhueroſh*, it is enough to ſay, that *Mardochæus* having been carried from *Hieruſalem* Captive, with *Jechonia*, by *Nebuchadnezzar*, was unlikely to have lived unto their times.

But of this *Artaxerxes* it is true, that he lived in *Suſa*, Reigned from *India* to *Æthiopia*, lived in Peace, was contemporary with *Joiachim* the High Prieſt: And further, he had happily by his Lieutenants reclaimed the Rebellious *Ægyptians* in that ſeventh year of his Reign; which good fortune might well give occaſion to ſuch a Royal Feaſt as is deſcribed in the beginning of the Book of *Heſter*. This is the ſumm of the Arguments, brought to prove the Age of *Heſter*'s ſtory by the learned and diligent *Krentzheimius*, who adds the Authorities of *Joſephus*, affirming the ſame, and of *Philo*, giving to *Mardochæus* eighteen years more than *Iſaac* the *Patriarch* lived; namely, one hundred fourſcore and eighteen years in all, which expire in the five and thirtieth year of this *Artaxerxes*, if we ſuppoſe him to have been carried away Captive, being a Boy of ten years old.

§. VIII.

Of *the Troubles in* Greece, *foregoing the* Peloponneſian *War*.

BUT it is fit that we now return to the Affairs of the *Greeks*, who from this time forward, more vehemently proſecuting their Civil Wars, ſuffered the *Perſians* for many Ages to reſt in Peace, this *Ægyptian* Expedition being come to nought. Soon after this, the *Lacedæmonians* undertook the War, called Sacred, recovered the Temple and Iſle of *Delphos*, and delivered both to the Inhabitants; but the *Athenians* regained the ſame, and gave it in charge to the *Phocians*. In the mean while the Baniſhed *Bœotians* re-entred their own Land, and maſtered two of their own Towns poſſeſs'd by the *Athenians*, which they ſoon recovered again from them; but in their return towards *Athens*, the *Bœotians*, *Eubœans*, and *Locreans*, (Nations oppreſt by the *Athenians*) ſet upon them with ſuch reſolution, as the *Athenians* were in that Fight all ſlain or taken, whereby the *Bœotians* recovered their former Liberty, reſtoring to the *Athenians* their Priſoners. The Iſlanders of *Eubœa* took ſuch Courage upon this, that they revolted wholly from the *Athenians*, whom when *Pericles* intended to reconquer, he was advertiſed that the *Megarians* (who firſt left the *Lacedæmonians*, and ſubmitted themſelves to *Athens*) being now weary of their Yoke, had ſlain the *Athenian* Gariſons, and joyned themſelves with the *Corinthians*, *Sicyonians*, and *Epidaurians*. Theſe News haſtened *Pericles* homeward with all poſſible ſpeed; but ere he could recover *Attica*, the *Peloponneſians*, led by *Pliſtoanax*, the Son of *Pauſanias*, had invaded it, pillaged, and burnt many parts thereof; after whoſe return *Pericles* went on with his firſt intent, and recovered *Eubœa*. Finally, the *Athenians* began to treat of Peace with the *Peloponneſians*, and yielded to deliver up all the places which they held in the Country of *Peloponneſus*; and this Truce was made for thirty years. After ſix of theſe years were expired, the *Athenians* (favouring the *Mileſians* againſt the *Samians*) invaded *Samos* by *Pericles*, and after many repulſes, and ſome great loſſes, both

both by Sea and Land, the Citizens were forc'd to yield themſelves upon moſt lamentable Conditions; Namely, to deliver up all their Ships, to break down their own Walls, to pay the charge of the War, and to reſtore whatſoever had been taken by themſelves, or by their practice, from the *Athenians*. In the neck of which followed that long and cruel *Peloponneſian* War, whereof I have gathered this Brief following; the ſame contention taking beginning fifty years after the flight of *Xerxes* out of *Greece*. But becauſe there was no City thereof, which either in the beginning of this War, or in the continuance of it, was not drawn into the Quarrel, I hold it convenient now at the firſt to ſhew briefly the eſtate of the Country at that time, and eſpecially the condition of thoſe two great Cities, *Athens* and *Sparta*, upon which all the reſt had moſt dependance.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Peloponneſian *War.*

§. I.

Upon what terms the two principal Cities of Greece, Athens *and* Sparta, *ſtood, at the beginning of the* Peloponneſian *War.*

GREECE was never united under the Government of any one Prince or Eſtate, until *Philip* of *Macedon*, and after him *Alexander*, brought them rather to a Union and League againſt the *Perſian*, whereof they were Captains, than into any abſolute ſubjection. For every Eſtate held their own, and were Governed by Laws far different, and by their own Magiſtrates, notwithſtanding the power of the *Macedonians*, to whom they did yield Obedience no otherwiſe than as to ſuch, who were (perforce) their Leaders in the *Perſian* War (deemed the General Quarrel of *Greece*) and took the Profit and Honour of the Victory to their own uſe and increaſe of greatneſs. But the Kings which afterwards Reigned in *Macedonia*, did ſo far enlarge their Authority, that all *Greece* was by them brought under ſuch Obedience, as differed little from Servitude; very few excepted, who could hardly, ſometimes with Arms, and ſometimes with gifts, preſerve their Liberty; of whom the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* were chief: which two People deſerved beſt the Plague of Tyranny, having firſt given occaſion thereunto, by their great Ambition, which wearied and weakened all the Country by perpetual War. For until theſe two Cities of *Athens* and *Sparta* diſtracted all *Greece*, drawing every State into the Quarrel, on the one or other ſide, and ſo gave beginning to the *Peloponneſian* War (the effects whereof in true eſtimation ceaſed not, before the time that *Philip* had overmaſter'd all, foraſmuch as every concluſion of one War afforded henceforth matter to ſome new diſtraction of the whole Country) the Wars, commenced between one City of *Greece* and another, were neither great, nor of long continuance. All Controverſies were ſoon decided, either by the Authority of the *Amphictiones*, who were the General Council of *Greece*; or by the power of the *Lacedæmonians*, whoſe Aid was commonly held as good as the aſſurance of Victory.

Theſe *Lacedæmonians* had lived about four hundred years under one form of Government, when the *Peloponneſian* War began. Their Education was only to practiſe feats of Arms; wherein they ſo excelled, that a very few of them were thought equal to very great numbers of any other People. They were poor, and cared not much for Wealth; every one had an equal portion of the common Field, which ſufficed to maintain him in ſuch manner of life as they uſed. For Bravery they had none, and curious Building or Apparel they regarded not. Their Diet was ſimple, their Feaſts and ordinary Meals being in common Halls, where all fared alike. They uſed Money of Iron, whereof they could not be covetous nor great hoarders. Briefly, they lived *Utopian*-like, ſave that they uſed no other Occupation than War, placing all their Felicity in the glory of their Valour. Hereby it came to paſs that in all Enterpriſes, whereof they were partakers, the Leading and High Command was granted to them, and all *Greece* followed their Conduct. But the *Athenians* were in all points contrary to this: For they ſought Wealth, and meaſured the Honours of their Victories by the Profit; they uſed mercenary Souldiers in their Wars, and exacted great Tribute of their Subjects, which were for the moſt part Iſlanders, compelled to obey them, becauſe the *Athenian* Fleet was great.

As in form of Policy, and in courſe of Life, ſo in Conditions Natural, the difference between theſe two People was very much. The *Athenians* were eager and violent, ſudden in their concluſions, and as haſty in the execution: The *Lacedæmonians* very ſlow in their deliberations, full of gravity, but very reſolute, and ſuch as would in cold Bloud perform what the *Athenians* did uſually in flagrant. Whereby it came to paſs that the *Lacedæmonians* had all the Eſtates of *Greece* depending upon them, as on men firm and aſſured, that ſought Honour and not Riches; whereas the *Athenians* were followed by ſuch as obeyed them perforce, being held in ſtraight ſubjection. But the Signory of the *Athenians* was nothing large, until ſuch time as the *Perſian Xerxes* had invaded *Greece*, pretending only a Quarrel to *Athens*. For then the Citizens perceiving well, that the Town of *Athens* could not be defended againſt his great Army of ſeventeen hundred thouſand Men, beſtowed all their Wealth upon a Navy, and (aſſiſted by the other *Grecians*) overthrew the Fleet of *Xerxes*, whoſe Land-forces were ſoon after diſcomfited by them, and the *Greeks*, who all ſerved under conduct of the *Spartans*. After theſe Victories, the *Athenians* being now very mighty in Fleet, reduced all the Iſlands of the *Greekiſh* Seas under their Obedience; impoſing upon them a hard Tribute, for

main-

maintenance (as they pretended) of War against the *Persian*; though indeed they employed their Forces chiefly, to the Conquest of such Islands, and Haven-Towns, of their own Country-men, as stood out against them. All which was easily suffered by the *Lacedæmonians*, who were In-landers, and men that delighted not in Expeditions to be made far from home. But afterwards perceiving the power of the *Athenians* to grow great, they held them in much jealousie, and were very apt to quarrel with them; but much more willing to breed contention between them and other Estates. Wherefore at such time as the *Thebans* would have oppressed the *Platæans*, when they of *Platæa* repaired to *Sparta* for succour, they found there no other Aid, than this Advice, That they should seek help at *Athens*. Hereby it was thought, that the *Athenians* should be entangled in a long and tedious War with their Neighbours of *Thebes*. But it proved otherwise; for their Force was now so great, that all such occasions did only serve to increase their Honour and Puissance.

§. II.

How Sparta *and* Athens *entred into War.*

NEvertheless many Estates of *Greece* were very ill affected to *Athens*, because that City grew very insolent upon sudden prosperity, and maintaining the weaker Towns against the stronger, incroached apace upon their Neighbours, taking their dependants from them. Especially the *Corinthians* were much inraged, because the People of the Island *Corcyra*, their Colony, which had Rebelled against them, and given them a great overthrow by Sea, was by the *Athenians* (who desired to increase their Fleet by adjoyning that of *Corcyra* unto it) taken into protection, and the *Corinthians* thereby impeached of that Revenge which else they would have taken. Now, howsoever it were so, that these dealings of the *Athenians* were not directly against the Conditions of Peace agreed upon among the *Greeks*, yet were the complaints made at *Sparta* so vehement, that (though with much a-do) they concluded to redress by War the injuries done to their Allies.

First therefore seeking Religious pretences, they required the *Athenians* to expiate certain Offences committed against the Gods; whereto having for Answer, That they themselves should expiate other the like Offences, committed in *Sparta*; they began to deal plainly, and required that the People of some Towns, oppressed by the Estate of *Athens*, should be set at Liberty; and that a Decree made against those of *Megara*, whereby they were forbidden to enter any Port of the *Athenians*, should be reversed. This last point they so earnestly pressed, that if they might obtain it, they promised to absist from their purpose of making War.

This they desired, not as a matter of any great importance (for it was a trifle) but only that by seeming to have obtained somewhat, they might preserve their Reputation without entring into a War, which threatned them with greater difficulties apparent, than they were very willing to undergo.

But the *Athenians* would yield to nothing; for it was their whole desire that all *Greece* should take notice, how far they were from fear of any other City. Hereupon they prepared on both sides very strongly, all that was needful to the War; wherein the *Lacedæmonians* were Superiour, both in number and quality, being assisted by most of the Cities in *Greece*; and having the general favour, as men that pretended to set at Liberty such as were oppressed: But the *Athenians* did as far exceed them in all Provisions, of Money, Shipping, Engines, and absolute power of Command among their Subjects; which they held, and afterward found of greater use in such need, than the willing readiness of Friends, who soon grow weary, and are not easily Assembled.

§. III.

The beginning of the Peloponnesian *War.*

THE first and second years expedition was very grievous to the City of *Athens*. For the Fields were wasted; the Trees cut down; the Country People driven to flie, with their Wives, Children, and Cattel, into the Town; whereby a most furious Pestilence grew in the City, such as before they had neither felt, nor heard of. Hereunto was added the revolt of the *Mytilenians*, in the Isle of *Lesbos*, and the Siege of *Platæa* their confederated City, which they durst not adventure to raise, besides some small overthrows received. The *Lacedæmonians* assembling as great Forces as they could raise out of *Peloponnesus*, did in the beginning of Summer enter the Country of *Attica*, and therein abide, until Victuals began to fail, wasting and destroying all things round about: The Governours of the *Athenians* would not suffer the People to issue into the Field against them; for they knew the Valour of their Enemies; but used to send a Fleet into *Peloponnesus*, which wasted as fast all the Sea-coast of their Enemies, whilest they were making War in *Attica*. So the *Peloponnesians* being the stronger by Land, wan the Town of *Platæa*, which wanted rescue; the *Athenians* likewise being more mighty by Sea, did subdue *Mytilene*, which had rebelled, but could not be succoured from *Sparta*. By these proceedings in that War, the *Lacedæmonians* began to perceive how unfit they were to deal with such Enemies. For after that *Attica* was throughly wasted, it lay not greatly in their power to do any offence equal to such harm as they themselves might, and did receive. Their Confederates began to set forward very slowly in their expeditions into *Attica*; perceiving well that *Athens* was plentifully relieved with all Necessaries, which came by Sea from the Islands that were subject unto that Estate; and therefore these Invaders took small pleasure in beholding the Walls of that mighty City, or in wasting a forsaken Field, which was to them a pattern of the Calamities, with which their own Territory was the whilst afflicted. Wherefore they began to set their care to build a strong Navy, wherein they had little good success, being easily vanquished by the *Athenians*, who both had more and better Ships; and were so skilful in Sea-fights, that a few Vessels of theirs durst undertake a great number of the *Peloponnesians*.

§. IV.

Of the great loss which the Spartans *received at* Pylus.

AMong other losses which the *Spartans* had felt by Sea, they received at *Pylus* a very sore blow, that compelled them to sue for Peace. A Fleet of *Athenian* Ships, bound for *Corcyra*, wasting in that passage, as their manner was, the Coast of *Laconia*,

Laconia, and all the half Isle of *Peloponnesus*, was by contrary Winds detained at *Pylus*, which is a ragged Promontory, joyning to the Main, by a straight neck of Land. Before it there lies a small barren Island of less than two miles compass, and within that a Creek, which is a good Harbour for Ships, the force of Weather being born off by the Head-Land and Isle. This Promontory the *Athenians* fortified, as well as in hast they might; and what was wanting in their Artificial Fortification, was supplied by the natural strength and site of the place. By holding this piece of Ground and Haven, they reasonably expected many advantages against their Enemies. For the Country adjoyning was inhabited by the *Messenians*, who in ancient time had held very strong and cruel War with *Sparta*; and, though quite subdued, they were held in straight subjection; yet was not the old hatred so extinguished, that by the near neighbourhood and assistance of the *Athenians*, it might not be revived. Furthermore, it was thought, that many ill-willers to the *Lacedæmonians*, and as many of their bond-slaves as could escape from them, would repair to *Pylus*, and from thence make daily excursions into *Laconia*, which was not far off: Or if other hopes failed, yet would the benefit of this Haven, lying almost in the mid-way between them and *Corcyra*, make them able to surround all *Peloponnesus*, and wast it at their pleasure. The News of these doings at *Pylus*, drew the *Peloponnesians* thither in all hast out of *Attica*, which they had entred a few days before with their whole Army: But now they brought not only their Land-forces, but all their Navy, to recover this piece, which how bad a Neighbour it might prove in time, they well fore-saw, little fearing the grievous loss at hand, which they there in few days received. For when they in vain made a general Assault on all sides, both by Sea and Land, finding that small Garrison which the *Athenians* had left, very resolute in the defence; they occupied the Haven, placing four hundred and twenty choice men, all of them Citizens of *Sparta*, in the Island before mentioned; at each end whereof is a Channel, that leads into the Port, but so narrow, that only two Ships in front could enter between the Isle and *Pylus*; likewise but seven or eight Ships could enter at once by the further Channel, between the Island and the Main. Having thus taken order to shut up this new Town by Sea, they sent part of their Fleet to fetch Wood, and other stuff, wherewith to fortifie round about, and block up the piece on all sides. But in the mean season, the *Athenian* Fleet, hearing of their danger that were left at *Pylus*, returned thither, and with great courage entring the Haven, did break and sink many of their Enemies Vessels; took five, and enforced the residue to run themselves a-ground.

Now was the Town secure, and the *Spartans* abiding in the Island as good as lost: Wherefore the Magistrates were sent from *Sparta* to the Camp (as was their custom in great dangers) to advise what were best for the Publick safety; who when they did perceive that there was no other way to rescue their Citizens out of the Isle, than by composition with their Enemies; they agreed to entreat with the *Athenians* about Peace, taking Truce in the mean while with the Captains at *Pylus*. The Conditions of the Truce were, That the *Lacedæmonians* should deliver up all the Ships which were in the Coast, and that they should attempt nothing against the Town, nor the *Athenians* against the Camp: That a certain quantity of Bread, Wine, and Flesh, should be daily carried into the Isle, but that no Ships should pass into the Island secretly: That the *Athenians* should carry the *Lacedæmonian* Embassadors to *Athens*, there to treat of Peace; and should bring them back, at whose return the Truce should end; which if in the mean time it were broken in any one point, should be held utterly void in all: That when the Truce was expired, the *Athenians* should restore the *Peloponnesian* Ships, in as good case as they received them. The Embassadors coming to *Athens*, were in opinion, that as they themselves had begun the War, so might they end it when they pleased: Wherefore they told the *Athenians* how great an honour it was that the *Lacedæmonians* did sue to them for Peace; advising them to make an end of War, whilst with such reputation they might. But they found all contrary to their expectation: For in stead of concluding upon even terms, or desiring of meet recompence for loss sustained, the *Athenians* demanded certain Cities to be restored to them, which had been taken from them by the *Lacedæmonians* long before this War began; refusing likewise to continue the Treaty of Peace, unless the *Spartans* which were in the Isle, were first rendred unto them as Prisoners. Thus were the Embassadors returned without effect, at which time the Truce being ended, it was desired of the *Athenian* Captains, that they should, according to their Covenant, restore the Ships, which had been put into their hands. Whereto answer was made, that the condition of the Truce was, That if any one Article were broken, all should be held void; now (said the *Athenians*) ye have assaulted our Garrisons, and thereby are we acquitted of our promise to restore the Ships. This and the like frivolous allegations which they made, were but meer shifts; yet profit so far over-weighed honour, that better answer none could be got. Then were the *Lacedæmonians* driven to use many hard means, for conveyance of Victuals into the Isle, which finally was taken by force, and the men that were in it carried Prisoners to *Athens*; where it was decreed, that when the *Peloponnesians* next invaded *Attica*, these Prisoners should all be slain. Whether fearing the death of these men, or with-held by the troubles, which (according to the *Athenians* hope) fell upon them, the *Lacedæmonians* were now so far from wasting *Attica*, that they suffered their own Country to be continually over-run, both by the *Athenians*, who landed on all parts of their Coast, and by those who issued out of *Pylus*; which became the Rendezvous of all that were ill-affected unto them.

§. V.

How the Lacedæmonians *hardly, and to their great disadvantage, obtained a Peace, that was not well kept.*

THerefore they endeavoured greatly to obtain Peace; which the *Athenians* would not hearken unto. For they were so puffed up with the continuance of good success, that having sent a few bands of men into *Sicily*, to hold up a Faction there, and make what profit they might of the *Sicilians* Quarrels; when afterward they heard that the differences in that Isle were taken away, and their bands returned without either gain or loss; they banished the Captains, as if it had been meerly through their default, that the Isle of *Sicily* was not conquered; which (besides the longer distance) was in power to offend others, or defend it self; no whit inferiour unto *Peloponnesus*. Yet was this their over-weening much abated shortly after, by

by ſome diſaſters received, eſpecially in *Thrace*, where in a Battel, which they loſt at *Amphipolis*, *Cleon*, and *Braſidas*, Generals of the *Athenian* and *Lacedæmonian* Forces, were both ſlain; which two had moſt been Adverſaries to the Peace. As the *Athenians* by their loſſes were taught moderation; ſo the *Lacedæmonians*, who not only felt the like Wounds, but through the great Navy which they had received at *Pylus*, were fain to proceed lamely in the War, againſt ſuch as, through commodity of their good Fleet, had all advantages that could be found in expedition, were fervently deſirous to conclude the buſineſs, ere Fortune by any new favour ſhould revive the inſolence, which was at this time well mortified in their Enemies. Neither was it only a conſideration of their preſent eſtate, that urged them to bring the Treaty of Peace to good and ſpeedy effect; but other dangers hanging over their Heads, and ready to fall on them, which unleſs they compounded with the *Athenians*, they knew not how to avoid. The Eſtate of *Argos*, which had ancient enmity with them, was now, after a Truce of thirty years well-nigh expired, ready to take the benefit of their preſent troubles, by joyning with thoſe who alone found them work enough. *Argos* was a rich and ſtrong City, which though inferiour to *Sparta* in Valour, yet was not ſo unwarlike, nor held ſuch ill correſpondence with the neighbouring Eſtates, that the *Lacedæmonians* could ever far prevail upon it, when they had little elſe to do. This was a thing that in the beginning of this War had not been regarded: For it was then thought that by waſting the Territory of *Athens* with Sword and Fire, the Quarrel ſhould eaſily, and in ſhort time have been ended; whereby not only the *Athenians* ſhould have been brought to good order, but the *Corinthians* and others, for whoſe ſake the War was undertaken, have been ſo firmly knit to the *Lacedæmonians*, that they ſhould for love of them have abandoned the *Argives* to their own fortunes. But now the vanity of thoſe hopes appeared, in that the *Athenians* abounding in ready money, and means to raiſe more, were able to ſecure themſelves by a ſtrong Fleet, from any great harm: That the *Peloponneſians*, wanting wherewith to maintain a Navy, could do unto them; yea, as Maſters of the Sea, to weary them out, as in effect already they had done. As for the Confederates of *Sparta*, they could now endure neither War nor Peace; their daily Travels, and many Loſſes had ſo wearied and incenſed them. Wherefore the *Lacedæmonians* were glad to uſe the occaſion, which the inclination of their Enemies did then afford, of making a final Peace; which with much ado they procured, as ſeemed equal and eaſie; but were indeed impoſſible to be performed, and therefore all their travel was little effectual.

The reſtitution of Priſoners and places taken being agreed upon, it fell out by lot, that the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould reſtore firſt. Theſe had won more Towns upon the Continent from the *Athenians*, than the *Athenians* had from them; but what they had won, they had not won abſolutely. For they had reſtored ſome Towns to ſuch of their Allies, from whom the State of *Athens* had taken them; ſome, and thoſe the moſt, they had ſet at Liberty (as reaſon required) which had opened their Gates unto them, as to their friends and deliverers, and not compelled them to break in as Enemies. Now, concerning the Towns which were not in their own hands, but had been rendred unto their Confederates, the *Spartans* found means to give ſome ſatisfaction, by permitting the *Athenians* to retain others, which they had gotten in the War; as for the reſt, they promiſed more than afterwards they could perform. The Cities which they had taken into protection, could not endure to hear of being abandoned; neither would they by any means yield themſelves into the hands of their old Lords, the *Athenians*, whom they had offended by revolting, notwithſtanding whatſoever Articles were drawn, and concluded, for their ſecurity, and betterance in time to come. This dull performance of Conditions on the ſide of the *Spartans*, made the *Athenians* become as backward in doing thoſe things which on their part were required; ſo that reſtoring only the Priſoners which they had, they deferred the reſt, until ſuch time as they might receive the full ſatisfaction according to the Agreement. But before ſuch time as theſe difficulties brake out into matter of open Quarrel, the *Lacedæmonians* entred into a more ſtraight Alliance with the *Athenians*; making a League Offenſive and Defenſive with them. Hereunto they were moved by the backwardneſs of the *Argives*, who being (as they thought) likely to have ſued for Peace at their hands, as ſoon as things were once compounded between *Athens* and *Sparta*, did ſhew themſelves plainly unwilling to give ear to any ſuch motion. Thinking therefore, that by cutting from *Argos* all hope of *Athenian* ſuccour, they ſhould make ſure work; the *Spartans* regarded not the affections of other States, whom they had either bound unto them by well-deſerving in the late War, or found ſo troubleſome, that their Enmity (if perhaps they durſt let it appear) were little worſe than Friendſhip. It bred great jealouſie in all the Cities of *Greece*, to perceive ſuch a conjunction between two ſo powerful Signories; eſpecially one clauſe threatning every one, that was any thing apt to fear, with a ſecret intent that might be harboured in their proud conceits, of ſubduing the whole Country, and taking each what they could lay hold on. For beſides the other Articles, it was agreed, That they might by mutual conſent add new Conditions, or alter the old at their own pleaſures. This impreſſion wrought ſo ſtrongly in the *Corinthians*, *Thebans*, and other ancient Confederates of *Sparta*, that the hate which they had born to the *Athenians* their profeſſed Enemies, was violently thrown upon the *Lacedæmonians* their unjuſt Friends; whereby it came to paſs, that they who had lately born chief ſway in *Greece*, might have been abandoned to the diſcretion of their Enemies, as already in effect they were, had the Enemies wiſely uſed the advantage.

§. VI.

Of the Negotiations, and Practices, held between many States of Greece, *by occaſion of the Peace that was concluded.*

THE admiration wherein all *Greece* held the Valour of *Sparta* as unreſiſtable, and able to make way through all impediments, had been ſo exceſſive, that when by ſome ſiniſter accidents, that City was compelled to take and ſeek Peace, upon terms not ſounding very honourable, this common opinion was not only abated, but (as happens uſually in things extreme) was changed into much contempt. For it was never thought that any *Lacedæmonian* would have endured to lay down his Weapons, and yield himſelf Priſoner; nor that any misfortune could have been ſo great, as ſhould have drawn that City to relieve it ſelf otherwiſe than by force of Arms. But when once it had appeared that many of their Citizens, among whom

whom were ſome of eſpecial mark, being over-laid by Enemies, in the Iſland before *Pylus*, had rather choſen to live in Captivity, than to die in Fight; and that *Pylus* it ſelf, ſticking as a Thorn in the foot of *Laconia*, had bred ſuch anguiſh in that Eſtate, as utterly wearying the accuſtomed *Spartan* reſolution, had made it ſit down, and ſeek to refreſh it ſelf by diſhonourable eaſe: Then did not only the *Corinthians* and *Thebans* begin to conceive baſely of thoſe men which were vertuous, though unfortunate; but other leſſer Cities joyning with theſe in the ſame opinion, did caſt their Eyes upon the rich and great City of *Argos*, of whoſe ability, to do much, they conceived a ſtrong belief, becauſe of long time it had done nothing. Such is the baſe condition, which through fooliſh envy is become almoſt natural in the greater part of mankind. We curiouſly ſearch into their vices, in whom, had they kept ſome diſtance, we ſhould have diſcerned only the vertues; and comparing injuriouſly our beſt parts with their worſt, are juſtly plagued with a falſe opinion of that good in ſtrangers which we know to be wanting to our ſelves.

The firſt that publiſhed their diſlike of *Sparta*, were the *Corinthians*, at whoſe vehement entreaty (though moved rather by envy at the greatneſs of *Athen*'s daily increaſing) the *Lacedæmonians* had entred into the preſent War. But theſe *Corinthians* did only murmur at the Peace, alledging as grievances, that ſome Towns of theirs were left in the *Athenians* hands. The *Mantinæans*, who during the time of War, had procured ſome part of the *Arcadians* to become their followers, and forſake their dependency upon the State of *Sparta*, did more freely and readily diſcover themſelves; fear of revenge to come working more effectually, than indignation at things already paſt. The *Argives* feeling the gale of proſperous Fortune that began to fill their Sails, prepared themſelves to take as much of it as they could ſtand under; giving for that purpoſe unto twelve of their Citizens, a full and abſolute Commiſſion to make Alliance between them and any free Cities of *Greece* (*Athens* and *Sparta* excepted) without any further trouble of propounding every particular buſineſs to the multitude. When the Gates of *Argos* were thus ſet open to all commers; the *Mantinæans* began to lead the way, and many Cities of *Peloponneſus* following them, entred into this new Confederacy; ſome incited by private reſpects, others thinking it the wiſeſt way to do as the moſt did. What inconvenience might ariſe to them by theſe courſes, the *Lacedæmonians* eaſily diſcerned; and therefore ſent Embaſſadors to ſtop the matter at *Corinth*, where they well perceived that the miſchief had been hatched. Theſe Embaſſadors found in the *Corinthians* a very rough diſpoſition, with a gravity expreſſing the opinion which they had conceived of their preſent advantage over *Sparta*. They had cauſed all Cities which had not entred yet into the Alliance with *Argos*, to ſend their Agents to them, in whoſe preſence they gave Audience to the *Lacedæmonians*; the purport of whoſe Embaſſy was this: That the *Corinthians*, without breach of their Oath, could not forſake the Alliance, which they had long ſince made with *Sparta*, and that reaſon did as well bind them to hold themſelves contented with the Peace lately made, as Religion enforced them to continue in their ancient Confederacy; foraſmuch as it had been agreed between the *Spartans* and their Aſſociates, that the conſent of the greater part, (which had yielded unto Peace with *Athens*) ſhould bind the leſſer number to perform what was concluded, if no Divine impediment withſtood them. Hereunto the *Corinthians* made anſwer, that the *Spartans* had firſt begun to do them open wrong, in concluding the War wherein they had loſt many places, without proviſion of reſtitution; and that the very clauſe, alledged by the Embaſſadors, did acquit them from any neceſſity of ſubſcribing to the late Peace; foraſmuch as they had ſworn unto thoſe People whom they perſwaded to rebel againſt *Athens*, that they would never abandon them, nor willingly ſuffer them to fall again into the Tyrannous hands of the *Athenians*. Wherefore they held themſelves bound both in Reaſon and Religion, to uſe all means of upholding thoſe, whom by common conſent they had taken into protection; for that an Oath was no leſs to be accounted a Divine impediment, than were Peſtilence, Tempeſt, or any the like accident, hindring the performance of things undertaken. As for the Alliance with *Argos*, they ſaid, that they would do as they ſhould find cauſe. Having diſmiſſed the Embaſſadors with this Anſwer, they made all haſt to joyn themſelves with *Argos*, and cauſed other States to do the like; ſo that *Sparta* and *Athens* were in a manner left to themſelves, the *Thebans* and *Megarians* being alſo upon the point to have entred into this new Confederacy. But as the affections were divers, which cauſed this haſty confluence of ſudden Friends to *Argos*, it ſo likewiſe came to paſs, that the friendſhip it ſelf, ſuch as it was, had much diverſity both of ſincerity and of continuance. For ſome there were that hated or feared the *Lacedæmonians*; as the *Mantinæans* and *Eleans*: theſe did firmly betake themſelves to the *Argives*, in whom they knew the ſame affection to be inveterate; others did only hate the Peace concluded; and theſe would rather have followed the *Spartans* than the *Argives* in War, yet rather the *Argives* in War than the *Lacedæmonians* in Peace: Of this number were the *Corinthians*, who knowing that the *Thebans* were affected like unto themſelves, dealt with them to enter into the Society of the *Argives*, as they had done: but the different forms of Government, uſed in *Thebes* and *Argos*, cauſed the *Thebans* to hold rather with *Sparta*, that was ruled by the principal men, than to incur the danger of innovation, by joyning with ſuch as committed the whole rule to the multitude.

This buſineſs having ill ſucceeded, the *Corinthians* began to bethink themſelves of their own danger, who had not ſo much as any Truce with *Athens*, and yet were unprepared for War. They ſought therefore to come to ſome temporary agreement with the *Athenians*, and hardly obtained it. For the *Athenians*, who had dealt with all *Greece* at one time, did not greatly care to come to any appointment with one City, that ſhewed againſt them more ſtomach than force; but gave them to underſtand, that they might be ſafe enough from them, if they would claim the benefit of that Alliance, which *Athens* had lately made, with *Sparta* and her dependants; yet finally, they granted unto theſe *Corinthians* (which were loath to acknowledge themſelves dependants of *Sparta*) the Truce that they deſired; but into private Confederacy they would not admit them, it being an Article of the League between them and the *Spartans*, That the one ſhould not make Peace nor War without the other.

Herein, as in many other paſſages, may clearly be ſeen the great advantage which abſolute Lords have as well in Peace as in War, over ſuch as are ſerved by voluntaries. We ſhall hardly find any one Signory, that hath been ſo conſtantly followed

as *Sparta* was, by ſo many States, and ſome of them little inferiour to it ſelf, being all as free: Whereas contrariwiſe, the *Athenians* had lately, and by compulſive means gotten their Dominion, wherein they demeaned themſelves as Tyrants. But in performance of Conditions agreed upon, the *Athenians* were able to make their words good, by excluding any State out of their Confederacy, and giving up ſuch places as were agreed upon: of which the *Lacedæmonians* could do neither the one nor the other. For ſuch Towns as their old Allies had gotten by their means in the late War, could not be reſtored without their conſent, which had them in preſent poſſeſſion; and particularly the Town of *Panacte*, which the *Thebans* held, could by no means be obtained from them by the *Lacedæmonians* (who earneſtly deſired it, that by reſtitution thereof unto the *Athenians*, as earneſtly demanding it, themſelves might recover *Pylus*) unleſs they would agree to make a private Alliance with *Thebes*; which thereupon they were fain to do, though knowing it to be contrary to the laſt Agreement between them and *Athens*.

The *Lacedæmonians* having broken one Article of the League made between them and the *Athenians*, that by ſo doing they might enable themſelves to the performance of another, were ſhamefully diſappointed of their hopes by the *Thebans*, who did not give up the Town of *Panacte*, till firſt they had utterly demoliſhed it, and made it of no worth to the *Athenians*. This was ſought to have been excuſed by the *Lacedæmonian* Embaſſadors, who coming to *Athens* (whither they had ſent home all Priſoners that had been detained at *Thebes*) hoped with gentle words to ſalve the matter; ſaying, That from henceforth no Enemy to *Athens* ſhould neſtle in *Panacte*, for it was deſtroyed. But theſe Embaſſadors had not to deal with tame Fools: For the *Athenians* told them in plain terms, That of three principal Conditions agreed upon in their late League, they had not performed any one, but uſed ſuch baſe colluſion as ſtood not with their Honour; having made private Alliance with the *Thebans*, having deſtroyed a Town that they ſhould have reſtored; and not having forced their dependants by War, to make good the Covenants of the late concluded Peace. Hereupon they diſmiſſed the Embaſſadors with rough words, meaning with as rough deeds ro anger thoſe that ſent them.

There were at that time, both in *Athens* and *Sparta*, many that were ill-contented with the Peace; among whom were the *Ephori*, choſen for that year, in *Sparta*; and *Alcibiades*, a powerful young Gentleman in *Athens*. But the *Ephori*, though deſiring to renew the War, yet wiſhed that firſt they might get from the *Athenians* as much as was to be rendred to them by Covenant, eſpecially *Pylus*, that had ſo ſorely troubled them. *Alcibiades*, whoſe Nobility, Riches, and Favour with the People, made him deſire War, as the means, whereby himſelf might procure ſome Honourable Employment, uſed all means to ſet the Quarrel on foot, whilſt the *Athenians* had yet both advantage enough, as not having rendred ought ſave their Priſoners, and pretence enough to uſe that advantage of breaking the Peace, by reaſon that the *Lacedæmonians* (though indeed againſt their wills) had broken all Covenants with them. Now the State of *Athens* had fully determined to retain *Pylus*, and to perform nothing that the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould, and might require, until they had firſt, without any longer halting, fulfilled all Articles whereunto they were bound, even to the utmoſt point. This was enough to make them ſweat, who having already done the moſt that they could, had as yet got nothing in recompence, except the delivery of their Citizens which were Priſoners. But *Alcibiades* wiſhing a ſpeedy beginning of open War, ſent privily to the *Argives*, and gave them to underſtand how fitly the time ſerved for them to aſſociate themſelves with *Athens*, which was enough to give them ſecurity againſt all Enemies.

The *Argives* upon the firſt Confluence of many Eſtates unto their Society, had embraced great hopes of working Wonders, as if they ſhould have had the Conduct of all *Greece* againſt the *Athenians*, robbing *Sparta* of that Honour, as having ill uſed it, and thereby leaving their old Enemies in caſe of much contempt and diſability. But theſe ſudden apprehenſions of vain Joy, were ſuddenly changed into as vain Fear; which ill agreed with the great Opinion that had lately been conceived of *Argos*. For when the *Thebans* had refuſed their Alliance; when the *Corinthians* had ſought Security from *Athens*; and when a falſe Rumour was noiſed abroad, that *Athens*, *Thebes*, and *Sparta*, were come to a full Agreement upon all Points of difference; then began the *Argives* to let fall their Creſts, and ſue for Peace unto the *Lacedæmonians*, who needing it as much as they, or more, yet held their Gravity, and were not over haſty to accept it. At this time, and in this perturbation, the Meſſage of *Alcibiades* came very welcome to the *Argives*, which were not now conſulting how to become the Chief of all others, but how to ſave themſelves. Wherefore they ſent away preſently to *Athens*, their own Embaſſadors accompanied with the *Mantinæans* and *Eleans*, to make a League offenſive and defenſive, between their Eſtates and the *Athenians*.

Of this buſineſs the *Lacedæmonians* knew not what to think: for well they ſaw, that ſuch a Combination tended to their great hurt, and therefore were deſirous to prevent it; but to keep the Love of the *Athenians*, the new *Ephori* thought that more was already done than ſtood with their Honour or Profit; others held it the wiſeſt way, having done ſo much, not to ſtick upon a little more, but rather by giving full ſatisfaction to retain the Friendſhip of that State, which was more to be valued than all the reſt of *Greece*. This Reſolution prevailing, they ſent away ſuch of their Citizens as were beſt affected to the Peace, who coming to *Athens* with full Commiſſion to make an end of all Controverſies, did earneſtly labour in the Council-Houſe, to make the truth of things appear; ſaying, that their Confederacy with the *Thebans* had tended to none other end than the Recovery of *Panacte*: concerning which Town, or any other buſineſs, that it much grieved the *Lacedæmonians*, to ſee things fall out in ſuch wiſe as might give to the *Athenians* cauſe of diſpleaſure; but that all ſhould be done which in reaſon might be required for making matters even between them; to which purpoſe they ſhewed that themſelves had abſolute Commiſſion. Wherefore they deſired that *Pylus* might be reſtored unto them, and eſpecially for the preſent, that the Negotiation with the *Argives* might be called aſide. Favourable Audience was given to this Propoſition, the rather, becauſe they which promiſed amends, had power to make their words good. But all this fair likelihood of good Agreement was daſht on the ſudden, by the practiſe of *Alcibiades*, who ſecretly dealing with the *Lacedæmonian* Embaſſadors, perſwaded them well of his Friendſhip towards their City, and adviſed them to take all care that their abſolute Power to conclude what they pleaſed in the name of *Sparta*, might not be known to the Commonalty of *Athens*, leſt the info-

insolent Multitude should thereupon grow peremptory, and yield to nothing, unless they could draw them to unreasonable Conditions. The Embassadors believed him, and fashioned their Tale in the Assembly of the People as he had advised them. Hereupon the same *Alcibiades* taking presently the advantage, which their double dealing afforded, inveighed openly against them, as men of no sincerity, that were come to *Athens* for none other purpose, than to hinder the People from strengthening themselves with Friends, meaning to draw the *Argives* and their Adherents to their own Alliance, as (contrary to their Oath) already they had the *Thebans*. The People of *Athens*, whom a pleasing Errand would hardly have satisfied, or brought into a good Opinion of the *Lacedæmonians*, (whose honest Meanings had so ill been seconded with good performance) were now so incensed with the double dealing of the Embassadors, and the strong perswasions of *Alcibiades*, that little wanted of concluding the League with *Argos*. Yet for the present, so far did *Nicias*, an Honorable Citizen, and great Friend to the Peace, prevail with them, that the Business was put off, till he himself with other Embassadors might fetch a better answer from *Sparta*.

It may seem a great Wonder, how so poor a Trick of *Alcibiades* was able to carry a matter of such importance, when the *Spartan* Embassadors might have cast the Load upon his own shoulders, by discovering the truth. But the Gravity which was usually found in the *Lacedæmonians*, hindred them (perhaps) from playing their Game handsomly against so nimble a Wit; and they might well have been thought untrusty men, had they professed themselves such as would say and unsay for their most advantage.

Nicias and his Companions had a sower Message to deliver at *Sparta*, being peremptorily to require performance of all Conditions, and among the rest, that the *Lacedæmonians* should take the pains to rebuild *Panacte*, and should immediately renounce their Alliance made with the *Thebans*; letting them understand that otherwise the *Athenians*, without further delay, would enter into Confederacy with the *Argives* and their Adherents. The *Ephori* at *Sparta* had no mind to forsake the *Thebans*, assured Friends to their State; but wrought so hard, that the Anger of the *Athenians* was suffered to break out what way it could, which to mitigate they would do no more, than only (at the request of *Nicias* their honourable Friend, who would not seem to have effected nothing) swear anew to keep the Articles of the League between them and *Athens*. Immediately therefore upon return of the Embassadors, a new League was made between the *Athenians*, *Argives*, *Mantineans*, and *Eleans*, with very ample provision for holding the same common Friends and Enemies; wherein, though the *Lacedæmonians* were passed over with silence, yet was it manifest that the whole intent of this Confederacy did bend it self chiefly against them, as in short while after was proved by effect.

At this time the *Lacedæmonians* were in ill case, who having restored all that they could unto the *Athenians*, and procured others to do the like, had themselves recovered nothing of their own (Prisoners excepted) for default of restoring all that they should. But that which did most of all disable them, was the loss of Reputation, which they had not more impaired in the late War by misfortunes, than in sundry Passages between them and the *Athenians*: to procure and keep whose Amity, they had left sundry of their old Friends to shift for themselves. Contrariwise, the *Athenians*, by the Treaty of Peace, had recovered the most of that which they lost in War; all their Gettings they had retained, and were strengthened by the access of new Confederates.

§. VII.

How the Peace between Athens *and* Sparta *was ill kept, though not openly broken.*

IT was not long ere the *Argives* and their Fellows had found Business wherewith to set the *Athenians* on work, and make use of this Conjunction. For presuming upon the strength of their side, they began to meddle with the *Epidaurians*, whom it concerned the State of *Sparta* to defend. So many acts of hostility were committed, wherein *Athens* and *Sparta* did not (as Principals) infest each the other, but came in collaterally, as to the aid of their several Friends.

By these occasions the *Corinthians*, *Bœotians*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, and other People of *Greece*, began anew to range themselves under the *Lacedæmonians*; and follow their Ensigns. One Victory which the *Lacedæmonians* obtained by their meer Valour in a set Battel near to *Mantinæa*, against the *Argive* side, helped well to repair their decaied Reputation, though otherwise it yielded them no great profit. The civil dissention arising shortly after within *Argos* it self, between the principal Citizens and the Commons, had almost thrown down the whole frame of the new Combination. For the chief Citizens getting the upper hand, made a League with *Sparta*, wherein they proceeded so far as to renounce the Amity of the *Athenians* in expres words, and forced the *Mantineans* to the like. But in short space of time the Multitude prevailing, reversed all this, and having chased away their ambitious Nobility, applied themselves to the *Athenians* as closely as before.

Besides these Uproars in *Peloponnesus*, many Assaies were made to raise up Troubles in all parts of *Greece*, and likewise in *Macedon*, to the *Athenians*; whose Forces and readiness for Execution prevented some things, revenged other, and requited all with some prosperous attempts. Finally, the *Athenians* wanting matter for quarrel, and the *Lacedæmonians* growing weary, they began to be quiet, retaining still that Enmity in their hearts, which they had sufficiently discovered in effects, though not as yet breaking out into terms of open War.

§. VIII.

The Athenians *sending two Fleets to sack Siracuse, are put to flight and utterly discomfitted.*

DUring this intermission of open War the *Athenians* re-entertained their hopes of subduing *Sicil*, whether they sent a Fleet so mighty as never was set forth by *Greece* in any Age before or after.

This Fleet was very well manned, and furnished with all Necessaries to so great an Expedition. All which came to nought; partly by the Factions in *Athens*, whence *Alcibiades* Author of that Voyage, and one of the Generals of their Fleet, was driven to banish himself, for fear of such Judgment, as else he was like to have undergone among the incensed People; partly by the Invasion which the *Lacedæmonians* made upon *Attica*,

whileſt the Forces of that State were ſo far from home. Hereunto was added the Aid of the King of *Perſia*, who ſupplied the *Peloponneſians* with Money.

Neither was the ſucceſs of things in *Sicilia* ſuch, as without help from *Athens*, could give any likelihood of a good end in that War. For although in the beginning, the enterpriſe had ſo well ſucceeded, that they Beſieged *Syracuſe*, the chief City of the Iſland, and one of the faireſt Towns which the *Greeks* Inhabited, obtaining the better in ſundry Battels by Land and Sea; yet when the Town was relieved with ſtrong Aid from *Peloponneſus*, it came to paſs that the *Athenians* were put to the worſe on all ſides, in ſuch wiſe, that their Fleet was ſhut up into the Haven of *Syracuſe*, and could not iſſue out.

As the *Athenian* Affairs went very ill in *Sicil*, ſo did they at home ſtand upon hard terms, for that the *Lacedæmonians*, who had been formerly accuſtomed to make weariſom yearly Journeys into *Attica*, which having pilled and foraged, they returned home; did now by Counſel of *Alcibiades*, (who ſeeking Revenge upon his own Citizens, was fled unto them) fortifie the Town of *Decelea*, which was near to *Athens*, whence they ceaſed not with daily excurſions to harry all the Country round about, and ſometimes give Alarm unto the City it ſelf.

In theſe extremities, the perverſe obſtinacy of the *Athenians* was very ſtrange; who leaving at their backs, and at their own doors, an Enemy little leſs mighty than themſelves, did yet ſend forth another Fleet into *Sicil*, to invade a People no leſs puiſſant, which never had offended them.

It often happens that proſperous events makes fooliſh Counſel ſeem wiſer than it was, which came to paſs many times among the *Athenians*, whoſe vain conceits *Pallas* was ſaid to turn unto the beſt. But where unſound advice, finding bad proof, is obſtinately purſued, neither *Pallas* nor *Fortune* can be juſtly blamed for a miſerable iſſue. This ſecond Fleet of the *Athenians*, which better might have ſerved to convey home the former, that was defeated; after ſome attempts made to ſmall purpoſe againſt the *Syracuſans*, was finally (together with the other part of the Navy, which was there before) quite vanquiſhed, and bar'd up into the Haven of *Syracuſe*, whereby the Camp of the *Athenians*, utterly deprived of all benefit by Sea, either for ſuccour or departure, was driven to break up and flie away by Land; in which flight they were over-taken, routed, and quite overthrown in ſuch wiſe, that ſcarce any man eſcaped.

This miſchief well deſervedly fell upon the *Athenians*, who had wickedly condemned into Exile, *Sophocles* and *Pthiodorus*, Generals, formerly ſent into that Iſle, pretending that they had taken money for making Peace in *Sicil*; whereas indeed there was not any means or poſſibility to have made War. Hereby it came to paſs, that *Nicias*, who had the chief Command in this unhappy enterpriſe, did rather chooſe to hazard the ruine of his Country, by the loſs of that Army, wherein conſiſted little leſs than all the power of *Athens*, than to adventure his own Eſtate, his Life, and his Honour, upon the Tongues of ſhameleſs accuſers, and the ſentence of Judges before his Tryal reſolved to condemn him, by retiring from *Syracuſe*, when wiſdom and neceſſity required it. *For* (ſaid he) *they ſhall give ſentence upon us, who know not the reaſon of our doings, nor will give ear to any that would ſpeak in our behalf; but altogether hearken to ſuſpitious and vain rumours that ſhall be brought againſt us; yea, theſe our Souldiers, who now are ſo deſirous to return in ſafety, will in our danger be well contented to frame their tales to the pleaſure of the lewd and inſolent multitude.*

This reſolution of *Nicias*, though it cannot be commended (for it is the part of an Honeſt and Valiant man, to do what Reaſon willeth, not what Opinion expecteth; and to meaſure Honour or Diſhonour by the aſſurance of his well-informed Conſcience, rather than by the malicious report and cenſure of others) yet it may be excuſed; ſince he had before his eyes the injuſtice of his People, and had well underſtood that a wicked Sentence is infinitely worſe than a wicked Fact, as being held a preſident and pattern, whereby Oppreſſion beginning upon one, is extended as warrantable upon all. Therefore his fear of wrongful condemnation was ſuch, as a conſtant man could not eaſily have over-maſtered; but when afterwards the Army, having no other expectation of ſafety than the faint hope of a ſecret flight, he was ſo terrified with an Eclipſe of the Moon, happening when they were about to diſlodge, that he would not conſent to have the Camp break up till ſeven and twenty days were paſt. His timorouſneſs was even as fooliſh and ridiculous, as the iſſue of it was lamentable. For he ſhould not have thought that the power of the Heavens, and the courſe of Nature would be as unjuſt as his *Athenians*; or might pretend leſs evil to the ſlothful, than to ſuch as did their beſt. Neither do I think that any Aſtrologer can alledge this Eclipſe, as either a cauſe or prognoſtication of that Armies deſtruction, otherwiſe than as the folly of men did, by application, turn it to their own confuſion. Had *C. Caſſius*, the *Roman*, he, who ſlew *Julius Cæſar*, imitated this Superſtition of *Nicias*, he had ſurely found the ſame fortune in a caſe very like. But when, he retiring, the broken remainder of *Craſſus* his Army defeated by the *Parthian* Archers, was adviſed, upon ſuch an accident as this, to continue where he then was, till the Sun were paſt the Sign of *Scorpio*; he made anſwer, that he ſtood not in ſuch fear of *Scorpio*, as of *Sagittarius*. So adventuring rather to abide the frowning of the Heavens, than the nearer danger of Enemies upon Earth, he made ſuch a ſafe and honourable retreat, as did both ſhew his noble reſolution, and give a fair example to that good rule,

——— *Sapiens dominabitur aſtris.*

Thus we ſee that God, who ordinarily works by concatenation of means, deprives the Governours of underſtanding, when he intends evil to the multitude; and that the wickedneſs of unjuſt men is the ready mean to weaken the vertue of thoſe who might have done them good.

§. IX.

Of the troubles whereinto the State of Athens *fell, after the great loſs of the Fleet and Army in* Sicilia.

THE loſs of this Army was the ruine of the *Athenian* Dominion, and may be well accompted a very little leſs calamity to that Eſtate, than was the ſubverſion of the Walls, when the City about ſeven years after was taken by *Lyſander*. For now began the Subjects of the *Athenian* Eſtate to rebel; of whom, ſome they reduced under their Obedience, others held out; ſome for fear of greater inconvenience were ſet at Liberty, promiſing only to be their good Friends, as formerly they had been their Subjects; others having a kind of liberty offered by the *Athenians*, were not therewith contented, but obtained a true and per-

perfect liberty by force. Among these troubles it fell out very unseasonably, that the principal men of *Athens* being wearied with the Peoples insolency, took upon them to change the form of that Estate, and bring the Government into the hands of a few. To which purpose conspiring with the Captains which were abroad, they caused them to set up the form of an Aristocraty in the Towns of their Confederates; and in the mean time, some that were most likely to withstand this innovation, being slain at *Athens*, the Commonalty were so dismay'd that none durst speak against the Conspirators, whose number they knew not; but every man was afraid of his Neighbour, lest he should be a member of the League. In this general fear the Majesty of *Athens* was usurped by four hundred men, who observing in shew the ancient form of proceeding, did cause all matters to be propounded unto the People, and concluded upon by the greater part of voices: but the things propounded were only such as were first allowed in private among themselves; neither had the Commonalty any other liberty, than only to approve and give consent; for whosoever presumed any further, was quickly dispatched out of the way, and no enquiry made of the Murder. By these means were many Decrees made, all tending to the establishment of this new Authority, which nevertheless endured not long. For the Fleet and Army, which then was at the Isle of *Samos*, did altogether detest these dealings of the four hundred usurpers, and held them as Enemies; whereupon they revoked *Alcibiades* out of Banishment, and by his assistance procured that the supplies which the *Persian* King had promised unto the *Lacedæmonians*, were by *Tissaphernes* his Lieutenant, made unprofitable, through the slow and bad performance. *Alcibiades* had at the first been very well entertained in *Sparta*, whilst his Service done to that State was not grown to be the object of envy. But when it appeared that in Counsel and good performance he so far excelled all the *Lacedæmonians*, that all their good success was ascribed to his Wit and Valour, then were all the principal Citizens weary of his vertue; especially *Agis*, one of their Kings, whose Wife had so far yielded her self to the love of this *Athenian*, that among her inward Friends she could not forbear to call her young Child by his Name. Hereupon order was taken that *Alcibiades* should be killed out of the way. But he discovering the *Spartan* Treachery, conveyed himself unto *Tissaphernes*, whom he so bewitched with his great Beauty, sweet Conversation, and sound Wit, that he soon became the Master of that Barbarous Vice-roy's affections, who had free power to dispose the great Kings Treasures and Forces in those parts. Then began he to advise *Tissaphernes*, not so far forth to assist the *Lacedæmonians*, that they should quite overthrow the State of *Athens*, but rather to help the weaker side, and let them one consume another, whereby all should fall at length into the hands of the *Persian*. By this counsel he made way to other practises, wherein by strength of his Reputation (as the only Favourite of so great a Potentate) he plaid his own Game, procuring his restitution. At length his Banishment being repealed by the Army, but not by the Citizens (who then were oppressed by the four hundred) he laboured greatly to reconcile the Souldiers to the Governours; or at least to divert their heat another way, and turn it upon the common Enemy. Some of the four hundred approved his motion, as being weary of the Tyranny whereof they were partakers; partly because they saw it could not long endure, and partly for that themselves, being less regarded by the rest of their companions, than stood with their good liking, sought to acquit themselves of it as honestly as they might. But the most of that Faction laboured to obtain Peace of the *Lacedæmonians*, desiring chiefly to maintain both their own Authority, and the greatness of their City, if they might; but if this could not be, they did rather wish to preserve their own power, or safety at least, than the good Estate of the Common-wealth. Therefore they made sundry overtures of Peace to the *Lacedæmonians*, desiring to compound in as good terms as they might, and affirming that they were fitter to be trusted than the wavering multitude; especially considering that the City of *Sparta* was Governed by an *Aristocraty*, to which form they had now reduced *Athens*. All these passages between the four hundred (or the most and chief of them) and the *Lacedæmonians*, were kept as secret as might be. For the City of *Athens*, hoping, without any great cause, to repair their losses, was not inclined to make composition; from which upon juster ground the Enemy was much more averse, trusting well that the discord of the *Athenians* (not unknown abroad) might yield some fair opportunity to the destruction of it self, which in effect (though not then presently) came to pass. And upon this hope King *Agis* did sometimes bring his Forces from *Decelea* to *Athens*, where doing no good, he received some small losses. Likewise the Navy of *Peloponnesus* made shew of attempting the City, but seeing no likelihood of success, they bent their course from thence to other places, where they obtained Victories, which in the better Fortune of the *Athenians* might more lightly have been regarded, than in this their decayed estate. Yet it seems, without any disparagement to their Wisdom, they should rather have forborn to present unto the City, or to the Countries near adjoyning any terror of the War. For the dissention within the Walls might soon have done more hurt than could be received from the Fleet or Army without; which indeed gave occasion to set the Citizens at unity, though it lasted not very long. The four hundred, by means of these troubles, were fain to resign their Authority, which they could not now hold, when the People having taken Arms to repel Foreign Enemies, would not lay them down, till they had freed themselves from such as oppressed the State at home. Yet was not this alteration of Government a full restitution of the Soveraign Command unto the People, or whole Body of the City, but only to five thousand; which Company the four hundred (when their Authority began) had pretended to take unto them as Assistants: herein seeming to do little wrong or none to the Commonalty, who seldom assembled in greater number. But now when the highest power was come indeed into the hands of so many, it was soon agreed that *Alcibiades* and his Companions should be recalled from Exile; and that the Army at *Samos* should be requested to undertake the Government; which was forthwith reformed according to the Souldiers desire.

§. X.

How Alcibiades *won many important Victories for the* Athenians, *was recalled from Exile, made their General, and again deposed.*

THis establishment of things in the City, was accompanied with some good success in the Wars.

Wars. For the *Lacedæmonians* were about the ſame time overthrown at Sea, in a great Battel, by the *Athenian* Fleet, which had remained at *Samos*; to which *Alcibiades* afterwards joyning ſuch Forces as he could raiſe, obtained many Victories. Before the Town of *Abydus*, his arrival with eighteen Ships gave the Honour of a great Battel to the *Athenians*; he overthrew and utterly deſtroyed the Fleet of the *Lacedæmonians*, commanded by *Mindarus*, took the Towns of *Cyzicus* and *Perinthus*, made the *Selymbrians* ranſom their City, and fortified *Chryſopolis*. Hereupon Letters were ſent to *Sparta*, which the *Athenians*, intercepting, found to contain the diſtreſs of the Army in theſe few words: *All is loſt*, Mindarus *is ſlain*, *the Souldiers want Victuals*, *we know not what to do*.

Shortly after this, *Alcibiades* overthrew the *Lacedæmonians* in Fight by Land at *Chalcedon*, took *Selymbria*, beſieged and wan *Byzantium*, now called *Conſtantinople*, which even in thoſe days was a goodly, rich, and very ſtrong City. Hereupon he returned home with very great welcom, and was made High Admiral of all the Navy.

But this his Honour continued not long; for it was taken from him, and he driven to Baniſh himſelf again; only becauſe his Lieutenant, contrary to the expreſs command of *Alcibiades*, fighting with the Enemies in his abſence, had loſt a great part of the Fleet.

The ſecond Baniſhment of *Alcibiades* was to the *Athenians* more harmful than the firſt; and the loſs which thereupon they received, was (though more heavy to them, yet) leſs to be pitied of others, than that which enſued upon his former Exile. For whereas at the firſt, he had ſought revenge upon his own City; now, as inured to Adverſity, he rather pitied their fury, who in time of ſuch danger had caſt out him that ſhould have repaired their weak Eſtate, than ſought by procuring or beholding the calamity of his People, to comfort himſelf after injury received. Before they, who were inſtituted in the place of *Alcibiades*, arrived at the Fleet, he preſented Battel to *Lyſander* the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral, who was not ſo confident upon his former Victory, as to undertake *Alcibiades* himſelf, bringing Ships more in number (notwithſtanding the former loſs of fifteen) than his Enemies had, and better ordered than they had been under his Lieutenant. But when the Decree of the People was publiſhed in the Navy, then did *Alcibiades* withdraw himſelf to a Town upon *Helleſpont*, called *Bizanthe*, where he had built a Caſtle.

§. XI.

The Battel at Arginuſæ, *and Condemnation of the Victorious* Athenian *Captains by the People.*

After this time the *Athenians*, receiving many loſſes and diſcomfitures, were driven to flie into the Haven of *Mytelene*, where they were ſtraightly Beſieged both by Land and Sea. For the raiſing of this Siege neceſſity enforced them to Man all their Veſſels, and to put the uttermoſt of their Forces into the hazard of one Battel. This Battel was fought at *Arginuſæ*, where *Callicratidas*, Admiral of the *Lacedæmonians*, loſing the honour of the day, preſerved his own Reputation by dying valiantly in the Fight. It might well have been expected, that the ten Captains, who joyntly had Command in chief over the *Athenian* Fleet, ſhould for that good days Service, and ſo happy a Victory, have received great Honour of their Citizens. But contrariwiſe they were forthwith called home, and accuſed, as if wilfully they had ſuffered many of the Citizens, whoſe Ships were broken and ſunk, to be caſt away, when by appointing ſome Veſſels to take them up, they might have ſaved them from being drowned. Hereto the Captains readily made a very juſt anſwer; That they, purſuing the Victory, had left part of the Fleet, under ſufficient men, to ſave thoſe that were wrackt; which if it were not well accompliſhed, it was, becauſe a Tempeſt ariſing about the end of the Fight, had hindred the performance of that, and other their intendments. This excuſe availed not: For a lewd fellow was brought forth, who ſaid, That he himſelf eſcaping in a Meal-tub, had been intreated by thoſe who were in peril of drowning, to deſire of the People revenge of their deaths upon the Captains. It was very ſtrange, that upon ſuch an accuſation, maintained with ſo ſlender Evidence, men that had well deſerved of their Country, ſhould be overthrown. But their Enemies had ſo incenſed the raſcal multitude, that no man durſt abſolve them, ſave only *Socrates* the wiſe and vertuous Philoſopher, whoſe voice in this judgment was not regarded. Six of them were put to death, of whom one had hardly eſcaped drowning, and was with much ado relieved by other Veſſels in the Storm: but the Captains which were abſent eſcaped; for when the fury of the People was over-paſt, this judgment was reverſed, and the accuſers called into queſtion for having deceived and perverted the Citizens. Thus the *Athenians* went about to free themſelves from the infamy of injuſtice; but the Divine Juſtice was not aſleep, nor would be ſo deluded.

§. XII.

The Battel at Ægos-Potamos, wherein the whole State of Athens *was ruined; with the end of the* Peloponneſian *War.*

THE *Peloponneſian* Fleet under *Lyſander*, the year next following, having ſcowred the *Ægean* Seas, entred *Helleſpont*, where (landing Souldiers) it beſieged and took the Town of *Lampſacus*. Hereupon all the Navy of *Athens*, being an hundred and fourſcore Sail, made thither in haſte; but finding *Lampſacus* taken before their coming, they put in at *Seſtos*, where having refreſhed themſelves, they ſailed to the River, called *Ægos-Potamos*, which is (as we might name it) *Goats-brook*, or the River of the *Goat*; being on the Continent, oppoſite to *Lampſacus*: and there they caſt Anchors, not one whole League off from *Lyſander*, who rode at *Lampſacus* in the Harbour. The next day after their arrival they preſented fight unto the *Peloponneſians*, who refuſed it; whereupon the *Athenians* returned again to *Ægos-Potamos*; and thus they continued five days, braving every day the Enemy, and returning to their own Harbour when it drew towards Evening.

The Caſtle of *Alcibiades* was not far from the Navy, and his power in thoſe places was ſuch as might have greatly availed his Country-men, if they could have made uſe of it. For he had waged Mercenaries, and making War in his own Name upon ſome People of the *Thracians*, had gathered much Wealth, and obtained much Reputation among them. He perceiving the diſorderly courſe of the *Athenian* Commanders, repaired unto them, and ſhewed what great inconvenience might grow, if they did not ſoon fore-ſee and prevent it. For they lay in a Road ſubject to every Weather,

Weather, neither near enough to any Town where they might ſurniſh themſelves with neceſſaries; nor ſo far off as had been more expedient. *Seſtos* was the next Market-Town; thither both Souldiers and Mariners reſorted, flocking away from the Navy every day, as ſoon as they were returned from braving the Enemy. Therefore *Alcibiades* willed them either to lie at *Seſtos*, which was not far off; or at the leaſt, to conſider better how near their Enemy was, whoſe fear proceeded rather from obedience to his General, than from any cowardiſe. This admonition was ſo far deſpiſed, that ſome of the Commanders willed him to meddle with his own matters, and to remember that his Authority was out of date. Had it not been for theſe opprobrious words, he could (as he told his familiars) have compelled the *Lacedæmonians* either to fight upon unequal terms, or utterly to quit their Fleet. And like enough it was that he might ſo have done, by tranſporting the light-armed *Thracians* his Confederates, and others his followers, over the Straights, who aſſaulting the *Peloponneſians* by Land, would either have compelled them to put to Sea, or elſe to leave their Ships to the mercy of the *Athenians*. But finding their acceptance of his good Counſel no better than hath been rehearſed, he left them to their fortune, which how evil it would be he did prognoſticate.

Lyſander all this while defending himſelf by the advantage of his Haven, was not careleſs in looking into the demeanor of the *Athenians*. When they departed, his manner was to ſend forth ſome of his ſwifteſt Veſſels after them, who obſerving their doings, related unto him what they had ſeen. Therefore underſtanding in what careleſs faſhion they romed up and down the Country, he kept all his men aboard after their departure, and the fift day gave eſpecial charge to his Scouts, That when they perceived the *Athenians* diſembarking, as their cuſtom was, and walking towards *Seſtos*, they ſhould forthwith return, and hang up a brazen Shield in the Prow, as a token for him to weigh Anchor.

The Scouts performed their charge, and *Lyſander* being in a readineſs, made all ſpeed that ſtrength of Oars could give, to *Ægos-Potamos*, where he found very few of his Enemies aboard their Ships, not many near them, and all in great confuſion upon the news of his approach.

Inſomuch that the greateſt induſtry which the *Athenians* then ſhewed, was in the eſcape of eight or nine Ships, which knowing how much that loſs imported, gave over *Athens* as deſperate, and made a long flight unto the Iſle of *Cyprus*; all the reſt were taken, and ſuch of the Souldiers as came in to the reſcue cut in pieces. Thus was the War, which had laſted ſeven and twenty years, with variable ſucceſs, concluded in one hour; and the glory of *Athens* in ſuch wiſe Eclipſed, that ſhe never after ſhone again in her perfect light.

Immediately upon this Victory, *Lyſander*, having taken in ſuch Towns as readily did yield upon the firſt fame of his exploit, ſet ſail for *Athens*, and joyning his Forces with thoſe of *Agis* and *Pauſanias*, Kings of *Sparta*, Summoned the City, which finding too ſtubborn to yield, and too ſtrong to be won on the ſudden, he put forth again to Sea; and rather by terror than violence, compelling all the Iſlands, and ſuch Towns of the *Ionians*, as had formerly held of the *Athenians*, to ſubmit themſelves to *Sparta*, he did thereby cut off all proviſion of Victuals, and other Neceſſaries, from the City, and enforced the People by meer Famine to yield to theſe Conditions. That the long Walls leading from the Town to the Port, ſhould be thrown down; That all Cities ſubject to their Eſtate, ſhould be ſet at liberty; That the *Athenians* ſhould be Maſters only of their own Territories, and the Fields adjoyning to their Town; And that they ſhould keep no more than twelve Ships; That they ſhould hold as Friends or Enemies, the ſame whom the *Lacedæmonians* did, and follow the *Lacedæmonians* as Leaders in the Wars.

Theſe Articles being agreed upon, the Walls were thrown down with great rejoycing of thoſe who had born diſpleaſure to *Athens*; and not without ſome conſultation of deſtroying the City, and laying waſte the Land about it. Which Advice, although it was not entertained, yet were thirty Governours, or rather cruel Tyrants, appointed over the People, who recompenſed their former inſolency and injuſtice over their Captains, by oppreſſing them with all baſe and intolerable Slavery.

The only ſmall hope then remaining to the *Athenians*, was, that *Alcibiades* might perhaps repair what their own folly had ruined. But the thirty Tyrants perceiving this, advertiſed the *Lacedæmonians* thereof, who contrived, and (as now domineering in every quarter) ſoon effected his ſudden Death.

Such end had the *Peloponneſian* War. After which, the *Lacedæmonians* abuſing the Reputation, and great Power, which therein they had obtained, grew very odious to all *Greece*; and by Combination of many Cities againſt them, were diſpoſſeſſed of their High Authority, even in that very Age, in which they had ſubdued *Athens*. The greateſt foil that they took was of the *Thebans*, led by *Epaminondas*, under whom *Philip* of *Macedon*, Father to *Alexander* the Great, had the beſt of his Education. By theſe *Thebans*, the City of *Sparta* (beſides other great loſſes received) was ſundry times in danger of being taken. But theſe haughty attempts of the *Thebans* came finally to nothing; for the ſeveral Eſtates and Signories of *Greece* were grown ſo jealous one of anothers greatneſs; that the *Lacedæmonians*, *Athenians*, *Argives*, and *Thebans*, which were the mightieſt, aſſociating themſelves with the weaker party, did ſo counterpoiſe the ſtronger, that no one City could extend the limits of her Juriſdiction ſo far as might make her terrible to her Neighbours. And thus all parts of the Country remained rather evenly balanced, than well agreeing, till ſuch time as *Philip*, and after him *Alexander*, Kings of *Macedon*, (whoſe forefathers had been dependants, and followers, yea, almoſt meer Vaſſals to the Eſtates of *Athens* and *Sparta*) found means, by making uſe of their Factions, to bring them all into Servitude, from which they never could be free, till the *Romans* preſenting them with a ſhew of Liberty, did themſelves indeed become their Maſters.

CHAP.

Chap. IX.

Of Matters concurring with the Peloponnesian *War, or shortly following it.*

§. I.

How the Affairs of Persia *stood in these Times.*

DURING the times of this *Peloponnesian* War, and those other less expeditions foregoing it, *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, having peaceably injoyed a long Raign over the *Persians*, left it by his Death either to *Darius*, who was called *Darius Nothus*, or the *Bastard*, whom the *Greek* Historians (lightly passing over *Xerxes* the second, and *Sogdianus*, as Usurpers, and for their short Raign little to be regarded) place next unto him, or to *Xerxes* the second, who, and his Brother *Sogdianus* after him (seeming to have been the Sons of *Hester*) held the Kingdom but one year between them, the younger succeeding his elder Brother. It is not my purpose (as I have said before) to pursue the History of the *Persians* from henceforth, by rehearsal of all the particulars, otherwise then as they shall be incident to the Affairs of *Greece*. It may therefore suffice to say, That *Xerxes* the second being a vitious Prince, did perish after a month or two, if not by Surfeit, then by Treachery of his as riotous Brother *Sogdianus*. Likewise of *Sogdianus* it is found, that being as ill as his Brother, and more Cruel, he slew unjustly *Bagorazus* a principal *Eunuch*, and would have done as much to his Brother *Darius* the *Bastard*, had not he foreseen it, and by raising a stronger Army than this hated King *Sogdianus* could levy, seized at once upon the King and Kingdom. *Darius* having slain his Brother, held the Empire nineteen years. *Amyrtæus* of *Sais* an *Ægyptian* rebelled against him, and having partly slain, partly chased out of the Land the *Persian* Garrisons, allied himself so firmly with the *Greeks*, that by their aid he maintained the Kingdom, and delivered it over to his posterity, who (notwithstanding the fury of their Civil Wars,) maintained it against the *Persian*, all the daies of this *Darius*, and of his Son *Artaxerxes Mnemon*. Likewise *Amorges*, a Subject of his own, and of the Royal blood, being Lieutenant of *Caria*, rebelled against him; confederating himself with the *Athenians*. But the great Calamity, before spoken of, which fell upon the *Athenians* in *Sicil*, having put new life into the *Spartans*, and given courage to the Islanders and others, subject to the State of *Athens*, to shake off the yoke of their long continued bondage: It fell out well for *Darius*, that the *Lacedæmonians* being destitute of money, wherewith to defray the charge of a great Navy, without which it was impossible to advance the War against the State of *Athens*, that remained powerful by Sea, were driven to crave his assistance, which he granted unto them, first upon what conditions best pleased himself, though afterwards the Articles of the League between him and them were set down in more precise terms, wherein it was concluded, That he and they should make war joyntly upon the *Athenians*, and upon all that should rebel from either of them, and (which was highly to the Kings honour and profit) that all the Cities of *Asia*, which had formerly been his or his Predecessors, should return to his Obedience. By this Treaty, and the War ensuing (of which I have already spoken) he recovered all that his Grand-father and Father had lost in *Asia*. Likewise by assistance of the *Lacedæmonians* he got *Amorges* alive into his hands, who was taken in the City of *Jasus*; the *Athenians* wanting either Force or Courage to succour him. Nevertheless *Ægypt* still held out against him; the cause whereof cannot be the employment of the *Persian* Forces on the parts of *Greece*, for he abounded in men, of whom he had enough for all occasions, but they wanted Manhood, which caused him to fight with Gold, which effected for him by Souldiers of other Nations, and his natural Enemies, what the Valour of his own Subjects was insufficient to perform. *Darius* had in marriage *Parysatis* his own Sister, who bare unto him (besides other Children) *Artaxerxes* called *Mnemon*, that is to say, the Mindful, or the Rememberer, who succeeded him in the Kingdom; and *Cyrus* the younger, a Prince of singular Vertue, and accounted by all that knew him, the most excellent man that ever *Persia* bred after *Cyrus* the Great. But the old King *Darius* intending to leave unto his elder Son *Artaxerxes* the Inheritance of that great Empire, did cast a jealous Eye upon the doings of young *Cyrus*, who being Lieutenant of the lower *Asia*, took more upon him than befitted a Subject: for which cause his Father sent for him, with intent to have taken some very sharp course with him, had not his own Death prevented the coming of his younger Son, and placed the Elder in his Throne. Of the War between these Brethren, and summarily of *Artaxerxes*, we shall have occasion to speak somewhat in more convenient place.

§. II.

How the thirty Tyrants got their Dominion in Athens.

I Hold it in this place most convenient to shew the Proceedings of the *Greeks*, after the subversion of the Walls of *Athens*, which gave end to that War called the *Peloponnesian* War, but could not free the unhappy Country of *Greece* from Civil Broils. The thirty Governours, commonly called the thirty Tyrants of *Athens*, were chosen at the first by the People to compile a Body of their Law, and make a Collection of such ancient Statutes as were meetest to be put in practise: the Condition of the City standing as it did in that so sudden Alteration. To this Charge was annexed the supreme Authority, either as a Recompence of their Labours, or because the necessity of the times did so require it, wherein the Law being uncertain, it was fit that such men should give Judgment in particular Causes, to whose Judgment the Laws themselvs, by which the City was to be ordered, were become subject. But these thirty having so great Power in their hands, were

more

more careful to hold it, than to deſerve it by faithful execution of that which was committed to them in truſt.

Therefore apprehending ſuch troubleſome Fellows, as were odious to the City, though not puniſhable therefore by Law, they condemned them to Death; which proceeding was by all men highly approved, who conſidered their lewd conditions, but did not withal bethink themſelves, how eaſie a thing it would be unto theſe thirty men, to take away the Lives of Innocents, by calling them Perturbers of the Peace, or what elſe they liſted, when Condemnation without due Tryal and Proof had been once well allowed. Having thus plauſibly entred into a wicked courſe of Government, they thought it beſt to fortifie themſelves with a ſure Guard, ere they brake out into thoſe diſorders, which they muſt needs commit for the eſtabliſhing of their Authority. Wherefore diſpatching two of their own Company to *Sparta*, they informed the *Lacedæmonians*, that it was the full intent of the thirty, to keep the City free from all rebellious Motions, to which purpoſe it behoved them to cut off ſuch as were ſeditious; and therefore deſired the *Lacedæmonians* to ſend them a Garriſon, which they promiſed at their own coſt to maintain. This motion was well approved, and a Guard ſent, the Captain of which was ſo well entertained by the Thirty, that none of their miſdeeds could want his high Commendations at *Sparta*. Hereupon the Tyrants began to take heart, and looking no more after baſe and deteſted Perſons, invaded the principal men of the City, ſending armed men from Houſe to Houſe, who drew out ſuch as were of great Reputation, and likely, or able, to make any Head againſt this wicked Form of Government: whereby there was ſuch effuſion of Blood, as to *Theramenes* (one of the Thirty) ſeemed very horrible, and unable to eſcape Vengeance. His diſlike of their proceedings being openly diſcovered, cauſed his Fellows to bethink themſelves, and provide for their own ſecurity, and his deſtruction, leſt he ſhould make himſelf a Captain of the diſcontented (which were almoſt the whole City) and redeem his own Peace with their Ruine. Wherefore they ſelected three thouſand of the Citizens, whom they thought meeteſt, and gave unto them ſome part of publique Authority, the reſt they diſarmed; and having thus increaſed their own ſtrength, and weakened their Oppoſites, they began afreſh to ſhed the Blood, not only of their private Enemies, but of ſuch whoſe Money or Goods might inrich them, and enable them for the Payment of their Guard. And to this purpoſe they concluded, that every one of them ſhould name one man upon whoſe Goods he ſhould ſeize, putting the owner to death. But when *Theramenes* uttered his deteſtation of ſo wicked intent, then did *Critias*, who of all the Thirty was moſt tyrannical, accuſe him to the Council, as a treacherous man, and (whereas one main priviledge of the three thouſand was, that none of them ſhould ſuffer death at the appointment of the Thirty, but have the accuſtomed Tryal) he took upon him to ſtrike out of that number the Name of *Theramenes*, and ſo reduced him under the Tryal and Sentence of that Order. It was well alledged by *Theramenes*, that his Name was not more eaſie to be blotted out of the *Catalogue* than any other mans, upon which conſideration, he adviſed them all to conceive no otherwiſe of his Caſe, than as of their own, who were liable to the ſame form of proceeding; but (every man chooſing rather to preſerve his own life by ſilence, than preſently to draw upon himſelf the danger, which as yet concerned him little, and perhaps would never come near him) the Tyrants interpreting ſilence as conſent, condemned him forthwith, and compelled him to drink Poiſon.

§. III.

The Conſpiracy againſt the thirty Tyrants, and their Depoſition.

After the Death of *Theramenes*, the Thirty began to uſe ſuch outrage, as excelled their former Villanies. For having three thouſand (as they thought) firm unto them, they robbed all others without fear or ſhame, deſpoiling them of Lands and Goods, and cauſing them to fly into Baniſhment for ſafeguard of their Lives. This Flight of the Citizens procured their Liberty, and the general Good of the City. For the baniſhed Citizens, who were fled to *Thebes*, entred into conſultation, and reſolved to hazard their Lives in ſetting free the City of *Athens*. The very thought of ſuch a Practice had been Treaſon at home, which had no other danger abroad, than might be found in the Execution. Seaventy men, or thereabout, were the firſt undertakers, who with their Captain *Thraſybulus* took *Phyla*, a place of ſtrength in the Territory of *Athens*. No ſooner did the Thirty hear of their Exploit, than ſeek means to prevent further danger; aſſembling the three thouſand and their *Lacedæmonian* Guard, with which Force they attempted *Phyla*, but were with ſome loſs of their men repelled. Finding the place too ſtrong to be taken by aſſault, they intended to beſiege it; which purpoſe came to nought by means of Snow that fell, and other ſtormy weather, againſt which they had not made proviſion. Retiring therefore to the City, which above all they were to make good, they left the moſt of their Guard, and two Companies of Horſe to weary out them which lay in *Phyla*, with a flying Siege. But it was not long ere the Followers of *Thraſybulus* were encreaſed from ſeaventy to ſeven hundred, which adventured to give charge upon thoſe Guards, of whom they cut off above an hundred and twenty. Theſe ſmall, but proſperous beginnings, added more to the number of thoſe in *Phyla*, who now with a thouſand men got entrance into *Piræus*, the Suburb of *Athens*, lying on the Port. Before their coming, the Thirty had reſolved to fortifie the Town of *Eleuſine*, to their own uſe, whereinto they might make an eaſie retreat, and ſave themſelves from any ſudden Peril. It may well ſeem ſtrange, that whereas their barbarous manner of Government had brought them into ſuch danger, they were ſo far from ſeeking to obtain mens good will, that contrariwiſe, to aſſure themſelves of *Eleuſine*, they got all of the place who could bear Arms into their hands by a Train, and wickedly (though under form of Juſtice) murthered them all. But, *Sceleribus tutum per ſcelera eſt iter*, the miſchiefs which they had already done were ſuch as left them no hope of going backward, nor any other apparent likelihood of ſafety, than by extending their Cruelty unto all, ſeeing few or none were left, whom they could truſt. When *Thraſybulus* and his Fellows, who as yet were termed Conſpirators, had taken the *Piræus*, then were the three thouſand armed again by the Tyrants, and brought to aſſault it; but in this Enterpriſe *Thraſybulus* had the better, and repelled his Enemies, of whom although there were ſlain to the number of ſeventy, only yet the Victory ſeemed the greater,

becauſe *Critias*, and one other of the thirty, periſhed in that Fight. The death of *Critias*, and the ſtout defence of *Piræum*, together with ſome exhortations uſed by *Thraſybulus* to the Citizens, wrought ſuch effect, that the thirty were depoſed. Nevertheleſs there were ſo many of the three thouſand, who having communicated with the thirty in their miſdeeds, feared to be called to a ſharp account, that no peace, nor quiet form of Government could be eſtabliſhed. For Embaſſadors were ſent to *Sparta*, who craving aid againſt *Thraſybulus*, and his followers, had favourable Audience, and a Power ſent to their aſſiſtance, both by Land and Sea, under the conduct of *Lyſander*, and his Brother; whom *Pauſanias* the *Spartan* King did follow, raiſing an Army of the Cities Confederate with the *Lacedæmonians*. And here appeared firſt the jealouſie, wherein ſome People held the State of *Sparta*. The *Beotians* and *Corinthians*, who in the late Wars had been the moſt bitter Enemies to *Athens*, refuſed to follow *Pauſanias* in this expedition; alledging that it ſtood not with their Oaths, to make War againſt that People, who had not hitherto broken any one Article of the League: but fearing, indeed, leſt the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould annex the Territory of *Athens* to their own Demains. It is not to be doubted that *Pauſanias* took this anſwer in good part. For it was not his purpoſe to deſtroy thoſe againſt whom he went, but only to croſs the proceedings of *Lyſander*, whom he envied. Therefore having in ſome ſmall skirmiſhes againſt them of *Thraſybulus* his party, made a ſhew of War, he finally wrought ſuch means, that all things were compounded quietly: the thirty men, and ſuch others, as were like to give cauſe of Tumult, being ſent to *Sparta*. The remainder of that Tyrannical Faction, having withdrawn themſelves to *Eleuſine*, were ſhortly after found to attempt ſome innovation; whereupon the whole City riſing againſt them, took their Captains, as they were coming to Parly, and ſlew them: which done, to avoid further inconvenience, a Law was made, that all injuries paſt ſhould be forgotten, and no man called into queſtion for wrongs committed. By which Order, wiſely made, and carefully obſerved, the City returned to her former quietneſs.

CHAP. X.

Of the Expedition of Cyrus *the younger.*

§. I.

The grounds of Cyrus *his attempt againſt his Brother.*

THE matters of *Greece* now ſtanding upon ſuch termes that no one Eſtate durſt oppoſe it ſelf againſt that of *Lacedæmon*; young *Cyrus*, Brother to *Artaxerxes*, King of *Perſia*, having in his Fathers life time very carefully proſecuted the War againſt *Athens*, did ſend his Meſſengers to *Sparta*, requeſting that their love might appear no leſs to him, than that which he had ſhewed towards them in their dangerous War againſt the *Athenians*. To this requeſt, being general, the *Lacedæmonians* gave a ſutable anſwer, commanding their Admiral to perform unto *Cyrus* all Service that he ſhould require of him. If *Cyrus* had plainly diſcovered himſelf, and the *Lacedæmonians* bent their whole power to his aſſiſtance, very like it is, that either the Kingdom of *Perſia* ſhould have been the recompence of his deſerts; or that he periſhing in Battel, as after he did, the ſubverſion of that Empire had forthwith enſued. But it pleaſed God, rather to ſhew unto the *Greeks* the ways, which under the *Macedonian* Enſigns, the Victorious footſteps of their Poſterity ſhould meaſure; and opening unto them the Riches, and with all the Weakneſs of the *Perſian*, to kindle in them both deſire and hope of that Conqueſt, which he reſerved to another Generation; than to give into their hands that mighty Kingdom, whoſe hour was not yet come. The love which *Paryſatis* the Queen-Mother of *Perſia* bare unto *Cyrus* her younger Son, being ſeconded by the earneſt favour of the People, and ready deſires of many principal men, had moved this young Prince, in his Fathers Old Age to aſpire after the Succeſſion. But being ſent for by his Father (as hath before been ſhewed) whoſe meaning was to curb this ambitious Youth; he found his elder Brother *Artaxerxes* eſtabliſhed ſo ſurely by the old Kings favour, that it were not ſafe to attempt any means of diſplanting him, by whoſe diſfavour himſelf might eaſily loſe the place of a Vice-roy, which he held in *Aſia* the leſs, and hardly be able to maintain his own life. The neareſt Neighbour to *Cyrus* of all the Kings Deputies in the lower *Aſia*, was *Triſſaphernes*, a man compounded of Cowardiſe, Treachery, Craft, and all Vices which accuſtomably branch out of theſe. This man accompanied *Cyrus* to his Father, uſing by the way all fair ſhews of Friendſhip, as to a Prince, for whom it might well be thought that Queen *Paryſatis* had obtained the Inheritance of that mighty Empire. And it was very true that *Paryſatis* had uſed the beſt of her endeavour to that purpoſe, alledging that (which in former Ages had been much available to *Xerxes*, in the like diſceptation with his elder Brother) *Artaxerxes* was born whileſt his Father was a private Man, but *Cyrus*, when he was a Crowned King. All which not ſufficing; when the moſt that could be obtained for *Cyrus*, was the pardon of ſome preſumptuous demeanour, and confirmation of his place in *Lydia*, and the parts adjoyning; then did this *Triſſaphernes* diſcover his Nature, and accuſe his Friend *Cyrus* to the new King *Artaxerxes*, of a dangerous Treaſon intended againſt his Perſon. Upon this Accuſation, whether true or falſe, very eaſily believed, *Cyrus* was Arreſted, and by the moſt vehement intreaty of his Mother very hardly delivered, and ſent back into his own Province.

§. II.

§. II.

The Preparations of Cyrus, *and his first entry into the War.*

THE form of Government which the *Persian* Lieutenants used in their several Provinces, was in many points almost Regal. For they made War and Peace, as they thought it meet, not only for the Kings behoof, but for their own Reputation; usually indeed with the Kings Enemies, yet sometimes one with another: which was the more easily tolerated, because their own Heads were held only at the Kings pleasure; which caused them to frame all their doings, to his will, whatsoever it were, or they could conjecture it to be. *Cyrus* therefore being settled in *Lydia*, began to consider with himself, the Interest that he had in the Kingdom, the small assurance of his Brothers love, held only by his Mothers intercession; the disgrace endured by his late Imprisonment, and the means which he had by love of his own People, and that good neighbourhood of the *Lacedæmonians*, whom he had bound unto him, to obtain the Crown for himself. Neither was it expedient that he should long sit idle, as waiting till occasion should present it self; but rather enterprise somewhat whilest yet his Mother lived, who could procure a good interpretation to all his actions, if they were no worse than only questionable. Hereupon he first began to quarrel with *Tissaphernes*, and seized upon many Towns of his Jurisdiction, annexing them to his own Province; which displeased not *Artaxerxes* at all, who (besides that he was of condition somewhat simple) being truly paid by *Cyrus* the accustomable Tributes out of those places, was well contented to see his Brothers hot spirit exercised in private Quarrels. But *Tissaphernes*, whose base conditions were hated, and cowardise despised, although he durst not adventure to take Arms against *Cyrus*, yet perceiving that the *Milesians* were about to give up themselves into the hands of that young Prince, as many other Towns of the *Ionians* had done, thought by terror to preserve his Reputation, and keep the Town in his own hands. Wherefore he slew many, and many he banished, who flying to *Cyrus*, were gently entertained, as bringing fair occasion to take Arms, which was no small part of his desire. In levying Souldiers he used great Policy; for he took not only the men of his own Province, or of the Countries adjoyning, whose lives were ready at his will; but secretly he furnished some *Græcian* Captains with Money, who being very good men of War, entertained Souldiers therewith, some of them warring in *Thrace*, others in *Thessaly*, others elsewhere in *Greece*; but all of them ready to cross the Seas, at the first call of *Cyrus*, till which time they had secret instructions to prolong their several Wars, that the Souldiers might be held in continual exercise, and ready in Arms upon the sudden. *Cyrus* having sent a power of men to Besiege *Miletus*, forthwith summoned these bands of the *Greeks*, who very readily came over to his assistance, being thirteen thousand very firm Souldiers, and able to make head (which is almost incredible) against the whole power of *Artaxerxes*. With this Army, and that which he levyed before, he could very easily have forced *Miletus*, and chased away *Tissaphernes* out of *Asia* the less: but his purpose was not so to lose time in small matters, that was to be employed in the accomplishment of higher designs. Pretending therefore that the *Pisidians*, a People of *Asia* the less, not subject to the *Persian*, had invaded his Territory, he raised the Siege of *Miletus*, and with all speed marched Eastward, leaving *Tissaphernes* much amazed, who had no leisure to rejoyce that *Cyrus* had left him to himself, when he considered that so great an Army, and so strong, was never levyed against the Rovers of *Pisidia*, but rather against the great King his Master. For which cause taking a band of five hundred Horse, he posted away to carry tidings to the Court, of this great preparation.

§. III.

How Cyrus *took his Journey into the higher* Asia, *and came up close to his Brother.*

THE Tumult which his coming brought was very great, and great the exclamations of the Queen *Statira*, against *Parysatis*, the Queen-Mother, whom she called the Author and occasioner of the War. But whilest the King in great fear was arming the high Countries in his defence, the danger haltened upon him very fast. For *Cyrus* made great marches, having his numbers much increased, by the repair of his Country-men, though most strengthened by the access of seven hundred *Greeks*, and of other four hundred of the same Nation, who revolted unto him from the King. How terrible the *Greeks* were to the *Barbarians*, he found by tryal in a Muster, which (to please the Queen of *Cilicia*, who had brought him Aid) he made in *Phrygia*; where the *Greeks* by his direction making offer of a charge upon the rest of his Army, which contained an hundred thousand men; the whole Camp (not perceiving that this was but a bravery) fled amain, the Victuallers and Baggagers forsaking their Cabins, and running all away for very fear. This was to *Cyrus* a joyful spectacle, who knew very well, that his Brother was followed by men of the same temper, and the more unlikely to make resistance, because they were prest to the War against their will and dispositions; whereas his Army was drawn along by meer affection and good will. Nevertheless he found it a very hard matter to perswade the *Greeks* to pass the River of *Euphrates*. For the very length of the way which they had trodden, wearied them with conceit of the tedious return. Therefore he was driven, being yet in *Cilicia*, to seek excuses, telling them, that *Abrocomas*, one of the Kings principal Captains, and his own great Enemy, lay by the River, against whom he requested them to assist him. By such devices, and excessive promise of Reward, he brought them to *Euphrates*, where some of the *Greeks* considering, That who so passed the River first, should have the most thanks, and might safely return if the rest should refuse to follow them, they entred the Foords, whereby were all finally perswaded to do as some had begun; and being allured by great hopes, they resolved to seek out *Artaxerxes*, wheresoever he was to be found. The King in the mean time having raised an Army of nine hundred thousand men, was not so confident upon this huge multitude, as to adventure them in tryal of a plain Battel. *Abrocomas*, who with three hundred thousand men had undertaken to make good the Straights of *Syria*, which were very narrow, and fortified with a strong Wall, and other defences of Nature and Art, which made the place to seem impregnable, had quitted the passage, and retired himself towards the King Forces, not daring to look *Cyrus* in the face, who despairing to find any way by Land, had procured the *Lacedæmonian* Fleet, by the benefit whereof to

have transported his Army. I do not find that this Cowardise of *Abrocomas*, or of his Souldiers, who arrived not at the Camp till five days were past after the Battel, received either punishment or disgrace; for they, toward whom he withdrew himself, were all made of the same metal.

Therefore *Artaxerxes* was upon the point of retiring to the uttermost bounds of his Kingdom, until by *Teribazus*, one of his Captains, he was perswaded not to abandon so many goodly Provinces to the Enemy, who would thereby have gathered addition of strength, and (which in the sharp disputation of Title to a Kingdom is most available) would have grown superiour in Reputation. By such advice the King resolved upon meeting with his Brother, who now began to be secure, being fully perswaded that *Artaxerxes* would never dare to abide him in the Field. For the King having cast up a Trench of almost forty miles in length, about thirty foot broad, and eighteen foot deep, intended there to have encamped: but his courage failing him, he abandoned that place, thinking nothing so safe as to be far distant from his Enemies.

§. IV.

The Battel between Cyrus *and* Artaxerxes.

THE Army of *Cyrus* having overcome many difficulties of evil ways, and scarcity of Victuals, was much encouraged by perceiving this great fear of *Artaxerxes*; and being past this Trench, marched carelesly in great disorder, having bestowed their Arms in Carts, and upon Beasts of carriage; when on the sudden one of their Vantcurrors brought news of the Kings approach. Hereupon with great tumult they armed themselves, and had ranged their Battels in good order upon the side of the River *Euphrates*, where they waited for the coming of their Enemies, whom they saw not till it was after noon. But when they saw the cloud of dust raised by the feet of that huge multitude, which the King drew after him, and perceived by their near approach how well they were Marshalled, coming on very orderly, in silence; whereas it had been expected, that rushing violently with loud clamours, they should have spent all their force upon the first brunt; and when it appeared that the fronts of the two Armies were so unequal in distent, being all embattelled in one body and square, that *Cyrus* taking his place (as was the *Persian* manner) in the midst of his own, did not with the corner and utmost point thereof, reach to the half breadth of *Artaxerxes* his Battel, who carried a front proportionable to his number, exceeding nine times that of *Cyrus*: Then did the *Greeks* begin to distrust their own Manhood, which was not accustomed to make proof of it self, upon such excessive odds. It was almost incredible, that so great an Army should be so easily chased. Nevertheless, it quickly appeared, that these *Persians*, having learned (contrary to their custom) to give charge upon their Enemies with silence, had not learned (for it was contrary to their Nature) to receive a strong charge with courage. Upon the very first offer of on-set, made by the *Greeks*, all that beastly rabble of Cowards fled amain, without abiding the stroak, or staying till they were within reach of a Dart. The Chariots armed with Hooks and Scythes (whereof *Artaxerxes* had two hundred, and *Cyrus* not twenty) did small hurt that day, because the drivers of them leaping down, fled away on foot. This base demeanor of his Enemies gave so much confidence to *Cyrus*, and his followers, that such as were about him forth-with adored him as King. And certainly, the Title had been assured unto him that day, had not he sought how to declare himself worthy of it, ere yet he had obtained it. For, perceiving that *Artaxerxes*, who found that part of the Field which lay before him void, was about to encompass the *Greeks*, and to set upon them in the rear, he advanced with six hundred Horse, and gave so valiant a charge upon a Squadron of six thousand which lay before the King, that he brake it, slaying the Captain thereof, *Artagerses*, with his own hands, and putting all the rest to flight. Hereupon his whole company of six hundred, very few excepted, began to follow the chase, leaving *Cyrus* too ill attended, who perceiving where the King stood in troup, uncertain whether to fight, or leave the Field, could not contain himself, but said, *I see the man*; and presently with a small handful of men about him ran upon his Brother, whom he strake through the Curace, and wounded in the Breast. Having given this stroke, which was his last, he received immediately the fatal blow, which gave period at once to his ambition and life, being wounded under the Eye with a Dart, thrown by a base Fellow; wherewith astonied, he fell dead from his Horse, or so hurt, that it was impossible to have recovered him, though all which were with him, did their best for his safety; not caring afterwards for their own lives, when once they perceived that *Cyrus* their Master was slain. *Artaxerxes* caused the Head and right Hand of his Brother to be forthwith stricken off, and shewed to his People, who now pursuing them, fled apace, calling upon the name of *Cyrus*, and desiring him to pardon them. But when this great accident had breathed new courage into the Kings Troups, and utterly dismayed such *Persian* Captains, as were now, even in their own Eyes, no better than Rebels; it was not long ere the Camp of *Cyrus* was taken, being quite abandoned; from whence *Artaxerxes*, making all speed, arrived quickly at the quarter of the *Greeks*, which was about three miles from the place where *Cyrus* fell. There he met with *Tissaphernes*, who having made way through the Battel of the *Greeks*, was ready now to joyn with his Master in spoiling their Tents. Had not the news, which *Artaxerxes* brought with him of his Brothers death, been sufficient to countervail all disasters received, the exploit of *Tissaphernes* in breaking through the *Greeks* would have yielded little comfort. For *Tissaphernes* had not slain any one man of the *Greeks*, but contrariwise, when he gave upon them, they opening their Battel, drave him with great slaughter through them, in such wise, that he rather escaped as out of an hard passage, than forced his way through the Squadron of the *Greeks*. Hereof the King being informed by him, and that the *Greeks*, as Masters of the Field, gave chase to all that came in their sight; they ranged their Companies into good order, and followed after these *Greeks*, intending to set upon them in Rear. But these good Souldiers perceiving the Kings approach, turned their faces, and made head against him; who not intending to seek Honour with danger of his life, wheeled about and fled, being pursued unto a certain Village, that lay under a Hill, on the top whereof he made a stand, rather in a bravery, than with purpose to attempt upon these bold fellows any further. For he knew well that his Brothers death had secured his Estate, whom he would seem to have slain with his own hand, thinking that fact alone sufficient

to

to give Reputation to his Valour; and this Reputation he thought that he might now preserve well enough, by shewing a manly look half a mile off. On the top of this Hill therefore he advanced his Standard, a golden Eagle displaied on the top of a Spear. This Ensign might have encouraged his People, had not some of the *Greeks* espied it, who not meaning that he should abide so near them, with all their Power marched toward him. The King discovering their approach, fled upon the Spur, so that none remained in the place of Battel, save only the *Greeks*, who had lost that day not one man, nor taken any other harm, than that one of them was hurt with an Arrow. Much they wondred that they heard no news of *Cyrus*, but thinking that he was pursuing the Army, they thought it was fittest for them, having that day done enough, to return to their Quarter, and take their Supper, to which they had good Appetite, because the expectation of the Kings coming had given them no leisure to Dine.

§. V.

The hard Estate of the Greeks *after the Fight; and how* Artaxerxes *in vain sought to have made them yield unto him.*

IT was now about the setting of the Sun, and they bringing home dark Night with them, found their Camp spoiled, little or nothing being left, that might serve for Food: so that wanting Victuals to satisfie their hunger, they refreshed their weary Bodies with Sleep. In the mean season *Artaxerxes* returning to his Camp, which he entred by Torch-light, could not enjoy the pleasure of his good fortune entire, because he perceived that the baseness of his People, and weakness of his Empire, was now plainly discovered to the *Greeks*: which gave him assurance, that if any of these who had beheld the shameful deameanor of his Army, should live to carry Tidings Home, it would not be long ere with greater Forces they disputed with him for his whole Signory. Wherefore he resolved to try all means, whereby he might bring them to destruction, and not let one escape to carry Tidings of that which he had seen: to which purpose he sent them a brave Message the next morning. Charging them to deliver up their Arms, and come to his Gate, to wait there upon his Mercy. It seems that he was in good hope to have found their high Courages broken, upon report of his Brothers Death; but he was greatly deceived in that thought: For the *Greeks* being advertised that morning from *Ariæus*, a principal Commander under *Cyrus*, that his Master being slain, he had retired himself to the place of their last encamping, about eight miles from them, whence intending to return into *Ionia*, his meaning was to dislodge the next day, awaiting for them so long if they would joyn with him, but resolving to stay no longer: they sent answer back to *Ariæus*, that having beaten the King out of the Field, and finding none that durst resist them, they would place *Ariæus* himself in the Kings Throne, if he would joyn with them, and pursue the Victory. Before they received any reply to this Answer, the Messengers of *Artaxerxes* arrived at the Camp, whose Errand seemed to the Captains very insolent: One told them that it was not for the Vanquishers to yield their Weapons; another, that he would die ere he yielded to such a Motion; a third asked, whether the King, as having the Victory, required their Weapons; if so, why did he not fetch them? or, whether he desired them in way of Friendship; for then would they first know, with what courtesie he meant to requite their Kindness. To this question *Phalinus* a *Græcian*, waiting upon *Tissaphernes*, answered; That the King having slain *Cyrus*, knew no man that could pretend any Title to his Kingdom, in the midst whereof he held them fast enclosed with great Rivers, being able to bring against them such numbers of men, as they wanted strength to kill if they would hold up their Throats, for which cause he accounted them his Prisoners. These words, to them, who knew themselves to be free, were nothing pleasant. Therefore, one told *Phalinus*, that having nothing left, but their Arms and Valour, whilst they kept their Arms their Valour would be serviceable, but should they yield them, it was to be doubted, that their Bodies would not long remain their own. Hereat *Phalinus* laughed, saying; This young man did seem a Philosopher, and made a pretty Speech; but that his deep speculation shewed his Wits to be very shallow, if he thought with his Arms and his Valour to prevail against the great King. It seems that *Phalinus* being a Courtier, and imployed in a Business of importance, thought himself too profound a States-man, to be checkt in his Embassage by a bookish Discourser. But his Wisdom herein failed him. For whatsoever he himself was (of whom no more is known than that he brought an unhoneſt Message to his own Countrymen, perswading them basely to surrender their Weapons and Lives to the merciless *Barbarians*) this young Scholar by him despised, was that great *Xenophon*, who, when all the principal Commanders were surprised by Treachery of the *Persians*, being a private Gentleman, and having never seen the Wars before, undertook the Conduct of the Army, which he brought safe into *Greece*, freeing it from all those, and from greater dangers than *Phalinus* could propound. Some there were who promised to be faithful to the King, as they had been to *Cyrus*, offering their service in *Ægypt*, where they thought *Artaxerxes* might have use of them. But the final answer was, That without Weapons they could neither do the King good as Friends, nor defend themselves from him as Enemies. Hereupon *Phalinus* delivered the Kings further pleasure, which was to grant them Truce, whilest they abode where they then were, denouncing War if they stirred thence; Whereunto he required their Answer. *Clearchus* the General told him, they liked it. How (saith *Phalinus*) must I understand you? as choosing Peace if we stay, otherwise War, said *Clearchus*. But whether War or Peace? quoth this politique Embassador. To whom *Clearchus* (not willing to acquaint him with their purpose.) Let our doings tell you; and so dismissed him no wiser than he came. All that day the *Greeks* were fain to feed upon their Horses, Asses, and other Beasts, which they roasted with Arrows, Darts, and wooden Targets thrown away by their Enemies.

§. VI.

How the Greeks *began to return Homewards.*

AT night they took their way towards *Ariæus*, to whom they came at mid-night, being forsaken by four hundred Foot, and forty Horse, all *Thracians*, who fled over to the King, by whom how they were entertained, I do not find. Like enough it is that they were cut in pieces; for had they

they been kindly uſed, it may well be thought that ſome of them ſhould have accompanied *Tiſſaphernes*, and ſerved as Stales to draw in the reſt. *Ariæus* being of too baſe a Temper and Birth, to to think upon ſeeking the Kingdom for himſelf, with ſuch aſſiſtance as might have given it unto *Cyrus*, was very well pleaſed to make Covenant with them for mutual aſſiſtance unto the laſt: Whereunto both parts having ſworn, he adviſed them to take another way homeward, which ſhould be ſomewhat longer, ye ſafer and fitter to relieve them with Victuals, than that by which they came. The next day, having made a wearisome March, and tired the Soldiers, they found the Kings Army which had coaſted them, lodged in certain Villages, where they purpoſed themſelves to have encamped: towards which *Clearchus* made directly, becauſe he would not ſeem by declining them to ſhew fear or weakneſs. That the Kings men were contented to remove, and give place to their Betters, it cannot be ſtrange to any that hath conſidered their former Behaviour; nor ſtrange, that the *Græcians* being weary and hungry, and lying among Enemies in an unknown Country, ſhould be very fearful; but it is almoſt paſt belief, that the Noiſe which was heard of theſe poor men, calling one to another tumultuouſly, as the preſent condition inforced them to do, ſhould make the *Perſians* fly out of their Camp, and ſo affright the great King, that in ſtead of demanding their Arms, he ſhould crave Peace of them. The next day very early, came Meſſengers from *Artaxerxes*, deſiring free acceſs for Embaſſadors to entreat of Peace. Were it not that ſuch particulars do beſt open the quality of the Perſons, by whom things were managed, I ſhould hold it fitter to run over the general paſſages of thoſe times, than to dwell among Circumſtances. But ſurely it is a point very remarkable, That when *Clearchus* had willed the Meſſengers to bid the King prepare for Battel, becauſe the *Greeks* (as he ſaid) wanting whereupon to dine, could not endure to hear of Truce till their Bellies were full; *Artaxerxes* diſſembling the Indignity, was contented ſweetly to ſwallow down this Pill, ſending them Guides, who conducted them to a place where was plenty of Victuals to relieve them.

§. VII.

How Tiſſaphernes *under colour of Peace, betraied all the Captains of the* Greeks.

HItherto the *Greeks* relying upon their own Vertue, had rather advanced their Affairs, than brought themſelves into any ſtraights or terms of diſadvantage. But now came unto them the ſubtil Fox *Tiſſaphernes*, who circumventing the chief Commanders by fine ſlights, did miſchievouſly entrap them, to the extream danger of the Army. He told them that his Province lying near unto *Greece*, had cauſed him greatly to deſire that their Deliverance might be wrought by his Procurement; knowing well, that in time to come, both they and their Countrimen at home would not be unthankful for ſuch a Benefit. Herewithal he forgot not to rehearſe the great ſervice that he had done to his Maſter, being the firſt that advertiſed him of *Cyrus* his intent, and having not only brought him a good ſtrength of men, but in the day of Battel ſhewed his face to the *Greeks*, when all others turned their backs: that he, together with the King, did enter their Camp, and gave chaſe to the *Barbarians* that ſtood on the part of *Cyrus*. All this (quoth he) did I alledge to the King, entreating that he would give me leave to conduct you ſafe into *Greece*; in which Suit I have good hope to ſpeed, if you will ſend a mild anſwer to him, who hath willed me to ask you, for what cauſe you have born Arms againſt him. The Captains hearing this, were contented to give gentle words, which *Tiſſaphernes* relating to the King, procured (though very hardly as he ſaid) that Peace ſhould be granted: the Conditions whereof were; That they ſhould paſs freely through all the Kings Dominions, paying for what they took, and committing no ſpoil: yet that it ſhould be lawful for them to take Victuals by force, in any place that refuſed to afford them an open Market. Hereunto both parties having ſworn, the League was concluded, and *Tiſſaphernes* returning to the King to take leave, and end all buſineſs, came unto them again after twenty days, and then they ſet forward. This interim of twenty days, which *Tiſſaphernes* did ſpend at the Court, miniſtred great occaſion of miſtruſt to his new Confederates. For beſides his long abſence, which alone ſufficed to breed doubt; the Brethren and Kindred of *Ariæus* repairing daily to him, and other *Perſians* to his Souldiers, did work him and them ſo with aſſurance of Pardon, and other allurements, that he daily grew more ſtrange to the *Greeks* than formerly he had been. This cauſed many to adviſe *Clearchus*, rather to paſs forward as well as he might, than to rely upon Covenants, and ſit ſtill whileſt the King laid Snares to entrap them. But he on the contrary perſwaded them to reſt contented whileſt they were well, and not to caſt themſelves again into thoſe Difficulties, out of which they were newly freed by the late Treaty; reciting withal their own Wants, and the Kings Means, but eſpecially the Oaths mutually given and taken, wherewith he ſaw no reaſon why the Enemy ſhould have clogged himſelf if he meant Miſchief, having Power enough to do them harm by a fair and open War.

Tiſſaphernes was a very honourable man (if Honour may be valued by Greatneſs and Place in Court) which cauſed his Oath to be the more eſteemed; for as much as no inforcement, or baſe reſpect was like to have drawn it from him. But his Falſhood was ſuch, both in ſubſtance and in ſucceſs, as may fitly expound that Saying, which proceeded from the fountain of Truth, *I hate a rich Man a Lyar.* A lye may find excuſe when it grows out of fear: for that Paſſion hath his original from weakneſs. But when Power, which is a *Character* of the *Almighty*, ſhall be made the ſupporter of Untruth, the Falſhood is moſt abominable; for the Offender, like proud *Lucifer*, advancing his own ſtrength againſt the Divine Juſtice, doth commit that ſin with an high hand, which commonly produceth lamentable effects, and is followed with ſure Vengeance. It was not long ere *Tiſſaphernes* found means to deſtroy all the Captains, whom he ſubtilly got into his Power by a Train; making the General *Clearchus* himſelf the mean to draw in all the reſt. The buſineſs was contrived thus: having travelled ſome days together, in ſuch wiſe, that the *Perſians* did not encamp with the *Greeks*, who were very jealous of the great Familiarity appearing between *Tiſſaphernes*, and *Ariæus*; *Clearchus* thought it convenient to root out of *Tiſſaphernes* his brains all cauſes of diſtruſt, whereof many had grown in that ſhort time. To which purpoſe obtaining private Conference with him, he rehearſed the Oath of Confe-

Confederacy, which had paſt between them, ſhewing how religiouſly he meant to keep it; and repeating the benefits, which the *Greeks* did receive by the help of *Tiſſaphernes*, he promiſed that their love ſhould appear to him not unfruitful, if he would make uſe of their ſervice againſt the *Myſians* or *Piſidians*, who were accuſtomed to infeſt his Province; or againſt the *Ægyptians*, who were then Rebels to the great King. For which cauſe he deſired him, that whereas all Divine and Humane reſpects had linked them together, he would not give place to any cloſe accuſation or ſuſpicion, whereby might grow ſudden inconvenience to either of them, upon no juſt ground. The faithleſs *Perſian* was very much delighted with this ſpeech, which miniſtred fair occaſion to the execution of his purpoſe. Therefore he told *Clearchus*, that all this was by him wiſely conſidered, wiſhing him further to call to mind how many ways he could have uſed to bring them to confuſion, without peril to himſelf, eſpecially by burning the Country, through which they were to paſs, whereby they muſt needs have periſhed by meer Famine. For which cauſe he ſaid that it had been great folly, to ſeek by Perjury, odious to God and Man, the deſtruction of ſuch as were already in his hands: But the truth was, that his own love to them had moved him to work their ſafety, not only for thoſe ends which *Clearchus* had recounted, of pleaſures that might redound to himſelf, and the King, by their aſſiſtance; but for that he might by their Friendſhip, hope to obtain what *Cyrus* had miſt. Finally, he invited the credulous Gentleman to Supper, and ſent him away ſo well aſſured of his good will, that he promiſed to bring all the Captains with him to the ſame place, where, in preſence of them all, *Tiſſaphernes* likewiſe promiſed to tell openly, which of them had by ſecret information ſought to raiſe diſſention between them. *Clearchus* himſelf being thus deceived, with great importunity drew all the chief Commanders, and many of the inferiour Leaders to repair with him to the Camp of *Tiſſaphernes*, whither followed them about two hundred of the common Souldiers, as it had been to ſome common Fair. But being there arrived, *Clearchus* with other the five principal Colonels were called into the Tent, the reſt ſtaying without, where they had not waited long ere a ſign was given, upon which they within were apprehended, and the reſidue ſlain. Forthwith certain bands of *Perſian* Horſe-men ſcoured the Field, killing as many *Greeks* as they met; and riding up to the very Camp of the *Græcians*, who wondred much at the tumult, whereof they knew not the cauſe, till one, eſcaping ſorely wounded, informed them of all that had been done. Hereupon the *Greeks* took Arms in haſt, thinking that the Enemy would forthwith have aſſailed their Camp. Anon they might perceive the Embaſſadors of *Tiſſaphernes*, among whom were his own Brother, and *Arieus*, followed with three hundred Horſe, who called for the principal men in the Army, ſaying, That they brought a Meſſage from the King, which *Arieus* delivered to this effect. That *Clearchus* having broken his Faith, and the League made, was juſtly rewarded with death; that *Menon* and *Proxenus*, two other of the five Colonels, for detecting his Treachery, were highly honoured; and finally, that the King required them to ſurrender their Arms, which were due to him, as having belonged unto his Servant *Cyrus*. When ſome altercation had followed upon this Meſſage, *Xenophon* told the Embaſſadors, that if *Clearchus* had in ſuch ſort offended, it was well that he was in ſuch ſort puniſhed: but he willed them to ſend back *Menon* and *Proxenus*, whom they had ſo greatly honoured, that by them, as by common Friends to both Nations, the *Greeks* might be adviſed how to anſwer the *Perſian*. Hereunto the Embaſſadors knew not how to frame any Reply, and therefore departed without ſpeaking one word more. *Clearchus*, and the other four were ſent to *Artaxerxes*, by whoſe commandment their Heads were ſtricken off. I hold it not amiſs to prevent the order of time, annexing to this perfidiouſneſs of *Tiſſaphernes*, the reward which he afterward received. He ſaw his Province waſted by the *Greeks*, againſt whom, receiving from his Maſter convenient aid of Men and Money, he did ſo ill manage his Affairs, that neither Subtilty nor Perjury (to which he failed not to have recourſe) availing him; finally, the King was jealous of his cunning Head, and ſent a new Lieutenant into thoſe parts, who took it from his Shoulders. Such was the recompence of his Treachery, which made him ſo miſtruſted at Home, that the Service which he could not do, he was thought upon private ends to neglect; and ſo hated abroad, that he knew not which way to fly from the ſtroke, all the World being ſhut againſt him. But now let us return to the Proſperity, wherein he triumphed without great cauſe, having betrayed braver men than himſelf, and intending to bring the like miſchief upon the whole Army.

§. VIII.

How Xenophon *heartened the* Greeks, *and in deſpight of* Tiſſaphernes *went off ſafely.*

GReat was the heavineſs of the Souldiers, being now deſtitute of Leaders, and no leſs their fear of the evil hanging over their Heads, which they knew not how to avoid. Among the reſt, *Xenophon*, whoſe Learning ſupplied his want of Experience, finding the deep ſadneſs of the whole Army to be ſuch, as hindred them from taking any courſe of preventing the danger at hand, began to adviſe the under-Officers of *Proxenus* his Companies, whoſe familiar Friend he had been, to bethink themſelves of ſome mean, whereby their ſafety might be wrought, and the Souldiers encouraged; ſetting before their Eyes whatſoever might ſerve to give them hope, and above all, perſwading them in no wiſe to yield to the mercy of their Barbarous Enemies.

Hereupon they deſired him to take upon him the charge of that Regiment; and ſo together with him, the ſame Night calling up ſuch as were remaining of any account, they made choice of the fitteſt men to ſucceed in the places of thoſe who were ſlain, or taken. This being done, and order ſet down for diſburthening the Army of all ſuperfluous impediments, they eaſily comforted themſelves for the loſs of *Tiſſaphernes* his aſſiſtance, hoping to take Victuals by force better cheap than he had been wont to ſell them: To which purpoſe they intended to take up their lodging two or three miles further, among ſome plentiful Villages, and ſo to proceed, marching towards the heads of thoſe great Rivers, which lay in their way, and to paſs them where they were foordable. Many attempts were made upon them by *Tiſſaphernes*, whom they, ſerving all on foot, were not able to requite for the harm which they received by the *Perſian* Archers, who ſhot at a farther diſtance than the *Greeks* could reach. For this cauſe did *Xenophon* provide Slings, wherewith he over-reached the Enemy; and finding

ing ſome Horſes fit for ſervice, that were employed among the Carriages, he ſet men upon them; training likewiſe his Archers, to ſhoot compaſs, who had been accuſtomed to the point-blank. By theſe means did he bear off the *Perſians* who aſſailed him; and ſometimes gave them chaſe with that band of fifty Horſe, which being well back'd, with a firm body of Foot-men, and ſeconded with Troups of the light-armed-ſhot and ſlingers, compelled the Enemy to lie a-loof. *Tiſſaphernes* not daring to come to handy-gripes with theſe reſolute men, did poſſeſs the tops of Mountains, and places of advantage, by which they were to paſs. But finally, when their Valour made way through all ſuch difficulties, he betook himſelf to that courſe, which was indeed the ſureſt, of burning the Country. With great ſorrow did the *Greeks* behold the Villages on fire, and thereby all hope of Victuals cut off. Some adviſed to defend the Country, as granted by the Enemy himſelf to be theirs; others to make more fires, if ſo perhaps the *Perſians* might be aſhamed to do that which were the deſire of ſuch as made paſſage in hoſtile manner; but theſe were faint comforts. The beſt counſel was, That being near unto the *Carduchi*, a People Enemy to the *Perſian*, they ſhould enter into their Country, paſſing over ſome high Mountains which lay between them. This courſe they followed, which could not have availed them if *Tiſſaphernes* had begun ſooner to cut off their Victuals, rather than to ſeek to force, or to circumvent them by his fine wit.

§. IX.

The difficulties which the Greek *Army found in paſſing through the Land of the* Carduchi.

ENtring upon the Land of the *Carduchi*, they were encountred with many difficulties of ways, but much more afflicted by the fierce Inhabitants, who, accuſtomed by force to defend themſelves againſt the huge Armies of the *Perſian*, were no way inferiour to the *Greeks* in daring, but only in the Art of War. They were very light of foot, ſkilful Archers, and uſed the Sling well; which Weapons in that Mountainous Country, were of much uſe againſt theſe poor Travellers, afflicting them in ſeven days, which they ſpent in that paſſage, far more than all the power of the great King had done. Between the Territory of theſe *Carduchi*, and the parts of *Armenia* confining them, ran *Centrites*, a great River, upon which the *Greeks* refreſhed themſelves one day, rejoycing that they had ſo well eſcaped theſe dangers, and hoping that the remainder would prove eaſie. But the next Morning they ſaw certain Troops of Horſe, that lay to forbid their paſſage. Theſe were levied by the Kings Deputies in thoſe parts; *Tiſſaphernes* and his Companions having taken their way towards *Ionia*. The River was broad and deep, ſo that it was not poſſible for ſuch as would enter it, to make reſiſtance againſt thoſe which kept the oppoſite banks. To increaſe theſe dangers the *Carduchi* following upon them, lay on the ſide of a Mountain, within leſs than a mile of the Water. But it was their good hap to diſcover a Foord, by which the greater number of them paſſing over, did eaſily chaſe away the Subjects of the *Perſian*; and then ſending back the moſt expedite men, gave ſuccour to the Rear-ward, againſt which the *Carduchi* being ſlightly Armed, could not on plain ground make reſiſtance hand to hand. Theſe *Carduchi* ſeem to have inhabited the Mountains of *Niphates*, which are not far from the Spring of *Tigris*; though *Ptolomy* place them far more to the Eaſt upon the River of *Cyrus* in *Media*, wherein he differs much from *Xenophon*, whoſe relation being grounded upon his own knowledge, doth beſt in this caſe deſerve credit. Of the River *Centrites* (as of many other Rivers, Towns, and Places, mentioned by *Xenophon*) I will not labour to make a conjecture, which may endure the ſeverity of a *Critick*. For *Ptolomy*, and the whole Nation of *Geographers*, add ſmall light to this expedition; only of this laſt, I think it the ſame which falleth into *Tigris*, not much above *Artaſigarta*, ſpringing out of *Niphates*, and running by the Town of *Sardeva* in *Gordene*, a Province of *Armenia* the Great, wherein the *Greeks*, having paſſed *Centrites*, did arrive.

§. X.

How Teribazus, *Governour of* Armenia, *ſeeking to entrap the* Greeks *with terms of feigned Peace, was diſappointed, and ſhamefully beaten.*

THE Army finding in *Armenia* good Proviſion, marched without any diſturbance about fifty or threeſcore miles to the heads of the River *Tigris*, and paſſing over them, travelled as far further without reſiſtance, till they were encountred by *Teribazus* at the River *Teleboa*, which *Xenophon* commends as a goodly Water, though ſmall; but *Ptolomy* and others omit it. *Teribazus* governed that Country for the *Perſian*, and was in great favour with *Artaxerxes*, whoſe Court may ſeem to have been a School where the Art of falſhood was taught as wiſdom. He deſired Peace of the *Greeks*, which was made upon this condition, That they ſhould take what they pleaſed, but not burn down the Towns and Villages in their way. As ſoon as he had made this League, he levied an Army, and beſetting the Straights of certain Mountains which they were to paſs, hoped well to make ſuch benefit of their ſecurity, as might give him the commendations of being no leſs craftily diſhoneſt than *Tiſſaphernes*. Yet his cunning failed of ſucceſs. For a great Snow fell, which cauſed the *Greeks* to make many fires, and ſcatter themſelves abroad in the Villages. *Teribazus* alſo made many fires, and ſome of his men wandred about ſeeking relief. By the fires he was diſcovered, and by a Souldier of his that was taken Priſoner, the whole Plot was revealed. Hereupon the *Greeks*, taking this Captive with them for a Guide, ſought him out; and coming upon his Camp, did ſo affright him, that before the whole Army could arrive there, the ſhout which was raiſed by the Vaunt-currors, chaſed him away. They took his Pavilion, wherein (beſides many Slaves, that were Artificers of Voluptuouſneſs) very rich Furniture was left by the treacherous Coward, who returned no more to challenge it. From hence the Army went North-ward, and paſſing *Euphrates*, not far below the Springs thereof, travelled with much difficulty through deep Snow, being followed aloof by the Enemy, who durſt not approach them, but did cut off ſuch as they found ſtragling behind. The Inhabitants of the Country, through which they marched, had their Wintering-houſes under Ground, wherein was found great plenty of Victuals, and of Cattel, which likewiſe did Winter in the ſame Cellars with the owners. Having refreſhed themſelves in thoſe parts, and taken ſufficient eaſe after the miſerable Journey, which had conſumed many of them with extreme cold; they departed, leading with them many bond ſlaves, and taking

taking a way (besides other Horses and Cattel) some Colts that were bred up for the great King.

§. XI.

The passage of the Army to Trabisond, *through the Countries bordering upon the River of* Phasis, *and other obscure Nations.*

SO without impediment they came to the River *Phasis*, near whereunto the People called *Phasiani Taochi*, and *Chalybes* were seated. These Nations joyned together, and occupying the tops of a ledge of Mountains, which the *Greeks* were to pass, made countenance of War: but some Companies being sent by Night to seize upon a place of equal height to that whereon the Enemies lay, making good the piece of ground which they had taken, secured the ascent of the rest; which caused these People to flie, every one retiring to the defence of his own. The first upon whose Country the *Greeks* did enter were the *Taochi*, who conveying all their provision of Victuals into strong holds, brought the Army into much want, until with hard labour one place was forced, wherein great store of Cattel were taken; the People, to avoid Captivity, threw themselves head-long down the Rocks, the very Women throwing down first their own Children, and then casting themselves upon them. Here was taken a great booty of Cattel, which served to feed them, travelling through the Land of the *Chalybes*, of whom they got nothing but strokes. The *Chalybes* were a very stout Nation, well armed at all points, and exceeding fierce. They encountred the *Greeks* hand to hand, killing as many as they took Prisoners, and cutting off their Heads, which they carried away, singing and dancing, to the great grief of their companions living; who were glad, when after seven days Journey they escaped from those continual Skirmishes, wherewith they had been vexed by these *Barbarians*. Hence travelling through a good Corn-Country, inhabited by an obscure Nation, called the *Scythini*, they came to a rich Town, the Lord whereof, and of the Region adjoyning, used them friendly, and promised to guide them to a Mountain, whence they might discover the *Euxine*-Sea. From *Gymnias* (which was the name of his Town) he led them through the Territory of his Enemies, desiring them to waste it with Sword and Fire. After five days march, they came to a Mountain called *Teches*, being (as I think) a part of the Mountains called *Moschici*, whence their Guide shewed them the Sea; towards which they bent their course, and passing friendly through the Region of the *Macrones*, (with whom by means of an Interpreter, found among themselves, who born in that place had been sold into *Greece*, they made a good Peace) they arrived in the Land of *Colchos*, wherein stands the City of * *Trabisond*, called then *Trapezus*, a Colony of the *Greeks*. The *Colchi* entertaining them with hostility, were requited with the like; for the Army, having now good leisure to repose themselves among their Friends the *Trapezuntians*, did spoil the Country thirty days together, forbearing only the Borderers upon *Trabisond*, at the Citizens request.

* *Trabisond*, a Colony of the *Greeks*, situate in the bottom of the *Euxine* Sea.

§. XII.

How the Army began at Trabisond *to provide a Fleet, wherewith to return home by Sea: how it came into the Territory of* Sinope, *and there prosecuted the same purpose to effect.*

HAving now found a Haven-Town, the Souldiers were desirous to take Shipping, and change their tedious Land-journeys into an easie Navigation. To which purpose *Cherisophus*, a *Lacedæmonian*, one of the principal Commanders, promised by means of *Anaxibius* the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral, who was his Friend, that he would provide Vessels to embarque them. Having thus concluded, they likewise took order for the staying of such Ships as should pass that way, meaning to use them for their Navigation. Lest all this provision should be found insufficient for the transportation of the whole Army, *Xenophon* perswaded the Cities adjoyning to clear the ways, and make an easie passage for them by Land; whereunto the Souldiers were utterly unwilling to give ear, being desirous to return by Sea: but the Country fearing what inconvenience might grow by their long stay, did readily condescend to *Xenophon*'s request. Two Ships they borrowed of the *Trapezuntians*, which they manned and sent to Sea: the one of them sailed directly into *Greece*, forsaking their Companions, who had put them in trust to bring Ships into the Port of *Trabisond*: the other took Merchants and Passengers, whose Goods were safely kept for the owners, but the Vessels were staid to increase the Fleet. After long abode, when Victuals began to fail, by reason that all the Land of the *Colchi*, near unto the Camp, was already quite wasted, they were fain to embark their sick men, with the Women, Children, and such of the baggage as might best be spared, in those few Ships which they had already provided. The rest of the Army took their way by Land to *Cerasus*, a *Greek* Town, where the Fleet likewise arrived. Here the Army being mustered, was found to consist of eight thousand and six hundred men. From hence they passed through the Country of the [a] *Mossynaci*, who were divided into Factions. The stronger party, despising their Friendship, caused them to joyn with the weaker, whom they left Masters of all.

[a] *Mossynaci*, a Nation of *Pontus Cappadocius*.

The next place of their abode was [b] *Cotyora*, a *Greek* Town likewise, and a *Colony* of the *Sinopians*, as *Trapezus* and *Cerasus* were; but the entertainment which here they found was very churlish, having neither an open Market afforded to them, nor the sick men that were among them admitted into any House. Hereupon the Souldiers entred the Town by force, and (committing no outrage) bestowed those which were sick in convenient Lodgings, taking into their own hands the custody of the Gates. Provision for the Army they made by strong hand, partly out of the Territory of the *Paphlagonians*, partly out of the Lands belonging to the Town. These news were unwelcome to [c] *Sinope*, whence Embassadors were sent to the Camp, who complaining of these dealings, and threatning to joyn with the *Paphlagonians*, if redress could not otherwise be had, were roundly answered by *Xenophon*, That meer Necessity had enforced the Army to teach those of *Cotyora* good manners in so bad a method; letting them know, that he feared not to deal with them and the *Paphlagonian* at once, though perhaps the *Paphlagonian* would be glad to take *Sinope* it self; to which, if cause were given, they would lend assistance. Upon this

[b] *Cotyora*, a Port-Town in the same Region.

[c] *Sinope*, a Port-Town in *Leucosyria*, a Colony of the *Milesians*.

this anſwer the Embaſſadors grew better adviſed, promiſing all friendſhip that the State of *Sinope* could ſhew; and commanding the Town of *Cotyora* to relieve the Souldiers as well as they might. Further, they promiſed to aſſiſt them with Shipping, letting them underſtand how difficult the paſſage by Land would prove, in regard of the many and great Rivers, as *Thermodon*, *Iris*, *Halys*, and *Parthenius*, which croſſed their way. This good Counſel, and the fair promiſes accompanying it, were kindly accepted by the Army, which well perceived, that the City of *Sinope* would ſpare for no coſt, to be freed from ſuch a neighbourhood. It was therefore decreed that they would paſs the reſt of the way by Sea; provided, that if there ſhould want ſuch number of Veſſels as might ſerve to Embarque every one man of them, then would they not put from the ſhoar.

§. XIII.

Of Diſſenſion which aroſe in the Army; and how it was Embarqued.

HItherto the danger of Enemies, and miſeries of Weather and Wants, had kept the Company in firm unity; which now began to diſſolve and to thaw, by the neighbouring Air of *Greece*, warming their Heads with private reſpects to their ſeveral ends and purpoſes. Whileſt they, who were ſent as Agents from the Camp, remained at *Sinope*; *Xenophon* conſidering the ſtrength and valour of his men, and the opportunity of the Coaſt whereon they lay, thought it would be an honourable work to build a City in thoſe parts, which were ſoon like to prove great and wealthy, in regard both of their own puiſſance, and of the great repair of the *Greeks* into that quarter. For this cauſe he made Sacrifice, according to the ſuperſtition of his Time and Country, divining of his Succeſs by the entrails of Beaſts. The Sooth-ſayer whom he employed, had received a great Reward of *Cyrus*, for conjecturing aright, that *Artaxerxes* would not give Battel in ten days: he therefore having preſerved his Money carefully, was deſirous to be ſoon at home, that he might freely enjoy his Gettings. By him the purpoſe of *Xenophon* was divulged, which was interpreted according to the diverſity of mens Opinions; ſome approving the motion, but the greater part rejecting it. They of *Sinope* and *Heraclea*, being informed of this Conſultation, were ſore afraid, leſt the Poverty of the Souldiers, who had not wherewith to maintain themſelves at home, ſhould give ſucceſs to the Project. Which to prevent, they promiſed to ſupply the Army with a ſufficient Fleet, and likewiſe offered money to ſome of the Captains, who thereupon undertook to give the Souldiers Pay, if they would preſently ſet ſail for *Greece*. One of theſe Captains being a baniſhed man, deſired them to follow him into *Troas*; an other offered to lead them into *Cherroneſus*. *Xenophon* who deſired only the common Good, was pleaſed greatly with theſe propoſitions, and profeſſed openly that he would have them to ſet forward, and hold together in any caſe, puniſhing him as a Traitor that ſhould forſake the Army, before ſuch time as they were arrived at their Journeys end. *Silanus* the Sooth-ſayer, who had uttered *Xenophons* purpoſe, was hereby ſtayed from outrunning his Fellows, and driven to abide with his Wealth among poor men, longer than ſtood with his good liking. Alſo the other Captains were much troubled and afraid, when they perceived that Ships were prepared ſufficient for their Navigation, but that the Money promiſed to them, and by them to the Souldiers, came not. For the People of *Sinope* and *Heraclea*, knowing that the Army was now reſolved for the Voyage, and that *Xenophon*, whom they feared, had perſwaded them to this reſolution, thought it the wiſeſt way to furniſh them with a Navy whileſt they were in good readineſs to depart, but to keep the money to themſelves. The Captains therefore who being diſappointed by theſe Towns, found themſelves in great danger of their men, whom they had deceived with fair hopes, repented much of their haſty offers, and ſignifying as much to *Xenophon*, prayed him to make propoſition to the Army, of taking the Ships, and ſailing to *Phaſis*, where they might ſeize upon Lands, and plant themſelves in ſuch wiſe as ſhould ſtand beſt with their good liking. But finding him cold in the buſineſs, they began to work the principal of their own followers, hoping by them to draw in all the reſt. Theſe news becoming publick, bred a ſuſpicion of *Xenophon*, as if he had won the reſt of the Captains to his purpoſe, and meant now to carry the Army quite another way from their own home. Wherefore aſſembling the Companies, he gave them ſatisfaction, and withal complained of ſome diſorders, which he cauſed them to redreſs. A general Inquiſition was likewiſe made of offences committed ſince the death of *Cyrus*; which being puniſhed, all things were in quiet. Shortly after came Embaſſadors from *Corylas*, Lord of the *Paphlagonians*, who ſending Preſents deſired peace of the *Greeks*: the Embaſſadors were friendly entertained, and peace concluded, which needed not to have been ſought, for that the *Greeks* having now their Fleet in a readineſs, did ſoon weigh Anchors, and ſet ſail for *Harmene* the Port of *Sinope*, whether *Cheriſophus* came, bringing with him a few Gallies from the Admiral *Anaxibius*, who promiſed to give the Army Pay as ſoon as they came into the parts of *Greece*.

§. XIV.

Another great Diſſention and Diſtraction of the Army. How the Mutiners were beaten by the Barbarians, *and reſcued by* Xenophon.

THe nearer they approached to *Greece*, the greater was their deſire to make proviſion for themſelves, that they might not return home empty handed. Wherefore truſting well that if the charge of the Army were abſolutely commited to one ſufficient man, he might the more conveniently procure the good of them all, they determined to make *Xenophon* ſole Commander of all; in whoſe favour, as well the Captains as the common Souldiers were very earneſt and violent. But he, either fearing to diſpleaſe the *Lacedæmonians*, who were jealous of him already (being incenſed by that Fugitive who forſook the Army at *Trabizond*, flying with one of their two Ships) or moved by ſome tokens appearing to him in the entrails, that threatned ill ſucceſs to his Government, procured with vehement contention, that this Honour was laid upon *Cheriſophus* a *Lacedæmonian*. It ſeems that *Xenophon*, conſidering the vexations incident to the conduct of a voluntary Army, wanting Pay, did wiſely in yielding to ſuch Tokens as forbad him to accept it: eſpecially, knowing ſo well their deſire, which was, by right or by wrong to get Wealth whereſoever it might be found, without all regard of Friend or of Foe. *Cheriſo-*

phus

phus had been General but six or seven days when he was deposed, for having been unwilling to rob the Town of *Heraclea*, which had sent Presents to the Camp, and been very beneficial unto them in lending Ships for their transportation. Two days they had sailed by the Coast of *Asia*, when being past those great Rivers, which would have given impediment to their Journey by Land, they touched at *Heraclea*, where consulting how to take their way onwards, whether by Land or Sea, one seditious man began to put them in mind of seeking to get somewhat for themselves; telling them that all their Provision would be spent in three days, and that being now come out of the Enemies Country, Victuals, and other necessaries could not be had without Money; for which cause he gave advice to send Messengers into the Town of *Heraclea*, giving the Citizens to understand what their Wants were, and demanding of them three thousand pieces of Money, called *Cyzicens*, which sum amounteth to two thousand and five hundred pound sterling, or thereabout. This motion was greatly applauded, and the sum raised to ten thousand *Cyzicens* at least: which to require, they thought *Cherisophus*, as being General, the fittest man; others had more desire to send *Xenophon*: but in vain, for they both refused it, and renounced the Action as dishoneſt. Lest therefore either of these should fail in managing the business which agreed not with his Disposition, others of more impudency and less discretion were sent, who in such wise delivered their insolent Message; that the Citizens taking time to deliberate upon their Request, brought what they could out of the Fields into the Town, and shutting the Gates, did forthwith man the Walls. When the Souldiers perceived themselves to be disappointed of their ravenous purpose, they fell to mutiny, saying, That their Leaders had betrayed them: and being for the more part of them *Arcadians*, and *Achæans*, they forsook immediately *Cherisophus* and *Xenophon*, choosing new Leaders out of their own number. Above four thousand and five hundred they were, all heavily armed, who electing ten Captains, sailed unto the Port of *Calpas*, which is in the mid way between *Heraclea* and *Bizantium*, with purpose to assail the *Bythinians* on the sudden. With *Cherisophus* there abode two thousand and one hundred, of whom, one thousand and four hundred were armed weightily: *Xenophon* had two thousand Foot, three hundred whereof were lightly armed, and forty Horse, which small Band had done good service already, and could not have been spared now. *Cherisophus* had agreed with *Cleander* Governour of *Bizantium*, to meet him at the mouth of the River *Calpas*, whither *Cleander* promised to bring some Gallies to convey him over into *Greece*; for which cause he took his way thither by Land, leaving to *Xenophon* such Shipping as they had, who passing some part of the way by Sea, landed upon the Confines of *Heraclea*, and *Thracia Asiatica*, intending to make a cut through the Mid-land Country to the *Propont*. The Mutiners who had landed at *Calpas* by night, with purpose to take Spoils in *Bythinia*, divided themselves into ten Companies, every Captain leading his own Regiment into some Village, five or six miles from the Sea: in the greater Towns were two Regiments quartered, and so was that part of the Country surprised on the sudden, and sacked all at one time. The place of Rendezvous was an high piece of Ground, where some of them arrived, finding no disturbance; others, not without much trouble and danger; two Companies were broken and defeated, only eight men escaping, the rest were all put to the Sword. For the *Thracians* which had slipt at first out of the Souldiers hands, did raise the Country, and finding the *Greeks* loaden with Booty, took the advantage of their disorder, cutting in pieces those two Regiments: which done, they attempted the rest, encompassing the Hill whereon they encamped. One great advantage the *Thracians* had, that being all light armed, they could at pleasure make retreat from these *Arcadians* and *Achæans*: who wanting the assistance of Horse, and having neither Archers nor Slingers among them, were driven to stand meerly upon their defence, bearing off with great danger, and many Wounds received, the Darts and Arrows of the *Barbarians*, till finally they were driven from their watering place, and enforced to crave Parly. Whatsoever the Articles of composition were, the *Thracians* yielded to all; but Pledges for assurance they would give none, without which the *Greeks* well knew, that all promises of such People, especially so incensed, were nothing worth. In the mean time *Xenophon* holding his way quietly through the Inland Region, did enquire of some Travellers, whether they knew ought of any *Grecian* Army, passing along those parts: and receiving by them true information of the desperate case into which these Gallants had foolishly thrown themselves, he marched directly towards the place where they lay, taking with him for Guides, them who gave him the Intelligence. His Horse-men he sent before to discover and to scour the ways; the light armed foot-men took the hill tops on either hand; all of them setting fire on whatsoever they found combustible, whereby the whole Country seemed to be on a slight Flame, to the great terrour of the Enemies, who thought that some huge Army had approached. That night he encamped on a Hill, within five mile of the *Arcadians*, encreasing still the number of his Fires, which he caused hastily to be quenched soon after Supper. The Enemies perceiving this, thought certainly that he would have fallen upon them in the dark, which caused them in all haste to dislodge. Early the next morning *Xenophon* coming thither in very good order, to have given Battel, found that his advice to affright the *Thracians*, had taken full effect; but he marvelled that the *Greeks* were also departed, concerning whom he learned by enquiry, that they removed at break of day, and perceived by signs, that they had taken the way to the Port of *Calpas*, in which Journey he overtook them. They embraced Him, and His with great joy, confessing that they themselves had thought the same which the Enemies did, looking that he should have come by night, wherein finding themselves deceived, they were affraid lest he had forsaken them, and therefore hastned away to overtake him, and joyn with him. So they arrived at the Haven of *Calpas*, where it was decreed, That whosoever from thenceforth made any motion to disjoyn the Army, should suffer Death.

§. XV.

Of divers pieces of Service done by Xenophon; *and how the Army returned into* Greece. *The occasions of the War between the* Lacedæmonians *and the* Persian.

THe Haven of *Calpas* lay under a goodly head-land, that was very ſtrong, and abounding with all kind of Grain and Fruits, except Olives. There was alſo Timber for Building and Shipping, and a very convenient Seat for a great City. All which Commodities that might have allured the Souldiers to ſtay there, and to plant, cauſed them to haſte away, fearing leſt *Xenophon* ſhould find ſome device to have ſetled himſelf and them in that place. For the greater part of them had good means to live at home, neither did they ſo much for hope of gain follow *Cyrus* in that War, as in regard of his Honour, and the Love which they bare unto him: the poorer ſort were ſuch as left their Parents, Wives and Children, to whom (though failing of the Riches which they had hoped to purchaſe) they were now deſirous to return. But whether it were ſo that *Xenophon* found advantage by their own ſuperſtition, to make them ſtay, which they greatly ſuſpected; or whether the ſigns appearing in the entrails, did indeed forbid their departure: ſo long they were inforced to abide in the place till Victuals failed, neither would the Captains lead them forth to forrage the Countrey, until the Sacrifices ſhould promiſe good ſucceſs. *Cheriſophus* was dead of an Ague, and his Ships were gone, being returned to the *Heracleans*, of whom they were borrowed. His Followers were joyned to the reſt of the Army, which the greater it was, the more Proviſion it needed, and the ſooner felt want. For which cauſe, he that was choſen Coronel into the place of *Cheriſophus*, would needs adventure to gratifie the Souldiers with the ſpoil of ſome Villages that ſtood near at hand; in which Enterpriſe he found ill ſucceſs, the whole Country lying in wait to entrap him, and an Army of Horſe being ſent by *Pharnabazus* the *Satrapa*, or *Vice-roy* of *Phrygia*, to the aſſiſtance of theſe *Bythinian Thracians*, which Troops falling upon the *Greeks* that were ſcattered abroad in ſeeking Booty, ſlew five hundred of them, and chaſed the reſt to a certain Mountain thereby. The news of this Overthrow coming to *Xenophon*, he led forth a part of the Army to the reſcue of thoſe that ſurvived, and brought them ſafe to the Camp, upon which the *Bythinians* made an offer that night, and breaking a *Corps du garde*, ſlew ſome, purſuing the reſt to the very Tents. This new courage of the Enemy, together with the preſent condition of the Army, ſo diſheartned and unfurniſhed of neceſſaries, cauſed the *Greeks* to remove their Camp to a place of more ſtrength; which having intrenched, and committed to the defence of ſuch as were leaſt able to endure travail, *Xenophon* with the firmeſt and beſt able men went forth, both to bury thoſe which were lately ſlain, and to abate the pride of the *Thracians*, and their Aſſiſtants. In this Journey his Demeanour was very Honourable. For having given Burial to the Dead, the Enemy was diſcovered, lying on the tops of the Hills adjoyning, to whom (notwithſtanding that the Way was very rough and troubleſome, ſo that ſome thought it a matter of too great danger, to leave at their backs a Wood ſcarce paſſable) he marched directly, telling his men plainly, that he had rather follow the Enemy with half the number, than turn his back to them with twice as many, and letting them further know, that if they did not charge the *Barbarian*, he would not fail with the greater reſolution to purſue them; from whom, if they could ſafely retire to the Camp, yet what ſhould they do there, wanting Victuals to ſuſtain them in the place, and Ships to carry them away? wherefore he willed them rather to fight well that day, having eaten their Dinners, than another day faſting; and not to regard the uneaſie return, which might ſerve to ſtay Cowards from running away, but to wiſh unto the Enemy a fair and eaſie Way, by which he might fly from them. Theſe perſwaſions were followed with ſo valiant execution, that both *Perſians* and *Bythinians* being chaſed out of the Field, abandoned the Country forthwith, removing their Families, and leaving all that could not ſuddenly be conveyed away to the diſcretion of the *Greeks*, who at good leiſure gathered the Harveſt of theſe bad Neighbours Fields. This was the laſt Fight which they had on the ſide of *Aſia*. For they were not only ſuffered quietly to enjoy the Spoil of the Country, but when the Opinion grew common in thoſe parts, that it was the intent of *Xenophon* to plant a Colony on the Port of *Calpas*, Embaſſadours were ſent from the Neighbour People, to deſire Friendſhip, and make offer of their beſt aſſiſtance. But the Souldiers had no mind to ſtay. Wherefore entering further into *Bythinia*, they took a great Booty, which they carried away to *Chryſopolis*, a City near unto *Chalcedon*, where they ſold it. *Pharnabazus*, Lieutenant in *Phrygia* to *Artaxerxes*, did greatly fear, leſt their long ſtay in that Country might breed in them a deſire to viſit his Province, where they might have found great Wealth, and little Power to guard it. Therefore he ſent to the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral, entreating him with much inſtance and large promiſes to waft them over into *Europe*; to whom *Anaxibius* the Admiral condeſcending, promiſed to give the Souldiers Pay, as ſoon as they arrived at *Bizantium*. So were they carried out of *Aſia* at the entreaty of the *Perſian*, who in the height of his Pride, had thought them ſo ſurely impriſoned with mighty Rivers, that he not only denied to permit their quiet departure, but willed them to ſurrender their Arms into his hands, and ſo to yield their Lives to his diſcretion. How diſcourteouſly they were intreated by *Anaxibius*, and how to requite his injurious dealings, they ſeized upon *Bizantium*, which by *Xenophons* perſwaſion they forbare to ſack, I hold it ſuperfluous to relate. For the reſidue of their doings appertain little to the general courſe of things. But this expedition, as in all Ages it was glorious, ſo did it both diſcover the ſecrets of *Aſia*, and ſtir up the *Greeks* to think upon greater enterpriſes than ever their Forefathers had undertaken. Likewiſe it was the only remarkable Action which the time afforded. For the *Roman* Wars did hitherto extend no further than to the next neighbouring Towns of *Italy*; and in *Greece* all things were quiet, the *Lacedæmonians* ruling inſolently, but without diſturbance. True it is, that the ſeeds of the War ſhortly following, which the *Lacedæmonians* made upon *Artaxerxes*, were already ſown, before theſe Companies returned out of the high Countries of *Aſia*. For the Towns of *Ionia*, which had ſided with young *Cyrus* againſt *Tiſſaphernes*, if not againſt the great King, prepared to rebel, which they thought ſafer than to fall into the hands of *Tiſſaphernes*, who was now appointed Lieutenant, both of his old Province, and of all that had belonged to *Cyrus*. Wherefore the *Ionians* beſought the *Lacedæmonians* to ſend them aid, whereby to recover

recover their Liberty; and obtained their requeſt.

For a power was ſent over, under conduct of *Thimbro* a *Spartan*, who beſtowed his men in ſuch Towns as had already revolted, to ſecure the Cities and their Fields, but not to make any offenſive War.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Affairs of Greece, *whileſt they were managed by the* Lacedæmonians.

§. I.

How the Lacedæmonians *took courage by example of* Xenophon's *Army, to make War upon* Artaxerxes.

IT ſeems that the *Lacedæmonians* did well perceive in how ill part *Artaxerxes* took their favour ſhewed unto his Brother, and yet were timorous in beginning an open War againſt him, thinking it ſufficient to take all care that no advantage might ſlip, which could ſerve to ſtrengthen their Eſtate, by finding the *Perſian* work beyond the Sea. But when *Xenophon*'s Army had revealed the baſeneſs of thoſe effeminate *Aſiatiques*, and rehearſed the many Victories which they themſelves had gotten, upon terms of extreme diſadvantage; then was all *Greece* filled with deſire of undertaking upon this huge unwieldy Empire, thinking it no hard matter for the joynt-forces of that whole Nation, to hew out the way to *Suſa*, whereof one handful had opened the paſſage to *Babylon*; and further, finding no power that was able to give them reſiſtance, in all that long Journey of four and thirty thouſand two hundred and fifty five Furlongs, ſpent in going and returning, which make of *Engliſh* Miles about four thouſand two hundred fourſcore and one, a very painful march of one Year and three Months. Nevertheleſs the Civil diſtraction wherewith *Greece* was miſerably torn, and eſpecially that hot fire of the *Theban* War, which, kindled with *Perſian* Gold, brake forth ſuddenly into a great flame, drew back out of *Aſia* the power of the *Lacedæmonians*, to the defence of their own Eſtate; leaving it queſtionable whether *Ageſilaus*, having both the ſame, and far greater forces, could have wrought proportionable effects. Sure it is, that in the whole ſpace of two Years, which he ſpent in *Aſia*, his deeds procured more commendation of Magnanimity and fair Behaviour, than of ſtout Courage, and great, or profitable Atchievements. For how highly ſoever it pleaſed *Xenophon*, who was his Friend, and follower in this, and in other Wars, to extol his vertue; his exploits being only a few incurſions into the Countries lying near the Sea, carry no proportion to *Xenophon*'s own Journey, which I know not whether any Age hath paralleled: the famous retreat of *Conon* the *Briton* with ſix thouſand men from *Aquileia*, to his own Country, through all the breadth of *Italy*, and length of *France*, in deſpight of the Emperour *Theodoſius*, being rather like it than equal. But of *Ageſilaus*, and his Wars in *Aſia* and *Greece*, we ſhall ſpeak more in due place.

§. II.

The proſperous beginnings of the War in Aſia.

Thimbro receiving *Xenophon*'s men, began to take in Towns, and to entertain all ſuch as were willing to revolt from the *Perſian*, who were many, and ſome of them ſuch, as had been highly beholding to the King; who ſeem to have had no other cauſe of diſcontent, than that they were to live under the Government of *Tiſſaphernes*, whom all others did as vehemently hate as the King his Maſter did love him. The managing of the War begun by *Thimbro*, was for his Oppreſſions taken out of his hands, and committed to *Dercyllidas* a *Spartan*, who behaved himſelf as a good Man of War, and a wiſe Commander. For whereas the Rule of the Low-Countries of *Aſia* was divided between *Pharnabazus* and *Tiſſaphernes*, who did ill agree; *Pharnabazus* being the worthier man, but the other by his Princes favour the greater, and having the chief Command in thoſe Wars againſt the *Greeks*; *Dercyllidas*, who did bear a private hatred to *Pharnabazus* (knowing well that *Tiſſaphernes* was of a miſchievous Nature, and would not be ſorry to ſee his Corrival throughly beaten, though to the Kings loſs) made an appointment with *Tiſſaphernes*, and forthwith entred *Æolis*, which was under the Juriſdiction of *Pharnabazus*, which Province, in few days, he brought into his own power.

That Country of *Æolis* had about the ſame time ſuffered a violent alteration, which gave eaſie ſucceſs to the attempts of *Dercyllidas*. *Zenis*, a *Dardanian*, had been Deputy to *Pharnabazus* in thoſe parts; after whoſe death, his Wife *Mania* procured his Office, wherein ſhe behaved her ſelf ſo well, that ſhe not only was beloved of the People under her Government, but enlarged her Territory, by the Conqueſt of certain Towns adjoyning; and ſundry times gave aſſiſtance to *Pharnabazus* in his Wars againſt the *Myſians* and *Piſidians*. For ſhe had in pay ſome Companies of *Greeks*, whoſe Valour by her good uſage did her great ſervice. But ſomewhat before the arrival of *Dercyllidas* in thoſe parts, a Son-in-law of hers, called *Midias*, whom ſhe truſted and loved much, being blinded with Ambition, found means to ſtifle her, and kill her Son of ſeventeen years old; which done, he ſeized upon two of her principal Towns, wherein her Treaſure lay, hoping to have been admitted into poſſeſſion of her whole Eſtate. Being denied entrance by her Souldiers, that lay in Garriſon, he ſent Meſſengers with Preſents to *Pharnabazus*,

§. II.

bazus, desiring him to make him Governour in the place of *Mania*. His Presents were not only rejected by *Pharnabazus*, but revenge of his foul Treason threatned; whereby the wicked Villain was driven into terms of almost utter desperation. In the mean time came *Dercyllidas*, to whom the Towns of *Mania*, that held against *Midias*, did quickly open their Gates. One only Town stood out four days (against the will of the Citizens, who were covetous of Liberty) the Governour striving in vain to have kept it to the use of *Pharnabazus*. Now remained only two Cities, *Gergethe* and *Scepsis*, which the Traytor held, who fearing all men, as being loved of none, sent Embassadors to *Dercyllidas*, desiring leave to speak with him, and pledges for his security: upon the delivery of which he issued out of *Scepsis*, and coming into the Camp, made offer to joyn with the *Greeks* upon such Conditions, as might seem reasonable. But he was plainly told by *Dercyllidas*, that other Condition there was none, than to set the Citizens freely at liberty. And presently upon these words they marched toward *Scepsis*. When *Midias* perceived that it was in vain to strive against the Army, and the Townsmen, who were all of one mind, he quietly went along with *Dercyllidas*; who remaining but a few hours in the City, did a Sacrifice to *Minerva*, and then leading away the Garrison of *Midias*, he left the City free, and departed toward *Gergethe*. *Midias* did not forsake his Company, but followed him, earnestly entreating that he might be suffered to retain *Gergethe*: but coming to the Gates, he was bidden to command his Souldiers that they should be opened; for (quoth *Dercyllidas*) I must here likewise do a Sacrifice to *Minerva*. The Traytor, not daring to make denial, caused his Mercinaries to open the Gates, whereby *Dercyllidas*, taking possession of the place, tendred pay to the Garrison, who did not refuse to serve under his Ensigns. This done, all the Goods of *Mania* were seized upon, as belonging to one that had been subject to *Pharnabazus*, who was Enemy to the *Greeks*: and so the murderous wretch was sent away naked, not knowing in what part of the World he might find any place to hide his detested Head. *Dercyllidas*, having in eight days taken nine Cities, purposed for the ease of his Confederates, to Winter in *Bythinia*, to which end he took Truce with *Pharnabazus*, who had not any desire of War. That Winter, and the Summer ensuing, the Truce being re-continued held; in which time, besides the wasting of *Bythinia*, the neck of Land joyning *Cherronea* to the Main, was fortified, being four or five miles in breadth, by which means eleven Towns, with much good Land belonging to them, were freed from the incursions of the wild *Thracians*, and made fit and able to victual the Camp. Likewise the City of *Atarne* was taken, which was of great strength, and very well stored with Provision. After this, *Dercyllidas* had command from *Sparta*, to divert the War into *Caria*, where was the seat of *Tissaphernes*; for that hereby it was thought not uneasie to recover all the Towns of *Ionia*: *Pharax*, the Admiral of the Fleet (which was a yearly Office) being appointed to joyn with him. Though it was manifest that *Tissaphernes* had neglected *Pharnabazus* in time of necessity, yet was he not in his own danger requited with the like. For *Pharnabazus* having respect to the Kings Service, came to assist his private Enemy *Tissaphernes*, and so passing into *Caria*, they thrust Garrisons into all places of strength; which done, they marched towards *Ionia*, hoping to find the Towns ill manned for resistance. As these *Persians* were desirous to keep the War from their own doors, so was *Dercyllidas* willing to free his Confederates the *Ionians* from the spoil and danger of the War, by transferring it into *Caria*. For which cause he passed the River of *Mæander*, and not looking to have been so soon encountred, marched carelesly through the Country; when on the very sudden the whole Army of *Tissaphernes* and *Pharnabazus* was discovered, consisting of *Persians*, *Carians*, and some Mercinary *Greeks*, who were all marshalled in very good order to present Battel. The odds was too apparent, both in numbers of men, and in readiness, as also in advantage of ground: for the *Persian* had a great multitude of Horse, the *Greek* very few and feeble, being to fight in an open Plain. Therefore all the *Ionians*, together with the Islanders and others, of such places as bordered upon the Kings Dominions, did either betake themselves to present flight; or abiding a while for shame, did plainly discover by their looks, that they meant not to be more bold than wise. Only *Dercyllidas* with his *Peloponnesians* regarding their Honour, prepared to endure the fight; which must needs have brought them to destruction, if the counsel of *Pharnabazus* had been followed, who perceiving the opportunity of so great a Victory, was not willing to let it slip. But *Tissaphernes*, who naturally was a Coward, seeing that countenance of resistance was made, began to consider what strange defence the Souldiers of *Xenophon* had shewed, and thinking that all the *Greeks* were of the like resolution, held it the wisest way to crave Parley; the conclusion of which was, That a Truce should be made, to last until *Tissaphernes* might receive answer from the King, and *Dercyllidas* from *Sparta*, concerning the demands propounded in the Treaty; which were on the one part, that all the *Greeks* in *Asia* might enjoy their own Liberty and Laws; but contrariwise on the other side, that the *Lacedæmonians* should depart *Asia*, and leave the Towns to the Kings pleasure. This Treaty was of none effect; only it served to free the *Greeks* from the present danger, and to gain time unto *Tissaphernes*, who desired to avoid the War by procraftination, which he durst not adventure to finish by tryal of a Battel.

§. III.

How the Lacedæmonians *took revenge upon the* Eleans *for old displeasure. The discontents of the* Corinthians *and* Thebans, *conceived against the State of* Sparta.

IN the mean season the *Lacedæmonians*, who found none able to withstand them in *Greece*, began to call the *Eleans* to account for some disgraces received by them during the late Wars, when leisure was wanting to the requital of such petty injuries. These *Eleans* being Presidents of the *Olympian* Games, had set a Fine upon the City of *Sparta*; for non-payment of which, they forbad them to come to the Solemnity, and publickly whipt one of them, that was a man of note, for presuming to contend against their Decree. Likewise they hindred *Agis*, King of *Sparta*, from doing Sacrifice to *Jupiter*; and in all points used great contempt toward the *Spartans*, who now had no business that could hinder them from taking revenge: and therefore sent a peremptory Message to the *Eleans*, commanding them to set at liberty the Cities which they held in subjection. This was the usual pretence which they made the ground of all their Wars; though little they cared for the liberty of such Towns, which they caused after-

afterwards to become followers, and little better than meer Vaſſals to themſelves. In their late Wars with *Athens*, the ſtrong oppoſition which they found cauſed this goodly Title of Liberty to work very ſlowly: but having now to do with a State of great ſpirit and ſmall force, it gave preſent ſucceſs to their deſires. Two years together they ſent an Army into the Country of the *Eleans*: the firſt year an Earthquake (held in thoſe times a prodigious ſign, and which did always forbid the proſecution of any enterpriſe in hand) cauſed them to retire: the ſecond year, all the Towns of the *Eleans* did haſtily revolt, and the City it ſelf was driven to ſubmiſſion; conſenting both to ſuffer their old ſubjects freely to enjoy their liberty, and to have her own Walls thrown down. Only the Preſidentſhip of the *Olympian* Games was left unto them; which, it was not to be doubted that they would, in time coming, uſe modeſtly, finding themſelves to ſtand at the mercy of *Sparta*. In this Expedition all the *Greeks* were aſſiſtant to the *Lacedæmonians*, excepting the *Corinthians* and *Bœotians*, whoſe aid having been of as much importance in the late *Peloponneſian* War, as the force of *Sparta* it ſelf, they could not ſmother their diſlike of their unequal diviſion following the Victory; which gave to *Sparta* the Command of all *Greece*; to *Thebes* and *Corinth*, only ſecurity againſt *Athens*; but ſuch a ſecurity as was worſe than the danger. For when the equal greatneſs of two mighty Eſtates did counterpoiſe each the other, it was in the power of theſe Neutral Common-weals to adhere to either, as the condition of their affairs required: but when to revenge injuries, they had by mortal hatred proſecuted the War to extremity, leaving the one City naked of Power and Friends, the other mightily increaſed in both, it was then (if not neceſſary to obey the greatneſs which themſelves had made, yet) fooliſh and dangerous to provoke it. Nevertheleſs, it was not the purpoſe of the *Spartans* to take occaſion of any Quarrel, which they could not finiſh at pleaſure, till ſuch time as they had by Victory or Compoſition made ſome good end with the *Perſian*, toward whom they bent all their care and forces.

§. IV.

The paſſage of Ageſilaus *into* Aſia. *His War with* Tiſſaphernes. *How* Tiſſaphernes *was put to death, and the War diverted into another Province, through perſwaſion and gifts of* Tithrauſtes *his Succeſſor. How careleſs the* Perſian *Lieutenants were of the Kings good.*

AGeſilaus newly made King of *Sparta*, was deſirous to have the honour of the Victory, which, not without cauſe, he expected upon thoſe of *Aſia*; and therefore procuring a great Army to joyn with that of *Dercyllidas*, he took his way in great Pomp to *Aulis* in *Bœotia*, a Haven, lying oppoſite to the Iſland of *Eubœa*, in which place *Agamemnon* (leading the power of all *Greece* to the War againſt *Troy*, many Ages before) had embarqued his men. In imitation of *Agamemnon* he meant alſo to do Sacrifice in *Aulis*, which the *Thebans*, Lords of that Country, would not permit; but ſaying, that the performance of ſuch Ceremonies in that place, belonged unto their Officers; they were ſo unable to conceal their malice, that ſending ſome Companies of Horſe, they threw down his Sacrifice from the Altar. It was not then convenient time for *Ageſilaus* to entangle himſelf and his Country in any new War; therefore, waiting better opportunity of Revenge, he quietly ſwallowed the contumely, and followed his main intendment. Having landed his men at *Epheſus*, he was entertained by *Tiſſaphernes* with a Treaty of Peace, wherein *Ageſilaus* peremptorily requiring that the *Perſian* ſhould reſtore to liberty all the *Greek* Towns in *Aſia*, was promiſed that the King, being firſt informed of his demand, ſhould ſend anſwer to his good liking, if he would in the mean while make Truce. Truce was therefore made; which *Tiſſaphernes* had ſought only to win time of making proviſion for the War, and getting ſupply of men and money from *Artaxerxes*; whileſt *Ageſilaus* was buſie in ſettling the Eſtates of his Confederate Cities on that ſide of the Sea. The end of this long vacation from War was at the coming down of theſe Forces which *Artaxerxes* had ſent; at what time *Ageſilaus* received a plain Meſſage from *Tiſſaphernes*, that either he muſt forthwith depart out of *Aſia*, or make good his aboad by ſtrong hand. *Ageſilaus* returning word that he was glad to hear that his Enemies had by Perjury deſerved vengeance from Heaven, prepared to invade them; and ſending word to all the Towns which lay between him and *Caria*, that they ſhould provide Victuals, and other Neceſſaries for his Army, did eaſily make *Tiſſaphernes* believe, that his intent was to invade that Province wherein *Tiſſaphernes* dwelt, and which was unfit for Horſe, in which part of his Forces the *Perſian* had moſt confidence. Therefore *Tiſſaphernes* beſtowing all his Companies of Foot in *Caria*, entred with his Horſe into the Plains of *Mæander*, hoping thereby to ſtop the paſſage of a heavy foot-Army, not ſuffering them to paſs into that Country which was fitteſt for their Service. But the *Greeks* left him waiting there in vain, and marched directly into *Phrygia*, where they took great ſpoil without reſiſtance, till ſuch time as the Horſe-men of *Pharnabazus* met him, who in a ſmall Skirmiſh having the better of the *Greeks*, were the occaſion that *Ageſilaus* returned to *Epheſus*. Although in this laſt Fight only twelve men were loſt, yet *Ageſilaus* perceiving by that tryal how hard it would be to prevail, and hold the maſtery of the Field, without a greater ſtrength of Horſe, took all poſſible care to increaſe that part of his Forces. By which means having enabled himſelf, whileſt Winter laſted, he entred upon the Country of *Tiſſaphernes*, as ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year would permit, and not only took a great booty, but finding the Horſe-men of *Tiſſaphernes* in the Plain of *Mæander*, without aſſiſtance of their Infantry, he gave them Battel, and had a great Victory, taking their Camp, in which he found great Riches. The blame of this loſs fell heavy upon *Tiſſaphernes*, who either upon Cowardiſe had abſented himſelf from the Battel, or following ſome other buſineſs, was then at *Sardes*. For which cauſe his Maſter having him in diſtruſt, and thinking that Peace might be the ſooner had, which he much deſired, if the man, ſo odious to the whole Nation of the *Greeks*, were taken out of the way, he ſent into thoſe parts *Tithrauſtes* a *Perſian*, to cut off the Head of *Tiſſaphernes*, and ſucceed him in the Government. Such was the end of this baſe and cowardly Politician, who little caring to offend Heaven, when by Perjury he could advance his purpoſes on Earth, failed at the laſt through too much over-weening of his own Wiſdom, even in that part of cunning wherein he thought himſelf moſt perfect. For ſuppoſing, that by his great skill in ſubtil Negotiation he ſhould one way or other circumvent the *Greeks*, and make them weary of *Aſia*; he did not ſeek to finiſh the War, and, according to his Maſters wiſh, bring all

all things ſpeedily to quiet; but rather to temporiſe, till he might find ſome opportunity of making ſuch end as beſt might ſtand with the Kings Honour and his own. Wherein it ſeems that he much miſtook his Princes Diſpoſition, who though he had highly rewarded him for the aid which he did bring in his time of danger, yet would he much more gladly have taken it, if he could have found ſuch means whereby the danger it ſelf might have been avoided: as not loving to have War, whileſt by any conditions (honourable or not) he might obtain Peace. And this appeared well by the courſe which *Tithrauſtes* took at his firſt poſſeſſion of the Low-Countries. For he ſent Embaſſadors to *Ageſilaus*, in very friendly ſort, letting him know, that the Man who had been Author of the War, was now taken out of the way; and that it was the Kings pleaſure to let the *Greeks* enjoy their own Laws and Liberty, upon condition, that they ſhould pay him the Tribute accuſtomed, and the Army be forthwith diſmiſſed. The anſwer to this Propoſition, was by *Ageſilaus* referred to the Council of *Sparta*; in the mean ſeaſon he was content to transfer the War into the Province of *Pharnabazus*, at the requeſt of *Tithrauſtes*, who bought his Departure with thirty Talents.

This was a ſtrange manner of War, both on the Offenſive and on the Defenſive part. For *Ageſilaus* having entertained great hopes of vanquiſhing the great King, was contented to forbear his ſeveral Provinces, at the entreaty of the Lieutenants: and thoſe Lieutenants being employed by the King to maintain his Eſtates againſt all Enemies (wherein if they failed, they knew that their Heads might eaſily be taken from their Shoulders) were little offended at any Loſs that fell on their next Neighbour-Provinces, which were ſubject likewiſe to the ſame Crown of *Perſia*, ſo long as their own Government could be preſerved free from waſte and danger. The cauſe of this diſorder on the *Perſian* ſide, I can aſcribe to nothing ſo deſervedly, as to the corrupted Eſtate of the Court, wherein *Eunuchs*, *Concubines*, and *Miniſters* of pleaſure, were able by partial Conſtruction to countenance or diſgrace the actions of ſuch as had the managing of things abroad; and to that fooliſh manner of the Kings (which was ſo uſual that it might be called a Rule) to reward or puniſh the Provincial Governour, according to the Benefit or Loſs, which the Country given in charge unto each of them received, during the time of his rule. Whereby it came to paſs, that as every one was deſirous to make his own Territory yield a large Increaſe to the Kings Treaſure; ſo no man was careful to aſſiſt his Borderers, if loſs or danger might thereby grow to himſelf and his; but ſate ſtill as an idle Beholder, when perhaps by joyning their Forces, it had not been uneaſie to recompence the ſpoil of one Country, by conquering another, or defending a third from far greater miſeries.

§. V.

The War and Treaty between Ageſilaus *and* Pharnabazus.

Ageſilaus having thus compounded with *Tithrauſtes*, entred *Phrygia*, burning and waſting the Country without reſiſtance. He took the Palace of *Pharnabazus*, and by his Lieutenant drave him out of his Camp. Theſe actions, together with his honourable Behaviour, which added much to their Luſtre, were more glorious than profitable. For he did not win Cities and Places of ſtrength, which might have encreaſed his Power, and given aſſurance to the reſt of his Proceedings: but purchaſed Fame and high Reputation, by which he drew unto him ſome that were diſcontented and ſtood upon bad terms with the great King, whom he loſt again as eaſily, by means of ſome ſlight Injury done to them by his under Captains. *Pharnabazus* did not encloſe himſelf in any Town for fear of being beſieged, but kept the Field, lying as near as he could ſafely to the Enemies, with whom it was not his purpoſe to fight, but to make ſome good end by compoſition, which he found not uneaſie to do. For the pleaſures, by him formerly done to the State of *Sparta*, in the times of their moſt neceſſity, had been ſo great, that when he (obtaining Parly) did ſet before their eyes his Bounty towards them, and his Love (which had been ſuch, that beſides many other hazards of his Perſon, he had for the reſcue of their Fleet, when it was driven to run aſhore at *Abydus*, adventured to ride into the Sea as far as he could find any ground, and fight on Horſeback againſt the *Athenians*) together with his Faith, which had never been violated in word or deed: they knew not how to excuſe their Ingratitude, otherwiſe than by telling him, That having War with his Maſter, they were inforced, againſt their Will, to offend him. *Ageſilaus* did make a fair offer to him, that if he would revolt from the King to them, they would maintain him againſt the *Perſian*, and eſtabliſh him free Prince of the Country wherein he was at that time only Deputy to *Artaxerxes*. But *Pharnabazus* told him plainly, That if the King his Maſter did put him in truſt to make War againſt them, he would not fail to do the beſt that he could as their Enemy; if the Charge were taken out of his hand, and he commanded to obey another, he would then ſhift ſide, and betake himſelf to their Alliance. The Iſſue of this Parly was, That the Army ſhould no longer abide in *Phrygia*, nor again return into it, whileſt employment could be found elſewhere. The excuſe made by *Ageſilaus*, and the withdrawing of his Forces out of thoſe parts, were not ſufficient to appeaſe *Pharnabazus*, whom he had not invaded for want of more neceſſary buſineſs elſewhere; but becauſe his Country would yield great Booty; and for the hire of thirty Talents. By this means the *Lacedæmonians* changed an honourable Friend into a hot Enemy, who afterwards requited their unthankfulneſs with full revenge.

§. VI.

The great Commotions raiſed in Greece *by the* Thebans *and others, that were hired with Gold from the* Perſian.

IN the mean while *Tithrauſtes* perceiving that *Ageſilaus* meant nothing leſs than to return into *Greece*, and let *Artaxerxes* reſt quietly in *Aſia*, took a wiſe courſe, whereby the City of *Sparta* was not only driven to look to her own, and give over her great hopes of ſubverting the Empire, but was beaten out of all that had been gotten by many late Victories, and ſaw her Dominion reſtrained unto the narrow bounds of her own Territory. He ſent into *Greece* fifty Talents of Silver, to be imployed in raiſing War againſt the *Lacedæmonians*; which Treaſure, was by the ſubtil practice of him that was put in truſt with it, in ſuch wiſe

wiſe diſperſed, among the principal men of the *Thebans*, *Argives*, and *Corinthians*, that all thoſe Eſtates having formerly born ſecret hate to that of *Sparta*, were now deſirous of nothing ſo much as of open War. And leſt this great heat of the incenſed Multitude, ſhould, for want of preſent exerciſe, begin to faint, and vaniſh away in idle words, occaſion was found out to thruſt the *Lacedæmonians* into Arms, that they themſelves might ſeem Authors of the Quarrel. Some Land there was in the Tenure of the *Locrians*, to which the *Thebans* had in former time laid claim; but the *Phocians*, either having the better Title, or finding the greater Favour, had it adjudged unto them, and received yearly Money for it. This Money the *Locrians* were either hired or perſwaded to pay now to the *Thebans*, who readily accepted it. The *Phocians* not meaning ſo to loſe their Rent, made a diſtreſs by ſtrong hand, recovering a great deal more than their own; which they *Thebans* (as in protection of their new Tenants) requited with an Invaſion made upon *Phocis*, waſting that Countrey in the manner of open War. Such were the beginnings of profeſſed Hoſtility between *Thebes* and *Sparta*, and the firſt breaking out of their cloſe Enmity, that had long time, though hardly been concealed. For when the *Phocian* Embaſſadors came to *Sparta*, complaining of the Violence done by the *Thebans*, and requeſting ſuccour, they had very favourable Audience, and ready conſent to their Suit; it being the manner of the *Lacedæmonians*, to defer the acknowledgment of Injuries received, until occaſion of revenge were offered, and then to diſcover their Indignation in cold Blood. At this time they had very good opportunity to work their own Wills, having no other War to diſturb them in *Greece*, and hearing out of *Aſia* no news, that could offend or trouble them. Wherefore they ſent *Lyſander* to raiſe all the Countries about *Phocis*, and with ſuch Forces as he could levy, to attend the coming of *Pauſanias* King of *Sparta* (for *Sparta*, as hath been ſhewed before, had two Kings) who ſhould follow him with the ſtrength of *Peloponneſus*. *Lyſander* did as he was appointed, and being of great reputation in thoſe parts, he drew the *Orchomenians* to revolt from *Thebes*. *Pauſanias* likewiſe raiſed all *Peloponneſus*, except the *Corinthians* (who refuſed to aſſiſt him in that Enterpriſe) meaning to joyn with *Lyſander*, and make a ſpeedy end of the War. The conſideration of ſo great a danger approaching ſo ſwiftly, cauſed the *Thebans* to ſeek what help they could abroad, foraſmuch as their own ſtrength was far too little to make reſiſtance againſt ſuch mighty preparations. It was not unknown to them, that many followers of the *Lacedæmonians* were otherwiſe affected in heart than they durſt utter in Countenance; but the good Wiſhes of ſuch people were little available, conſidering that the moſt which could be expected from them, was, that they ſhould do as little hurt as they could: by which manner of tergiverſation, the *Corinthians* did at that preſent caſt themſelves into the diſpleaſure of the *Spartans*, to the no great benefit of *Thebes*. Wherefore it was thought the ſafeſt courſe to procure the aſſiſtance of ſome Eſtate that might preſently declare it ſelf on their ſide, which would cauſe many others to follow the example, and make their Party ſtrong. To this end they ſent Embaſſadors to *Athens*, excuſing old offences, as either not committed by publick allowance, or done in time of the general War, and recompenced with Friendſhip lately ſhewn in their refuſal of aſſiſting *Pauſanias*, when he came in behalf of the thirty Tyrants, againſt the good Citizens of *Athens*. In regard of which, and for their own Honours ſake, they requeſted them of aid in the preſent War, offering to do the beſt that they could for the reſtoring of *Athens* to her former Eſtate and Dignity. *Thraſybulus* and his Friends, who perſecuted by the Thirty, had been well entertained at *Thebes*, procured now the City to make a large requital of the courteſie which they had received. For it was decreed, that the State of *Athens* ſhould not only refuſe to aid the *Lacedæmonians* in this War; but that it ſhould aſſiſt the *Thebans*, and engage it ſelf in their Cauſe. Whileſt *Pauſanias* lay ſtill, waiting the arrival of his Confederates; *Lyſander* being deſirous to do ſomewhat that might advance the buſineſs in hand, came to *Haliartus*, where, though *Pauſanias* did not meet him, as had been appointed, yet he attempted the Town, and was ſlain in Fight by the *Thebans*, who came haſtily to the reſcue. As this Victory did encourage the *Thebans*, ſo the coming of *Pauſanias* with his great Army did again amaze them, with preſentation of extream danger; but their ſpirits were ſoon revived by the ſtrong ſuccour which was brought from *Athens*, in conſideration of which, and of the late Battel, *Pauſanias* durſt not hazard a new Fight with them, but receiving the Bodies of thoſe that were ſlain, by compoſition, departed out of their Territory, for which, either Cowardiſe or Indiſcretion, he was at his return to *Sparta*, condemned as a Traitor, and driven to fly into *Tegea*, where he ended his days in baniſhment..

§. VII.

How Ageſilaus *was called out of* Aſia *to help his Countrey. A Victory of the* Spartans. Conon *the* Athenian, *aſſiſted by* Pharnabazus, *overcomes the* Lacedemonian *Fleet; recovers the Maſtery of the Seas; and rebuilds the Walls of* Athens.

THis good Succeſs, and the Confederacy made with *Athens*, gave ſuch reputation to the *Thebans*, that the *Argives*, *Corinthians*, *Eubœans*, *Locrians*, and *Acarnanes*, did forthwith ſide with them, and raiſing a ſtrong Army, determined to give Battel to the *Lacedæmonians*, as near as they might to their own doors; conſidering that the Force of *Sparta* it ſelf was not great, but grew more and more by the adjunction of their Confederates. The Magiſtrates of *Sparta* perceiving the danger, ſent for *Ageſilaus*, who readily obeyed them, and promiſing his Friends in *Aſia* to return ſpeedily to their aſſiſtance, paſſed the Straights of *Helleſpont* into *Europe*. In the mean time the Cities of the new League had given Battel to the *Lacedæmonians*, and the remainder of their Aſſociates, but with ill ſucceſs. For when the right Wing of each part had gotten the better hand, the *Argives* and *Thebans* returning from the Chaſe in ſome diſorder, were broken and defeated by the *Lacedæmonians*, who meeting them in good order, won from them the Honour which they had gotten by forcing the left Wing of the *Lacedæmonians*, and made the Victory of that day entirely their own. The report of this Battel meeting *Ageſilaus* at *Amphipolis*, were by him ſent over into *Aſia*, where it is not likely that they brought much comfort unto his Friend, who had ſince his departure ſeen the *Spartan* Fleet beaten, and *Lyſander* the Admiral ſlain. The ſame man, whoſe endeavour had brought the *Athenians* into order, by advancing the Sea-forces of the *Lacedæmonians* with Money, and all manner of Supplies, was now the occaſion that

the power of *Athens* grew ſtrong at Sea, when the City was deſpoiled of her old reputation, and ſcarcely able to maintain an Army by Land for her own defence. *Pharnabazus* conſidering how much it imported the King his Maſter, to have the *Greeks* divided into ſuch Factions, as might utterly diſable them from undertaking abroad, thought it the ſafeſt way for himſelf, during theſe broils, to take ſuch order, that he ſhould not need any more, to ſeek Peace by entreaty and commemoration of old benefits, at their hands, who unprovoked had ſold his love for thirty Talents. To which purpoſe he furniſhed *Conon* the *Athenian* with eight Ships, who had eſcaped, when the Fleet of *Athens* was ſurprized by *Lyſander* at *Ægos-Potamos*; giving him the command of a great Navy, wherewith he requited the loſs received at *Ægos-Potamos*, by repaying the *Lacedæmonians* with the like deſtruction of their Fleet at *Cnidus*. After this Victory *Conon* ſailed to *Athens*, bringing with him, partly as the liberality of *Pharnabazus*, partly as the fruit of his Victory, ſo ſtrong a Navy, and ſo much Gold, as encouraged the *Athenians* to re-build their Walls, and think more hopefully upon recovering the Signory which they had loſt.

§. VIII.

Of ſundry ſmall Victories gotten on each part. The Lacedæmonians *loſe all in* Aſia: *The* Athenians *recover ſome part of their old Dominion.*

NEvertheleſs the *Lacedæmonians*, by many Victories at Land, maintained for ſome years the honour of their Eſtate, endangered very greatly by this loſs at Sea. For *Ageſilaus* obtained the better with his Horſe-men, from the *Theſſalians*, who were accounted the beſt riders in *Greece*: He waſted *Bœotia*, and fought a great Battel at *Coronea* againſt the *Thebans*, and their Allies, whom he overthrew; and by his *Marſhal Gylis* forraged the Country of *Locris*: which done, he returned home.

The gain of theſe Victories was not great, and the reputation of them was, by many loſſes, much defaced. For the *Thebans* did in the Battels of *Coronea* vanquiſh the *Orchomenians*, who ſtood oppoſite unto them, and retired unbroken to Mount *Helicon*, opening way perforce when *Ageſilaus* charged them in their return from the purſuit. Likewiſe *Gylis* was ſlain with a great part of his Army by the *Locrians*; and ſome other exploits by the *Lacedæmonians* performed againſt the *Corinthians*, were repayed with equal damage received in the parts adjoyning; many Towns being eaſily taken, and as eaſily recovered. The variety of which inter-feats was ſuch, that the *Thebans* themſelves were drawn, by the loſs of the Haven of *Corinth*, to ſue for Peace, but could not get Audience, till ſuch time as the news came of a great Victory obtained by *Iphicrates*, General of the *Athenian* Forces at *Lechæum*; whereupon the *Theban* Embaſſadors being ſent for, and willed to do their Meſſage, required only in ſcorn, to have a ſafe Conduct given them, that they might enter into *Corinth*. From this time forward the War was made for a while only by incurſions, wherein the *Achæans*, Confederates of *Sparta*, felt moſt loſs; their whole State being endangered by the *Acarnanians*, who held with the contrary ſide, until *Ageſilaus* repayed theſe invaders with equal, or greater calamities, brought upon their own Lands, which did ſo afflict the *Acarnanians*, that they were driven to ſue for Peace. But the affairs at Sea were of moſt conſequence, upon which the ſucceſs of all depended. For when the Towns of *Aſia* perceived, that the *Lacedæmonians* were not only entangled in an hard War at home, but almoſt diſabled to paſs the Seas, having loſt their Fleet at *Cnidus*; they ſoon gave ear to *Pharnabazus*, who promiſed to allow that they ſhould uſe their own Laws, if they would expel the *Spartan* Governours. Only the City of *Abydos* did ſtand firm, wherein *Dercyllidas* lay, who did his beſt to contain all the Towns about *Helleſpont*, in the Alliance of the *Lacedæmonians*; which he could not do, becauſe the *Athenian* Fleet under *Thraſybulus* took in *Byzantium*, *Chalcedon*, and other places thereabout, reducing the Iſle of *Lesbos* to their ancient acknowledgment of *Athens*.

§. IX.

The baſe Conditions offered unto the Perſian *by the* Lacedæmonians. *Of ſundry Fights and other paſſages in the War. The Peace of* Antalcidas.

ABout this time the *Spartans* began to perceive, how uneaſie a thing it would be, to maintain the War againſt men as good as themſelves, aſſiſted with the Treaſures of *Perſia*; wherefore they craved Peace of *Artaxerxes*, moſt baſely offering, not only to renounce the *Greeks* inhabiting *Aſia*, and to leave them to the Kings diſpoſition; but withal to ſet the Iſlanders, and every Town in *Greece*, as well the little as the great, at full and abſolute liberty, whereby they ſaid that all the principal Eſtates of their Country would ſo be weakened, that no one, nor all of them ſhould be able to ſtir againſt the great King. And ſure it was, that the power of the Country being ſo broken, and rent into many ſmall pieces, could neither have diſquieted the *Perſian*, by an offenſive War, nor have made any good defence againſt him, but would have left it eaſie for him in continuance of time, to have taken the Cities one after another, till he had made himſelf Maſter of all. The *Spartans* were not ignorant of this, but were ſo carried with Envy, that perceiving how the Dominion of the Seas was like to return to *Athens*, they choſe rather to give all from themſelves and others, and make all alike weak, than to permit that any of their own Nation ſhould grow ſtronger than themſelves, who ſo lately had commanded all. Yet this great offer was not at the firſt accepted, both in regard that the other Eſtates of *Greece*, who had in the Kings behalf joyned together againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, did by their ſeveral Embaſſadors oppoſe themſelves unto it; and for that it was thought ſafeſt for *Artaxerxes*, rather to weaken the *Lacedæmonians* yet more, than by interpoſing himſelf to bring Friends and Foes on the ſudden to an equality. Eſpecially *Struthas*, whom *Artaxerxes* did ſend as his Lieutenant into the Low-Countries, did ſeek to repay the harm done by *Ageſilaus* in thoſe parts: which his intent appearing plain, and all hope of the Peace being thereby cut off, *Thimbro* was ſent into *Aſia* to make War upon *Struthas*; and others were appointed to other places, whereby the War, being ſcattered about, all the Iſles and Towns on the firm Land grew almoſt to the manner of Piracy and Robbery, affording many Skirmiſhes, but few great Actions worthy of remembrance. *Thimbro* was ſlain by *Struthas*, and in his place *Diphridas* was ſent, who demeaned himſelf more warily. *Dercyllidas* was removed from his charge at *Abydus*, becauſe he had not impeached *Thraſybulus* in his enter-

enterpriſes about *Helleſpont*; *Anaxibius*, who ſucceeded him, was ſurpriſed and ſlain in a skirmiſh by *Iphicrates* the *Athenian*. *Thraſybulus*, departing from *Lesbos* toward *Rhodes*, was ſlain by the way at *Aſpendus*; the City of *Rhodes* having long before joyned with the *Lacedæmonians*, who erected there (as was their manner) an *Ariſtocraty*, or the Government of a few the principal Citizens; whereas contrariwiſe, the *Athenians* were accuſtomed to put the Sovereignty into the hands of the People, each of them ſeeking to aſſure themſelves, by erecting in the Towns of their Confederates a Government like unto their own: which doing (where more eſpecial cauſe did not hinder) cauſed the Nobility to favour *Sparta*, and the Commons to incline to *Athens*. The People of *Ægina* roved upon the Coaſt of *Attica*, which cauſed the *Athenians* to land an Army in *Ægina*, and beſiege their Town; but this Siege being raiſed by the aſſiſtance of the *Lacedæmonian* Fleet, the Iſlanders began anew to moleſt *Attica*, which cauſed the *Athenians* to man their Ships again, that returned beaten, having loſt four of thirteen. The loſs of theſe Ships was ſoon recompenſed by a Victory which *Chabrias* the *Athenian* General had in *Ægina*; whereupon the Iſlanders were fain to keep home, and leave to the *Athenians* the Seas free. It may well ſeem ſtrange that the City of *Athens*, having but newly raiſed her Walls, having not by any fortunate and important Battel ſecured her Eſtate from dangers by Land; but only depending upon the aſſiſtance of ſuch Confederates, as carried unto different ends, had often diſcovered themſelves irreſolute in the common cauſe, would ſend a Fleet and an Army to *Cyprus*, in defence of *Evagoras*, when the maſtery of the Seas was ſo ill aſſured, that an Iſland lying in the Eye of *Piræus*, had ability to vex the Coaſt of *Attica*. But as the over-weening of that City did cauſe it uſually to embrace more than it could compaſs; ſo the inſolency and ſhameleſs injuſtice of the People, had now bred in the chief Commanders, a deſire to keep themſelves far out of ſight, and to ſeek employments at ſuch diſtance as might ſecure them from the eyes of the envious, and from publick judgments, out of which few or none eſcaped. For which cauſe *Timotheus* did paſs away much part of his time in the Iſle of *Lesbos*; *Iphicrates* in *Thrace*, and *Chabrias* did now carry away into *Cyprus* a greater Force than his Country well could have ſpared; with which he returned not when the buſineſs in *Cyprus* came to an end, but ſought new Adventures in *Ægypt*, whereby aroſe neither thanks to himſelf, nor profit to his City, though honour both to him and it. The *Athenians* being thus careleſs of things at hand, had a notable blow given unto them, ſhortly after that *Chabrias* was gone to *Cyprus*, even within their own Haven. For *Teleutias*, a *Lacedæmonian*, being made Governour of *Ægina*, conceived a ſtrong hope of ſurpriſing the Navy of *Athens*, as it lay in *Piræus*; thinking aright, that it was an harder matter to encounter with ten Ships prepared for the fight, than with twenty lying in Harbour, whoſe Mariners were aſleep in their Cabins, or drinking in Taverns. Wherefore he ſailed by Night unto the Mouth of the Port, which entring at the break of day, he found (according to his expectation) moſt of the men on ſhore, and few or none left aboard to make reſiſtance; by which means he took many Ships laden with Merchandizes, many Fiſher-men, Paſſengers, and other Veſſels; alſo three or four Gallies, having ſunk or broken, and made unſerviceable, as many of the reſt as the time would ſuffer. About this time, *Pharnabazus*, the Lieutenant of *Phrygia*, had one of the Kings Daughters given to him in Marriage, with whom he lived about the Court; and many Officers that favoured the *Lacedæmonians* were placed in the lower *Aſia*; by whoſe aſſiſtance, the Fleet of *Sparta* grew victorious about *Helleſpont*; in ſuch wiſe, that perhaps they ſhould not have needed the Peace, which they themſelves procured by *Antalcidas*, from the great King, the Conditions whereof were ſuch as are mentioned before, giving freedom to all the Cities of *Greece*, and dividing the Country into as many ſeveral States as there were petty Burroughs in it. Thus *Artaxerxes* having bought his own Peace with Money, did likewiſe by his Money become Arbitrator and Decider of Controverſies between the *Greeks*, diſpoſing of their buſineſs in ſuch wiſe as ſtood beſt with his own good. The tenor of *Artaxerxes* his Decree was, That all *Aſia* and *Cyprus* ſhould be his own; the Iſles of *Lemnos*, *Imbrus*, and *Scirus* be ſubject to *Athens*; all other *Greek* Towns, as well the little as the great, be ſet at liberty; and that whoſoever ſhould refuſe this Peace, upon them the approvers of it ſhould make War, the King aſſiſting them by Land and Sea, with Men, and Ships, and Treaſure. The *Athenians* were ſo diſcouraged by their loſſes at Sea; the *Lacedæmonians* by revolt of their Confederates, and the neceſſity of maintaining many Garriſons, for which they wanted Money; and other States by the miſeries of the War, whereof they ſaw no end; that all (excepting the *Thebans*) did conſent unto theſe Articles. This was called the Peace of *Antalcidas*: whereof the *Lacedæmonians* taking upon themſelves the execution, did not only compel the *Argives* to depart out of *Corinth* (which under pretence of defending they held by Garriſons, lately thruſt into it, not as Patrons, but as Lords) and the *Thebans* to leave *Bœotia* free, of which Province *Thebes* had always held the Government: the *Thebans* themſelves being alſo comprehended under the name of *Bœotians*, but cauſed the *Mantinæans* to throw down their own City, and to dwell in Villages; alledging that they had formerly been accuſtomed ſo to do, though purpoſing indeed to chaſtiſe them, as having been ill affected to *Sparta* in the late War. By theſe courſes the *Lacedæmonians* did hope that all the ſmall Towns in *Greece* would, when occaſion ſhould require it, willingly follow them in their Wars, as Authors of their Liberty; and that the great Cities having loſt all their dependants, would be unable to make oppoſition.

§. X.

The War which the Lacedæmonians *made upon* Olynthus. *They take* Thebes *by Treaſon, and* Olynthus *by Famine.*

WHileſt theſe Wars, which ended without either Victory or Profit, conſumed the Riches and Power of *Greece*, the City of *Olynthus* in *Thrace* was grown ſo mighty, that ſhe did not only command her Neighbour-Towns, but was become terrible to places far removed, and to *Sparta* it ſelf. Great part of *Macedonia*, together with *Pella*, the principal City of that Kingdom, was taken by the *Olynthians*, who following the uſual pretence of the *Lacedæmonians*, to ſet at liberty the places over which King *Amyntas* did tyrannize, had almoſt now driven him out of his Dominions, and taken all to themſelves. The Citizens of *Acanthus* and of *Apollonia*, being neareſt unto the danger of theſe incroaching Neighbours, acquainted the *La-*

cedæmonians with their fear, affirming that this Dominion of the *Olynthians* would be too ſtrong for all *Greece*, if ſome continuance of time ſhould give it reputation, which only it wanted; wherefore they requeſted aſſiſtance, but in ſuch terms as did ſound of compulſion; proteſting that either they muſt war upon *Olynthus*, or become ſubject unto her, and fight in her defence. Hereupon was made a haſty levy of men, two thouſand being preſently ſent away with promiſe to be ſeconded by a greater Army. Whileſt theſe two thouſand gave ſuch beginning to the War, as agreed with their ſmall number; the body of the Army following them ſurprized the Cittadel of *Thebes*, which was betrayed into the hands of *Phœbidas* the *Lacedæmonian*, by ſome of the Magiſtrates, who ſought to ſtrengthen their Faction by the ſlavery of their Country. The *Thebans* were ill affected to *Sparta*, but had not in any one point violated the Peace lately made between them; which cauſed the *Lacedæmonians* to doubt whether this act of *Phœbidas* were more worthy of Reward or of Puniſhment: In concluſion, profit ſo far over-weighed honeſty, that the deed was approved, many principal Citizens of *Thebes* condemned to death, many driven into Baniſhment, and the Traytors rewarded with the Government of the City; by whoſe Authority, and the force of the Garriſon, the *Thebans* were compelled to ſerve the *Lacedæmonians*, in all, and more than all that they could require. This acceſs of power having ſtrengthened the *Lacedæmonians*, cauſed them to entertain the greater Forces about *Olynthus*, which (notwithſtanding the loſs of one great Battel, and ſome other diſaſters) they compelled at length by Famine to render it ſelf to their obedience.

§. XI.

How the Thebans *recovered their Liberty, driving out the* Lacedæmonian *Garriſon.*

AFter this *Olynthian* War, which endured almoſt three years, it ſeemed that no Eſtate in *Greece* was able to make head againſt that of *Sparta*: but it was not long ere the *Thebans* found means to ſhake off their Yoke, and gave both example and means to others to do the like. One of the baniſhed men found by conference with a *Scribe* of the *Theban* Magiſtrates, coming to *Athens*, that the Tyranny wherewith his Country was oppreſſed, pleaſed him no better than it did thoſe who for fear of it were fled from home. Whereupon a Plot was laid between theſe two, that ſoon found very good ſucceſs, being managed thus. Seven of the baniſhed men forſook *Athens* privily, and entred by Night into the Fields of *Thebes*; where ſpending the next day ſecretly, they came late in the Evening to the Gates like Husband-men returned from Work, and ſo paſſed undiſcovered unto the Houſe of *Charon*, whom *Phyllidas* the Scribe had drawn into the Conſpiracy. The day following, a Solemn Feaſt being then held in the City, *Phyllidas* promiſed the Governours, who were inſolent and luſtful men, that he would convey unto them that Night the moſt beautiful Dames of the Town, with whom they ſhould take their pleaſure. Having cheared them with ſuch hope, and plenty of good Wine, he told them when the time of performance (which they urged) came, that he could not make good his promiſe, unleſs they would diſmiſs their followers; becauſe the Gentlewomen, who attended without in a Chamber, would not endure, that any of the Servants ſhould ſee their faces. Upon this occaſion the attendants were diſmiſſed, and the Conſpirators, attired like Ladies and their Maids, brought into the place; who taking advantage of the Governours looſe behaviour, ſlew them all upon the ſudden with Daggers, which they brought hidden under their Garments. Then preſently caſting off their Diſguiſe, they went to other places, where feigning themſelves to come to the Governours upon buſineſs, they got admittance, and ſlew thoſe which were of the *Lacedæmonian* Faction. By the like device they brake into the Priſon, ſlew the *Gaoler*, and ſet at liberty ſuch as they thought meet; and being followed by theſe deſperate men, proclaimed Liberty, making the death of the Tyrants known. The Captain of the Caſtle hearing the Proclamation, thought the Rebels to be ſtronger than indeed they were: the Citizens contrariwiſe miſtruſted, that it was a practice to diſcover ſuch, as would be forward upon occaſion of revolting. But as ſoon as day-light revealed the plain truth, all the People took Arms and Beſieged the Caſtle, ſending haſtily to *Athens* for ſuccour. The Garriſon alſo ſent for aid unto the Towns adjoyning, whence a few broken Troups coming to the reſcue, were defeated on the way by the Horſe-men of *Thebes*. On the other ſide, the baniſhed *Thebans* did not only make ſpeed to aſſiſt their Country-men, but procured ſome *Athenians* to joyn with them, and thereby came ſo ſtrong into the City, that the Caſtle was yielded more through fear than any neceſſity, upon condition that the Souldiers might quietly depart with their Arms; for which compoſition the Captain at his return to *Sparta* was put to death. When the news of the doings at *Thebes*, and the ſucceſs arrived at *Sparta*, an Army was raiſed forthwith, and all things prepared as earneſtly for the recovering of that City, as if ſome part of their ancient Inheritance had been taken from the *Lacedæmonians*, and not a Town perfidiouſly uſurped by them, reſtored to her own liberty. *Cleombrotus*, one of the Kings, was ſent on this expedition; who having wearied his followers with a toilſome Winters Journey, returned home without any good or harm done; leaving *Sphodrias*, with part of his Army, at *Theſpies*, to infeſt the *Thebans*; who doing them ſome diſpleaſures, made large amends by a fooliſh attempt upon the Haven of *Athens*, which failing to take, he waſted the Country adjoyning, and drave away Cattel, cauſing by this outrage the *Athenians* to enter with all their power into the War, out of which they were before very carefully ſeeking how to withdraw themſelves.

CHAP.

Chap. XII.

Of the flouriſhing Eſtate of Thebes, *from the Battel of* Leuctra *to the Battel of* Mantinæa.

§. I.

How Thebes *and* Athens *joyned together againſt* Sparta. *How the* Athenians *made Peace for themſelves and others, out of which the* Thebans *were excluded. The Battel of* Leuctra, *and beginning of the* Theban *Greatneſs.*

THE *Lacedæmonians* were men of great reſolution, and of much gravity in all their proceedings, but one diſhonorable rule they held, That all reſpects withſtanding the Commodity of *Sparta* were to be neglected; the practiſe of which Doctrine, even by the beſt and wiſeſt of them, did greatly blemiſh that Eſtate, but when it was put in execution by inſufficient over-weening men, it ſeldom failed to bring upon them inſtead of profit unjuſtly expected, both ſhame and loſs. And ſo it befel them in their enterpriſes of *Phœbidas*, upon the Caſtle of *Thebes*, and *Sphodrias* upon the *Piræus*. For howſoever *Ageſilaus* did ſpoil the Country about *Thebes*, in which he ſpent two Sommers, yet the diligence of the *Thebans* repaired all, who by the good ſucceſs of ſome attempts, grew ſtronger than they were at the firſt.

The *Athenians* likewiſe began to look abroad, ſailing to the Iſle of *Corcyra*, where they ordered things at their pleaſure, and having in ſome Fights at Sea prevailed, began as in the *Peloponneſian* War, to ſurround *Peloponneſus* with a Navy; afflicting ſo the *Lacedæmonians*, that had not the *Thebans* by their inſolency wearied their Friends, and cauſed them to ſeek for Peace, it had been very likely that the courſe of this War ſhould have ſoon come to a good end, which nevertheleſs, being proſecuted by the *Thebans* (who oppoſed at once both theſe two great Eſtates) left the City of *Sparta* as much dejected, as the beginning found it proud and tyrannous. But the *Athenians* perceiving how *Thebes* encroached every day upon her weak Neighbours, not ſparing ſuch as had been dependants upon *Athens*, and finding themſelves, whileſt engaged in ſuch a War, unable to relieve their complaining Friends, reſolved to ſettle the Affairs of *Greece*, by renewing that form of Peace which *Antalcidas* had brought from the *Perſian*. Wherefore they ſent Meſſengers to *Thebes*, peremptorily ſignifying, That it was their intent to finiſh the War; to which purpoſe they willed the *Thebans* to ſend Embaſſadors along with them to *Sparta*; who readily condeſcended, fearing otherwiſe that they ſhould be left out of the Treaty of Peace, which came to paſs, being ſo wrought by the couragious Wiſdom of *Epaminondas*, who underſtood far better than his Countrymen, what was to be feared or hoped. In this Treaty the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* did ſoon agree; but when the *Thebans* offered to ſwear to the Articles in the name of the *Bœotians*, *Ageſilaus* required them to ſwear in their own Name, and to leave the *Bœotians* free, whom they had lately reduced under their Obedience. Whereunto *Epaminondas* made anſwer, That the City of *Sparta* ſhould give example to *Thebes*, by ſetting the *Laconians* free; for that the Signory of *Bœotia* did by as good right appertain to the *Thebans*, as that of *Laconia* to the *Spartans*. This was well and truly ſpoken; but was heard with no patience: For *Ageſilaus* bearing a vehement hatred unto thoſe of *Thebes*, by whom he was drawn back out of *Aſia* into *Greece*, and diſappointed of all the Glory which he had hoped to atchieve by the *Perſian* War, did now very paſſionately urge that Point of ſetting the *Bœotians* at liberty, and finding it as obſtinately refuſed, he daſht the Name of the *Thebans* out of the League. At the ſame time *Cleombrotus* the other King of *Sparta* lay in *Phocis*, who received command from the Governours of *Sparta* forthwith to enter upon the Land of the *Thebans* with all his Power, which he did, and was there ſlain at *Leuctra*, and with him the Flower of his Army. This Battel of *Leuctra* being one of the moſt famous that ever were fought between the *Greeks*, was not ſo notable for any Circumſtance foregoing it, or for the managing of the Fight it ſelf, as for the Death of the King, and many Citizens of *Sparta*, but eſpecially, for that after this Battel (between which and the concluſion of the general Peace, there paſſed but twenty days) the *Lacedæmonians* were never able to recover the Strength and Reputation which had formerly made them redoubted far and near; whereas contrariwiſe the *Thebans*, whoſe greateſt Ambition had in former times confined it ſelf unto the little Region of *Bœotia*, did now begin to undertake the Leading and Command of many People and Eſtates, in ſuch wiſe, that ſoon after they brought an Army of threeſcore and ten thouſand ſtrong unto the Gates of *Sparta*. So much do the Afflictions of an hard War valiantly endured, advance the Affairs of the diſtreſſed, and guide them into the way of Conqueſt, by ſtiffening that reſolution with a manly temper, which Wealth and Eaſe had through Luxury, Rechleſſneſs, and many other Vices or Vanities, made ruſty and effeminate.

§. II.

How the Athenians *took upon them to maintain the Peace of* Greece. *New Troubles hence ariſing.* Epaminondas *invadeth and waſteth the Territory of* Lacedæmon.

THe *Athenians* refuſing to take advantage of this Overthrow fallen upon their old Enemies, and new Confederates the *Lacedæmonians*; did nevertheleſs finally give them to underſtand, that their Dominion was expired, and therefore their Pride might well be laid away. For, taking upon themſelves the maintenance of the Peace lately concluded, which *Ageſilaus* (perhaps of purpoſe to make benefit of Quarrels that might ariſe) had left

left unperfect, they assembled the Deputies of all the Estates confederated at *Athens*; where the general Liberty of all Towns, as well small as great, was ratified, under the Stile of the *Athenians*, and their Associates. Hereupon began fresh Garboils. The *Mantinæans* claiming power by this Decree to order their Affairs at their own Pleasure, did (as it were) in despight of the *Spartans*, who had enforced them to raze their Town, reedifie it, and ally themselves with such of the *Arcadians* as stood worst affected to *Sparta*. The *Arcadians*, a strong Nation, consisting of many Cities, were distracted with Factions; some desiring to hold good correspondence with the *Lacedæmonians*; some to weaken and keep them low; yet all pretending other ends. The *Lacedæmonians* durst not give Impeachment to the *Mantinæans*; nor take upon them to correct their Ill-willers among the *Arcadians*, till such time as the Factions brake out into violence, and each part called in forraign help. Then was an Army sent from *Sparta*, as it were in defence of the People of *Tegea*, against the *Mantinæans*, but indeed against them both. *Agesilaus* had the leading of it, but effected nothing. The *Thebans* had by this time subdued the *Phocians*, and were become head of the *Locrians*, *Acarnanians*, *Eubœans*, and many others; with the Power of which Countreys, they entred *Peloponnesus* in favour of the *Arcadians*, who had upon expectation of their coming, abstained from giving Battel to *Agesilaus*. The Army of the *Spartans* being dismissed, and *Epaminondas* joyned with the *Arcadians*; the Region of *Laconia* was invaded and spoiled: a thing so strange, that no Oracle could have found belief if any had foretold it. Almost six hundred years were spent, since the *Dorians*, under the Posterity of *Hercules*, had seized upon *Laconia*, in all which time, the sound of an Enemies Trumpet was not heard in that Country: Ten years were not fully past since all *Greece* was at the Devotion of the *Spartans*: but now the Region which neither *Xerxes* with his huge Army could once look upon, nor the mighty Forces of *Athens*, and other Enemy-States had dared to set foot on, saving by stealth, was all on a light Fire, the very Smoak whereof the Women of *Sparta* were ashamed to behold. All which indignity notwithstanding, the *Lacedæmonians* did not issue out of *Sparta* to fight, but sought how to preserve the Town, setting at liberty as many of their *Heilotes* or Slaves, as were willing to bear Arms in defence of the State, and somewhat pitifully entreated the *Athenians* to give them succour. From *Corinth* and some Towns of *Peloponnesus* they received speedy assistance; the *Athenians* came forward more slowly, so that *Epaminondas* returned without Battel, having rebuilded the City of *Messene*, and peopled it anew by calling home the ancient Inhabitants, whom the *Lacedæmonians* many Ages before had chased away into other Countries, possessing their Territories themselves.

§. III.

The Composition between Athens *and* Sparta *for command in War against the* Thebans; *who again invade and spoil* Peloponnesus. *The unfortunate Presumption of the* Arcadians.

THis Journey therefore utterly defaced the Reputation of the *Spartans*, in such wise, that they did no longer demand the Conduct of the Army which was to be raised, nor any manner of Precedence: but sending Embassadors from *Sparta*, and from all the Cities which held League with it, unto *Athens*, they offered to yield the Admiralty to the *Athenians*, requesting that they themselves might be Generals by Land. This had been a Composition well agreeing with the situation and quality of those two Cities; but it was rejected, because the Mariners and others that were to be employed at Sea, were men of no mark or estimation, in regard of those Companies of Horse and Foot whereof the Land-Army was compounded, who being all Gentlemen or Citizens of *Athens*, were to have served under the *Lacedæmonians*. Wherefore it was agreed that the Authority should be divided by time, the *Athenians* ruling five days, the *Lacedæmonians* other five, and so successively that each of them should have Command of all, both by Land and by Sea. It is manifest, that in this conclusion vain Ambition was more regarded than the common Profit, which must of necessity be very slowly advanced, where Consultation, Resolution, and Performance are so often to change hands. This appeared by a second Invasion of *Peloponnesus*, wherein the *Thebans* found their Enemies so unable to impeach them, that having fortified *Isthmus* from Sea to Sea, as in former times they had done against *Xerxes*, they were driven out of their Strength by *Epaminondas*, who forraged the Country without resistance. But as the Articles of this League between *Athens* and *Sparta* did, by dividing the Conduct in such manner, disable the Society, and make it insufficient to those ends for which it was concluded; so the example of it wrought their good, by filling the Enemies Heads with the like Vanity. For the *Arcadians* considering their own numbers which they brought into the Field, and having found by many tryals that their People were not inferiour to others in strength of body, in Courage, or in good Souldiership, thought it good reason that they should in like manner share the Government with their Friends the *Thebans*; and not always continue Followers of others, by encreasing whose Greatness, they should strengthen their own Yoke. Hereupon they began to demean themselves very insolently, whereby they grew hateful to their Neighbours, and suspected of the *Thebans* in an ill time. For a motion of general Peace having been made (which took not effect, because the City of *Messene* was not abandoned to the *Lacedæmonians*) the next enterprise of the *Spartans* and their Friends was upon these *Arcadians*, who relying two much upon their own Worth, were overthrown in a great Battel, their Calamity being as pleasing to their Confederates as to their Enemies.

§. IV.

The great Growth of the Theban *Estate. Embassages of the* Greeks *to the* Persian; *with the reasons why he most favoured the* Thebans. *Troubles in the* Persian *Empire. The fruitless issue of the Embassages.*

THe *Thebans* especially rejoyced at the *Arcadians* Misfortune, considering, that, without their Aid, the Success of all Enterprises proved so ill; whereas they themselves had by their own power accomplished very well whatsoever they took in hand, and were become not only victorious over the *Lacedæmonians*, but Patrons over the *Thessalians*, and Moderators of the great Quarrels that had risen in *Macedonia*, where compounding the Differences about that Kingdom, as pleased them

them best, they carried *Philip* the Son of *Amyntas*, and Father of *Alexander* the Great, as an Hostage unto *Thebes*; having therefore obtained such reputation that little seemed wanting to make them absolute Commanders of all *Greece*, they sought means of Alliance with the *Persian* King, to whom they sent Embassador the great and famous Captain *Pelopidas*, whose Reputation drew *Artaxerxes* to grant unto the *Thebans* all that they desired; whereof two especial points were, That *Messene* should remain free from the *Lacedæmonians*, and that the *Athenians* should forbear to send their Ships of War to Sea; only the later of these two was somewhat qualified with reference to further advice. The other States of *Greece* did also send their Embassadors at the same time, of whom few or none received much contentment. For the King having found by long experience, how far it concerned him to maintain a sure Party in *Greece*, did upon many weighty considerations resolve to bind the *Thebans* firmly unto him; justly expecting, that their Greatness should be on that side his own security. The *Athenians* had been ancient Enemies to his Crown, and, having turned the Profit of their Victories upon the *Persian*, to the purchase of a great Estate in *Greece*, maintained their Signory in such puissant manner, that (sundry grievous Misfortunes notwithstanding) they had endured a terrible War, wherein the *Lacedæmonians* being followed by most of the *Greeks*, and supplied with Treasure and all sorts of Aid by *Darius Nothus*, were not able to vanquish them, till their own indiscretion brought them on their Knees. The *Lacedæmonians* being victorious over *Athens*, had no sooner established their Dominion at home, than they undertook the Conquest of *Asia*, from which, though by the Commotion raised in *Greece* with *Persian* Gold, they were called back, yet having renewed their Power, and setled things in *Greece*, it was not unlikely that they should upon the next advantage have pursued the same Enterprise, had not they been empeached by this *Theban* War. But the *Thebans* contrariwise had always discovered a good affection to the Crown of *Persia*. They had sided with *Xerxes* in his Invasion of *Greece*; with *Darius* and the *Lacedæmonians* against *Athens*; and finally, having offered much contumely to *Agesilaus* when he put to Sea, they drew him home by making War on the Confederates of *Sparta*. Besides all these their good deservings, they were no Sea-men, and therefore unlikely to look abroad, whereunto if perchance they should have any desire, yet were they disabled by the want of good Haven Towns, which they could not seize upon without open breach of that Peace, whereof they intended to become the Executors, giving liberty to all Cities that had at any time been free. Wherefore *Artaxerxes* did wholly condescend unto the requests of *Pelopidas*, as far forth as he might without giving open defiance to the rest of *Greece*; and by that means he purchased his own quiet, being never afterward molested by that Nation in the lower *Asia*. The ill means which the *Greeks* had to disturb *Artaxerxes*, was very beneficial to the Estate of *Persia* shortly after these times, in that great Rebellion of all the Maritime Provinces. For had then the Affairs of *Greece* been so composed, that any one City might without impeachment of the rest have transported an Army to assist the revolting *Satrapæ*, or *Viceroys* of *Caria*, *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, *Mysia*, *Lycia*, *Pisidia*, *Pamphilia*, *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and *Phœnicia*, humane reason can hardly find the means, by which the Empire could have been preserved from that ruine, which the Divine Councel had deferred unto the days of *Alexander*. But this great Conspiracy of so many large and wealthy Provinces, wanting a firm Body of good and hardy Souldiers, was in short space discussed and vanished like a Mist, without effect: these effeminate *Asiatiques* wearied quickly with the Travels and dangers incident to War, forsaking the common Cause, and each man striving to be the first that by Treason to his Company should both redeem the former Treason to his Prince, and purchase with all his own promotion with increase of Riches. Of this Commotion, which in course of time followed some actions not as yet related, I have rather chosen to make short mention in this place, than hereafter to interrupt the Narration of things more important; both for that it was like a sudden storm, rashly commenced, idely followed, and foolishly laid down, having made a great noise without effect, and having small reference to any other action regardable; as also because in the whole Reign of *Artaxerxes*, from the War of *Cyrus*, to the Invasion of *Ægypt*, I find nothing (this Insurrection, and a fruitless Journey against the *Cadusians* excepted) worthy of any mention, much less of digression from the course of the business in *Greece*. All, or the most of his time, passed away so quietly, that he enjoyed the Pleasures which an Empire so great and wealthy could afford unto so absolute a Lord, with little disturbance. The Troubles which he found were only or chiefly Domestical; growing out of the hatred which *Parysatis* the Queen-Mother bare unto his Wife *Statira*, and to such as had been the greatest Enemies to her Son *Cyrus*, or gloried in his Death: upon whom, when by poyson and mischievous practises she had satisfied her feminine Appetite of Revenge, thenceforth she wholly applied her self to the Kings disposition, cherishing in him the leud desire of marrying his own Daughter, and filling him with the Perswasion, which Princes not endued with an especial grace do readily entertain, That his own Will was the supreme Law of his Subject, and the rule by which all things were to be measured, and adjudged to be good or evil. In this imaginary happiness *Pelopidas*, and the other Embassadors of *Greece*, both found and left him, but left him by so much more assured than they found him, by how much the conclusion of his Treaty with them, being altogether to his own advantage, did seem to promise, if not the perpetuity, a long endurance of the same Felicity to him and his, or (at the least) a full security of danger from *Greece*, whence only could any danger be feared. But such Foundations of eternity laid by mortal men in this transitory World, like the Tower of *Babel*, are either shaken from Heaven, or made vain and unprofitable ere the Frame can be raised to full heighth, by confusion of Tongues among the Builders. Hereof was found a good example in the *Thebans*, and other Estates of *Greece* that had sent Embassadors to the *Persian*. For whereas it had been concluded, that all Towns, as well the little as the great, should be set at liberty, and the *Thebans* made Protectors of this common Peace, who thereby should become the Judges of all Controversies that might arise, and Leaders in War of all that would enter into this Confederacy; the Kings Letters being solemnly published at *Thebes*, in the presence of Embassadors, drawn thither from all parts of *Greece*; when an Oath was required for observation of the form of Peace therein set down, a dilatory answer was made by the Embassadors, who said that they were sent to hear the Articles; not to swear unto them. Hereby the

the *Thebans* were driven to ſend unto each of the Cities to require the Oath; but in vain. For when the *Corinthians* had boldly refuſed it, ſaying, That they did not need it; others took courage by their example to do the like, diſappointing the *Thebans* of their glorious hopes, to whom this Negotiation with *Artaxerxes* gave neither addition nor confirmation of greatneſs, but left them as it found them to relie upon their own Swords.

§. V.

How all Greece *was divided, between the* Athenians *and* Lacedæmonians, *on the one ſide, and* Thebans *on the other. Of the great Tumults riſing in* Arcadia.

THE condition of things in *Greece* at that time did ſtand thus. *Athens* and *Sparta*, which in former times had commanded all that Nation, and each upon envy of the others greatneſs, drawn all her followers into a cruel inteſtine War, by which the whole Country, and eſpecially the Eſtate of theſe two Cities, was brought very low, did now conjoyn their Forces againſt the *Thebans*, who ſought to make themſelves Lords of all. The *Eleans*, *Corinthians*, and *Achaians*, followed the party of theſe ancient governing Cities; either for the old reputation of them, and benefits received; or in diſlike of thoſe who by ſtrong hand were ready to become Rulers, to which Authority they could not ſuddenly aſpire without ſome injury and much envy. The City of *Thebes* abounding with men whom neceſſity had made Warlike, and many Victories in few years had filled with great ſpirits, and being ſo mighty in dependants, that ſhe had reduced all the Continent of *Greece* without *Peloponneſus* (the Region of *Attica*, and very little part beſide excepted) under ſuch acknowledgment, as wanted not much of meer Vaſſallage, did hope to bring all *Peloponneſus* to the like obedience, wherein already ſhe had ſet good footing by her conjunction with the States of *Argos*, and of *Arcadia*. The *Argives* had been always bad Neighbours to the *Spartans*, to whom they thought themſelves in ancient Nobility Superiours; but were far under them in Valour, having been often beaten out of the Field by them, and put in danger of loſing all; which cauſed them to ſuſpect and envy nothing more than the greatneſs and honour of *Sparta*; taking Truce with her when ſhe was at reſt, and had leiſure to bend her whole force againſt them; but firmly joyning with her Enemies whenſoever they found her entangled in a difficult War. As the *Argives* were, in hatred of *Sparta*, ſure Friends of *Thebes*, ſo the *Arcadians*, tranſported with a great opinion of their own Worthineſs, had formerly renounced and provoked againſt them their old Confederates and Leaders, the *Lacedæmonians*, and were now become very doubtful adherents to the *Thebans*. In which regard it was thought convenient by *Epaminondas*, and the State of *Thebes*, to ſend an Army into *Peloponneſus*, before ſuch time as theſe wavering Friends ſhould fall further off, and become either Neutral, or, which was to be feared, open Enemies. And ſurely great cauſe there was to ſuſpect the worſt of them, conſidering that without conſent of the *Thebans*, they had made Peace with *Athens*; which was very ſtrange, and ſeemed no leſs to the *Athenians* themſelves, who holding a firm League with *Sparta* at the ſame time when the *Arcadians* treated with them, did nevertheleſs accept this new Confederacy, not relinquiſhing the old, becauſe they found that, howſoever theſe *Arcadians* were Enemies to the *Lacedæmonians*, they ſhould hereby be drawn ſomewhat further from their Alliance with *Thebes*, which without them was unlikely to invade *Peloponneſus* with a ſtrong Army. But this did rather haſten, than by any means ſtay, the coming of *Epaminondas*; who finding the way ſomewhat more clear for him (becauſe the City of *Corinth*, which lay upon the *Iſthmus*, and had been adverſe to *Thebes*, was now, by miſeries of this grievous War, driven to become Neutral) took occaſion hereby, and by ſome diſorders among the *Arcadians*, to viſit *Peloponneſus* with an Army, conſiſting of all the power of *Thebes*. A great Tumult had riſen in *Arcadia* about conſecrated Money, which many principal men among them had laid hands on, under pretence of employing it to publick uſes. In compounding the differences grown upon this occaſion, ſuch as had leaſt will to render account of the money which had come into their hands, procured the Captain of ſome *Theban* Souldiers, lying in *Tegea*, to take Priſoners many of their Country-men, as People deſirous of innovation. This was done: but the uproar thereby cauſed was ſo great, that the Priſoners were forthwith enlarged, and the *Arcadians*, who had in great numbers taken Arms, with much ado ſcarce pacified. When complaint of the Captains proceedings came to *Thebes*, *Epaminondas* turned all the blame upon them who had made the Peace with *Athens*, letting them know, that he would be ſhortly among them, to judge of their Fidelity, by the aſſiſtance which they ſhould give him in that War which he intended to make in *Peloponneſus*. Theſe Lordly words did greatly amaze the *Arcadians*; who needing not the aid of ſo mighty a power as he drew along with him, did vehemently ſuſpect that great preparation to be made againſt themſelves. Hereupon ſuch of them as had before ſought means to ſettle the Affairs of their Country, by drawing things to ſome good concluſion of Peace, did now forthwith ſend to *Athens* for help; and withal diſpatched ſome of the principal among them as Embaſſadors to *Sparta*, by whom they offered themſelves to the common defence of *Peloponneſus*, now ready to be invaded. This Embaſſage brought much comfort to the *Lacedæmonians*, who feared nothing more than the coming of *Epaminondas*, againſt whom they well knew that all their Forces, and beſt Proviſions, would be no more than very hardly ſufficient. Forbearing therefore to diſpute about Prerogatives, they (who had been accuſtomed unto ſuch a Supremacy, as they would in no wiſe communicate with the powerful City of *Athens*, till other hope of ſecuring their own Eſtate could not be thought upon) did now very gently yield to the *Arcadians*, that the command of the Army in chief, ſhould be given, for the time, to that City, in whoſe Territory it lay.

§. VI.

A terrible Invaſion of Peloponneſus *by* Epaminondas.

CErtain it is, that the condition of things did at that time require a very firm conſent, and uniform care of the common ſafety. For beſide the great Forces raiſed out of the other parts of *Greece*, the *Argives* and *Meſſenians*, prepared with all their ſtrength to joyn with *Epaminondas*; who having lien a while at *Nemea*, to intercept the *Athenians*, received there intelligence, that the Army coming

coming from *Athens* would paſs by Sea; whereupon he diſlodged, and came to *Tegea*, which City, and the moſt of all *Arcadia* beſides, forth-with declared themſelves his. The common opinion was, that the firſt attempt of the *Thebans*, would be upon ſuch of the *Arcadians* as had revolted; which cauſed the *Lacedæmonian* Captains to fortifie *Mantinæa* with all diligence, and to ſend for *Ageſilaus* to *Sparta*, that he bringing with him all that ſmall force of able men, which remained in the Town, they might be ſtrong enough to abide *Epaminondas* there. But *Epaminondas* held ſo good eſpial upon his Enemies, that had not an unknown Fellow brought haſty advertiſement of his purpoſe to *Ageſilaus*, who was then well onward in the way to *Mantinæa*, the City of *Sparta* had ſuddenly been taken. For thither with all ſpeed and ſecrecy did the *Thebans* march, who had ſurely carried the City, notwithſtanding any defence that could have been made by that handful of men remaining within it; but that *Ageſilaus* in all flying haſt got into it with his Companies, whom the Army of his Confederates followed thither to the reſcue as faſt as it was able. The arrival of the *Lacedæmonians* and their Friends, as it cut off all hope from *Epaminondas* of taking *Sparta*, ſo it preſented him with a fair advantage upon *Mantinæa*. It was the time of Harveſt, which made it very likely that the *Mantinæans*, finding the War to be carried from their Walls into another quarter, would uſe the commodity of that vacation, by fetching in their Corn, and turning out their Cattel into their Fields, whileſt no Enemy was near that might impeach them. Wherefore he turned away from *Sparta* to *Mantinæa*, ſending his Horſe-men before him, to ſeize upon all that might be found without the City. The *Mantinæans* (according to the expectation of *Epaminondas*) were ſcattered abroad in the Country; far more intent upon their Harveſt-buſineſs, than upon the War, whereof they were ſecure, as thinking themſelves out of diſtance. By which preſumption it fell out, that great numbers of them, and all their Cattel, being unable to recover the Town, were in a deſperate caſe; and the Town it ſelf in no great likelihood of holding out, when the Enemy ſhould have taken all their Proviſion of Victuals with ſo many of the People, as had not over-dearly been redeemed, by that Cities returning to ſociety with *Thebes*. But at the ſame time, the *Athenians* coming to the ſuccour of their Confederates, whom they thought to have found at *Mantinæa*, were very earneſtly entreated by the Citizens to reſcue their Goods, and People, from the danger whereinto they were fallen, if it were poſſible by any couragious Adventure to deliver thoſe who otherwiſe were given as loſt. The *Thebans* were known at that time to be the beſt Souldiers of all the *Greeks*; and the commendation of good Horſe-man-ſhip had always been given to the *Theſſalians*, as excelling in that quality all other Nations; yet the regard of Honour ſo wrought upon the *Athenians*, that for the Reputation of their City, which had entred into this War, upon no neceſſity of her own, but only in deſire of relieving her diſtreſſed Friends, they iſſued forth of *Mantinæa*, not abiding ſo long as to refreſh themſelves, or their Horſes with meat; and giving a luſty charge upon the Enemy, who as bravely received them, after a long and hot Fight, they remained Maſters of the Field, giving by this Victory a ſafe and eaſie retreat to all that were without the Walls. The whole power of the *Bœotians* arrived in the place ſoon after this Battel, whom the *Lacedæmonians* and their Aſſiſtants were not far behind.

§. VII.

The great Battel of Mantinæa. *The honourable death of* Epaminondas, *with his commendation.*

Epaminondas, conſidering that his Commiſſion was almoſt now expired, and that his attempts of ſurprizing *Sparta* and *Mantinæa* having failed, the impreſſion of terror which his name had wrought in the *Peloponneſians*, would ſoon vaniſh, unleſs by ſome notable act he ſhould abate their courage in their firſt growth, and leave ſome memorable Character of his Expedition; reſolved to give them Battel, whereby he reaſonably hoped both to ſettle the doubtful affections of his own Aſſociates, and to leave the *Spartans* as weak in ſpirit and ability as he found them, if not wholly to bring them into ſubjection. Having therefore warned his men to prepare for that Battel, wherein Victory ſhould be rewarded with Lordſhip of all *Greece*; and finding the alacrity of his Souldiers to be ſuch, as promiſed the accompliſhment of his own deſire; he made ſhew of declining the Enemy, and intrenching himſelf in a place of more advantage, that ſo by taking from them all expectation of fighting that day, he might allay the heat of their Valour, and afterwards ſtrike their Senſes with amazement, when he ſhould come upon them unexpected. This Opinion deceived him not: For with very much tumult, as in ſo great and ſudden a danger, the Enemy ran to Arms, neceſſity enforcing their reſolution, and the conſequence of that days ſervice urging them to do as well as they might. The *Theban* Army conſiſted of thirty thouſand Foot, and three thouſand Horſe; the *Lacedæmonians* and their Friends were ſhort of this number, both in Horſe and in Foot, by a third part. The *Mantinæans* (becauſe the War was in their Country) ſtood in the right Wing, and with them the *Lacedæmonians*: the *Athenians* had the left Wing, the *Achæans*, *Eleans*, and others of leſs account, filled the body of the Army. The *Thebans* ſtood in the left Wing of their own Battel, oppoſite to the *Lacedæmonians*, having by them the *Arcadians*; the *Eubœans*, *Locrians*, *Sicyonians*, *Meſſenians*, and *Theſſalians* with others, compounding the main Battel; the *Argives* held the right Wing, the Horſe-men on each part were placed in the flanks, only a Troup of the *Eleans* were in rear. Before the foot-men could joyn, the encounter of the Horſe on both ſides was very rough, wherein finally the *Thebans* prevailed, notwithſtanding the valiant reſiſtance of the *Athenians*: who not yielding to the Enemy either in courage or skill, were over-laid with numbers, and ſo beaten upon by *Theſſalian* ſlings, that they were driven to forſake the place, and leave their Infantry naked. But this retreat was the leſs diſgraceful, becauſe they kept themſelves together, and did not fall back upon their own foot-men; but finding the *Theban* Horſe to have given them over, and withal diſcovering ſome Companies of Foot, which had been ſent about by *Epaminondas*, to charge their Battel in the Rear, they brake upon them, routed them, and hewed them all in pieces. In the mean ſeaſon the Battel of the *Athenians* had not only to do with the *Argives*, but was hardly preſſed by the *Theban* Horſe-men, in ſuch wiſe that it began to open, and was ready to turn back, when the *Elean* Squadron of Horſe came up to the relief of it, and reſtored all on that part. With far greater violence did the *Lacedæmonians* and *Thebans* meet, theſe contending for Dominion, the other for the maintenance of their ancient

Honour; ſo that equal courage and equal loſs on both ſides made the hope & appearance of Victory to either equally doubtful; unleſs perhaps the *Lacedæmonians* being very firm abiders, might ſeem the more likely to prevail, as having born the firſt brunt and fury of the on-ſet, which was not hitherto remitted; and being framed by Diſcipline, as it were by Nature, to excel in patience, whereof the *Thebans*, by practiſe of a few years, cannot be thought to have gotten a habit ſo ſure and general. But *Epaminondas* perceiving the obſtinate ſtiffneſs of the Enemies to be ſuch, as neither the bad ſucceſs of their own Horſe, nor all the Force of the *Bœotian* Army, could abate ſo far, as to make them give one foot of ground; taking a choice Company of the moſt able men, whom he caſt into the form of a Wedge, or Diamond, by the advantage of that figure againſt a Squadron, and by his own exceeding vertue, acompanied with the great ſtrength and reſolution of them which followed him, did open their Ranks, and cleave the whole Battel in deſpight of all reſiſtance. Thus was the honour of that day won by the *Thebans*, who may juſtly be ſaid to have carried the Victory, ſeeing that they remained Maſters of the ground whereon the Battel was fought, having driven the Enemy to lodge farther off. For that which was alledged by the *Athenians*, as a token that the Victory was partly theirs, the ſlaughter of thoſe Mercenaries upon whom they lighted by chance in their own flight, finding them behind their Army, and the retaining of their dead Bodies; it was a Ceremony regardable only among the *Greeks*, and ſerved meerly for oſtentation, ſhewing that by the Fight they had obtained ſomewhat, which the Enemy could not get from them otherwiſe than by requeſt. But the *Thebans* arrived at the general immediate end of Battel; none daring to abide them in the Field: whereof a manifeſt confeſſion is expreſſed from them, who forſake the place which they had choſen or accepted, as indifferent for tryal of their ability and proweſs. This was the laſt work of the incomparable vertue of *Epaminondas*, who being in the head of that Warlike Troup of men, which broke the *Lacedæmonian* Eſquadron, and forced it to give back in diſarray, was furiouſly charged on the ſudden by a deſperate Company of the *Spartans*, who all at once threw their Darts at him alone; whereby receiving many wounds, he nevertheleſs with a ſingular courage maintained the Fight, uſing againſt the Enemies many of their Darts, which he drew out of his own Body; till at length by a *Spartan*, called *Anticrates*, he received ſo violent a ſtroke with a Dart, that the wood of it brake, leaving the Iron and a piece of the tronchion in his breaſt. Hereupon he ſunk down, and was ſoon conveyed out of the Fight by his Friends; having by his fall ſomewhat animated the *Spartans* (who fain would have got his Body) but much more inflamed with revengeful indignation, the *Thebans*, who raging at this heavy miſchance, did with great ſlaughter compel their diſordered Enemies to leave the Field; though long they followed not the chaſe, being wearied more with the ſadneſs of this diſaſter, than with all the travel of the day. *Epaminondas* being brought into his Tent, was told by the Phyſicians, That when the head of the Dart ſhould be drawn out of his Body, he muſt needs die. Hearing this, he called for his Shield, which to have loſt was held a great diſhonour: It was brought unto him. He bad them tell him which part had the Victory; anſwer was made, that the *Bœotians* had won the Field. Then ſaid he, it is fair time for me to die; and withal ſent for *Iolidas* and *Diophantes*, two principal Men of War, that were both ſlain; which being told him, he adviſed the *Thebans* to make Peace, whileſt with advantage they might, for that they had none left that was able to diſcharge the Office of a General. Herewithal he willed that the head of the weapon ſhould be drawn out of his Body; comforting his Friends that lamented his death, and want of Iſſue, by telling them that the Victories of *Leuctra* and *Mantinæa* were two fair Daughters, in whom his memory ſhould live.

So died *Epaminondas*, the worthieſt man that ever was bred in that Nation of *Greece*, and hardly to be matched in any Age or Country: for he equalled all others in the ſeveral vertues, which in each of them were ſingular. His Juſtice, and Sincerity, his Temperance, Wiſdom, and high Magnanimity, were no way inferiour to his Military Vertue; in every part whereof he ſo excelled, that he could not properly be called a Wary, a Valiant, a Politick, a Bountiful or an Induſtrious, and a Provident Captain; all theſe Titles, and many other, being due unto him, which with his notable Diſcipline, and good Conduct, made a perfect compoſition of an Heroick General. Neither was his private Converſation unanſwerable to thoſe high parts, which gave him praiſe abroad. For he was Grave, and yet very Affable and Courteous; reſolute in Publick buſineſs, but in his own particular eaſie, and of much mildneſs; a lover of his People, bearing with mens Infirmities, witty and pleaſant in ſpeech, far from inſolence, Maſter of his own Affections, and furniſhed with all qualities that might win and keep love. To theſe Graces were added great ability of Body, much Eloquence, and very deep knowledge in all parts of Philoſophy and Learning, wherewith his mind being enlightned, reſted not in the ſweetneſs of Contemplation, but brake forth into ſuch effects as gave unto *Thebes*, which had evermore been an underling, a dreadful reputation among all People adjoyning, and the higheſt Command in *Greece*.

§. VIII.

Of the Peace concluded in Greece *after the Battel of* Mantinæa. *The Voyage of* Ageſilaus *into* Ægypt. *His death and qualities; with an examination of the comparison made between him and* Pompey *the* Roman.

THis Battel of *Mantinæa* was the greateſt that ever had been fought in that Country between the Neutrals; and the laſt. For at *Marathon* and *Platæa*, the populous Armies of the Barbarous Nations gave rather a great fame, than a hard tryal to the *Græcian* Valour; neither were the practice of Arms and Art Military ſo perfect in the beginnings of the *Peloponneſian* War, as long continuance and daily exerciſe had now made them. The times following produced no actions of worth or moment, thoſe excepted which were undertaken againſt foreign Enemies, proving for the moſt part unfortunate. But in this laſt Fight all *Greece* was intereſſed, which never had more able Souldiers, and brave Commanders, nor ever contended for Victory with greater care of the ſucceſs, or more obſtinate reſolution. All which notwithſtanding, the iſſue being ſuch as hath been related, it was found beſt for every particular Eſtate, that a general Peace ſhould be eſtabliſhed, every one retaining what he preſently had, and none being forced to depend upon another. The *Meſſenians* were by name compriſed in this new League,

League, which caused the *Lacedæmonians* not to enter into it. Their standing out hindred not the rest from proceeding to conclusion; considering that *Sparta* was now too weak to offend her Neighbours, and therefore might well be allowed to shew that anger in Ceremonies, which had no power to declare it self in execution. This Peace, as it gave some breath and refreshing to all the Country, so to the Cities of *Athens* and *Sparta* it afforded leisure to seek after Wealth by foreign employment in *Ægypt*, whither *Agesilaus* was sent with some small Forces to assist, or indeed, as a Mercenary, to serve under *Tachos* King of *Ægypt* in his War upon *Syria*. *Chabrias* the *Athenian*, who had before commanded under *Acoris* King of *Ægypt*, went now as a Voluntary, with such Forces as he could raise by entreaty, and offer of good pay, to the same service. These *Ægyptian* Kings descended from *Amyrtæus* of *Sais*, who rebelled against *Darius Nothus*, having retained the Country notwithstanding all intestine Dissentions, and foreign Invasions, during three Generations of their own race, were so well acquainted with the Valour of the *Greeks*, that by their help (easily procured with Gold) they conceived great hope, not only to assure themselves, but to become Lords of the Provinces adjoyning, which were held by the *Persian*. What the issue of this great enterprise might have been, had it not fallen by Domestical Rebellion, it is uncertain. But very likely it is that the Rebellion it self had soon come to nothing, if *Agesilaus* had not proved a false Traytor, joyning with *Nectanebus*, who rose against his Prince, and helping the Rebel with that Army which the money of *Tachos* had waged. This falshood *Agesilaus* excused, as tending to the good of his own Country; though it seem rather, that he grudged because the King took upon himself the Conduct of the Army, using his service only as Lieutenant, who had made full account of being appointed the General. Howsoever it came to pass, *Tachos* being shamefully betrayed by them, in whom he had reposed his chief confidence, fled unto the *Persian*, who upon his submission gave him gentle entertainment; and *Nectanebus* (who seems to have been the Nephew of *Tachos*) reigned in his stead. At the same time the Citizens of *Mendes* had set up another King, to whom all, or most of the *Ægyptians* yielded their obedience. But *Agesilaus* fighting with him in places of advantage, prevailed so far, that he left *Nectanebus* in quiet possession of the Kingdom; who in recompence of his Treason to the former King *Tachos*, and good Service done to himself, rewarded him with two hundred and thirty Talents of Silver, with which booty sailing homewards, he died by the way. He was a Prince very temperate and valiant, and a good Leader in War; free from Covetousness, and not reproached with any blemish of Lust; which praises are the less admirable in him, for that the discipline of *Sparta* was such as did endue every one of the Citizens (not carried away by the violent stream of an ill nature) with all, or the chief, of these good qualities. He was nevertheless very arrogant, perverse, unjust, and vain-glorious, measuring all things by his own will, and obstinately prosecuting those courses whose ends were beyond hope. The Expedition of *Xenophon* had filled him with an opinion, that by his hand the Empire of *Persia* should be overthrown; with which conceit being transported, and finding his proceedings interrupted by the *Thebans*, and their Allies, he did ever after bear such hatred unto *Thebes*, as compelled that Estate by meer necessity to grow Warlike, and able, to the utter dishonour of *Sparta*, and the irreparable loss of all her former greatness. The commendations given to him by *Xenophon* his good Friend, have caused *Plutarch* to lay his name in the balance against *Pompey* the Great; whose actions (the solemn gravity of carriage excepted) are very disproportionable. Yet we may truly say, That as *Pompey* made great Wars under sundry Climates, and in all the Provinces of the *Roman* Empire, exceeding in the multitude of Employments all that were before him; so *Agesilaus* had at one time or other some Quarrel with every Town in *Greece*; had made a War in *Asia*, and medled in the business of the *Ægyptians*, in which variety he went beyond all his Predecessors: yet not winning any Countries, as *Pompey* did many, but obtaining large Wages, which *Pompey* never took. Herein also they are very like; each of them was the last great Captain which his Nation brought forth in time of Liberty, and each of them ruined the liberty of his Country by his own Lordly wilfulness. We may therefore well say, *Similia magis omnia quam paria*; *The resemblance was nearer than the equality.* Indeed the freedom of *Rome* was lost with *Pompey*, falling into the hands of *Cæsar*, whom he had enforced to take Arms; yet the *Roman* Empire stood, the form of Government only being changed: But the Liberty of *Greece*, or of *Sparta* it self, was not forfeited unto the *Thebans*, whom *Agesilaus* had compelled to enter into a victorious War; yet the Signory, and ancient Renown of *Sparta* was presently lost: and the freedom of all *Greece* being wounded in this *Theban* War, and after much Bloud lost, ill healed by the Peace ensuing, did very soon upon the death of *Agesilaus* give up the Ghost, and the Lordship of the whole Country was seized by *Philip* King of *Macedon*, whose actions are now on foot, and more to be regarded than the contemporary passages of things, in any other Nation.

Finis Libri Tertii.

THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

Intreating of the Times from the Reign of PHILIP *of* MACEDON, *to the eſtabliſhing of that Kingdom in the Race of* ANTIGONUS.

The FOURTH BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of Philip, *the Father of* Alexander *the Great, King of* Macedon.

§. I.

What Kings reigned in Macedon *before* Philip.

THE *Greeks*, of whom we have already made large Diſcourſe, not as yet wearied with inteſtine War, nor made wiſe by their vain Contention for Superiority, do ſtill, as in former times, continue the Invaſion and Vaſtation of each other.

Againſt *Xerxes*, the greateſt Monarch of that part of the World, they defended their Liberty with as happy ſucceſs as ever Nation had, and with no leſs Honour, than hath ever been acquired by deeds of Arms. And having had a tryal, and experience, more than fortunate, againſt thoſe Nations they ſo little regarded what might come from them, who had ſo often forfeited the Reputation of their Forces, as whatſoever could be ſpared from their own diſtraction at home, they tranſported over the *Helleſpont*, as ſufficient to entertain and buſie them withal.

But, as it commonly falleth out with every man of mark in the World, that they under-fall and periſh by the hands and harms which they leaſt fear; ſo fared it at this time with the *Greeks*. For of *Philip* of *Macedon* (of whom we are now to ſpeak) they

they had so little regard, as they grew even then more violent in devouring each other, when the fast growing greatness of such a Neighbour-King, should, in regard of their own safeties, have served them for a strong argument of union and accord. But the glory of their *Persian* Victories, wherewith they were pampred and made proud, taught them to neglect all Nations but themselves, and the rather to value at little the Power and Purposes of the *Macedonians*, because those Kings and States, which sate nearer them than they did, had in the time of *Amyntas*, the Father of *Philip*, so much weakned them, and won upon them, that they were not (as the *Græcians* perswaded themselves) in any one age, likely to recover their own, much less to work any Wonders against their Borderers. And indeed it was not in their Philosophy to consider, That all great alterations are storm-like, sudden and violent; and that it is then over-late to repair the decaied and broken Banks, when great Rivers are once swollen, fast running, and inraged. No, the *Greeks* did rather imploy themselves, in breaking down those Defences which stood between them and this Inundation, than seek to rampare and re-enforce their own Fields, which by the Level of reason they might have found to have lain under it. It was therefore well concluded by *Orosius*; *Græciæ Civitates dum imperare singulæ cupiunt, imperium omnes perdiderunt*; *The Cities of* Greece *lost their Command, by striving each of them to command all.* *Oros. l. 3. c. 12.*

The Kingdom of *Macedon*, so called of *Macedon*, the Son of *Osiris*, or, as other Authors affirm, of *Jupiter* and *Æthra*, is the next Region towards the North which bordereth *Greece*; It hath to the East, the *Ægean* Sea; it is bounded on the North and North-west, by the *Thracians* and *Illyrians*; and on the South and South-west, by *Thessaly* and *Epirus*.

Their Kings were of the Family of *Temenus*, of the Race of *Hercules*, and by Nation *Argives*; who are listed as followeth. About some six years after the Translation of the *Assyrian* Empire, *Arbaces* then governing *Media*; *Caranus* of *Argos*, commanded by an Oracle, to lead a Colony into *Macedon*, departed thence with many People, and as he was marching through that Countrey, the Weather being rainy and tempestuous, he espied a great Heard of Goats, which fled the Storm as fast as they could, hasting them to their known place of covert. Whereupon *Caranus* calling to mind, that he had also by an other Oracle been directed to follow the first Troop of those Beasts, that should either lead him or fly before him; he pursued these Goats to the Gates of *Edessa*, and being undiscovered by the Inhabitants, by reason of the darkness of the Air, he entred their City without resistance, and possest it. Soon after this, by the overthrow of *Cissens*, *Caranus* became Lord of the rest of *Macedon*, and held it eight and twenty years. *Cœnus* succeeded *Caranus*, and raigned twelve years. *Tyrimas* followed *Cœnus*, and ruled eight and twenty years. *Paus. Dion. Chus. Theop. Antios. 6.* *Euseb. in Chron.*

Perdiccas the first, the son of *Tyrimas*, governed one and fifty years: a Prince, for his great Valour, and many other Vertues, much renowned. *Solinus*, *Pliny*, *Justin*, *Eusebius*, *Theophilus*, *Antiochenus*, and others affirm, that he appointed a place of Burial for himself, and for all the Kings of *Macedon* his Successors, at *Ægæ*; assuring them that the Kingdom should so long continue in his Line and Race, as they continued to lay up their Bodies in that Sepulchre; wherein it is said, that because *Alexander* the Great failed, therefore the Posterity of the *Temenidæ* failed in him: a thing rather devised after the effect, as I conceive, than foretold by *Perdiccas*. *Sol. c. 14.* *Plin. l. 4. c. 10.*

Argeus succeeded unto *Perdiccas*, and ruled eight and twenty years. *Euseb. in Chron.*

Philip the first, his Successor, raigned eight and twenty years.

Europus followed *Philip*, and governed six and twenty years: in whose Infancy the *Illyrians* invaded *Macedon*, and having obtained a great Victory, they pursued the same to the great danger of that State. Whereupon the *Macedonians* gathering new Forces, and resolving either to recover their former Loss, or to lose at once both their Kingdom and their King, they carried him with them in his Cradle into the Field, and returned victorious; for they were either confident that their Nation could not be beaten (their King present) or rather they perswaded themselves that there was no man so void of Honour and Compassion, as to abandon their natural Lord, being an Infant, and no way (but by the hands of his Servants) able to defend himself from destruction. The like is reported by *Aimoinus*, of *Clotarius* the Son of *Fredegunda*. *Euseb. Justin. Ammian. Theod. Ant. &c. Aimon. l. 3. c. 82.*

Alcetas succeeded *Æropus*, and ruled nine and twenty years.

Amyntas the first succeeded *Alcetas*, and raigned fifty years; he lived at such time as *Darius Hystaspes*, after his unprosperous return out of *Scythia*, sent *Megabazus* with an Army into *Europe*, who in *Xerxes* name required *Amyntas* to acknowledge him for his Supream Lord, by yielding unto him Earth and Water. But his Embassadors, as you have heard before, were, for their insolent Behaviour towards the *Macedonian* Ladies, slain by the direction of *Alexander*, who was the Son of *Amyntas*, and his Successor. *Her. Euseb. Justin. &c.*

Alexander, surnamed the Rich, the Son of *Amyntas*, governed *Macedon* three and forty years. He did not only appease the Wrath of *Megabazus*, for the slaughter of the *Persian* Embassadors, by giving *Gygæa* his Sister, to *Bubares* of the Blood of *Persia*, but by that Match he grew so great in *Xerxes* Grace, as he obtained all that Region between the Mountains of *Olympus* and *Hemus*, to be united to the Kingdom of *Macedon*. Yet could not these Benefits buy his Affection from the *Greeks*. For *Xerxes* being returned into *Asia*, and *Mardonius* made General of the *Persian* Army; *Alexander* acquainted the *Greeks* with all his intents and purposes against them. He had three Sons, *Perdiccas*, *Alcetas*, and *Philip*. *Her. l. 8.* *Plut. Eusch.* *Just. &c.*

Perdiccas the second, the Son of *Alexander*, lived in the time of the *Peloponnesian* War, and raigned in all eight and twenty years. The Wars which he made were not much remarkable: the Story of them is found here and there by pieces, in *Thucidides* his first six Books. He left behind him two Sons; *Perdiccas*, who was very young, and *Archelaus*, who was base born.

Perdiccas the third, being delivered to the custody and care of *Archelaus*, was at seven years of age cast into a Well and drowned by his false Guardian: who excusing this Fact to *Cleopatra* the Mother of the young King, said, That the Child in following a Goose hastily fell therein to by misadventure. But *Archelaus* staied not here: for having thus dispatched his Brother, he slew both his Uncle *Alcetas*, the Son of *Alexander* the Rich, and *Alexander* the Son of this *Alcetas*, his Cousin Germain, and enjoyed the Kingdom of *Macedon* himself four and twenty years. *Plat. in Gorg. Arist. Pol. 5.*

This *Archelaus*, of whom both *Plato* and *Aristotle* make mention, though he made himself King by wicked Murder, yet he performed many things greatly

greatly to the profit of his Nation. It is said, That he fought by all means to draw *Socrates* unto him, and that he greatly loved and honoured *Euripides* the *Tragedian*. He had two Sons, *Archelaus* and *Oreſtes*.

Archelaus the ſecond ſucceeded his Father, and having reigned ſeven years, he was ſlain in hunting, either by chance or of purpoſe, by *Cratæus*.

Oreſtes his younger Son was committed to the Education of *Æropus*, of the Royal Blood of *Macedon*, and had the ſame meaſure which *Archelaus* had meaſured to his Pupil; for *Æropus* murdered him and uſurped the Kingdom, which he held ſome ſix years: the ſame who denied paſſage to *Ageſilaus* King of *Sparta*, who deſired after his return from the *Aſian* Expedition, to paſs by the way of *Macedon* into *Greece*.

Diod. Polyæn. Plut. in Demet. This Uſurper left three Sons, *Pauſanias*, *Argæus*, and *Alexander*. *Pauſanias* ſucceeded his Father *Æropus*, and having reigned one year, he was driven out by *Amyntas* the Son of *Philip*, the Son of the firſt *Perdiccas*, the Son of *Alexander* the Rich; which *Philip* was then preſerved, when *Archelaus* the Baſtard ſlew his Brother *Perdiccas*, his Uncle *Acetas*, and his Son *Alexander*. This *Amyntas* reigned (though very unquietly) four and twenty years; for he was not only infeſted by *Pauſanias*, aſſiſted by the *Thracians*, and by his Brother *Argæus*; incouraged by the *Illyrians*; and by the ſaid *Argæus*, for two years diſpoſſeſt of *Macedon*: but on the other ſide, the *Olynthians*, his Neighbours near the *Ægæan* Sea, made themſelves for a while Maſters of *Pella*, the chief City of *Macedon*.

Amyntas the ſecond had by his Wife *Eurydice* the *Illyrian*, three Sons; *Alexander* the ſecond, *Perdiccas* the third, and *Philip* the ſecond, Father of *Alexander* the Great; and one Daughter called *Euryone* or *Exione*: he had alſo by his ſecond Wife *Gygea*, three Sons; *Archelaus*, *Argæus*, and *Menelaus*, afterward ſlain by their Brother *Philip*. He had more by a Concubine, *Ptolomy*, ſurnamed *Alorites*, of the City *Alorus*, wherein he was born.

Alexander the ſecond reigned not much above one year, in which time he was invaded by *Pauſanias*, the Son of *Æropus*, but defended by *Iphicrates* the *Athenian*, while he was at that time about *Amphipolis*. He was alſo conſtrained (for the payment of a great ſum of Money) to leave his youngeſt Brother *Philip* in Hoſtage with the *Illyrians*, who had ſubjected his Father *Amyntas* to the Payment of Tribute. After this, *Alexander* being invited by the *Alevadæ* againſt *Alexander* the Tyrant of *Pheres* in *Theſſaly*, having redeemed his Brother *Philip*; to draw the *Thebans* to his aſſiſtance entred into Confederacy with *Pelopidæ*, being at that time in the ſame Country, with whom he alſo left *Philip*, with divers other principal perſons for the Gage of his Promiſes to *Pelopidas*. But *Eurydice* his Mother falling in love with her Son-in-law, who had married her Daughter *Euryone* or *Exione*, practized the Death of *Alexander* her Son, with a purpoſe to confer the Kingdom on her Paramour, which *Ptolomy Alorites* did put in execution: by means whereof he held *Macedon* for three years, but was ſoon after *Diod. l. 15. & 16.* ſlain by *Perdiccas* the Brother of *Alexander*. *Diodor* hath it otherwiſe of *Philips* being made Pledge; and ſaith, That *Amyntas* his Father delivered him for Hoſtage to the *Illyrians*, by whom he was conveyed to *Thebes*, there to be kept: others report that *Philip* (while his Father was yet living) was firſt ingaged to the *Thebans*, and delivered for Hoſtage a ſecond time by *Alexander* his Brother.

Perdiccas the third, after he had ſlain *Alorites* his baſe Brother, governed *Macedon* five years, and was then ſlain in a Battel againſt the *Illyrians*, according to *Diodorus*; but *Juſtin* affirmeth, that he periſhed by the practiſe of *Eurydice* his Mother, as *Alexander* did. *Juſt. l. 7.*

§. II.

The beginning of Philips *Reign, and how he delivered* Macedon *from the Troubles wherein he found it entangled.*

Philip the ſecond, the youngeſt Son of *Amyntas* by *Eurydice*, having been inſtructed in all knowledge requiſite unto the Government of a Kingdom, in that excellent Education which he had under *Epaminondas*, making an eſcape from *Thebes*, returned into *Macedon*, in the firſt year of the hundred and fifth *Olympiad*, which was after the building of *Rome* three hundred fourſcore and thirteen years: and finding the many Enemies and dangers wherewith the Kingdom was invironed, he took on him, not as King (for *Perdiccas* left a Son, though but an Infant) but as the Protector of his Nephew, and Commander of the Men of War. Yet his fruitful Ambition ſoon overgrew his Modeſty, and he was eaſily perſwaded by the People to accept both the Title of King, and withal the abſolute Rule of the Kingdom. And to ſay the truth, The neceſſity of the State of *Macedon* at that time required a King both prudent and active. For, beſides the incurſions of the *Illyrians* and *Pannonians*, the King of *Thrace* did ſet up in oppoſition *Pauſanias*; the *Athenians*, *Argæus*; Sons of the late Uſurper *Æropus*: each of theſe labouring to place in *Macedon* a King of their own Election. Theſe heavy Burthens when *Philip* could not well bear, he bought of the weightieſt by Money, and by fair Promiſes unloaded himſelf of ſo many of the reſt, as he ran under the remainder happily enough. For, notwithſtanding that his Brother *Perdiccas* had his Death accompanied with four thouſand *Macedonians*, beſide theſe that were wounded and taken Priſoners; and that the *Pannonians* were deſtroying all before them in *Macedon*; and that the *Athenians* with a Fleet by Sea, and three thouſand Souldiers by Land under *Mantias*, did beat upon him on all ſides and quarters of his Country: Yet after he had practiſed the Men of War of *Pannonia*; and corrupted them with Gifts; and had alſo bought the King of *Thrace* from *Pauſanias*, he forthwith made head againſt the *Athenians* his ſtiffeſt Enemies; and, for the firſt, he prevented their recovery of *Amphipolis*, a City on the Frontier of *Macedon*: and did then purſue *Argæus* the Son of *Æropus*, ſet againſt him by the *Athenians*, and followed him ſo hard at the heels in his Retreat from *Æges*, that he forced him to abide the Battel: which *Argæus* loſt, having the greateſt part of his Army ſlain in the place. Thoſe of the *Athenians*, and others which remained unbroken, took the advantage of a ſtrong piece of Ground at hand, which though they could not long defend, yet avoiding thereby the preſent Fury of the Souldiers, they obtained of the Vanquiſhers Life and Liberty to return into *Attica*. Whereupon a Peace was concluded between him and the *Athenians* for that preſent, and for this Clemency he was greatly renowned and honoured by all the *Greeks*. *Diod. l. 16.*

§. III.

§. III.

The good Succeſs which Philip *had in many Enterpriſes.*

NOw had *Philip* leiſure to look Northward, and to attend the *Illyrians* and *Pæonians*, his irreconcilable Enemies and Borderers: both which he invaded with ſo proſperous ſucceſs, as he ſlew *Bardillas*, King of the *Illyrians*, with ſeven thouſand of his Nation, and thereby recovered all thoſe places which the *Illyrians* held in *Macedon*; and withal, upon the Death of the King of *Pannonia*, he pierc'd that Country, and after a main Victory obtained, he enforc'd them to pay him Tribute. This was no ſooner done, than (without ſtaying to take longer breath) he haſted ſpeedily towards *Lariſſa*, upon the River *Peneus* in *Theſſaly*, of which Town he ſoon made himſelf Maſter; and thereby he got good footing in that Country, whereof he made uſe in time following. Now although he reſolved either to ſubdue the *Theſſalians*, or to make them his own againſt all others, becauſe the Horſe-men of that Country were the beſt, and moſt feared in that part of *Europe*; yet he thought it moſt for his ſafety to cloſe up the entrances out of *Thrace*, leſt while he invaded *Theſſaly* and *Greece* towards the South, thoſe ample Nations, lying towards the North, ſhould either withdraw him, or overrun *Macedon* as in former times. He therefore attempted *Amphipolis*, ſeated on the famous River of *Strimon*, which parteth *Thrace* from *Macedon*, and won it. He alſo recovered *Pydna*; and (to the North of *Amphipolis*) the City of *Crenides* (ſometime *Datus*) and called it after his own Name *Philippi*: to the People whereof St. *Paul* afterward directed one of his *Epiſtles*. This place, wherein *Philippi* ſtood, is very rich in Mines of Gold, out of which, greatly to the advancement of *Philips* Affairs, he drew yearly a thouſand Talents, which make ſix hundred thouſand *French* Crowns.

And that he might with the more eaſe disburden the *Thracian* Shores of the *Athenian* Garriſons, to which he had given a great blow by the taking in of *Amphipolis*, he entred into League with his Fathers malicious Enemies the *Olynthians*; whom the better to faſten unto him, he gave them the City of *Pydna* with the Territory, meaning nothing leſs than that they ſhould enjoy it, or their own Eſtate many years.

Now that he might by degrees win ground upon the *Greeks*, he took the fair occaſion to deliver the City of *Pheres* in *Theſſaly*, from the Tyranny of *Lycophron* and *Tiſiphonus*. Who, after they had conſpired with *Thebe* the Wife of *Alexander*, who uſurped upon the Liberty of that State, they themſelves (*Alexander* being murthered) held it alſo by the ſame ſtrong hand and oppreſſion that *Alexander* did, till by the aſſiſtance of *Philip* they were beaten out, and *Pheres* reſtored to her former Liberty. Which act of *Philip* did for ever after faſten the *Theſſalians* unto him, and, to his exceeding great advantage, bind them to his Service.

§. IV.

Of the Phocian *War, which firſt drew* Philip *into* Greece.

ABout this time, to wit, in the ſecond year of the hundred and ſixth *Olympiad*, eight years after the Battel of *Mantinæa*, and about the eighth year of *Artaxerxes Ochus*, began that War, called *Sacred*. Now, as all occaſions concur towards the execution of eternal Providence, and of every great alteration in the World there is ſome preceeding preparation, though not at the firſt eaſily diſcerned; ſo did this revengeful hatred by the *Thebans*, *Theſſalians*, and *Locrians*, conceived againſt the *Phocians*, not only teach *Philip* how he might with half a hand wreſt the Sword out of their fingers; but the *Greeks* themſelves beating down their own Defences, to give him an eaſie paſſage, and beating themſelves, to give him Victory without peril, left nothing unperformed towards their own Slavery, ſaving the Title and Impoſition. Of this War the *Thebans* (made over-proud by their Victory at *Leuctres*) were the Inflamers. For at the Council of the *Amphyctiones*, or of the general Eſtates of *Greece*, in which, at that time, they ſwaied moſt, they cauſed both the *Lacedæmonians* and *Phocians* to be condemned in greater Sums of Money than they could well bear; the one for ſurpriſing the Caſtle of *Cadmea* in the time of Peace, the other for ploughing up a piece of Ground belonging to the Temple of *Delphos*. The *Phocians* being reſolved not to obey this Edict, were ſecretly ſet on and incouraged by the *Lacedæmonians*: and for refuſal were expoſed as *Sacrilegers*, and accurſed to all their Neighbour-Nations, for whom it was then lawful to invade and deſtroy them at their pleaſures.

The *Phocians* perſwaded thereunto by *Philomelus*, a Captain of their own, caſt the ſame Dice of Hazard that *Cæſar* after many Ages following did; but had not the ſame Chance. Yet they dealt well enough with all the Enemies of their own Nation. And the better to bear out an ungratious Quarrel, of which there was left no hope of compoſition, they reſolved to ſack the Temple it ſelf. For ſeeing that for the ploughing of a piece of *Apollo*'s Ground, they had ſo much offended their Neighbour-God, and their Neighbour-Nations, as worſe could not befall them than already was intended; they reſolved to take the Gold with the Ground, and either to periſh for all, or to prevail againſt all that had commiſſion to call them to accompt. The Treaſure which they took out of the Temple in the beginning of the War was ten thouſand Talents, which in thoſe days ſerved them to wage a great many men, and ſuch was their ſucceſs in the beginning of the War, as they won three great Battels againſt the *Thebans*, *Theſſalians*, and *Locrians*, but being beaten in the fourth, their Leader *Philomelus* caſt himſelf headlong over the Rocks.

In the mean while the Cities of *Cherſoneſus*, both to defend themſelves againſt their bad Neighbour *Philip*, who encroached upon them, and to draw others into their Quarrel, rendred themſelves to the *Athenians*. *Philip* prepareth to get them into his hands, and at the Siege of *Methone* loſt one of his Eyes. It is ſaid, That he that ſhot him did purpoſely direct his Arrow towards him, and that it was written on the Shaft thereof: *After* Philippo, *After to* Philip; for ſo he was called that gave him the Wound. This City he evened with the Soil. *Plut. Ulpian. Strab. l. 8.*

The

The Tyrant *Lycophron* before mentioned, while *Philip* was buſied on the border of *Thrace*, and the *Theſſalians* engaged in the Holy War, entred *Theſſaly* with new Forces, being aſſiſted by *Onomarchus*, Commander of the *Phocian* Army, in place of *Philomelus*. For hereby the *Phocians* hoped ſo to entertain the *Theſſalians* at home, as they ſhould not find leiſure to invade them. Hereupon was *Philip* the ſecond time called into *Theſſaly*; but both the *Theſſalians* and *Macedonians* (*Philip* being preſent) were utterly overthrown by *Onomarchus*; and great numbers of both Nations loſt. From *Theſſaly*, *Onomarchus* drew ſpeedily towards *Bœotia*, and with the ſame victorious Army brake the Forces of the *Bœotians*, and took from them their City of *Coronea*. But *Philip*, impatient of his late miſadventure, after he had re-enforced his Army, returned with all ſpeed into *Theſſaly*, there to find again the Honour which he lately loſt: and was the ſecond time encountred by *Onomarchus*, who brought into the Field twenty thouſand Foot, and five hundred Horſe. All this great preparation ſufficed not; for *Onomarchus* was by *Philip* ſurmounted, both in numbers and in good fortune, his Army overturned, ſix thouſand ſlain, and three thouſand taken; of which number, himſelf being one, was among others hanged by *Philip*. Thoſe that fled were in part received by the *Athenian* Gallies, which ſailed alongſt the Coaſt, commanded by *Chares*; but the greateſt number of thoſe that took the Sea, were therein devoured ere they recovered them. *Lycophron* was now again driven out of *Theſſaly*, and *Pheres* made free as before.

advantage of a well-compounded and trained Army, he gave them two overthrows ere he ſate down before the City it ſelf: which done, he bought *Euthicrates* and *Laſthenes* from their People, and from the ſervice of their Country and Common-weal; by whoſe Treaſon he entred the Town, ſlew his Brothers therein, ſackt it, and ſold the Inhabitants for Slaves by the Drum. By the ſpoil of this place he greatly enriched himſelf, and had Treaſure ſufficient to buy in other Cities withal, which he daily did. For ſo was he adviſed by the Oracle in the beginning of his undertaking, *That he ſhould make his aſſaults with Silver Spears*: Whereupon *Horace* well and truly ſaid,

——Diffidit Urbium *Hor. Carm.*
Portas vir Macedo, & ſubruit æmulos *3. Od. 16.*
Reges muneribus.——

By gifts the *Macedon* clave Gates aſunder,
And Kings envying his eſtate brought under.

And it is true that he won more by corruption and fraud than he did by force. For as he had in all the principal Cities of *Greece* his ſecret workers (which way of Conqueſt was well followed by *Philip* the ſecond of *Spain*:) So when in the contention between the Competitors for the Kingdom of *Thrace*, he was choſen the Arbitrator, he came not to the Council accompanied with Piety and Juſtice, but with a powerful Army, and having beaten and ſlain both Kings, gave Sentence for himſelf, and made the Kingdom his own.

§. V.

Of the Olynthian *War.* *The ambitious practices of* Philip.

FRom hence *Philip* reſolved to invade *Phocis* it ſelf, but the *Athenians* did not favour his entrance into thoſe parts; and therefore with the help of the *Lacedæmonians* they retrencht his paſſage at the Streights of *Thermopylis*. Whereupon he returned into *Macedon*, and after the taking of *Micyberne*, *Torone*, and other Towns, he quarrelled with the *Olynthians*, whom not long before he had wooed to his Alliance, and bought his Peace of them. For the *Olynthians* were very ſtrong, and had evermore both braved and beaten the *Macedonians*. It is ſaid, that *Philip* having put to death *Archelaus* his half-brother (for *Amyntas* had three Sons by *Euridice* the Mother of *Philip*, and three other Sons by *Gygæa*: but *Philip*'s elder Brothers by the ſame Mother being dead, he determined to rid himſelf alſo of the reſt) the two younger held themſelves within *Olynthus*; and that the receiving of them by the *Olynthians* was the cauſe of the War, *Juſtine* affirmeth. But juſt Quarrels are balanced by juſt Princes; for to this King all things were lawful that might any way ſerve his turn; all his affections and paſſions, how divers ſoever in other men, were in his ambition ſwallowed up, and thereinto converted. For he neither forbare the murder of his own Brothers, the breach of Faith, the buying of other mens Fidelity; he eſteemed no place ſtrong where his Aſs loaden with Gold might enter; nor any City or State unconquerable, where a few of the greateſt, to be made greater, could loſe the ſenſe of other mens ſorrow and ſubjection. And becauſe he thought it vain to practiſe the winning of *Olynthus*, till he had incloſed all the power they had within their own Walls, he entred their Territory, and by the

Juſt. l. 8.

§. VI.

How Philip *ended the* Phocian *War.*

THE War ſtill continuing between the *Phocians* and the Aſſociates of the Holy War, the *Bœotians* finding themſelves unable to ſubſiſt without ſome preſent aid, ſent unto *Philip* for ſuccour, who willingly yielded to their neceſſities, and ſent them ſuch a proportion of men as were neither ſufficient to maſter their Enemies, nor to aſſure themſelves; but yet to enable them to continue the War, and to waſte the ſtrength of *Greece*. They alſo ſent to *Artaxerxes Ochus* for ſupply of Treaſure, who lent them thirty Talents, which makes an hundred and fourſcore thouſand Crowns; but when with theſe ſupplies they had ſtill the worſt in all their attempts againſt the *Phocians*, who held from them three of their ſtrongeſt Cities within *Bœotia* it ſelf; they then beſought *Philip* of *Macedon* that he would aſſiſt them in perſon, to whom they would give an entrance into their Territory, and in all things obey his Commandments in that War.

Now had *Philip* what he longed for; for he knew himſelf in ſtate to give the law to both; and ſo quitting all his other purpoſes towards the North, he marched with a ſpeedy pace towards *Bœotia*; where being arrived, *Phallecus*, who commanded the *Phocian* Army, fearing to ſhock with this Victorious King, made his own Peace, and with-drew himſelf with a Regiment of eight thouſand Souldiers into *Peloponneſus*, leaving the *Phocians* to the mercy of the Conquerour; and for concluſion, he had the glory of that War, called *Sacred*, which the *Græcians* with ſo many mutual ſlaughters had continued for ten years; and, beſides the glory, he poſſeſs'd himſelf of *Orchomene*, *Coronea*, and *Corſia*, in the Country of the *Bœotians*, who invited him to be victorious over themſelves. He

Plat. Uſh. an. Strab. l. 8.

brought the *Phocians* into ſervitude, and waſted their Cities, and gave them but their Villages to inhabit, reſerving to himſelf the yearly Tribute of threeſcore Talents, which make ſix and thirty thouſand *French* Crowns. He alſo hereby (beſides the fame of Piety for ſervice of the Gods) obtained the ſame double voice in the Council of the *Amphyctiones*, which the *Phocians* had, with the ſuperintendency of the *Pythian* Games, forfeited by the *Corinthians*, by being partakers in the *Phocian* Sacriledge.

§. VII.

How Philip *with ill ſucceſs attempted upon* Perinthus, Byzantium, *and the* Scythians.

Philip after his Triumphant return into *Macedon*, by the Lieutenant of his Army *Parmenio*, ſlaughtered many thouſands of the *Illyrians* and *Dardanians*, and brought the *Thracians* to pay him the tenth part of all their Revenues. But his next enterpriſe againſt the *Perinthians* ſtaid his fury. *Perinthus* was a City of *Thrace*, ſeated upon *Propontis*, in the mid-way between *Seſtos* and *Byzantium*; a place of great ſtrength, and a People reſolved to defend their Liberty againſt *Philip*, where the *Athenians* encouraged and aſſiſted them. *Philip* ſate down before it with a puiſſant Army, made many fair Breaches, gave many furious Aſſaults, built many over-topping and commanding Towers about it. But he was repell'd with equal violence. For whereas *Philip* thought by his continual Aſſaults to weary them, and waſte both their Men and Munition, they were ſupplied, not only from the *Perſian* with Men and Money, and ſuccoured from *Byzantium* which ſtood upon the ſame Sea-coaſt, but they were relieved from *Athens*, *Chio*, and *Rhodes*, by the conduction of *Phocion*, with whatſoever was wanting to their neceſſity. But becauſe thoſe of *Byzantium*, by reaſon of their Neighbourhood, and the eaſie paſſage by Water, gave them often and ready help, *Philip* removed with the one half of his Army and Beſieged it, leaving fifteen thouſand Foot before *Perinthus*, to force it if they could; but to be ſhort, he failed in both attempts, (as all Princes commonly do that undertake divers enterpriſes at one time) and returned into *Macedon* with no leſs diſhonour than loſs: whereupon he made an Overture of Peace with the *Athenians*, and greatly deſired it; to which though *Phocion* perſwaded them in all he could, and that by the occaſion offered they might greatly advantage their conditions, yet *Demoſthenes* with his Eloquence prevailed in the refuſal. In the mean while, *Philip* having digeſted his late Affront, and ſupplied his expence by the taking of an hundred and threeſcore and ten Merchants Ships, he gathered new Forces, and being accompanied with his Son *Alexander*, led them into *Scythia*; but he was alſo unproſperous in this enterpriſe: For the *Triballi*, a People of *Mæſia*, ſet on him in his return, wounded him, and took from him the greateſt part of the ſpoils which he had gathered.

§. VIII.

How Philip, *overthrowing the* Greeks *in the Battel of* Chæronæa, *was choſen Captain-General of* Greece. *The death of* Philip.

Among theſe Northern Nations (part of which he ſuppreſt, and part quieted) he ſpent ſome eight years; and in the ninth year, after the end of the Holy War, he was to his great advantage invited again by the *Græcians* to their aſſiſtance. For the Citizens of *Amphiſſa* having diſobeyed the Decree of the *Amphictiones*, in which *Philip* had a double voice, and who by reaſon that the *Thebans* and *Locrians* gave countenance and aid to the *Amphiſſenſians*, the reſt were not of themſelves able to conſtrain them, they beſought *Philip* to come in perſon to their aſſiſtance. Now you muſt think that *Philip* was not long in reſolving upon this enterpriſe; he needed no drawing on, whom nothing could keep back; nor other diſſwaſion than a maſtring power could hold thence. He therefore commanded his Army forthwith to march; the ſame being compounded of thirty thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe; and with as much expedition as could be made, he entred *Phocis*, wan *Platæa*, and brought into ſubjection all that Region.

The reſt, and eſpecially the *Athenians*, although they had good cauſe to fear that a great part of this ſtorm would fall on themſelves, yet were they diſſwaded by *Demoſthenes* from accepting ſuch reaſonable Conditions of Peace as *Philip* offered, and rather made choice (having drawn the *Thebans* to joyn with them) to leave the enjoying of their Eſtates and their Freedom to the chance of one Battel, than to hold it either by compoſition, or by the grace of *Philip*. But this their Orators Eloquence coſt them dear. It is true, that he could far more eaſily mind them of the vertue of their Anceſtors, than make them to be ſuch as they were. He might repeat unto them (with words moving paſſion) the wonders they wrought at *Marathon*, but he could not transform the *Macedonians* into *Perſians*, nor draw from the dead, a *Miltiades*, an *Ariſtides*, a *Themiſtocles*, or a *Cimon*, or any of thoſe famous Commanders, whoſe great vertues they had paid with the greateſt ingratitude that ever Nation did. A *Phocion* they had, but by the ſtrength of a contrary Faction he was at this time in diſgrace, and not employed: in ſo much as when the Armies of *Philip* and the Confederates encountred, although ſome thouſand of the *Athenians* abid the killing, and the like number well near of the *Thebans* died with them, yet the want of worthy men on that ſide to hold up the reſt, and to draw them on, and the many choice Captains of the *Macedonians*, encouraged by a King of a growing Fortune, as it gave to *Philip* ſo ſhining a Victory, that *Alexander* by the light thereof found his way (in deſpight of all the Nations interjacent) into *Perſia*, *India*, and *Ægypt*; ſo it cut to the ground, and gave end and date to all the *Græcian* glory: Yea, their liberty (ſaith *Curtius*) with their large Dominion won with ſo many difficulties, continued for ſo many Ages, and ſo often defended againſt the greateſt Kings, was now loſt in a moment, and for ever loſt.

Now this adviſed King (never paſſionate to his diſadvantage) to the end he might obtain the Soveraignty over all *Greece*, and be acknowledged for their Captain-General againſt the *Perſians*, without any further hazard or trouble, was content to let go thoſe *Athenians* that were taken at this Battel of *Cheronæa*, as he alſo forbare to attempt any thing againſt their City: but in *Thebes* (which lately by the vertue of *Epaminondas* triumphed over the reſt) he lodged a Garriſon of *Macedonians*. And being ſoon after (according unto the long deſire which he had nouriſhed of this Soveraignty) by the general States at *Corinth*, ſtiled The firſt Commander of all the *Græcians*, and contribution of men and money granted him, he compounded

pounded an Army of great ſtrength, and under the commandment of *Attalus* and *Parmenio*, tranſported the ſame over the *Helleſpont* into *Aſia*, to begin the War. Of his enterpriſe againſt *Perſia* he ſought the ſucceſs from the Oracle at *Delphos*, from whence he received ſuch another convertible Riddle, as *Cræſus* did when he attempted *Cyrus*, and was in like ſort miſtaken in the expoſition.

But as it is hard to diſcern and withſtand the flatteries of our own appetites, ſo did *Philip*'s ambitious deſire to invade *Perſia*, abuſe his judgment ſo far, that the death, wherewith himſelf was threatned, he underſtood to be delivered of his Enemy, whom he intended preſently to invade. Before his purpoſed departure into *Aſia*, he prepared for the Marriage of his Daughter *Cleopatra* with *Alexander* King of *Epirus*; to which Feaſt and Paſtimes thereat appointed, he invited all his Friends and Allies, with the principal perſons of the *Græcian* Cities, from whom he received much Honour and many rich Preſents; but this was indeed the Feaſt of his Funeral. For having refuſed to do juſtice to one *Pauſanias*, a Gentleman of his Guard, whom *Attalus* (greatly favoured by *Philip*) had firſt made drunk, and then left to be carnally abuſed by divers baſe perſons, this *Pauſanias* grew into ſo great deteſtation of the Kings partiality in ſo foul a fact, as when *Philip* was paſſing towards the *Theater*, he drew a Sword from under his long Garment and wounded him to death, when he had lived ſix and forty years, and reigned five and twenty. *Juſtine* reports it, that *Olympias* encouraged *Pauſanias* to Murder the King her Husband, which after his death ſhe boldly avowed, by the honour ſhe did unto *Pauſanias*, in crowning his dead Body, in conſecrating his Sword unto *Apollo*, by building for him a Monument, and other like Graces.

Juſt. l. 9.

§. IX.

What good foundations of Alexanders *greatneſs were laid by* Philip. *Of his laudable qualities, and Iſſue.*

NOW although he were then taken from the World, when he had maſtred all oppoſition on that ſide the Sea, and had ſeen the fruits of his hopes and labours, changing colour towards ripeneſs and perfection, yet he was herein happy, that he lived to ſee his Son *Alexander* at mans eſtate, and had himſelf been an Eye-witneſs of his reſolution, and ſingular Valour in this laſt Battel.

The foundation of whoſe future greatneſs he had laid ſo ſoundly for him, with ſo plain a pattern of the buildings which himſelf meant to erect, as the performance and finiſhing was far more eaſie to *Alexander*, though more glorious than the beginnings were unto *Philip*, though leſs famous. For beſides the recovery of *Macedon* it ſelf, in competition between him and the Sons of *Æropus*, the one aſſiſted by the *Thracians*, the other by the *Athenians*; and beſides the regaining of many places poſſeſs'd by the *Illyrians*, the cruſhing of all thoſe Northern Kings his Neighbours, the overthrow of *Olynthus*, a State that deſpiſed the power of his Father, the many Maritimate Cities taken, of great ſtrength and ancient freedom, and the ſubjection of that famous Nation of *Greece*, which for ſo many Ages had defended it ſelf againſt the greateſt Kings of the World, and won upon them: He left unto his Son, and had bred up for him, ſo many choice Commanders, as the moſt of them both for their valour and judgment in the War, were no leſs worthy of Crowns, than himſelf was that wore a Crown: For it was ſaid of *Parmenio* (whom *Alexander*, ungrateful to ſo great vertue, impiouſly murdered) That *Parmenio* had performed many things challenging eternal fame, without the King, but the King, without *Parmenio*, never did any thing worthy of Renown; as for the reſt of his Captains, though content to obey the Son of ſuch a Father, yet did they not after *Alexander*'s death endure to acknowledge any man Superiour to themſelves.

Of this Prince it is hard to judge, whether his ambition had taught him the exerciſe of more Vices, than Nature, and his excellent Education had enriched him with Vertues. For beſides that he was Valiant, Wiſe, Learned, and Maſter of all his Affections, he had this ſavour of Piety, that he rather laboured to ſatisfie thoſe that were grieved, than to ſuppreſs them. Whereof (among many other) we find a good example in his dealing with *Arcadion* and *Nicanor*; whom, when for their evil ſpeech of *Philip*, his familiars perſwaded him to put to death; He anſwered them, That firſt it ought to be conſidered, whether the fault were in them that gave him ill language, or in himſelf: Secondly, that it was in every mans own power to be well ſpoken of; and this was ſhortly proved; for after *Philip* had relieved their neceſſities, there was none within his Kingdom that did him more honour than they did. Whereupon he told thoſe that had perſwaded him to uſe violence, that he was a better Phyſitian for evil ſpeech than they were.

His *Epiſtles* to *Alexander* his Son are remembred by *Cicero* and *Gellius*; and by *Dion* and *Chryſoſtom* exceedingly commended. His Stratagems are gathered by *Polyænus* and *Frontinus*, his wiſe ſayings by *Plutarch*. And albeit he held *Macedon* as in his own right, all the time of his Reign, yet was he not the true and next Heir thereof: for *Amyntas* the Son of his Brother *Perdiccas* (of whom he had the Protection during his Infancy) had the right. This *Amyntas* he married to his Daughter *Cyna*, who had by him a Daughter called *Eurydice*, who was married to *Philip*'s baſe Son *Aridæus*, her Uncle by the Mothers ſide: both which *Olympias*, *Philip*'s firſt Wife, and Mother to *Alexander* the Great, put to death; *Aridæus* by extream torments: *Eurydice* ſhe ſtrangled.

Cic. Off. 2. *Gell. l.* 9. *c.* 3. *Dion.* 2. *de Rege.*

Philip had by this *Olympias*, the Daughter of *Neoptolemus*, King of the *Moloſſians*, (of the race of *Achilles*) *Alexander* the Great, and *Cleopatra*. *Cleopatra* was married to her Uncle *Alexander*, King of *Epirus*, and was after her Brother *Alexander*'s death ſlain at *Sardis*, by the commandment of *Antigonus*.

By *Audata*, an *Illyrian*, his ſecond Wife, he had *Cyna*, married as is ſhewed before.

By *Nicaſipolis*, the Siſter of *Jaſon*, Tyrant of *Pheres*, he had *Theſſalonica*, whom *Caſſander*, after he had taken *Pidna*, married; but ſhe was afterward by her Father-in-law, *Antipater*, put to death.

By *Cleopatra*, the Neece of *Attalus*, he had *Carranus*, whom others call *Philip*: him, *Olympias*, the Mother of *Alexander* the Great, cauſed to be roaſted to death in a Copper Pan. Other lay this Murder on *Alexander* himſelf. By the ſame *Cleopatra* he had likewiſe a Daughter, called *Europa*, whom *Olympias* alſo murdered at the Mothers breaſt.

Athen. l. 13. *c.* 2. *Juſt. l.* 3.

By *Phila* and *Meda* he had no Iſſue.

He had also two Concubines, *Arsinoe*, whom, after he had gotten with Child, he married to an obscure man, called *Lagus*, who bare *Ptolomy*, King of *Ægypt*, called the Son of *Lagus*, but esteemed the Son of *Philip*: by *Philinna*, his second Concubine, a publick Dancer, he had *Aridæus*, of whom we shall have much occasion to speak hereafter.

CHAP. II.

Of ALEXANDER *the Great.*

§. I.

A brief rehearsal of Alexander's *doings, before he invaded* Asia.

ALEXANDER, afterward called the Great, succeeded unto *Philip* his Father; being a Prince no less valiant by Nature, than by Education; well instructed, and enriched in all sorts of Learning and good Arts. He began his Reign over the *Macedonians* four hundred and seventeen years after *Rome* built, and after his own Birth twenty years. The strange Dreams of *Philip* his Father, and that one of the Gods, in the shape of a Snake, begat him on *Olympias* his Mother, I omit as fooliſh tales; but that the Temple of *Diana* (a Work the most magnificent of the World) was burnt upon the day of his Birth, and that so strange an accident was accompanied with the news of three several Victories, obtained by the *Macedonians*, it was very remarkable, and might with the reason of those times be interpreted for ominous, and fore-shewing the great things by *Alexander* afterward performed. Upon the change of the King, the Neighbour-Nations, whom *Philip* had oppress, began to consult about the recovery of their former Liberty, and to adventure it by force of Arms. *Alexander*'s young years gave them hope of prevailing, and his suspected severity increased courage in those who could better resolve to die, than to live slavishly. But *Alexander* gave no time to those swelling Humours, which might speedily have endangered the health of his Estate. For after revenge taken upon the Conspirators against his Father, whom he slew upon his Tomb; and the celebration of his Funerals, he first fastened unto him his own Nation, by freeing them from all exactions and bodily slavery, other than their service in his Wars; and used such Kingly austerity towards those that contemned his young years, and such clemency to the rest that perswaded themselves of the cruelty of his disposition, as all affections being pacified at home, he made a present Journey into *Peloponnesus*, and so well exercised his spirits among them, as by the Council of the States of *Greece*, he was according to the great desire of his heart, elected Captain-General against the *Persians*, upon which War *Philip* his Father had not only resolved, (who had obtained the same Title of General Commander) but had transported under the leading of *Parmenio* and *Attalus*, a part of his Army, to recover some places on *Asia*-side, for the safe descent of the rest.

This enterprise against the *Persian* occupied all *Alexanders* affections; those fair marks of Riches, Honour, and large Dominion, he now shot at both sleeping and waking: all other thoughts and imaginations were either grievous or hateful. But a contrary wind ariseth; for he receiveth advertisement that the *Athenians*, *Thebans*, and *Lacedæmonians*, had united themselves against him, and, by assistance from the *Persian*, hoped for the recovery of their former freedom. Hereto they were perswaded by *Demosthenes*, himself being thereto perswaded by the Gold of *Persia*; the device he used was more subtile than profitable, for he caused it to be bruted that *Alexander* was slain in a Battel against the *Triballes*, and brought into the Assembly a Companion whom he had corrupted to affirm, That himself was present and wounded in the Battel. There is indeed a certain Doctrine of Policy (as Policy is now adays defined by falshood and knavery) that devised rumours and lies, if they serve the turn, but for a day or two, are greatly available. It is true, that common People are sometime mockt by them, as Souldiers are by false alarms in the Wars; but in all that I have observed, I have found the success as ridiculous as the invention. For as those that find themselves at one time abused by such like brutes, do at other times neglect their duties, when they are upon true reports, and in occasions perillous, summoned to assemble; so do all men in general condemn the venters of such trumpery, and for them fear upon necessary occasions to entertain the truth it self. This labour unlooked for, and loss of time, was not only very grievous to *Alexander*, but by turning his Sword from the ignoble and effeminate *Persians*, against which he had directed it, towards the manly and famous *Græcians*, of whose assistance he thought himself assured, his present undertaking was greatly disordered. But he that cannot endure to strive against the Wind, shall hardly attain the Port which he purposeth to recover: and it no less becometh the worthiest men to oppose misfortunes, than it doth the weakest children to bewail them.

He therefore made such expedition towards these Revolters, as that himself, with the Army that followed him, brought them the first news of his preparation. Hereupon all stagger, and the *Athenians*, as they were the first that moved, so were they the first that fainted, seeking by their Embassadors to pacifie the King, and to be received again into his grace. *Alexander* was not long in resolving; for the *Persians* perswaded him to pardon the *Græcians*. Wise men are not easily drawn from great purposes by such occasions as may easily be taken off; neither hath any King ever brought to effect any great affair, who hath entangled himself in many enterprises at once, not tending to one and the same certain end.

And

And having now quieted his borderers towards the South, he resolved to assure those Nations which lay on the North-side of *Macedon*, to wit, the *Thracians*, *Triballes*, *Peones*, *Getes*, *Agrians*, and other savage People, which had greatly vexed with incursions, not only other of his Predecessors, but even *Philip* his Father: with all which after divers overthrows given them, he made Peace, or else brought them into subjection. Notwithstanding this good success, he could not yet find the way out of *Europe*. There is nothing more natural to man than Liberty; the *Greeks* had enjoyed it over-long, and lost it too late to forget it; they therefore shake off the yoke once again. The *Thebans*, who had in their Cittadel a Garrison of a thousand *Macedons*, attempt to force it; *Alexander* hasteth to their succour, and presents himself with thirty thousand Foot, all old Souldiers, and three thousand Horse, before the City, and gave the Inhabitants some days to resolve, being even heart-sick with the desire of passing into *Asia*. So unwilling indeed he was to draw bloud of the *Græcians*, by whom he hoped to serve himself elsewhere, that he offered the *Thebans* remission, if they would only deliver into his hands *Phœnix* and *Prothytes*, the stirrers up of the Rebellion. But they, opposing the mounting fortune of *Alexander*, (which bare all resistance before it, like the breaking-in of the Ocean-Sea) instead of such an answer, as men besieged and abandoned should have made, demanded *Philotas* and *Antipater* to be delivered unto them; as if *Thebes* alone, then laid in the balance of Fortune with the Kingdom of *Macedon*, and many other Provinces, could either have evened the scale or swayed it. Therefore in the end they perished in their obstinacy. For while the *Thebans* oppose the Army assailant, they are charged at the back by the *Macedonian* Garrison, their City taken and razed to the ground, six thousand slain, and thirty thousand sold for Slaves, at the price of four hundred and forty Talents. This the King did, to the terror of the other *Græcian* Cities.

Many Arguments were used by *Cleadas*, one of the Prisoners, to perswade *Alexander* to forbear the destruction of *Thebes*. He prayed the King to believe that they were rather misled by giving hasty credit to false reports, than any way malicious; for being perswaded of *Alexander*'s death, they rebelled but against his Successor. He also besought the King to remember, that his Father *Philip* had his Education in that City; yea, that his Ancestor *Hercules* was born therein: but all perswasions were fruitless; the times wherein offences are committed, do greatly aggravate them. Yet for the honour he bare to Learning, he pardoned all of the race of *Pindarus* the Poet, and spared, and set at liberty *Timoclea*, the Sister of *Theagenes*, who died in defence of the Liberty of *Greece* against his Father *Philip*. This Noble Woman being taken by a *Thracian*, and by him ravished, he threatned to take her life, unless she would confess her Treasure; she led the *Thracian* to a Well, and told him that she had therein cast it; and when the *Thracian* stooped to look into the Well, she suddenly thrust him into the mouth thereof, and stoned him to death.

Now, because the *Athenians* had received into their City so many of the *Thebans*, as had escaped and fled unto them for succour, *Alexander* would not grant them Peace, but upon condition to deliver into his hands both their Orators which perswaded this second revolt, and their Captains; yet in the end, it being a torment unto him to retard the enterprise of *Persia*, he was content that the Orators should remain, and accepted of the banishment of the Captains, wherein he was exceeding ill advised, had not his Fortune, or rather the Providence of God, made all the resistance against him unprofitable: for these good Leaders of the *Græcians* betook themselves to the service of the *Persian*, whom after a few days he invadeth.

§. II.

How Alexander *passing into* Asia, *fought with the* Persians *upon the River of* Granicus.

When all was now quieted at home, *Alexander*, committing to the trust of *Antipater* both *Greece* and *Macedon*, in the first of the Spring did pass the *Hellespont*, and being ready to dis-embarque, he threw a Dart towards the *Asian* shore, as a token of defiance, commanding his Souldiers not to make any waste in their own Territory, or to burn or deface those Buildings which themselves were presently, and in the future to possess. He landed his Army, consisting of two and thirty thousand Foot, and five thousand Horse, all old Souldiers, near unto *Troy*, where he offered a Solemn Sacrifice upon *Achilles* Tomb, his maternal Ancestor.

But before he left his own Coast, he put to death, without any offence given him, all his Mother-in-laws Kinsmen, whom *Philip* his Father had greatly advanced, not sparing such of his own as he suspected. He also took with him many of his Tributary Princes, of whose Fidelity he doubted; thinking by unjust Cruelty to assure all things, both in the present and future. Yet the end of all fell out contrary to the policy which his Ambition had commended unto him, though agreeing very well with the Justice of God; for all that he had planted, was soon after withered, and rooted up; those whom he most trusted, were the most traiterous; his Mother, Friends, and Children, fell by such another mercilesse Sword as his own, and all manner of confusion followed his dead Body to the Grave, and left him there.

When the knowledge of *Alexander*'s landing on *Asia*-side was brought to *Darius*, he so much scorned the Army of *Macedon*, and had so contemptible an opinion of *Alexander* himself, as having stiled him his Servant on a Letter which he wrote unto him, reprehending his disloyalty and audacity (for *Darius* entituled himself King of Kings, and the Kinsman of the Gods) he gave order withal to his Lieutenants of the lesser *Asia*, that they should take *Alexander* alive, whip him with Rods, and then convey him to his presence: that they should sink his Ships, and send the *Macedons* taken Prisoners beyond the Red-Sea, belike into *Æthiopia*, or some other unhealthful part of *Africa*.

In this sort did this glorious King, confident in the glittering, but heartless multitude which he commanded, dispose of the already-vanquished *Macedonians*: But the ill destinies of men beat them to the ground, by what strong confidence soever armed. The great numbers which he gathered together, and brought in one heap into the Field, gave rather an exceeding advantage to his Enemies, than any discouragement at all. For besides that they were men utterly unacquainted with dangers, men who by the name and countenance of their King were wont to prevail against those of less courage than themselves; men that took more care how to embroider with Gold and Silver their upper Garments, as if they attended the invasion but of the Sun-beams, than they did to Arm them-

themſelves with Iron and Steel againſt the ſharp Pikes, Swords, and Darts of the hardy *Macedonians*; I ſay beſides all theſe, even the opinion they had of their own numbers, of which every one in particular hoped that it would not fall to his turn to fight, filled every of them with the care of their own ſafety, without any intent at all to hazard any thing but their own Breath, and that of their Horſes, in running away. The *Macedonians* as they came to fight, and thereby to inrich themſelves with the Gold and Jewels of *Perſia*, both which they needed, ſo the *Perſians* who expected nothing in that War but Blows and Wounds, which they needed not, obeyed the King, who had power to conſtrain them in aſſembling themſelves for his Service; but their own Fears and Cowardice, which in time of danger had moſt power over them, they only then obeyed, when their Rebellion againſt ſo ſervile a Paſſion did juſtly and violently require it. For ſaith *Vegetius*: *Quemadmodum bene exercitatus miles prælium cupit, ita formidat indoctus; nam ſciendum eſt in pugnâ uſum amplius prodeſſe quàm vires; As the well-practiſed Souldier deſires to come to battel, ſo the raw one fears it: for we muſt underſtand, that in Fight it more avails to have been accuſtomed unto the like, than only to have rude ſtrength.* What manner of men the *Perſians* were, *Alexander* diſcovered in the firſt Encounter, before which time it is ſaid, by thoſe that writ his Story, That it was to hard to judge, whether his daring to undertake the Conqueſt of an Empire ſo well peopled, with a handful of men, or the ſucceſs he had, were more to be wondred at. For at the River of *Granick*, which ſevereth the Territory of *Troy* from *Propontis*, the *Perſians* ſought to ſtop his paſſage, taking the higher ground and bank of the River to defend, which *Alexander* was forced (as it were) to clime up unto, and ſcale from the Level of the water; great reſiſtance (ſaith *Curtius*) was made by the *Perſians*, yet in the end *Alexander* prevailed. But it ſeems to me, that the Victory then gotten was exceeding eaſie, and that the twenty thouſand *Perſian* Foot-men ſaid to be ſlain, were rather kill'd in the back in running away, than hurt in the boſoms by reſiſting. For had thoſe twenty thouſand Foot, and two hundred and fifty Horſemen, or, after *Plutarch*, two thouſand and five hundred Horſe-men, died with their Faces towards the *Macedonians*, *Alexander* could not have bought their Lives at ſo ſmall a rate, as with the loſs of four and thirty of all ſorts of his own. And if it were alſo true, that *Plutarch* doth report, how *Alexander* encountred two of the *Perſian* Commanders, *Spithridates* and *Rhæſaces*, and that the *Perſian* Horſe-men fought with great fury, though in the end ſcattered; and laſtly, how thoſe *Græcians* in *Darius* his Pay, holding themſelves in one body upon a piece of ground of advantage, did (after Mercy was refuſed them) fight it out to the laſt; how doth it then reſemble truth, that ſuch reſiſtance having been made, yet of *Alexanders* Army there fell but twelve Foot-men, and two and twenty Horſe-men.

ed all the Kingdoms thereof without a blow, ſome one or two Towns excepted. For in all invaſions, where the Nations invaded have once been beaten upon a great advantage of the place, as in defence of Rivers, Streights and Mountains, they will ſoon have perſwaded themſelves, that ſuch an Enemy, upon equal terms and even ground, can hardly be reſiſted. It was therefore *Machiavels* Counſel, that he which reſolveth to defend a Paſſage, ſhould with his ableſt Force oppoſe the Aſſailant. And to ſay truth, few Regions of any great circuit are ſo well fenced, that Armies of ſuch Force as may be thought ſufficient to conquer them, can be debarred all entrance, by the natural difficulty of the ways. One Paſſage or other is commonly left unguarded: if all be defended, then muſt the Forces of the Country be diſtracted, and yet lightly, ſome one place will be found that is defended very weakly. How often have the *Alpes* given way to Armies breaking into *Italy*? Yea, where ſhall we find that ever they kept out an Invader? Yet are they ſuch, as (to ſpeak briefly) afflict with all difficulties thoſe that travel over them; but they give no ſecurity to thoſe that lye behind them: for they are of two large extent. The Towns of *Lombardy* perſwaded themſelves that they might enjoy their Quiet, when the Warlike Nation of the *Switzers* had undertaken to hinder *Francis* the *French* King from deſcending into the Dutchy of *Milan*: but whileſt theſe Patrons of *Milan*, whom their own dwelling in thoſe Mountains had made fitteſt of all other for ſuch a ſervice, were buſied in cuſtody of the *Alpes*, *Francis* appeared in *Lombardy*, to ſo much the greater terror of the Inhabitants, by how much the leſs they had expected his arrival. What ſhall we ſay of thoſe Mountains, which lock up whole Regions in ſuch ſort, as they leave but one Gate open? The Streights, or (as they were called) the Gates of *Taurus* in *Cilicia*, and thoſe of *Thermopylæ*, have ſeldom been attempted, perhaps becauſe they were thought impregnable: but how ſeldom (if ever) have they been attempted in vain? *Xerxes*, and long after him, the *Romans* forced the entrance of *Thermopylæ*, *Cyrus* the younger, and after him *Alexander* found the Gates of *Cilicia* wide open; how ſtrongly ſoever they had been locked and barred, yet were thoſe Countries open enough to a Fleet that ſhould enter on the backſide. The defence of Rivers, how hard a thing it is, we find examples in all Hiſtories that bear good witneſs. The deepeſt have many Foords; the ſwifteſt and broadeſt may be paſſed by Boats, in caſe it be found a matter of difficulty to make a Bridge. He that hath men enough to defend all the length of his own Bank, hath alſo enough to beat his Enemy; and may therefore do better to let him come over, to his loſs, than by ſtriving in vain to hinder the Paſſage, as a matter tending to his own diſadvantage, fill the heads of his Souldiers with an Opinion, that they are in an ill caſe, having their means of ſafegard taken from them, by the Skill or Valour of ſuch as are too good for them. Certainly if a River were ſufficient defence againſt an Army, the Iſle of *Mona*, now called *Angleſey*, which is divided from North-*Wales* by an Arm of the Sea, had been ſafe enough againſt the *Romans*, invading it under conduct of *Julius Agricola*. But he wanting, and not meaning to ſpend the time in making Veſſels to tranſport his Forces, did aſſay the Foords; Whereby he ſo amazed the Enemies attending for Ships and ſuch like Proviſion by Sea, that ſurely believing nothing could be hard or invincible to men, which came ſo minded to War, they humbly intreated for Peace, and yielded the Iſland.

§. III.

A Digreſſion concerning the defence of hard paſſages. Of things following the Battel of Granick.

THe winning of this Paſſage did greatly encourage the *Macedonians*, and brought ſuch terror upon all thoſe of the leſſer *Aſia*, as he obtain-

Island. Yet the *Britains* were men ſtout enough; the *Perſians* very Daſtards.

It was therefore wiſely done of *Alexander*, to paſs the River of *Granick* in face of the Enemy; not marching higher to ſeek an eaſier way, not labouring to convey his men over it by ſome ſafer means. For having beaten them upon their own ground, he did thereby cut off no leſs of their Reputation than of their Strength, leaving no hope of ſuccour to the partakers and followers of ſuch unable Protectors.

Soon after this Victory he recovered *Sardis*, *Epheſus*, the Cities of the *Trallians* and *Magneſia*, which were rendred unto him. The Inhabitants of which, with the People of the Country, he received with great grace, ſuffering them to be governed by their own Laws. For he obſerved it well; *Novum Imperium inchoantibus utilis clementiæ fama*; *It is commodious unto ſuch as lay the Foundations of a new Sovereignty to have the Fame of being merciful.* He then by *Parmenio* wan *Miletus*, and by force maſtred *Halicarnaſſus*, which, becauſe it reſiſted obſtinately, he razed to the ground. From thence he entred into *Caria*, where *Ada* the Queen, who had been caſt out of all that ſhe held (except the City of *Alinda*) by *Darius* his Lieutenants, preſented her ſelf unto him, and adopted him her Son and Succeſſor; which *Alexander* accepted in ſo gracious part, as he left the whole Kingdom to her diſpoſing. He then entred into *Lycia* and *Pamphilia*, and obtained all the Sea-Coaſts, and ſubjecting unto him *Piſidia*, he directed himſelf towards *Darius* (who was ſaid to be advanced towards him with a marvellous Army) by the way of *Phrygia*: For all the Province of *Aſia* the Leſs, bordering upon the Sea, his firſt Victory laid under his feet.

While he gave order for the Government and ſetling of *Lycia*, and *Pamphilia*, he ſent *Cleander* to raiſe ſome new Companies in *Peloponneſus*, and marching towards the North, he entred *Celenas*, ſeated on the River *Mæander*, which was abandoned unto him, the Caſtle only holding out, which alſo after forty days was given up: for ſo long time he gave them to attend Succour from *Darius*. From *Celenas* he paſs'd on through *Phrygia* towards the *Euxine* Sea, till he came to a City called *Gordium*, the Regal Seat, in former times, of King *Midas*. In this City it was that he found the *Gordian* Knot, which when he knew not how to undo, he cut it aſunder with his Sword: For there was an ancient Propheſie did promiſe to him that could untie it, the Lordſhip of all *Aſia*; whereupon *Alexander*, not reſpecting the manner how, ſo it were done, aſſumed to himſelf the fulfilling of the Propheſie, by hewing it in pieces.

But before he turned from this part of *Aſia* the Leſs towards the Eaſt, he took care to clear the Sea-Coaſt on his back, and to thruſt the *Perſians* out of the Iſlands of *Lesbos*, *Scio*, and *Coos*, the charge whereof he committed unto two of his Captains, giving them ſuch order as he thought to be moſt convenient for that Service; and delivering unto them fifty Talents to defray the Charge; and withal, out of his firſt ſpoil gotten, he ſent threeſcore Talents more to *Antipater* his Lieutenant in *Greece*, and *Macedon*. From *Celenas* he removed to *Ancira*, now called *Angori*, ſtanding on the ſame River of *Sangarius*, which runneth through *Gorgium*: there he muſtred his Army, and then entred *Paphlagonia*, whoſe People ſubmitted themſelves unto him, and obtained freedom of Tribute: where he left *Catus* Governour, with one Regiment of *Macedonians* lately arrived.

Here he underſtood of the Death of *Memnon*, *Darius* Lieutenant, which heartned him greatly to paſs on towards him, for of this only Captain he had more reſpect than of all the Multitude by *Darius* aſſembled, and of all the Commanders he had beſides. For ſo much hath the Spirit of ſome one man excelled, as it hath undertaken and effected the alteration of the greateſt States and Commonwealths, the Erection of Monarchies, the Conqueſt of Kingdoms and Empires, guided handfuls of men againſt multitudes of equal bodily ſtrength, contrived Victories beyond all hope and diſcourſe of reaſon, converted the fearful Paſſions of his own Followers into magnanimity, and the Valour of his Enemies into Cowardize; ſuch ſpirits have been ſtirred up in ſundry Ages of the World, and in divers parts thereof, to erect and caſt down again, to eſtabliſh and to deſtroy, and to bring all things, Perſons and States to the ſame certain ends, which the infinite ſpirit of the *Univerſal*, piercing, moving, and governing all things hath ordained. Certainly the things that this King did were marvellous, and would hardly have been undertaken by any man elſe: and though his Father had determined to have invaded the leſſer *Aſia*, it is like enough that he would have contented himſelf with ſome part thereof, and not have diſcovered the River of *Indus*, as this man did. The ſwift courſe of Victory, wherewith he ran over ſo large a Portion of the World, in ſo ſhort a ſpace, may juſtly be imputed unto this, That he was never encountred by an equal Spirit, concurring with equal Power againſt him. Hereby it came to paſs that his actions being limited by no greater oppoſition than deſart places, and the meer length of tedious Journeys could make, were like the *Coloſſus* of *Rhodes*, not ſo much to be admired for the Workmanſhip, though therein alſo praiſe-worthy, as for the huge Bulk. For certainly the things performed by *Xenophon*, diſcover as brave a Spirit as *Alexanders*, and working no leſs exquiſitely, though the effects were leſs material, as were alſo the Forces and Power of Command, by which it wrought. But he that would find the exact pattern of a noble Commander, muſt look upon ſuch as *Epaminondas*, that encountring worthy Captains, and thoſe better followed than themſelves, have by their ſingular Vertue overtopped their valiant Enemies, and ſtill prevailed over thoſe that would not have yielded one foot to any other. Such as theſe are do ſeldom live to obtain great Empires; for it is a Work of more labour and longer time, to maſter the equal Forces of one hardy and well-ordered State, than to tread down and utterly ſubdue a multitude of ſervile Nations, compounding the body of a groſs unweildy Empire. Wherefore theſe *Parvo Potentes*, men that with little have done much upon Enemies of like ability, are to be regarded as choiſe examples of worth; but great Conquerors, to be rather admired for the ſubſtance of their actions, than the exquiſite managing: exactneſs and greatneſs concurring ſo ſeldom, that I can find no inſtance of both in one, ſave only that brave *Roman Cæſar*.

Having thus far digreſſed, it is now time that we return unto our Eaſtern Conqueror, who is travelling haſtily towards *Cilicia*, with a deſire to recover the Streights thereof before *Darius* ſhould arrive there. But firſt making a diſpatch into *Greece*, he ſent to thoſe Cities, in which he repoſed moſt truſt, ſome of the *Perſian* Targets which he had recovered in his firſt Battel; upon which, by certain Inſcriptions, he made them partakers of his Victory. Herein he well adviſed himſelf; for he

he that doth not as well impart of the Honour which he gaineth in the Wars, as he doth of the Spoils, ſhall never be long followed by thoſe of the better ſort. For men which are either well born or well bred, and have more of Wealth than of Reputation, do as often ſatisfie themſelves with the purchaſe of Glory, as the Weak in Fortune, and Strong in Courage, do with the gain of Gold and Silver.

The Governour of *Cilicia* hearing of *Alexander*'s coming on, left ſome Companies to keep the Streights, which were indeed very defenſible; and withal, as *Curtius* noteth, he began over-late to prize and put in execution the Counſel of *Memnon*: who in the beginning of the Wars adviſed him to waſt all the Proviſions for Men and Horſe, that could not be lodged in ſtrong places, and always to give ground to the Invader, till he found ſome ſuch notable advantage as might aſſuredly promiſe him the obtaining of Victory. For the fury of an invading Army is beſt broken by delays, change of Diet, and want, eating ſometimes too little, and ſometimes too much, ſometimes reposing themſelves in Beds, and more oftner on the cold Ground. Theſe and the like ſudden alterations bring many Diſeaſes upon all Nations out of their own Countries. Therefore if *Darius* had kept the *Macedonians* but a while from Meat and Sleep, and refuſing to give or take Battel, had wearied them with his light Horſe, as the *Parthians* afterward did the *Romans*, he might perchance have ſaved his own Life and his Eſtate: For it was one of the greateſt Incouragements given by *Alexander* to the *Macedonians*, in the third and laſt fatal Battel, that they were to fight with all the ſtrength of *Perſia* at once.

Xerxes when he invaded *Greece* and fought abroad, in being beaten, loſt only his Men; but *Darius* being invaded by the *Greeks*, and fighting at home, by being beaten, loſt his Kingdom; *Pericles*, though the *Lacedæmonians* burnt all in *Attica* to the Gates of *Athens*, yet could not be drawn to hazard a Battel: for the Invaded ought evermore to fight upon the advantage of time and place. Becauſe we read Hiſtories to inform our Underſtanding by the Examples therein found, we will give ſome inſtances of thoſe that have periſhed by adventuring in their own Countries to charge an invading Army. The *Romans*, by fighting with *Hannibal*, were brought to the brink of their Deſtruction.

Pompey was well adviſed for a while, when he gave *Cæſar* ground, but when by the importunity of his Captains he adventured to fight at *Pharſalia*, he loſt the Battel, loſt the freedom of *Rome*, and his own life.

Ferdinand, in the Conqueſt of *Naples*, would needs fight a Battel with the *French* to his Confuſion, though it was told him by a man of ſound judgment, that thoſe Counſels which promiſe ſurety in all things are honourable enough.

The Conſtable of *France* made fruſtrate the mighty preparation of *Charles* the Fifth, when he invaded *Provence*, by waſting the Country, and forbearing the Fight; ſo did the Duke of *Alua* weary the *French* in *Naples*, and diſſolve the boiſterous Army of the Prince of *Orange* in the Low-Countries.

The *Leigers*, contrary to the advice of their General, would needs fight a Battel with the *Bourgonians*, invading their Country, and could not be perſwaded to linger the time, and ſtay their advantage; but they loſt eight and twenty thouſand upon the place. *Philip* of *Valois* ſet upon King *Edward* at *Creſſy*, and King *John* (when the *Engliſh* were well near tired out, and would in ſhort time by an orderly purſuit have been waſted to nothing) conſtrained the black Prince with great fury, near *Poitiers*, to joyn Battel with him: But all men know what lamentable ſucceſs theſe two *French* Kings found. *Charles* the Fifth of *France* made an other kind of *Fabian*-Warfare; and though the *Engliſh* burnt and waſted many places, yet this King held his reſolution to forbear Blows, and followed his advice which told him, That the *Engliſh* could never get his Inheritance by ſmoak; and it is reported by *Bellay* and *Herrault*, that King *Edward* was wont to ſay of this *Charles*, that he won from him the Dutchy of *Guien* without ever putting on his Armor.

But where God hath a purpoſe to deſtroy, wiſe men grow ſhort lived, and the charge of things is committed unto ſuch as either cannot ſee what is for their good, or know not how to put in execution any ſound advice. The courſe which *Memnon* had propounded, muſt, in all appearance of reaſon, have brought the *Macedonian* to a great perplexity, and made him ſtand ſtill a while at the Streights of *Cilicia*, doubting whether it were more ſhameful to return, or dangerous to proceed. For had *Cappadocia* and *Paphlagonia* been waſted whileſt *Alexander* was far off; and the Streights of *Cilicia* been defended by *Arſenes*, Governour of that Province, with the beſt of his Forces: hunger would not have ſuffered the Enemy to ſtay the tryal of all means that might be thought upon, of forcing that paſſage; or if the place could not have been maintained, yet might *Cilicia* at better leiſure have been ſo throughly ſpoiled, that the Heart of his Army ſhould have been broken, by ſeeking out miſeries with painful travel.

But *Arſenes* leaving a ſmall number to defend the Streights, took the beſt of his Army with him, to waſt and ſpoil the Country; or rather, as may ſeem, to find himſelf ſome work, by pretence of which he might honeſtly run further away from *Alexander*. He ſhould rather have adventured his Perſon in cuſtody of the Streights, whereby he might perhaps have ſaved the Province; and in the mean time, all that was in the Fields would have been conveyed into ſtrong Towns. So ſhould his Army, if it were driven from the place of advantage, have found good entertainment within walled Cities, and himſelf with his Horſemen have had the leſs work in deſtroying that little which was left abroad. Handling the matter as he did, he gave the *Cilicians* cauſe to wiſh for *Alexander*'s coming, and as great cauſe to the Keepers of the Paſſage not to hinder it. For Cowards are wiſe in apprehending all forms of danger. Theſe Guardians of the Streights, hearing that *Arſenes* made all haſt to joyn himſelf with *Darius*, burning down all as he went, like one deſpairing of the defence, began to grow circumſpect, and to think that ſurely their General, who gave as loſt the Country behind their backs, had expoſed themſelves unto certain death, as men that were good for nothing elſe but to dull the *Macedonian* Swords. Wherefore, not affecting to die for their Prince and Country (which Honour they ſaw that *Arſenes* himſelf could well forbear) they ſpeedily followed the foot-ſteps of their General, gleaning after his Harveſt. Thus *Alexander* without labour got both the entrance of *Cilicia*, abandoned by the Cowardice of his Enemies, and the whole Province that had been alienated from the *Perſian* ſide by their indiſcretion.

§. IV.

§. IV.

Of the unwarlike Army levied by Darius *againſt* Alexander. *The unadviſed courſes which* Darius *took in this expedition. He is vanquiſhed at* Iſſus; *where his Mother, Wife, and Children are made Priſoners, of ſome things following the Battel of* Iſſus.

IN the mean ſeaſon *Darius* approached, who (as *Curtius* reports) had compounded an Army of more than two hundred and ninety thouſand Souldiers, out of divers Nations: *Juſtine* muſters them at three hundred thouſand Foot, and an hundred thouſand Horſe; *Plutarch* at ſix hundred thouſand.

The manner of his coming on, as *Curtius* deſcribes it, was rather like a Masker than a Man of War; and like one that took more care to ſet out his Glory and Riches, than to provide for his own ſafety, perſwading himſelf, as it ſeemed, to beat *Alexander* with pomp and ſumptuous Pageants. For, before the Army there was carried the holy fire which the *Perſians* worſhipped, attended by their *Prieſts*, and after them three hundred and threeſcore and five young men, anſwering the number of the days of the year, covered with Scarlet; then the Chariot of *Jupiter*, drawn with white Horſes, with their Riders cloathed in the ſame colour, with Rods of Gold in their hands; and after it, the Horſe of the *Sun*. Next after theſe followed ten ſumptuous Chariots, inlaid and garniſh'd with Silver and Gold; and then the Vantguard of their Horſe, compounded of twelve ſeveral Nations, which the better to avoid confuſion, did hardly underſtand each others Language, and theſe marſhalled in the head of the reſt, being beaten, might ſerve very fitly to diſorder all that followed them; in the tail of theſe Horſes the Regiment of Foot marched, with the *Perſians* called immortal, becauſe if any died, the number was preſently ſupplied: and theſe were armed with Chains of Gold, and their Coats with the ſame metal embroidered, whereof the ſleeves were garniſhed with Pearl, baits, either to catch the hungry *Macedonians* withal, or to perſwade them that it were great incivility to cut and to deface ſuch glorious Garments. But it was well ſaid, *Sumptuoſè inductus miles, ſe virtute ſuperiorem aliis non exiſtimet, cum in prelijs oporteat fortitudine animi, & non veſtimentis muniri, quoniam hoſtes veſtibus non debellantur*; *Let no man think that he exceedeth thoſe in valour, whom he exceedeth in gay garments; for it is by men armed with fortitude of mind, and not by the apparel they put on, that enemies are beaten.* And it was perchance from the *Roman Papyrius* that this advice was borrowed, who when he fought againſt the *Samnites* in that fatal Battel, wherein they all ſware either to prevail or die, thirty thouſand of them having apparelled themſelves in white garments, with high Creſts and great plumes of Feathers, bad the *Roman* Souldiers to lay aſide all fear: *Non enim criſtas vulnera facere, & per picta atque aurata ſcuta tranſire Romanum pilum*; *For theſe plumed creſts would wound no body, and the* Roman *pile would bore holes in painted and gilded Shields.*

Livie l. 10.

To ſecond this Court-like company, fifteen thouſand were appointed more rich and glittering than the former, but apparelled like Women (belike to breed the more terror) and theſe were honoured with the Title of the Kings Kinſmen. Then came *Darius* himſelf, the Gentlemen of his Guard-robe riding before his Chariot, which was ſupported with the Gods of his Nation, caſt and cut in pure Gold; theſe the *Macedonians* did not ſerve, but they ſerved their turns of theſe, by changing their maſſie-bodies into thin portable and currant coin. The head of this Chariot was ſet with precious ſtones, with two little golden Idols, covered with an open-winged Eagle of the ſame metal: The hinder part being raiſed high whereon *Darius* ſate, had a covering of ineſtimable value. This Chariot of the King was followed with ten thouſand Horſe-men, their Lances plated with Silver, and their heads gilt; which they meant not to embrue in the *Macedonian* bloud, for fear of marring their beauty. He had for the proper Guard of his Perſon two hundred of the bloud Royal, bloud too Royal and precious to be ſpilt by any valorous adventure; (I am of opinion that two hundred ſturdy Fellows, like the *Switzers*, would have done him more ſervice) and theſe were backt with thirty thouſand Foot-men, after whom again were led four hundred ſpare Horſes for the King, which if he had meant to have uſed he would have marſhalled ſomewhat nearer him.

Now followed the Rearward, the ſame being led by *Siſygambis* the Kings Mother, and by his Wife, drawn in glorious Chariots, followed by a great train of Ladies their attendants on Horſe-back, with fifteen Waggons of the Kings Children, and the Wives of the Nobility, waited on by two hundred and fifty Concubines, and a world of Nurſes and *Eunuchs*, moſt ſumptuouſly apparelled: By which it ſhould ſeem that *Darius* thought that the *Macedonians* had been *Comedians* or *Tumblers*; for this Troup was far fitter to behold thoſe ſports than to be preſent at Battels. Between theſe and a company of ſlight-armed Slaves, with a world of Vallets, was the Kings Treaſure, charged on ſix hundred Mules, and three hundred Camels, brought, as it proved, to pay the *Macedonians*. In this ſort came this *May-game-King* into the Field, incumbred with a moſt unneceſſary train of Strumpets, attended with troups of divers Nations, ſpeaking divers Languages, and for their numbers impoſſible to be marſhalled; and for the moſt part ſo effeminate, and ſo rich in Gold and in Garments, as the ſame could not but have encouraged the nakedeſt Nation of the World againſt them. We find it in daily experience that all diſcourſe of Magnanimity, of National Vertue, of Religion, of Liberty, and whatſoever elſe hath been wont to move and encourge vertuous men, hath no force at all with the common Souldier, in compariſon of Spoil and Riches. The rich Ships are boarded upon all diſadvantages, the rich Towns are furiouſly aſſaulted, and the plentiful Countries willingly invaded. Our *Engliſh* Nations have attempted many places in the *Indies*, and run upon the *Spaniards* head-long, in hope of their Royals of Plate, and Piſtolets, which had they been put to it upon the like diſadvantages in *Ireland*, or in any poor Country, they would have turned their Pieces and Pikes againſt their Commanders, conteſting that they had been brought without reaſon to the butchery and ſlaughter. It is true, that the War is made willingly, and for the moſt part with good ſucceſs, that is ordained againſt the richeſt Nations; for as the needy are always adventurous, ſo plenty is wont to ſhun peril; and men that have well to live, do rather ſtudy how to live well, I mean wealthily, than care to die (as they call it) honourably. *Car où il n'y a rien a gaigner, que des coups volontiers il n'y va pas*; *No man makes haſte to the Market, where there is nothing to be bought but blows.*

Now, if *Alexander* had beheld this preparation before his conſultation with his Soothſayers, he would have ſatisfied himſelf by the out-ſides of the

Perſians, and never have looked into the entrails of Beaſts for ſucceſs. For leaving the deſcription of this ſecond Battel (which is indeed no where well deſcribed, neither for the confuſion and haſty running away of the *Aſians* could it be) we have enough by the ſlaughter that was made of them, and by the few that fell of the *Macedonians*, to inform us what manner of reſiſtance was made. For if it be true that threeſcore thouſand *Perſian* Foot-men were ſlain in this Battel, with ten thouſand of their Horſe-men: Or (as *Curtius* ſaith) an hundred thouſand Foot-men, with the ſame number of Horſe-men, and beſides this ſlaughter, forty thouſand taken Priſoners; while of *Alexander*'s Army there miſcarried but two hundred and fourſcore of all ſorts, of which numbers *Arianus* and other Hiſtorians cut off almoſt the one half: I do verily believe that this ſmall number rather died with the over-travel and pains-taking in killing their Enemies, than by any ſtroaks received from them. And ſurely if the *Perſian* Nation (at this time degenerate, and the baſeſt of the World) had had any ſavour remaining of the antient Valour of their fore-fathers, they would never have ſold ſo good cheap, and at ſo vile a price, the Mother, the Wife, the Daughters, and other the Kings Children, had their own honour been valued by them at nothing, and the Kings ſafety and his Eſtate at leſs. *Darius* by this time found it true that *Charidemus*, a baniſhed *Grecian* of *Athens* had told him, when he made a view of his Army about *Babylon*, to wit, That the multitude which he had aſſembled of divers Nations, richly attired, but poorly armed, would be found more terrible to the Inhabitants of the Country, whom in paſſing by they would devour, than to the *Macedonians*, whom they meant to aſſail; who being all old and obedient Souldiers, embattelled in groſs Squadrons, which they call their *Phallanx*, well covered with Armour for defence, and furniſhed with Weapons for offence of great advantage, would make ſo little account of his delicate *Perſians*, loving their eaſe and their palat, being withal ill armed and worſe diſciplined, as except it would pleaſe him to entertain (having ſo great abundance of Treaſure to do it withal) a ſufficient number of the ſame *Græcians*, and ſo to encounter the *Macedonians* with men of equal courage, he would repent him over-late, as taught by the miſerable ſucceſs like to follow.

But this diſcourſe was ſo unpleaſing to *Darius* (who had been accuſtomed to nothing ſo much as to his own praiſes, and to nothing ſo little as to hear truth;) as he commanded that this poor *Græcian* ſhould be preſently ſlain: who while he was afundring in the Tormentors hands, uſed this ſpeech to the King, That *Alexander*, againſt whom he had given this good Counſel, ſhould aſſuredly revenge his death, and lay deſerved puniſhment upon *Darius* for deſpiſing his advice.

It was the ſaying of a Wiſe man: *Deſperata ejus Principis ſalus eſt, cujus aures ita formatæ ſunt, ut aſpera quæ utilia, nec quicquam niſi jucundum accipiat; That Princes ſafety is in a deſperate caſe, whoſe Ears judge all that is profitable to be too ſharp, and will entertain nothing that is unpleaſant.*

For liberty in Counſel is the life and eſſence of Counſel; Libertas conſilii eſt ejus vita, & eſſentia, qua erepta conſilium evaneſcit.

Darius did likewiſe value at nothing the Advice given him by the *Græcian* Souldiers that ſerved him, who intreated him not to fight in the Straights: but had they been Counſellors and directors in that War, as they were underlings and commanded by others, they had with the help of a good Troup of Horſe-men been able to have oppoſed the fury of *Alexander*, without any aſſiſtance of the *Perſian* Foot-men. For when *Darius* was overthrown with all his cowardly and confuſed Rabble, thoſe *Græcians*, under their Captain *Amyntas*, held firm, and marched away in order, in deſpight of the vanquiſhers. Old Souldiers are not eaſily diſmayed: we read in Hiſtories Ancient and Modern, what brave retreats have been made by them, though the reſt of the Army in which they have ſerved, hath been broken.

At the Battel of *Ravenne*, where the Imperials were beaten by the *French*, a Squadron of *Spaniards*, old Souldiers, came off unbroken and undiſmayed; whom when *Gaſton de Foix*, Duke of *Nemures*, and Nephew to *Lewis* the twelfth, charged, as holding the Victory not entire by their eſcape, he was overturned and ſlain in the place. For it is truly ſaid of thoſe men, who, by being acquainted with dangers fear them not: That, *Neglecto periculo imminentis mali opus ipſum quantumvis difficile aggrediuntur*; *They go about the buſineſs it ſelf, how hard ſoever it be, not ſtanding to conſider of the danger, which the miſchief hanging over their heads may bring*: and as truly of thoſe that know the Wars but by heart-ſay. *Quod valentes ſunt & prevalentes ante pericula, in ipſis tamen periculis diſcedunt*; *They have ability enough, and to ſpare, till dangers appear; but when peril indeed comes, they get them gone.*

Theſe *Græcians* alſo that made the retract, adviſed *Darius* to retire his Army into the Plain of *Meſopotamia*, to the end that *Alexander* being entred into thoſe large Fields and great Champions, he might have environed the *Macedonians* on all ſides with his multitude; and withal they counſelled him to divide that his huge Army into parts, not committing the whole to one ſtroke of Fortune, whereby he might have fought many Battels, and have brought no greater numbers at once than might have been well marſhalled and conducted. But this counſel was ſo contrary to the cowardly affections of the *Perſians*, as they perſwaded *Darius* to environ the *Græcians* which gave the advice, and to cut them in pieces as Traytors. The infinite wiſdom of God doth not work always by one and the ſame way, but very often in the alteration of Kingdoms and Eſtates, by taking underſtanding from the Governours, ſo as they can neither give nor diſcern of Counſels. For *Darius*, that would needs fight with *Alexander* upon a ſtraightned piece of ground, near unto the City of *Iſſus*, where he could bring no more hands to fight than *Alexander* could, (who by the advice of *Parmenio* ſtaid there, as in a place of beſt advantage) was utterly overthrown, his Treaſure loſt, his Wife, Mother, and Children (whom the *Græcians* his followers had perſwaded him to leave in *Babylon*, or elſewhere) taken Priſoners, and all their train of Ladies ſpoiled of their rich Garments, Jewels, and Honour. It is true, that both the Queen, with her Daughters, who had the good hap to be brought to *Alexander*'s preſence, were entertained with all reſpect due unto their Birth, their Honours preſerved, and their Jewels and rich Garments reſtored unto them; and though *Darius*'s Wife was a moſt beautiful Lady, and his Daughters of excellent form, yet *Alexander* maſtred his affections towards them all: only it is reported out of *Ariſtobulus* the Hiſtorian, That he embraced the Wife of the valiant *Memnon*, her Husband lately dead, who was taken flying from *Damaſcus* by *Parmenio*, at which time the Daughters of *Ochus*, who reigned before *Darius*, and the Wives and Children of all the Nobility of *Perſia* in effect, fell into Captivity; at which time alſo *Darius*'s Treaſure (not loſt at *Iſſus*) was ſeized, amount-

amounting to six thousand and two hundred Talents of Coin, and of *Bullion* five hundred Talents, with a world of Riches besides.

Darius himself leaving his Brother dead, with divers other of his chief Captains (casting the Crown from his Head) hardly escaped.

After this overthrow given unto *Darius*, all *Phœnicia* (the City of *Tyre* excepted) was yielded to *Alexander*, of which *Parmenio* was made Governour.

Aradus, *Zidon*, and *Biblos*, Maritimate Cities of great importance, of which one *Strato* was King (but hated of the People) acknowledged *Alexander*. Good Fortune followed him so fast that it trod on his heels; for *Antigonus*, *Alexander*'s Lieutenant in *Asia* the less, overthrew the *Cappadocians*, *Paphlagonians*, and others lately revolted; *Aristodemus*, *Darius*'s Admiral, had his Fleet partly taken, and in part drowned by the *Macedonians* newly levied; the *Lacedæmonians* that warred against *Antipater* were beaten; four thousand of those *Greeks* which made the retreat at the last Battel, forsaking both the party of *Darius* and of *Alexander*, and led by *Amyntas* into *Ægypt*, to hold it for themselves, were buried there; for the time was not yet come to divide Kingdoms.

Alexander, to honour *Ephestion*, whom he loved most, gave him power to dispose of the Kingdom of *Zidon*. A man of a most poor Estate, that laboured to sustain his life, being of the Royal bloud, was commended by the People unto him, who changed his Spade into a Scepter, so as he was beheld both a Begger and a King in one and the same hour.

It was a good desire of this new King, when speaking to *Alexander*, he wish'd that he could bear his prosperity with the same moderation, and quietness of heart, that he had done his adversity; but ill done of *Alexander*, in that he would not perform in himself that which he commended in another mans desire: for it was a sign that he did but accompany, and could not govern, his felicity.

While he made some stay in those parts, he received a Letter from *Darius*, importing the ransom of his Wife, his Mother, and his Children, with some other conditions of Peace, but such as rather became a Conquerour, than one that had now been twice shamefully beaten, not vouchsafing, in his direction, to stile *Alexander* King. It is true, that the *Romans*, after that they had received an overthrow by *Pyrrhus*, returned him a more scornful answer upon the offer of Peace, than they did before the tryal of his force. But as their fortunes were then in the Spring, so that of *Darius* had already cast leaf; the one resolved well armed and disciplined Nation, the other cowardly and effeminate. *Alexander* disdained the offers of *Darius*, and sent him word, that he not only directed his Letter to a King, but to the King of *Darius* himself.

§. V.

How Alexander *besieged and won the City of* Tyre.

Alexander coming near to the City of *Tyre*, received from them the Present of a golden Crown, with great store of Victuals, and other Presents, which he took very thankfully, returning them answer, That he desired to offer a Sacrifice to *Hercules*, the Protector of their City, from whom he was descended. But the *Tyrians* like not his company within their Walls, but tell him that the Temple of *Hercules* was seated in the old City adjoyning, now abandoned and desolate: To be short, *Alexander* resolved to enter it by force, and though it were a place in all mens opinion impregnable, because the Island whereon it was built, was eight hundred furlongs from the Main, yet with the labour of many hands, having great store of Stone from the old *Tyre*, and Timber sufficient from *Lybanus*, he filled the passage of the Sea between the Island and the Main, which being more than once carried away by the strength of the Sea upon a storm of Wind, sometime by the *Tyrians* fired, and sometime torn asunder, yet with the help of his Navy which arrived (during the Siege) from *Cyprus*, he overcame all difficulties and prevailed, after he had spent seven Months in that attempt. The *Tyrians* in the beginning of the Siege had barbarously drowned the Messengers sent by *Alexander*, perswading them to render the City, in respect whereof, and of the great loss of time and men, he put eight thousand to the Sword, and caused two thousand of those that escaped the first fury, to be hanged on Crosses on the Sea-shore, and reserved for Slaves (saith *Diodore*) thirteen thousand; *Arrianus* reckons them at thirty thousand. Many more had died, had not the *Zidonians*, that served *Alexander*, conveyed great numbers away by Shipping unto their own City. *Arrian. l.* *Just. l. 18.*

Happy it was for *Apollo* that the Town was taken, for one of the *Tyrians* having dreamt, that this God meant to forsake the City, they bound him fast with a golden Chain to the Idol of *Hercules*; but *Alexander* like a gracious Prince loosened him again.

It is true, that it was a notable enterprise and a difficult, but great things are made greater. For *Nabuchodonosor* had taken it before, and filled up the Channel, that lay between the Island and the Main.

The Government of this Territory he gave to *Philotas*, the Son of *Parmenio*; *Cilicia* he committed to *Socrates* and *Andromachus* Lieutenant under *Parmenio*; *Ephestion* had the charge of the Fleet, and was directed to find *Alexander* at *Gaza* towards *Ægypt*.

§. VI.

How Darius *offered conditions of Peace to* Alexander. Alexander *wins* Gaza; *and deals graciously with the* Jews.

IN the mean while *Darius* sends again to *Alexander*, sets before him all the difficulties of passing on towards the East, and layeth the loss of the last Battel to the straightness of the place: he hoped to terrifie him, by threatning to encompass him in the plain Countries; he bids him consider, how impossible it was to pass the Rivers of *Euphrates*, *Tigris*, *Araxes*, and the rest, with all such other fearful things: for, he that was now filled with nothing but fear, had Arguments enough of that nature to present unto another. All the Kingdoms between the River of *Alys* and the *Hellespont*, he offered him in Dower with his beloved Daughter. But *Alexander* answered, That he offered him nothing but his own, and that which Victory and his own Vertue had possess'd him of: That he was to give Conditions, and not to receive any; and that he having passed the Sea it self, disdained to think of resistance in transporting himself over Rivers. It is said, that *Parmenio*, who was now old, and full of Honour and Riches, told the King, that were he *Alexander*, he would accept of *Darius*

his offers; to which *Alexander* answered, That so would he if he were *Parmenio*.

But he goes on towards *Ægypt*, and coming before *Gaza*, *Betis*, a faithful Servant to *Darius*, shuts the Gate against him, and defends the Town with an obstinate resolution, at the Siege whereof *Alexander* received a Wound in the shoulder, which was dangerous, and a blow on his leg with a stone: He found better men in this place than he did at the former Battels, for he left so many of his *Macedonians* buried in the Sands of *Gaza*, that he was forc'd to send for a new supply into *Greece*. Here it was that *Alexander* first began to change condition, and to exercise cruelty. For after that he had entred *Gaza* by assault, and taken *Betis*, (whom *Josephus* calleth *Babemeses*) that was weakened with many Wounds, and who never gave ground to the Assailants; he bored holes through his Feet, and caused him to be drawn about the streets, whilest he was as yet alive; who being as valiant a man as himself, disdained to ask him either life or remission of his torments. And what had he to countenance this his Tyranny, but the imitation of his Ancestor *Achilles*, who did the like to *Hector*? It is true, that cruelty hath always somewhat to cover her deformity.

Joseph. Ant. l. 11. c. 8.

L. 11. c. ult.

From *Gaza* (saith *Josephus*) he led his Army towards *Jerusalem*, a City, for the Antiquity and great Fame thereof, well known unto him while he lay before *Tyre*; he had sent for some supply thither, which *Jaddus* the High Priest, being subject and sworn to *Darius*, had refused him. The *Jews* therefore fearing his revenge, and unable to resist, committed the care of their Estates and safety to *Jaddus*, who, being taught by God, issued out of the City covered with his Pontifical-Robes, to wit, an upper Garment of Purple, embroidered with Gold, with his Miter, and the Plate of Gold wherein the name of God was written, the Priests and Levites in their rich Ornaments, and the People in white Garments, in a manner so unusual, stately, and grave, as *Alexander* greatly admired it. *Josephus* reports it, that he fell to the ground before the High Priest, as reverencing the name of God, and that *Parmenio* reprehended him for it; howsoever it was, I am of opinion, that he became so confident in his enterprise, and so assured of the success after the Prophecy of *Daniel* had been read unto him, wherein he saw himself, and the Conquest of *Persia* so directly pointed at, as nothing thence-forth could discourage him or fear him. He confessed to *Parmenio* (saith *Josephus*) That in *Dio*, a City of *Macedon*, when his mind laboured the Conquest of *Asia*, he saw in his sleep such a Person as *Jaddus*, and so apparelled, professing one and the same God, by whom he was encouraged to pursue the purpose he had in hand with assurance of Victory. This Apparition, formerly apprehended only by the light of his Phantasie, he now beheld with his bodily Eyes; wherewith he was so exceedingly pleased and emboldened, as contrary to the practice of the *Phœnicians*, (who hoped to have sack'd and destroyed *Jerusalem*) he gave the *Jews* all, and more than they desired, both of Liberty and Immunity, with permission to live under their own Laws, and to exercise and enjoy their own Religion.

§. VII.

Alexander *wins* Ægypt; *and makes a Journey to the Temple of* Hammon.

FRom *Jerusalem Alexander* turned again towards *Ægypt*, and entred it, where *Darius* his Lieutenant, *Astaces*, received him, and delivered into his hand the City of *Memphis*, with eight hundred Talents of Treasure, and all other the Kings Riches. By this we see that the King of *Persia*, who had more of affection than of judgment, gave to the valianteſt man he had but the command of one City, and to the veriest Coward the Government of all *Ægypt*. When he had set things in order in *Ægypt*, he began to travel after *Godhead*, towards *Jupiter Hammon*, so foolish had Prosperity made him. He was to pass over the dangerous and dry Sands, where, when the Water which he brought on his Camels back was spent, he could not but have perished, had not a marvellous shower of Rain fallen upon him, when his Army was in extream despair. All men that know *Ægypt*, and have written thereof, affirm, That it never rains there; but the purposes of the Almighty God are secret, and he bringeth to pass what it pleaseth him; for it is also said, That when he had lost his way in those vast Deserts, that a flight of Crows flew before the Army; who making faster wing when they were followed, and fluttering slowly when the Army was cast back, guided them over those pathless Sands to *Jupiter*'s Temple.

Curt. l. 4.

Arrianus from the report of *Ptolomy*, the Son of *Lagus*, says, That he was led by two Dragons, both which reports may be alike true; but many of these Wonders and things Prodigious, are feigned by those that have written the Story of *Alexander*; as, That an Eagle lay hovering directly over his Head at the Battel of *Issus*; That a Swallow flew about his Head when he slept, and could not be feared from him, till it had wakened him, at *Halicarnassus*, fore-shewing the Treason of *Æropus*, practised by *Darius* to have slain him; That from the Iron bars of which the *Tyrians* made their defensive Engines, when *Alexander* besieged them, there fell drops of Bloud; and that the like drops were found in a loaf of Bread, broken by a *Macedonian* Souldier, at the same time; That a turf of Earth fell on his shoulder, when he lay before *Gaza*, out of which there flew a Bird into the Air. The *Spaniards* in the Conquest of the *West-Indies* have many such pretty Tales; telling how they have been assisted in Battel, by the presence of our *Lady*, and by *Angels* riding on white Horses, with the like *Romish* Miracles, which I think themselves do hardly believe. The strangest things that I have read of in this kind being certainly true, was, That the Night before the Battel at *Navarra*, all the Doggs which followed the *French* Army, ran from them to the *Switzers*, leaping and fawning upon them, as if they had been bred and fed by them all their lives, and in the Morning following, *Trivulzi* and *Tremoville*, Generals for *Lewis* the Twelfth, were by these *Imperial Switzers* utterly broken and put to ruine.

Arrian. l. 4.

The place of this Idol of *Jupiter Hammon* is ill described by *Curtius*, for he bounds it by the *Arabian Troglodites* on the South, between whom and the Territory of *Hammon*, the Region *Thebais*, or the superiour *Ægypt*, with the Mountains of *Lybia*, and the River of *Nilus*, are interjacent, and on the North he joyns it to a Nation, called *Nassamones*, who bordering the Sea-shore, live (saith he) upon the spoils of Ship-wrack; whereas the

Temple

Temple or Grove of this Idol hath no Sea near it by two hundred miles and more, being found on the South part of *Lybia*; these *Nassamones* being due West from it, in the South part of *Marmarica*. *Prol. Af. Tab. 3.*

When *Alexander* came near the place, he sent some of his Parasites before him to practise the Priests attending the Oracle, That their answer might be given in all things agreeable to his mad Ambition, who affected the Title of *Jupiter*'s Son. And so he was saluted *Son of Jupiter*, by the Devils Prophet, whether prepared before to flatter him, or rather (as some think) defective in the *Greek* Tongue; for whereas he meant to say *Opaidion*, he said *Opaidias*; that is, *O Son of Jupiter*, instead of, *O dear Son*: for which Grammatical error he was richly rewarded, and a rumour presently spread, that the great *Jupiter* had acknowledged *Alexander* for his own.

He had heard that *Perseus* and *Hercules* had formerly consulted with this Oracle; The one, when he was employed against *Gorgon*; The other, against *Anteus* and *Busiris*; and seeing these men had derived themselves from the Gods, why might not he? By this it seems, that he hoped to make his followers and the World fools, though indeed he made himself one, by thinking to cover from the Worlds knowledge his vanities and vices; and the better to confirm his followers in the belief of his *Deity*, he had practised the Priests to give answer to such as consulted with the Oracle, that it should be pleasing to *Jupiter* to honour *Alexander* as his Son. *Curt. l. 4.*

Who this *Ammon* was, and how represented, either by a boss carried in a Boat, or by a *Ram*, or a *Rams-head*, I see that many wise men have troubled themselves to find out; but, as *Arrianus* speaks of *Dionysius*, or *Liber Pater* (who lived, saith St. *Augustine*, in *Moses*'s time,) *Ea quæ de diis veteres fabulis suis conscripsere non sunt nimium curiosè pervestiganda*; *We must not over-curiously search into the Fables which the Ancients have written of their Gods.*

But this is certain and notable, that after the Gospel began to be preached in the World, the Devil in this and in all other Idols became speechless. For that this *Hammon* was neglected in the time of *Tiberius Cæsar*, and in the time of *Trajan* altogether forgotten, *Strabo* and *Plutarch* witness.

There is found near his Temple a Fountain, called *Fons Solis* (though *Ptolomy* in his third *African* Table sets it farther off) that at Midnight is as hot as boiling Water, and at Noon as cold as any Ice, to which I cannot but give credit, because I have heard of some other Wells of like Nature, and because it is reported by Saint *Augustine*, by *Diodore*, *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, *Mela*, *Solinus*, *Arrianus*, *Curtius*, and others; and indeed our Baths in *England* are much warmer in the Night, than in the Day.

§. VIII.

How Alexander *marching against* Darius, *was opposed very unskilfully by the Enemy.*

FRom the Temple of *Hammon* he returned to *Memphis*, where among many other learned men he heard the Philosopher *Psammones*, who, belike understanding that he affected the Title of *Jupiter*'s Son, told him, that God was the Father-King of all men in general; and refining the Pride of this haughty King, brought him to say, That God was the Father of all Mortal men, but that he acknowledged none for his Children save good men.

He gave the charge of the several Provinces of *Ægypt* to several Governours, following the rule of his Master *Aristotle*, That *a great Dominion should not be continued in the hands of any one*: whom therein the *Roman* Emperours also followed, not daring to commit the Government of *Ægypt* to any of their *Senators*, but to men of meaner rank and degree. He then gave order for the founding of *Alexandria* upon the Wester-most branch of *Nilus*. And having now settled (as he could) the Estate of *Ægypt*, with the Kingdoms of the lesser *Asia*, *Phœnicia*, and *Syria*, (which being but the pawns of *Darius* his ill fortune, one happy Victory would readily have redeemed;) he led his Army towards *Euphrates*, which passage, though the same was committed to *Mazeus* to defend, yet was it abandoned, and *Alexander* without resistance pass'd it. From thence he marched towards *Tigris*, a River for the swiftness thereof called by the *Persians* The Arrow. Here, as *Curtius*, and Reason it self tells us, might *Darius* easily have repelled the invading *Macedonian*: for the violent course of the stream was such, as it drave before it many weighty stones, and those that moved not but lay in the bottom, were so round and well polished by continual rolling, that no man was able to fight on so slippery a footing; nor the *Macedonian* foot-men to wade the River, otherwise than by joyning their Hands and enterlacing their Arms together, making one weighty and entire body to resist the swift passage and furious race of the stream. Besides this notable help, the Channel was so deep towards the Eastern shore, where *Darius* should have made head, as the foot-men were enforc'd to lift their Bows and Arrows and Darts over their heads, to keep them from being moistned, and made unserviceable by the Waters. But it was truly and understandingly said of *Homer*, *Arist. Pol. l. 5.* *Curt. l. 4.*

VI.

Talis est hominum terrestrium mens,
Qualem quotidie ducit pater virorumque Deorumque.

The minds of men are ever so affected,
As by Gods will they daily are directed.

And it cannot be denied, that as all Estates of the World by the surfeit of mis-government have been subject to many grievous, and sometimes mortal Diseases: So had the Empire of *Persia* at this time brought it self into a burning and consuming Fever, and thereby become frantick and without understanding, fore-shewing manifestly the dissolution and death thereof.

But *Alexander* hath now recovered the Eastern shores of *Tigris*, without any other difficulty, than that of the nature of the place; where *Mazeus* (who had charge to defend the passage both of *Euphrates* and it) presented himself to the *Macedonians*, followed with certain Companies of Horsemen, as if with uneven Forces he durst have charged them on even ground, when as with a multitude far exceeding them he forsook the advantage, which no valour of his Enemies could easily have overcome. But it is commonly seen, that fearful and cowardly men do ever follow those ways and counsels, whereof the opportunity is already lost.

It is true, that he set all Provisions a fire wherewith the *Macedonians* might serve themselves over *Tigris*, thinking thereby greatly to have distressed them; but the execution of good counsel is fruitless when unseasonable. For now was *Alexander* so well furnished with Carriages, as nothing was wanting to the competency of the Army which he conducted. Those things also which he sought to waste, *Alexander* being now in sight, were by his Horse-men saved and recovered. This,

Mazeus

Mazeus might have done ſome days before at good leiſure; or at this time with ſo great a ſtrength of Horſe-men, as the *Macedonians* durſt not have purſued them, leaving the ſtrength of their Foot out of ſight, and far behind.

§. IX.

The new proviſions of Darius. *Accidents foregoing the Battel of* Arbela.

Darius, upon *Alexander*'s firſt return out of *Ægypt*, had aſſembled all the Forces, which thoſe Regions next him could furniſh, and now alſo were the *Arrians*, *Scythians*, *Indians*, and other Nations arrived; Nations (ſaith *Curtius*) that rather ſerved to make up the names of men, than to make reſiſtance. *Arrianus* hath numbred them with their Leaders, and finds of Foot-men of all ſorts ten hundred thouſand, and of Horſe four hundred thouſand, beſides armed Chariots, and ſome few Elephants. *Curtius*, who muſters the Army of *Darius* at two hundred thouſand Foot, and near fifty thouſand Horſe, comes (I think) nearer to the true number; and yet ſeeing he had more confidence in the multitude than in the valour of his Vaſſals, it is like enough that he had gathered together of all ſorts ſome three or four hundred thouſand, with which he hoped in thoſe fair Plains of *Aſſyria* to have over-born the few numbers of the invading Army. But it is a Rule in the Philoſophy of the War.

Viget. *In omni prælio non tam multitudo, & virtus indocta, quam ars & exercitium ſolent præſtare victoriam*; *In every Battel skill and practice do more towards the victory, than multitude and rude audacity.*

While *Alexander* gave reſt to his Army after their paſſage over *Tigris*, there happened an Eclipſe of the Moon, of which the *Macedonians*, not knowing the cauſe and reaſon, were greatly affrighted. All that were ignorant, (as the multitude always are) took it for a certain preſage of their overthrow and deſtruction, in ſo much as they began not only to murmur, but to ſpeak it boldly, That for the ambition of one man, a man that diſdained *Philip* for his Father, and would needs be called the Son of *Jupiter*, they ſhould all periſh; For he not only enforc'd them to make War againſt worlds of Enemies, but againſt Rivers, Mountains, and the Heavens themſelves.

Hereupon *Alexander* being ready to march forward, made a *halt*; and to quiet the minds of the multitude, he called before him the *Ægyptian Aſtrologers*, which followed him thence, that by them the Souldiers might be aſſured that this defection of the Moon was a certain preſage of good ſucceſs; for that it was natural they never imparted to the common People, but reſerved the knowledge to themſelves, ſo as a ſorry Almanack-maker had been no ſmall Fool in thoſe days.

Of this kind of ſuperſtitious obſervation *Cæſar* made good uſe, when he fought againſt *Arioviſtus* and the *Germans*: for they being perſwaded by the caſting of Lots, that if they fought before the change of the Moon, they ſhould certainly loſe the Battel, *Cæſar* forc'd them to abide it, though they durſt not give it; wherein having their minds already beaten by their own ſuperſtition, and being reſolutely charged by the *Romans*, the whole Army in effect periſhed.

Theſe *Ægyptians* gave no other reaſon than this, That the *Græcians* were under the aſpect of the *Sun*, the *Perſians* of the *Moon*; and therefore the Moon failing and being darkened, the ſtate of *Perſia* was now in danger of falling, and their glory of being obſcured. This judgment of the *Ægyptian* Prieſts being noiſed through all the Army, all were ſatisfied, and their courage redoubled. It is a principle in the War, which, though deviſed ſince, was well obſerved then. *Exercitum terrore plenum Dux ad pugnam non ducat*; *Let not a Captain lead his Army to the fight, when it is poſſeſſed with matter of terror.*

It is truly obſerved by *Curtius*, that the People are led by nothing ſo much as by ſuperſtition; yea, we find it in all Stories, and often in our own, that by ſuch Inventions, deviſed Tales, Dreams, and Propheſies, the People of this Land have been carried head-long into many dangerous Tumults and Inſurrections, and ſtill to their own loſs and ruine.

As *Alexander* drew near the *Perſian* Army, certain Letters were ſurpriſed written by *Darius* to the *Græcians*, perſwading them for great ſums of money, either to kill or betray *Alexander*. But theſe by the advice of *Parmenio* he ſuppreſſed.

At this time alſo *Darius* his fair Wife, oppreſs'd with ſorrow, and wearied with travel, died. Which accident *Alexander* ſeemed no leſs to bewail than *Darius*, who upon the firſt brute ſuſpected that ſome diſhonourable violence had been offered her, but being ſatisfied by an *Eunuch* of his own that attended her, of *Alexander*'s Kingly reſpect towards her, from the day of her being taken, he deſired the Immortal Gods, That if they had decreed to make a new Maſter of the *Perſian Empire*, then it would pleaſe them to confer it on ſo juſt and continent an Enemy as *Alexander*, to whom he once again, before the laſt tryal by Battel, offered theſe Conditions of Peace.

That with his Daughter in Marriage he would deliver up and reſign all *Aſia* the Leſs, and with *Ægypt*, all thoſe Kingdoms between the *Phœnician* Sea, and the River of *Euphrates*; That he would pay him for the Ranſom of his Mother, and his other Daughter thirty thouſand Talents, and that for the performance thereof, he would leave his Son *Ochus* in hoſtage: To this they ſought to perſwade *Alexander* by ſuch Arguments as they had. *Alexander* cauſing the Embaſſadors to be removed, adviſed with his Council, but heard no man ſpeak but *Parmenio*, the very right hand of his good fortune; who perſwaded him to accept of theſe fair Conditions. He told him, that the Empire between *Euphrates* and *Helleſpont* was a fair addition to *Macedon*; that the retaining of the *Perſian* Priſoners was a great cumber, and the Treaſure offered for them of far better uſe than their Perſons, with divers other Arguments; all which *Alexander* rejected. And yet it is probable that if he had followed his advice, and bounded his Ambition within thoſe limits, he might have lived as famous for Vertue as for Fortune, and left himſelf a Succeſſor of able Age to have enjoyed his Eſtate, which afterward, indeed, he much enlarged, rather to the greatning of others than himſelf: who to aſſure themſelves of what they had uſurped upon his Iſſues, left not one of them to draw breath in the World within a few years after. The truth is, That *Alexander* in going ſo far into the Eaſt, left behind him the reputation which he brought out of *Macedon*; the reputation of a juſt and prudent Prince, a Prince temperate, adviſed, and grateful: and being taught new leſſons by abundance of Proſperity, became a lover of Wine, of his own Flattery, and of extream Cruelty. Yea, as *Seneca* hath obſerved, the taint of one unjuſt ſlaughter, amongſt many, defaced and withered the flouriſhing beauty of all his great Acts and glorious

Victories

Victories obtained. But the *Persian* Embassadors stay his answer, which was to this effect, That whatsoever he had bestowed on the Wife and Children of *Darius*, proceeded from his own natural Clemency and Magnanimity, without all respect to their Master; that thanks to an Enemy was improper; that he made no Wars against adversity, but against those that resisted him; Not against Women and Children, but against armed Enemies: and although by the reiterated practice of *Darius* to corrupt his Souldiers, and by great sums of Money to perswade his Friends to attempt upon his Person, he had reason to doubt that the Peace offered was rather pretended than meant, yet he could not (were it otherwise and faithful) resolve in haste to accept the same, seeing *Darius* had made the War against him, not as a King with Royal and overt force, but as a Traytor by secret and base practice: That for the Territory offered him, it was already his own, and if *Darius* could beat him back again over *Euphrates*, which he had already past, he would then believe that he offered him somewhat in his own power: Otherwise he propounded to himself for the reward of the War which he had made, all those Kingdoms as yet in *Darius*'s possession, wherein, whether he were abused by his own hopes or no, the Battel which he meant to fight in the day following should determine. For conclusion, he told them, that he came into *Asia* to give, and not to receive; That the Heavens could not hold two Suns: and therefore if *Darius* could be content to acknowledge *Alexander* for his Superiour, he might perchance be perswaded to give him conditions fit for a second Person, and his Inferiour.

§. X.

The Battel of Arbela: *and that it could not be so strongly fought as report hath made it.*

With this answer the Embassadors return; *Darius* prepares to fight, and sends *Mazeus* to defend a passage, which he never yet dared so much as to hazard. *Alexander* consults with his Captains, *Parmenio* perswades him to force *Darius* his Camp by Night; so that the multitude of Enemies might not move terror in the *Macedonians*, being but few. *Alexander* disdains to steal the Victory, and resolves to bring with him the day-light, to witness his Valour. But it was the success that made good *Alexander*'s resolution, though the counsel given by *Parmenio* was more sound: For it is a ground in War, *Si pauci necessario cum multitudine pugnare cogantur, consilium est noctis tempore belli fortunam tentare.* Notwithstanding upon the view of the multitude at hand, he staggers and entrenches himself upon a ground of advantage, which the *Persian* had abandoned: And whereas *Darius* for fear of surprise had stood with his Army in Armour all the day, and forborn sleep all the night; *Alexander* gave his men rest and store of Food, for Reason had taught him this Rule in the War, *In pugna Milites validius resistunt, si cibo potuque refecti fuerint, nam fames intrinsecus magis pugnat, quam ferrum exterius*; *Souldiers do the better stand to it in fight, if they have their bellies full of meat and drink; for hunger within fights more eagerly than steel without.*

The numbers which *Alexander* had, saith *Arrianus*, were forty thousand Foot, and seven thousand Horse; these belike were of the *Europæan* Army; for he had besides both *Syrians*, *Indians*, *Ægyptians*, and *Arabians*, that followed him out of those Regions. He used but a short Speech to his Souldiers to encourage them, and I think that he needed little Rhetorick; for by the two former Battels upon the River of *Granick* and in *Cilicia*, the *Macedonians* were best taught with what men they were to encounter. And it is a true saying, *Victoria Victoriam parat, animumque victoribus auget, & adversarios aufert*; *One Victory begets another, and puts courage into those that have already had the better, taking spirit away from such as have been beaten.*

Arrianus and *Curtius* make large descriptions of this Battel, fought at *Gaugamela*; They tell us of many charges and re-charges; That the Victory inclined sometime to the *Persians*, sometime to the *Macedonians*; That *Parmenio* was in danger of being overthrown, who led the left Wing; That *Alexander*'s Rear-guard was broken, and his Carriages lost; That for the first and valourous encounters on both sides, *Fortune* her self was long unresolved on whom to bestow the Garland: And lastly, That *Alexander* in person wrought wonders, being charged in his retreat. But, in conclusion, *Curtius* delivers us in account but three hundred dead *Macedonians*, in all this terrible days work; saying, That *Ephestion*, *Perdiccas*, and others of name, were wounded. *Arrianus* finds not a third part of this number slain; of the *Persians* there fell forty thousand (saith *Curtius*,) thirty thousand, according to *Arrianus*: Ninety thousand, if we believe *Diodor*. But what can we judge of this great encounter, other than that, as in the two former Battels, the *Persians* upon the first charge ran away, and that the *Macedonians* pursued? For if of these four or five hundred thousand *Asians* brought into the Field by *Darius*, every man had but cast a Dart, or a Stone, the *Macedonians* could not have bought the Empire of the East at so easie a rate, as six or seven hundred men in three notorious Battels. Certainly, if *Darius* had fought with *Alexander* upon the banks of *Euphrates*, and had armed but fifty or threescore thousand of this great multitude, only with Spades (for the most of all he had were fit for no other Weapon) it had been impossible for *Alexander* to have pass'd that River so easily, much less the River of *Tigris*. But as a man whose Empire God in his Providence had *determined*, he abandoned all places of advantage, and suffered *Alexander* to enter so far into the bowels of his Kingdom, as all hope and possibility of escape by retreat being taken from the *Macedonians*, they had presented unto them the choice, either of death or victory; to which election *Darius* could no way constrain his own, seeing they had many large Regions to run into from those that invaded them.

§. XI.

Of things following the Battel of Arbela. *The yielding of* Babylon *and* Susa.

Darius after the rout of his Army recovered *Arbela* the same Night, better followed in his flight, than in the fight. He propounded unto them that ran after him his purpose of making a retreat into *Media*, perswading them that the *Macedonians*, greedy of spoil and riches, would rather attempt *Babylon*, *Susa*, and other Cities, filled with Treasure, than pursue the vanquished. This miserable resolution his Nobility rather obeyed than approved.

Alexander soon after *Darius* his departure arrives at *Arbela*, which with a great mass of Treasure and Princely Ornaments, was rendred unto him: for

for the fear which conducted *Darius* took nothing with it but ſhame and diſhonour. He that had been twice beaten, ſhould rather have ſent his Treaſure into *Media*, than brought it to *Arbela*, ſo near the place where he abid the coming of his Enemies; if he had been victorious, he might have brought it after him at leiſure; but being overcome, he knew it impoſſible to drive Mules and Camels laden with Gold from the purſuing Enemy, ſeeing himſelf, at the overthrow he had in *Cilicia*, caſt the Crown from his Head to run away with the more ſpeed. But errors are then beſt diſcerned when moſt incurable. *Et præterita magis reprehendi poſſunt quam corrigi*; *It is eaſier to reprehend than amend what is paſt.*

From *Arbela Alexander* took his way towards *Babylon*, where *Mazeus*, in whom *Darius* had moſt confidence, rendred himſelf, his Children, and the City. Alſo the Captain of the Caſtle, who was keeper of the Treaſure, ſtrewed the Streets with Flowers, burnt Frankincenſe upon Altars of Silver as *Alexander* paſſed by, and delivered unto him whatſoever was committed to his truſt. The *Magi* (the *Chaldean* Aſtrologers) followed this Captain in great Solemnity to entertain their new King: after theſe came the *Babylonian* Horſe-men, infinite rich in attire, but exceeding poor in warlike furniture. Between theſe (though not greatly to be feared) and himſelf, *Alexander* cauſed his *Macedonian* Foot-men to march. When he entred the Caſtle he admired the glory thereof, and the abundance of Treaſure therein found, amounting to fifty thouſand Talents of Silver uncoined. The City it ſelf I have elſe-where deſcribed, with the Walls, the Towers, the Gates, and the Circuit, with the wonderful place of Pleaſure about two miles in circuit, ſurrounded with a Wall of four-ſcore foot high, and on the top thereof (being under-born with Pillars) a Grove of beautiful and fruitful Trees, which it is ſaid that one of the Kings of *Babylon* cauſed to be built, that the Queen and other Princeſſes might walk privately therein. In
An. b. Alex. this City, rich in all things, but moſt of all in Voluptuous pleaſures, the King reſted himſelf and the whole Army four and thirty days, conſuming that time in banqueting, and in all ſorts of effeminate exerciſe, which ſo much ſoftened the minds of the *Macedonians*, not acquainted till now with the like delicacies, as the ſevere diſcipline of War which taught them the ſufferances of Hunger and Thirſt, of painful Travel, and hard Lodging, began rather to be forgotten, than neglected.

Here it was that thoſe bands of a thouſand Souldiers were erected, and Commanders appointed over them, who thereupon were ſtiled *Chiliarchi*. This new Order *Alexander* brought in, was to honour thoſe Captains which were found by certain ſelected Judges to have deſerved beſt in the late War. For before this time the *Macedonian* Compunies conſiſted but of five hundred. Certainly the drawing down of the foot-bands in this latter Age hath been the cauſe (ſaith the *Marſhal Monluc*) that the title and charge of a Captain hath been beſtowed on every *Picque Bœuf* or Spurn-Cow; for when the Captains of Foot had a thouſand Souldiers under one Enſign, and after that five hundred, as in the time of *Francis* the firſt, the Title was honourable, and the Kings were leſs charged, and far better ſerved. King *Henry* the Eighth of *England* never gave the Commandment of any of his good Ships, but to men of known Valour, and of great Eſtate; nay, ſometimes he made two Gentlemen of Quality Commanders in one Ship: but all orders and degrees are fallen from the reputation they had.

While *Alexander* was yet in *Babylon*, there came to him a great ſupply out of *Europe*, for *Antipater* ſent him ſix thouſand Foot, and five hundred Horſe; out of *Macedon*, of *Thracians* three thouſand Foot, and the like number of Horſe; and out of *Greece* four thouſand Foot, and four hundred Horſe; by which his Army was greatly ſtrengthened: for thoſe that were infected with the pleaſures of *Babylon* could hardly be brought again, *De quitter la plume pur dormir ſur la dure*; *To change from ſoft beds to hard boards.*

He left the Caſtle and City of *Babylon* with the Territories about it in charge with three of his own Captains, to wit, *Agathon*, *Mineus*, and *Apolidorus*; to ſupply all wants a thouſand Talents: but to grace *Mazeus*, who rendred the City unto him, he gave him the Title of his Lieutenant over all, and took with him *Bagiſtines* that gave up the Caſtle, and having diſtributed to every Souldier a part of the Treaſure, he left *Babylon*, and entred into the Province *Satrapene*: from thence he went on towards *Suſa* in *Perſia*, the ſame which *Ptolomy*, *Herodotus*, and *Elianus* call *Memnonia*, ſituate on the River *Eulæus*, a City ſometime governed by *Daniel* the Prophet. *Abulites* alſo, Governour of this famous City, gave it up to the Conquerour with fifty thouſand Talents of Silver in Bullion, and twelve *Elephants* for the War, with all other the Treaſures of *Darius*. In this ſort did thoſe Vaſſals of Fortune, lovers of the Kings Proſperity, not of his Perſon (for ſo all ambitious men are) purchaſe their own Peace and Safety with the Kings Treaſures. And herein was *Alexander* well adviſed, that whatſoever Titles he gave to the *Perſians*, yet he left all places of Importance in truſt with his own Captains; to wit, *Babylon*, *Suſa*, and *Perſepolis*, with other Cities and Provinces by him conquered; for if *Darius* (as yet living) had beaten the *Macedonians* but in one Battel, all the Nobility of *Perſia* would have returned to their natural Lord. Thoſe that are Traytors to their own Kings, are never to be uſed alone in great Enterpriſes by thoſe Princes that entertain them, nor ever to be truſted with the defences of any Frontier-Town, or Fortreſs of weight, by the rendring whereof they may redeem their Liberty and Eſtates loſt. Hereof the *French* had experience, when *Don Petro de Navarra*, being baniſhed out of *Spain*, was truſted with *Fonterabe*, in the Year 1523.

Diodor ſpeaketh of more than forty thouſand Talents in bullion, & of nine Millions of Gold, ſo *durics formæ* exſp.

While *Alexander* ſpoiled *Arbela*, *Mazeus* might have furniſh'd the King from *Babylon*, and while he ſtaid four and thirty days at *Babylon*, *Abulites* might have holpen him from *Suſa*: and while he feaſted there, *Tiridates* from *Perſepolis* might have relieved him, for the great maſs of Treaſure was laid up in that City. But who hath ſought out and friended fearful Adverſity? It is certain, that benefits bind not the ambitious, but the honeſt: for thoſe that are but greedy of themſelves, do in all changes of Fortune only conſult the conſervation of their own greatneſs.

The Government of *Suſa*, with the Caſtle and Treaſure, he committed to his own *Macedonians*, making *Abulites*, who rendred it unto him, his Lieutenant, as he had done *Mazeus* and others, in giving them Titles, but neither truſt nor power; for he left three thouſand old Souldiers in Garriſon to aſſure the place, and *Darius*'s Mother and her Children to repoſe themſelves.

It is ſaid, that *Charles* the Fifth having promiſed *Charles* of *Bourbon* the Government of *Marſeilles*, if he could have forc'd it, and whereof he made ſure account, told ſome of his neareſt Counſellers, that he meant nothing leſs than the performance of that promiſe, becauſe he ſhould thereby have left

left the Duke (revolted from his Master) very well wherewithal to have recovered his favour.

§. XII.

How Alexander *came to* Persepolis, *and burnt it.*

FRom *Susa Alexander* leadeth his Army toward *Persepolis*, and when he sought to pass those Mountains which sunder *Susiana* and *Persia*, he was soundly beaten by *Ariobarzanes*, who defended against him those Streights, called *Pylæ Persidis*, or *Susæidæ*; and after the loss of many Companies of his *Macedonians*, he was forc'd to save himself by retreat, causing his Foot to march close together, and to cover themselves with their Targets from the stones tumbled on them from the Mountain-top. Yet in the end he found out another path, which a *Lycian*, living in that Country, discovered unto him, and came thereby suddenly in view of *Ariobarzanes*, who being enforc'd to fight upon even ground, was by *Alexander* broken, whereupon he fled to *Persepolis*, but (after that they of *Persepolis* had refused to receive him) he returned and gave a second charge upon the *Macedonians*, wherein he was slain. In like manner did King *Francis* the first, in the year 1515. find a way over the *Alpes*, the *Switzers* undertaking to defend all the passages, who, if their footmanship had not saved them upon the Kings descent on the other side, they had been ill paid for their hard lodging on those Hills.

Four thousand *Greeks*, saith *Curtius*, (*Justine* numbers them but at eight hundred) having been taken Prisoners by the *Persians*, presented themselves to *Alexander* now in sight of *Persepolis*. These had the Barbarous *Persians* so maimed and defaced, by cutting off their Hands, Noses, Ears, and other Members, as they could no way have been known to their Country-men, but by their voices; to each of these *Alexander* gave three hundred Crowns, with new Garments, and such Lands as they liked to live upon.

Tiridates, one of *Darius* his false-hearted *Grandees*, hearing of *Alexander*'s approach, made him know that *Persepolis* was ready to receive him, and prayed him to double his pace, because there was a determination in the People to spoil the Kings Treasure. This City was abandoned by many of her Inhabitants upon *Alexander*'s arrival, and they that stayed followed the worst Counsel, for all was left to the liberty of the Souldiers, to spoil and kill at their pleasure. There was no place in the World at that time, which, if it had been laid in balance with *Persepolis*, would have weighed it down. *Babylon*, indeed, and *Susa*, were very rich; but in *Persepolis* lay the bulk and main store of the *Persians*. For after the spoil that had been made of Money, curious Plate, Bullion, Images of Gold and Silver, and other Jewels, there remained to *Alexander* himself one hundred and twenty thousand Talents. He left the same number of three thousand *Macedonians* in *Persepolis*, which he had done in *Susa*, and gave the same formal Honour to the Traytor *Tiridates*, that he had done to *Abulites*; but he that had the trust of the place was *Nicarides*, a Creature of his own. The body of his Army he left here for thirty days, of which the Commanders were *Parmenio* and *Craterus*, and with a thousand Horse, and certain Troups of chosen Foot, he would needs view in the Winter-time those parts of *Persia*, which the Snow had covered, a fruitless and foolish enterprise; but as *Seneca* says: *Non ille ire vult, sed non potest stare; He hath not a will to go, but he is unable to stand still.* It is said and spoken in his praise, That when his Souldiers cryed out against him, because they could not endure the extream Frost, and make way, but with extream difficulty, through the Snow, that *Alexander* forsook his Horse, and led them the way. But what can be more ridiculous than to bring other men into extremity, thereby to shew how well himself can endure it? His walking on foot did no otherwise take off their wearines that followed him, than his sometime forbearing to drink did quench their thirst, that could less endure it. For mine own little judgment I shall rather commend that Captain, that makes careful provision for those that follow him, and that seeks wisely to prevent extream necessity, than those witless arrogant Fools, that make the vaunt of having endured equally with the common Souldier, as if that were a matter of great glory and importance.

We find in all the Wars that *Cæsar* made, or the best of the *Roman* Commanders, that the provision of Victuals was their first care. For it was a true saying of *Coligni*, Admiral of *France*; *That who so will shape that Beast* (meaning War) *must begin with his belly.*

But *Alexander* is now returned to *Persepolis*, where those Historians, that were most amorous of his Vertues, complain, that the opinion of his Valour, of his Liberality, of his Clemency towards the vanquished, and all other his Kingly conditions, were drowned in drink; That he smothered in carrowsing Cups all the reputation of his actions past; and that by descending, as it were, from the reverend Throne of the greatest King, into the company and familiarity of base Harlots, he began to be despised both of his own and all other Nations. For being perswaded, when he was inflamed with Wine, by the infamous Strumpet *Thais*, he caused the most sumptuous and goodly Castle and City of *Persepolis*, to be consumed with fire, notwithstanding all the Arguments of *Parmenio* to the contrary, who told him that it was a dishonour to destroy those things by the perswasions of others, which by his proper vertue and force he had obtained; and that it would be a most strong perswasion to the *Asians*, to think hardly of him, and thereby alienate their hearts: For they might well believe that he which demolished the goodliest Ornaments they had, meant nothing less than (after such vastation) to hold their possession. *Fere vinolentiam crudelitas sequitur; Cruelty doth commonly follow drunkenness*: For so it fell out soon after, and often, in *Alexander*.

Curt. l. 5.

Sen. Epist. 84.

§. XIII.

The Treason of Bessus *against* Darius. Darius *his Death.*

ABout this time he received a new supply of Souldiers out of *Cilicia*, and goes on to find *Darius* in *Media*. *Darius* had there compounded his fourth and last Army, which he meant to have increased in *Bactria*, had he not heard of *Alexander*'s coming on, with whom (trusting to such Companies as he had, which was numbred at thirty or forty thousand) he determined once again to try his Fortune. He thereupon calls together his Captains and Commanders, and propounds unto them his resolution, who being desperate of good success, used silence for a while. *Artabazus*, one of his eldest Men of War, who had sometime lived with *Philip* of *Macedon*, brake

the Ice, and proteſting that he could never be beaten by any adverſity of the Kings, from the faith which he had ever ought him, with firm confidence, that all the reſt were of the ſame diſpoſition (whereof they likewiſe aſſured *Darius* by the like proteſtation) he approved the Kings reſolution. Two only, and thoſe the greateſt, to wit, *Naburzanes* and *Beſſus*, whereof the latter was Governour of *Bactria*, had conſpired againſt their Maſter, and therefore adviſed the King to lay a new foundation for the War, and to purſue it by ſome ſuch Perſon for the preſent, againſt whom neither the Gods nor Fortune had in all things declared themſelves to be an Enemy: this preamble *Naburzanes* uſed, and in concluſion adviſed the election of his fellow-Traytor *Beſſus*, with promiſe that, the Wars ended, the Empire ſhould again be reſtored to *Darius*. The King, ſwollen with diſdain, preſs'd towards *Naburzanes* to have ſlain him, but *Beſſus* and the *Bactrians* whom he commanded, being more in number than the reſt, with-held him. In the mean while *Naburzanes* withdrew himſelf, and *Beſſus* followed him, making their Quarter apart from the reſt of the Army. *Artabazus*, the Kings faithful Servant, perſwaded him to be adviſed, and ſerve the time, ſeeing *Alexander* was at hand, and that he would at laſt make ſhew of forgetting the offence made, which the King, being of a gentle diſpoſition, willingly yielded unto. *Beſſus* makes his ſubmiſſion, and attends the King, who removes his Army. *Patron*, who commanded a Regiment of four thouſand *Greeks*, which had in all the former Battels ſerved *Darius* with great fidelity, and always made the retreat in ſpight of the *Macedonians*, offered himſelf to guard his Perſon, proteſting againſt the Treaſon of *Beſſus*, but it was not in his deſtiny to follow their Advice, who from the beginning of the War gave him faithful Counſel; but he inclined ſtill to *Beſſus*, who told him, that the *Greeks* with *Patron* their Captain were corrupted by *Alexander*, and practiſed the diviſion of his faithful Servants. *Beſſus* had drawn unto him thirty thouſand of the Army, promiſing them all thoſe things, by which the lovers of the World and themſelves, are wont to be allured, to wit, Riches, Safety, and Honour.

Now the day following *Darius* plainly diſcovered the purpoſes of *Beſſus*, and being overcome with Paſſion, as thinking himſelf unable to make head againſt theſe ungrateful and unnatural Traytors, he prayed *Artabazus* his faithful Servant to depart from him, and to provide for himſelf. In like ſort he diſcharged the reſt of his attendants, all ſave a few of his *Eunuchs*; for his Guards had voluntarily abandoned him. His *Perſians* being moſt baſe Cowards, durſt not undertake his defence againſt the *Bactrians*, notwithſtanding that they had four thouſand *Greeks* to joyn with them, who had been able to have beaten both Nations. But it is true, that him, which forſakes himſelf, no man follows. It had been far more Man-like and King-like, to have died in the head of thoſe four thouſand *Greeks*, which offered him the diſpoſition of their lives, (to which *Artabazus* perſwaded him) than to have lien bewailing himſelf on the ground, and ſuffering himſelf to be bound like a Slave by thoſe ambitious Monſters that laid hand on him, whom neither the conſideration of his former great Eſtate, nor the honours he had given them, nor the truſt repoſed in them, nor the world of benefits beſtowed on them, could move to pity: no, nor his preſent adverſity, which above all things ſhould have moved them, could pierce their viperous and ungrateful hearts. Vain it was indeed to hope it, for infidelity hath no compaſſion.

Now *Darius*, thus forſaken, was bound and laid in a Cart, covered with hides of Beaſts, to the end that by any other ornament he might not be diſcovered; and to add deſpight and deriſion to his adverſity, they faſtened him with Chains of Gold, and ſo drew him on among their ordinary Carriages and Carts. For *Beſſus* and *Nabarzanes* perſwaded themſelves to redeem their Lives and the Provinces they held, either by delivering him a Priſoner to *Alexander*, or if that hope failed, to make themſelves Kings by his ſlaughter, and then to defend themſelves by force of Arms. But they failed in both. For it was againſt the nature of God, who is moſt juſt, to pardon ſo ſtrange Villany, yea, though againſt a Prince purely Heatheniſh, and an Idolater.

Alexander having knowledge that *Darius* was retired towards *Bactria*, and durſt not abide his coming, haſted after him with a violent ſpeed, and becauſe he would not force his foot-men beyond their powers, he mounted on horſe-back certain ſelected Companies of them, and beſt armed, and with ſix thouſand other Horſe, rather ran than marched after *Darius*. Such as hated the Treaſon of *Beſſus*, and ſecretly forſook him, gave knowledge to *Alexander* of all that had happened, informing him of the way that *Beſſus* took, and how near he was at hand; for many men of worth daily ran from him. Hereupon *Alexander* again doubled his pace, and his Vant-guard being diſcovered by *Beſſus* his Rear, *Beſſus* brought a Horſe to the Cart, where *Darius* lay bound, perſwading him to mount thereon, and to ſave himſelf. But the unfortunate King refuſing to follow thoſe that had betrayed him, they caſt Darts at him, wounded him to death, and wounded the Beaſts that drew him, and ſlew two poor Servants that attended his Perſon. This done, they all fled that could, leaving the reſt to the mercy of the *Macedonian* Swords.

Polyſtratus a *Macedonian*, being by purſuit of the vanquiſhed preſs'd with thirſt, as he was refreſhing himſelf with ſome Water that he had diſcovered, eſpying a Cart with a Team of wounded Beaſts breathing for life, and not able to move, ſearched the ſame, and therein found *Darius* bathing in his own bloud. And by a *Perſian* Captive which followed this *Polyſtratus*, he underſtood that it was *Darius*, and was informed of this Barbarous Tragedy; *Darius* alſo ſeemed greatly comforted (if dying men ignorant of the living God can be comforted) that he caſt not out his laſt ſorrows unheard, but that by this *Macedonian*, *Alexander* might know and take vengeance on thoſe Traytors, which had dealt no leſs unworthily than cruelly with him, recommending their revenge to *Alexander* by this Meſſenger, which he beſought him to purſue, not becauſe *Darius* had deſired it, but for his own Honour and for the ſafety of all that did, or ſhould after wear Crowns. He alſo, having nothing elſe to preſent, rendred thanks to *Alexander* for the Kingly grace uſed towards his Wife, Mother, and Children, deſiring the immortal Gods to ſubmit unto him the Empire of the whole World. As he was thus ſpeaking, impatient Death preſſing out his few remaining ſpirits, he deſired Water, which *Polyſtratus* preſented him, after which he lived but to tell him, that of all the beſt things that the World had, which were lately in his power, he had nothing remaining but his laſt breath, wherewith to deſire the Gods to reward his Compaſſion.

§. XIV.

§. XIV.

How Alexander *pursued* Bessus, *and took into his grace* Darius *his Captains.*

IT was now hoped by the *Macedonians*, that their Travels were near an end, every man preparing for his return. Hereof when *Alexander* had knowledge, he was greatly grieved; for the bounded Earth sufficed not his boundless ambition. Many arguments he therefore used to draw on his Army farther into the East; but that which had most strength was, that *Bessus*, a most cruel Traytor to his Master *Darius*, having at his devotion the *Hyrcanians* and *Bactrians*, would in short time (if the *Macedonians* should return) make himself Lord of the *Persian* Empire, and enjoy the Fruits of all their former Travels. In conclusion, he wan their consents to go on: which done, leaving *Craterus* with certain Regiments of Foot, and *Amyntas* with six thousand Horse in *Parthenia*, he enters not without some opposition into *Hyrcania*; for the *Mardons*, and other barbarous Nations, defended certain passages for a while. He passeth the River of *Zioberis*, which taking beginning in *Parthia*, dissolves it self in the *Caspian* Sea: it runneth under the ledge of Mountains, which bound *Parthia* and *Hyrcania*, where hiding it self under ground for three hundred Furlongs, it then riseth again and followeth its former course. In *Zadracarta*, or *Zeudracarta*, the same City which *Ptolomy* writes *Hyrcania*, the *Metropolis* of that Region, he rested fifteen days, banqueting and feasting therein.

Phataphernes, one of *Darius* his greatest Commanders, with other of his best followers, submit themselves to *Alexander*, and were restored to their Places and Governments. But of all other he graced *Artabazus* most highly for his approved and constant faith to his Master *Darius*. *Artabazus* brought with him ten thousand and five hundred *Greeks*, the remainder of all those that had served *Darius*; He treats with *Alexander* for their Pardon, before they were yet arrived, but in the end they render themselves simply without promise or composition: he pardons all but the *Lacedæmonians*, whom he imprisoned, their Leader having slain himself. He was also wrought (though to his great dishonour) to receive *Nabarzanes* that had joyned with *Bessus* to Murder *Darius*.

§. XV.

Of Thalestris, *Queen of the* Amazons; *where, by way of digression it is shewed, that such* Amazons *have been, and are.*

HEre it is said, that *Thalestris* or *Minothea*, a Queen of the *Amazons*, came to visit him, and her suit was (which she easily obtained) That she might accompany him till she were made with Child by him: which done (refusing to follow him into *India*) she returned into her own Country.

Plutarch citeth many Historians, reporting this meeting of *Thalestris* with *Alexander*, and some contradicting it. But, indeed, the Letters of *Alexander* himself to *Antipater*, recounting all that befell him in those parts, and yet omitting to make mention of this *Amazonian* business, may justly breed suspicion of the whole matter as forged. Much more justly may we suspect it as a vain tale, because an Historian of the same time reading one of his Books to *Lysimachus* (then King of *Thrace*) who had followed *Alexander* in all his Voyage, was laugh'd at by the King for inserting such News of the *Amazons*, as *Lysimachus* himself had never heard of. One that accompanied *Alexander*, took upon him to write his Acts; which to amplifie, He told how the King had fought single with an Elephant, and slain it. The King hearing such stuff, caught the Book, and threw it into the River of *Indus*, saying, that it were well done to throw the writer after it, who by inserting such Fables disparaged the truth of his great exploits. Yet as we believe and know that there are Elephants, though it were false that *Alexander* fought with one; so may we give credit unto writers, making mention of such *Amazons*, whether it were true or false that they met with *Alexander*; as *Plutarch* leaves the matter undetermined. Therefore I will here take leave to make digression, as well to shew the opinions of the ancient Historians, Cosmographers, and others, as also of some modern discoverers touching these Warlike Women, because not only *Strabo*, but many others of these our times make doubt, whether or no, there were any such kind of People. *Julius Solinus* seats them in the North parts of *Asia* the Less. *Pom. Mela* finds two Regions filled with them; the one, on the River *Thermodoon*; the other, near the *Caspian* Sea; *Quas* (saith he) *Sauromatidas appellant; Which the People call Sauromatidas.* The former of these two had the *Cimerians* for their Neighbours; *Certum est* (saith *Vadianus*, who hath Commented upon *Mela*) *illos proximos Amazonibus fuisse; It is certain that the* Cimerians *were the next Nations to the* Amazons. *Ptolomy* sets them farther into the Land Northwards, near the Mountains *Hippaci*, not far from the Pillars of *Alexander*. And that they had Dominion in *Asia* it self toward *India*, *Solinus* and *Pliny* tell us; where they governed a People called the *Pandeans*, or *Padeans*, so called after *Pandea* the Daughter of *Hercules*, from whom all the rest derive themselves. *Claudian* affirms, That they commanded many Nations: For he speaks (largely, perhaps as a Poet) thus.

Solin. c. 27. & 65.

Lib. 1.

Ptol. l. 6. Asiæ Tab. 2.

Plin. l. 6. c. 20.

Medis levibusque Sabæis
Imperat hic sexus: Reginarumque sub armis,
Barbariæ pars magna jacet.

Claud. de cap. Proserpinæ.

Over the *Medes*, and light *Sabæans*, raigns
This Female Sex: and under Arms of Queen,
Great part of the Barbarian Land remains.

Diodorus Siculus hath heard of them in *Lybia*, who were more ancient (saith he) than those which kept the banks of *Thermodoon*, a River falling into the *Euxine* Sea near *Heraclium*.

L. 2.

Herodotus doth also make report of these *Amazons*, whom he tells us that the *Scythians* call *Æorpatas*, which is as much as *Viricidas*, or Men-killers. And that they made incursion into *Asia* the Less, sack'd *Ephesus*, and burnt the Temple of *Diana*, *Manethon* and *Aventinus* report, which they performed forty years after *Troy* was taken. At the Siege of *Troy* it self we read of *Penthesilea*, That she came to the succour of *Priamus*.

Æneiad. 1. l. 3.

Am. Marcellinus gives the cause of their inhabiting upon the River of *Thermodoon*, speaking confidently of the Wars they made with divers Nations, and of their overthrow.

L. 22. c. 7.

Plutarch in the Life of *Theseus*, out of *Philochorus*, *Hellanicus*, and other ancient Historians, reports the taking of *Antiopa*, Queen of the *Amazons*, by *Hercules*, and by him given to *Theseus*, though some affirm, That *Theseus* himself got her by stealth when she came to visit him aboard his Ship.

But in ſubſtance there is little difference; all confeſſing, That ſuch *Amazons* there were. The ſame Author in the Life of *Pompey*, ſpeaks of certain Companies of the *Amazons*, that came to aid the *Albanians* againſt the *Romans*, by whom, after the Battel, many Targets and Buskins of theirs were taken up: and he ſaith farther, That theſe Women entertain the *Gelæ* and *Lelages* once a year, Nations inhabiting between them and the *Albanians*.

Hiſtor. Ind. part 2. c. 28.

But to omit the many Authors, making mention of *Amazons* that were in the old times, *Fran. Lopez*, who hath written the Navigation of *Orellana*, which he made down the River of *Amazons* from *Peru*, in the Year 1542. (upon which River, for the divers turnings, he is ſaid to have ſailed ſix thouſand miles) reports from the relation of the ſaid *Orellana*, to the Council of the *Indies*, That he both ſaw thoſe Women, and fought with them, where they ſought to impeach his paſſage towards the Eaſt Sea.

It is alſo reported by *Ulricus Schmidel*, that in the Year 1542. where he ſailed up the Rivers of *Paragna* and *Parabol*, that he came to a King of that Country, called *Scherues*, inhabiting under the *Tropick* of *Capricorn*, who gave his Captain *Ernando Rieffere*, a Crown of Silver, which he had gotten in fight from a Queen of the *Amazons* in thoſe parts.

Ed. Lopes, in his deſcription of the Kingdom of *Congo*, makes relation of ſuch *Amazons*, telling us, That (agreeable to the reports of elder times) they burn off their right Breaſt, and live apart from Men, ſave at one time of the year, when they Feaſt and accompany them for one Moneth. Theſe (ſaith he) poſſeſs a part of the Kingdom of *Monomotapa* in *Africa*, nineteen degrees to the Southward of the Line: and that theſe Women are the ſtrongeſt Guards of this Emperour, all the *Eaſt-Indian Portugals* know.

I have produced theſe Authorities, in part, to juſtifie mine own relation of theſe *Amazons*, becauſe that which was delivered me for truth by an ancient *Caſicque* of *Guiana*, how upon the River of *Papamena* (ſince the *Spaniſh* diſcoveries called *Amazons*) that theſe Women ſtill live and govern, was held for a vain and unprofitable report.

§. XVI.

How Alexander *fell into the* Perſian's *Luxury: and how he further purſued* Beſſus.

NOW as *Alexander* had begun to change his conditions after the taking of *Perſepolis*: ſo at this time his Proſperity had ſo much over-wrought his Vertue, as he accounted clemency to be but baſeneſs, and the temperance which he had uſed all his life-time, but a poor and dejected humour, rather becoming the inſtructers of his Youth, than the condition and ſtate of ſo mighty a King, as the World could not equal. For he perſwaded himſelf that he now repreſented the greatneſs of the Gods; he was pleaſed that thoſe that came before him, ſhould fall to the ground and adore him; he ware the Robes and Garments of the *Perſians*, and commanded that his Nobility ſhould do the like; he entertained in his Court, and Camp, the ſame ſhameleſs rabble of Curtiſans, and *Sodomitical Eunuchs*, that *Darius* had done, and imitated in all things the proud, voluptuous, and deteſted manners of the *Perſians*, whom he had vanquiſhed. So licentious is Felicity, as notwithſtanding that he was fully perſwaded that the Gods, whom he ſerved (deteſting the vices of the invaded) aſſiſted him in all attempts againſt them, he himſelf, contrary to the Religion he profeſs'd (which how Idolatrous ſoever it were, could not be but fearful unto him by neglecting it) became by imitation, and not by Ignorance or Education, a more foul and fearful Monſter than *Darius*, from whoſe Tyranny he vaunted to have delivered ſo many Nations. Yea, thoſe that were deareſt and neareſt unto him, began to be aſhamed of him, entertaining each other with this, and the like ſcornful diſcourſe, That *Alexander* of *Macedon* was become one of *Darius* his licentious Courtiers; That by his example the *Macedonians* were in the end of ſo many Travels more impoveriſhed in their Vertues, than enriched by their Victories; and that it was hard to judge whether the Conquerours, or the conquered were the baſer Slaves. Neither were theſe opinions ſo reſerved, but that the noiſe of them came to his ears. He therefore with great gifts ſought to pacifie the better ſort, and thoſe of whoſe judgments he was moſt jealous; and making it known to the Army that *Beſſus* had aſſumed the Title of a King, and called himſelf *Artaxerxes*; and that he had compounded a great Army of the *Bactrians*, and other Nations, he had Arguments enough to perſwade them to go on, to the end that all already gotten, might not with themſelves (ſo far engaged) be caſt away. And becauſe they were peſtered with the ſpoils of ſo many Cities, as the whole Army ſeemed but the guard of their Carriages, (not much unlike the warfare of the *French*) having commanded every mans Fardels to be brought into the Market-place, he together with his own, cauſed all to be conſumed with fire. Certainly, this could not but have proved moſt dangerous unto him, ſeeing the common Souldiers had more intereſt in theſe things, which they had bought with their painful Travels, and with their Bloud, than in the Kings Ambition; had not (as *Seneca* often obſerved) his happy temerity overcome all things. As he was in his way, news came to him that *Satribarzanes*, whom he had eſtabliſhed in his former Government over the *Arrians*, was revolted; whereupon leaving the way of *Bactria*, he ſought him out, but the Rebel hearing of his coming, fled to *Beſſus* with two thouſand Horſe. He then went on towards *Beſſus*, and by ſetting a great pile of Wood on fire with the advantage of a ſtrong Wind, won a paſſage over a high and unacceſſable Rock, which was defended againſt him with thirteen thouſand Foot. For the extremity of the flame and ſmoke forced them from the place, otherwiſe Invincible. I ſaw in the third Civil War of *France* certain Caves in *Languedoc*, which had but one entrance, and that very narrow, cut out in the mid-way of high Rocks, which we knew not how to enter by any Ladder or Engine, till at laſt by certain bundles of Straw let down by an Iron Chain, and a weighty ſtone in the midſt, thoſe that defended it were ſo ſmothered, as they rendred themſelves with their Plate, Money, and other Goods therein hidden. There were alſo, ſome three years before my arrival in *Guiana*, three hundred *Spaniards* well mounted, ſmothered to death, together with their Horſes, by the Country People, who did ſet the long dry Graſs on fire to the Eaſtward of them, (the Wind in thoſe parts being always Eaſt) ſo as notwithſtanding their flying from the ſmoke, there was not any one that eſcaped. Sir *John Borrowes* alſo, with an hundred *Engliſh*, was in great danger of being loſt at *Margarita*, in the *Weſt-Indies*, by having the Graſs fired behind him, but the ſmoke being timely diſcovered, he recovered the Sea-

ſhore

ſhore with the loſs of ſixteen of his men. I remember theſe things, but to give caution to thoſe that ſhall in times to come invade any part of thoſe Countries, that they always, before they paſs into the Land, burn down the Graſs and Sedge to the Eaſt of them; they may otherwiſe, without any other Enemy than a handful of Straw ſet on fire, die the death of Hony-Bees, burnt out of the Hive.

§. XVII.

A Conſpiracy againſt Alexander. *The death of* Philotas *and* Parmenio.

Alexander was, after he parted hence, no where reſiſted, till he came into *Aria*, to the Eaſt of *Bactria*, where the chief City of that Province, called *Artacoana*, was a while defended againſt him, by the revolt of *Sartibarzanes*, but in the end he received the Inhabitants to mercy. At this place his Army was re-enforced with a new ſupply of five thouſand and five hundred Foot, and near five hundred Horſe, out of *Greece*, *Theſſaly*, and other places. His Journey out of *Perſia* into theſe parts is very confuſedly deſcribed. For having (as all his Hiſtorians tell us) a determination to find *Beſſus* in *Bactria*, he leaves it at the very entrance, and takes the way of *Hyrcania*; from thence he wanders Northward towards the obſcure *Mardi*, upon the *Caſpian*-Sea, and thence over the Mountains *Coronus* into *Aria* and *Drangiana*.

At this time it was that the Treaſon of *Dimnus* brake out, of which *Philotas* the Son of *Parmenio* was accuſed, as acceſſary, if not principal. This *Dimnus*, having (I know not upon what ground) conſpired with ſome others againſt the life of *Alexander*, went about to draw *Nicomachus*, a young man whom he loved, into the ſame Treaſon. The Youth, although he was firſt bound by Oath to ſecrecy, when he heard ſo foul a matter uttered, began to proteſt againſt it ſo vehemently, that his Friend was like to have ſlain him for ſecurity of his own Life. So conſtrained by fear, he made ſhew as if he had been won by perſwaſion, and by ſeeming at length to like well of the buſineſs, he was told more at large what they were, that had undertaken it. There were nine or ten of them, all men of Rank; whoſe Names *Dimnus* (to countenance the enterpriſe) reckoned up to *Nicomachus*. *Nicomachus* had no ſooner freed himſelf from the company of this Traytor *Dimnus*, than he acquainted his own Brother *Ceballinus* with the whole Hiſtory: whereupon it was agreed between them, that *Ceballinus* (who might with leaſt ſuſpicion) ſhould go to the Court and utter all. *Ceballinus*, meeting with *Philotas*, told him the whole buſineſs, deſiring him to acquaint the King therewith; which he promiſed to do, but did not. Two days paſſed, and *Philotas* never brake with the King about the matter; but ſtill excuſed himſelf to *Ceballinus* by the Kings want of leiſure. This his coldneſs bred ſuſpicion, and cauſed *Ceballinus* to addreſs himſelf to another, one *Metron*, Keeper of the Kings Armory, who forth-with brought him to *Alexander*'s preſence. *Alexander*, finding by examination what had paſſed between *Ceballinus* and *Philotas*, did fully perſwade himſelf that this concealment of the Treaſon, argued his hand to have been in the buſineſs. Therefore when *Dimnus* was brought before him, he asked the Traytor no other queſtion than this: *Wherein have I ſo offended thee, that thou ſhouldeſt think* Philotas *more worthy to be King than I? Dimnus* perceiving, when he was apprehended, how the matter went, had ſo wounded himſelf, that he lived no longer than to give his laſt groan in the Kings preſence. Then was *Philotas* called, and charged with the ſuſpicion which his ſilence might juſtly breed. His anſwer was, That when the practice was revealed unto him by *Nicomachus*, he judging it to be but frivolous, did forbear to acquaint *Alexander* therewithal, until he might have better information. This error of his, (if it were only an error) although *Alexander*, for the notorious ſervices of his Father *Parmenio*, of his Brother *Nicanor* lately dead, and of *Philotas* himſelf, had freely pardoned and given him his hand for aſſurance; yet by the inſtigation of *Craterus*, he again ſwallowed his Princely promiſe, and made his Enemies his Judges: *Curtius* gives a note of *Craterus* in this buſineſs; How he perſwaded himſelf, that he could never find a better occaſion to oppreſs his private Enemy, than by pretending Piety and Duty towards the King. Hereof a Poet of our own hath given a note as much better as it is more general in his *Philotas*.

See how theſe great men cloath their private hate,
In theſe fair colours of the publick good,
And to effect their ends, pretend the State,
As if the State by their affection ſtood,
And arm'd with power and Princes jealouſies,
Will put the leaſt conceit of diſcontent
Into the greateſt rank of Treacheries,
That no one action ſhall ſeem innocent;
Yea, Valour, Honour, Bounty, ſhall be made
As acceſſaries unto ends unjuſt:
And even the ſervice of the State muſt lade
The needfull'ſt undertaking with diſtruſt,
So that baſe vileneſs, idle Luxury,
Seem ſafer far, than to do worthily, &c.

Now although it were ſo that the King, following the advice of *Craterus*, had reſolved the next day to put *Philotas* to torment, yet in the very Evening of the ſame Night in which he was Apprehended, he called him to a Banquet, and diſcourſed as familiarly with him as at any other time. But when in the dead of the Night *Philotas* was taken in his Lodging, and that they which hated him began to bind him, he cried out upon the King in theſe words: O Alexander, *the malice of mine Enemies hath ſurmounted thy mercy, and their hatred is far more conſtant than the word of a King.* Many circumſtances were urged againſt him by *Alexander* himſelf; (for the Kings of *Macedon* did in Perſon examine the accuſations of Treaſon) and this was not the leaſt (not the leaſt offence, indeed, againſt the Kings humour, who deſired to be glorified as a God) That when *Alexander* wrote unto him concerning the Title given him by *Jupiter Hammon*; He anſwered, That he could not but rejoyce that he was admitted into that ſacred Fellowſhip of the Gods, and yet he could not but withal grieve for thoſe that ſhould live under ſuch a one as would exceed the nature of Man. This was (ſaith *Alexander*) a firm perſwaſion unto me, that his heart was changed, and that he held my glory in deſpight. See what a ſtrange Monſter Flattery is, that can perſwade Kings to kill thoſe that do not praiſe and allow thoſe things in them, which are of all other moſt to be abhorred. *Philotas* was brought before the multitude to hear the Kings Oration againſt him: he was brought forth in vile Garments, and bound like a Thief; where he heard himſelf, and his abſent Father, the greateſt Captain of the World, accuſed, his two other Brothers, *Hector* and *Nicanor* having been loſt in

in the preſent War. He was ſo greatly oppreſt with grief as for a while he could utter nothing but Tears, and ſorrow had ſo waſted his ſpirits, as he ſunk under thoſe that led him. In the end the King asked him in what Language he would make his Defence; he anſwered, in the ſame wherein it had pleaſed the King to accuſe him, which he did to the end that the *Perſians*, as well as the *Macedonians*, might underſtand him. But hereof the King made his advantage, perſwading the Aſſembly that he diſdained the Language of his own Country, and ſo withdrawing himſelf, left him to his mercileſs Enemies.

This proceeding of the Kings, *Philotas* greatly lamented, ſeeing the King who had ſo ſharply inveighed againſt him, would not vouchſafe to hear his excuſe. For, not his Enemies only were imboldened thereby againſt him, but all the reſt having diſcovered the Kings diſpoſition and reſolution, contended among themſelves which of them ſhould exceed in hatred towards him; among many other Arguments which he uſed in his own defence, this was not the weakeſt, That when *Nicomachus* deſired to know of *Dimnus* what men of mark and power were his Partners in the Conſpiracy (as ſeeming unwilling to adventure himſelf with mean and baſe Companions) *Dimnus* named unto him *Demetrius* of the Kings Chamber, *Nicanor*, *Amyntas*, and ſome others, but ſpake not a word of *Philotas*, who by being Commander of the Horſe, would greatly have valued the Party, and have incouraged *Nicomachus*. Indeed, as *Philotas* ſaid well for himſelf, it is likely that *Dimnus*, thereby the better to have heartned *Nicomachus*, would have named him, though he had never dealt with him in any ſuch practice. And for more certain proof that he knew nothing of their intents, that practiſed againſt the King, there was not any one of the Conſpirators, being many, inforc'd by Torments or otherwiſe that could accuſe him, and it is true, that adverſity being ſeldom able to bear her own burden, is for the moſt part found ſo malicious, as ſhe rather deſires to draw others (not always deſerving it) into the ſame danger, than to ſpare any that it can accuſe. Yet at the laſt, howſoever it were, to avoid the extremity of reſiſtleſs and unnatural Torments, deviſed by his profeſt Enemies, *Craterus*, *Cenus*, *Epheſtion*, and others, *Philotas* accuſed his own ſelf; being perſwaded that they would have ſlain him forthwith. But he failed even in that miſerable hope, and ſuffering all that could be laid on Fleſh and Blood, he was forc'd to deliver, not what he knew, but whatſoever beſt pleaſed their ears, that were far more mercileſs than death it ſelf.

Of this kind of judicial proceeding St. *Auguſtin* greatly complaineth as a matter to be bewailed, ſaith he, with Fountains of tears. *Quid cum in ſua cauſa quiſque torquetur: & cum quæritur utrum ſit nocens cruciatur: & innocens luit pro incerto ſcelere certiſſimas pœnas: non quia illud commiſiſſe detegitur, ſed quia non commiſiſſe neſcitur; What ſhall we ſay to it, when one is put to torture in his own Caſe; and tormented whileſt yet it is in queſtion whether he be guilty; and being innocent, ſuffers aſſured puniſhment for a fault of which there is no certainty, not becauſe he is known to have committed the Offence, but becauſe other do not know that he hath not committed it.*

Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 19. c. 6.

It had been enough for *Alexanders* ſafety, if *Philotas* had been put to death without torment, the reſt would not much have grieved thereat, becauſe he was greatly ſuſpected. But *Hemolaus*, who afterward conſpired againſt him, made the Kings Cruelty and delight in Blood the greateſt motive of his own ill intent. Therefore *Seneca* ſpeaking of *Alexander*, ſaith thus: *Crudelitas nimine humanum malum eſt, indignum tam miti animo; ferina iſta rabies eſt ſanguine gaudere & vulneribus, & abjecto homine, in ſilveſtre animal tranſire; Cruelty is not a humane Vice; it is unworthy of ſo mild a Spirit. It is even a beaſtly Rage to delight in Blood and Wounds, and caſting away the nature of Man to become a ſavage Monſter.*

Sen. de Clem. l. 1.

For the concluſion of this Tragedy, *Curtius* makes a doubt, whether the Confeſſion that *Philotas* made, were to give end to the Torments which he could not any longer indure, or that the ſame was true indeed; For (ſaith he) in this caſe, they that ſpeak truly, or they that deny falſly, come to one and the ſame end. Now while the Kings hands were yet wet in blood, he commanded that *Lynceſtes*, Son-in-law to *Antipater*, who had been three years in Priſon, ſhould be ſlain: The ſame diſpatch had all thoſe that *Nicomachus* had accuſed: others there were that were ſuſpected, becauſe they had followed *Philotas*, but when they had anſwered for themſelves, that they knew no way ſo direct to win the Kings Favour, as by loving thoſe whom the King favoured, they were diſmiſt. But *Parmenio* was yet living; *Parmenio*, who had ſerved with great fidelity, as well *Philip* of *Macedon* the Kings Father, as himſelf; *Parmenio* that firſt opened the way into *Aſia*; That had depreſt *Attalus* the Kings Enemy; that had always, and in all hazards, the leading of the Kings Vant-guard, that was no leſs prudent in counſel, than fortunate in all attempts; A man beloved of the Men of War, and to ſay the truth, he that had made the purchaſe for the King of the Empire of the Eaſt, and of all the Glory and Fame he had: That he might not therefore revenge the Death of his Son, though not upon the King (for it was unlikely that he would have diſhonoured his Fidelity in his eldeſt Age, having now lived threeſcore and ten years) yet upon thoſe that by the witchcraft of flattery had poſſeſt themſelves of his Affection; it was reſolved that he ſhould be diſpatcht. *Polydamus* was imployed in this buſineſs, a man whom of all other *Parmenio* truſted moſt, and loved beſt, who (to be ſhort) finding him in *Media*, and having *Cleander* and other Murtherers with him, ſlew him walking in his Garden, while he was reading the Kings Letters. *Hic exitus* Parmenionis *fuit, militiæ domique clari viri; Multa ſine Rege proſperè, Rex ſine illo nihil magnæ rei geſſerat; This was the end of* Parmenio (*ſaith* Curtius) *who had performed many notable things without the King, but the King without him, did never effect any thing worthy of praiſe.*

Lib. 7.

§. XVIII.

How Alexander *ſubdued the* Bactrians, Sogdians, *and other People. How* Beſſus *was delivered into his hands. How he fought with the* Scythians.

WHen theſe things had end, *Alexander* went on with his Army, and brought under his obedience the *Araſpians* or *Evergitans*; he made *Amenides* (ſometime *Darius* his Secretary) their Governour; then he ſubdued the *Arachoſians*, and left *Menon* to command over them. Here the Army, ſometimes led by *Parmenio*, finds him, conſiſting of twelve thouſand *Macedons* and *Greeks*, with whom he paſt through ſome cold Regions with difficulty enough. At length he came to the foot of the Mountain *Taurus* towards the Eaſt, where he built a City which he honoured with his own

own Name, and peopled it with ſeven thouſand of his old *Macedons*, worn with Age, and with travails of the War. The *Arians*, who ſince he left them were revolted, he ſubdued again by the induſtry and valour of *Caranus* and *Erigius*; And now he reſolves to find out the new King *Beſſus* in *Bactria*. *Beſſus* hearing of his coming, prepares to paſs over the great River of *Oxus* which divides *Bactria* from *Sogdiana*; *Artabazus* is made Governour of *Bactria* abandoned by *Beſſus*; the *Macedonian* Army ſuffereth for want of Water, inſomuch as when they came to the River of *Oxus*, there died more of them by drinking inordinately, than *Alexander* had loſt in any one Battel againſt the *Perſians*. And it may well be; for (as *Clytus* did after object unto him) he fought againſt Women, not againſt Men, and not againſt their Perſons, but their Shadows. He found on the Banks of this great River no manner of Timber or other materials, to make either Boats, Bridges, or Raff, but was forc'd to ſow together the Hides that covered his Carriages, and ſtuff them with Straw, and on them in ſix days to paſs over his Army; which *Beſſus* might eaſily have diſtreſt, if he had dared but to behold the *Macedonian* Army afar off. He had formerly complained againſt *Darius* for neglecting to defend the Banks of *Tigris*, and other Paſſages. and yet now, when this traiterous Slave had ſtiled himſelf a King, he durſt not perform any thing worthy of a Slave. And therefore thoſe that were neareſt unto him, and whom he moſt truſted, to wit *Spitamines*, *Dataphernes*, *Catanes*, and others the Commanders of his Army, moved both by the care of their own ſafety, and by the memory of *Beſſus* his Treaſon and Cruelty againſt *Darius*, bound him in the like manner that he had done his Maſter, but with this difference, that he had the Chain cloſed about his neck like a Maſtiff Dog, and ſo was dragged along to be preſented to his Enemy.

In the mean while *Alexander* was arrived at a certain Town inhabited with *Greeks* of *Miletum*, brought thither by *Xerxes*, when long before he returned out of *Greece*, whoſe Iſſues had well-near forgotten their Country Language. Theſe moſt cruelly (after they had received him with great joy) he put to the Sword, and deſtroyed their City. At this place he received *Beſſus*, and having rewarded *Spitamenes* with the reſt that delivered him, he gave the Traitor into the hands of *Oxatres*, *Darius* his Brother, to be tormented.

But while he now thought himſelf ſecure, ſome twenty thouſand Mountainers aſſaulted his Camp; in repelling whom, he received a ſhot in the Leg, the Arrow-head ſticking in the Fleſh, ſo as he was carried in a Horſe-Lytter, ſometime by the Horſemen, ſometime by the Foot.

Soon after he came unto *Maracanda*, which *Petrus Parondinus* takes to be *Samarchand*, the Regal City of the great *Tamerlain*. It had in compaſs threeſcore and ten Furlongs (*Curtius* ſaith.) Here he received the Embaſſadors of the *Scythians*, (called *Arians*) who offered to ſerve him.

The *Bactrians* are ſhortly again with the *Sogdians* ſtirred to Rebellion by the ſame *Spitamenes* and *Catanes*, who had lately delivered into his hands the Traitor *Beſſus*. Many Cities were reſolvedly defended againſt him, all which, after Victory, he defaced and raſed, killing all therein. At one of theſe he received a Blow on the Neck which ſtruck him to the ground, and much diſabled him for many days after. In the mean while *Spitamenes* had recovered *Maracanda*, againſt whom he imployed *Menedemus* with three thouſand Foot and eight hundred Horſe.

In the heat of theſe Tumults, *Alexander* marched on, (if we may believe *Curtius* and others) till he came to the River of *Tanais*; upon whoſe Bank he built another *Alexandria* threeſcore Furlongs in compaſs, which he beautified with Houſes within ſeventeen days after the Walls were built. The building of this City is ſaid to have been occaſion of a War between him and the *Scythians*; the *Scythian* King perſwading himſelf, that this new Town was fortified of purpoſe to keep him under. I do not well underſtand why the *Scythians*, offering War in ſuch terrible manner, that *Alexander* was judged by his own Souldiers to counterfeit Sickneſs for very fear, ſhould nevertheleſs make ſuit for Peace: neither find I the reaſon why *Alexander* (not intending the Conqueſt of thoſe Northern Deſerts, but only the defence of his own Bank) ſhould refuſe to let them alone, with whom he could not meddle further than they ſhould agree to ſuffer him. Yet hereof is made a great matter, and a Victory deſcribed; in purſuit of which, the *Macedons* ran beyond the Bounds and Monuments of *Bacchus* his Expedition.

The truth is, That *Curtius* and *Trogus* have greatly miſtaken this River which the call *Tanais*. For it was the River of *Iaxartes*, that runs between *Sogdiana* and *Scythia*, which *Alexander* paſt over, while *Menedemus* was imployed in the recovery of *Samarchand*: But *Tanais*, which divides *Aſia* from *Europe*, is near two thouſand miles diſtant from any part of *Bactria* or *Sogdiana*, and the way deſert and unknown. So that *Alexander* had (beſides *Iaxartes*) the great River of *Volga*, and many others to ſwim over, ere he could recover *Tanais*, which (from the place where he was) he could hardly have diſcovered with the Army that followed him, if he had imployed all the time that he lived in *Aſia* in that Travail.

Wherefore it is enough to believe that the *Aſiatick Scythians*, making ſome offer to diſturb the Erection of this new City, which was like to give ſome hindrance to their excurſions, were driven away by the *Macedonians*; and being naked of defenſive Arms, eaſily chaſed ſome ten or twelve miles, which is the ſubſtance of *Curtius* his Report. As for the limits of *Bacchus* his Journey; like enough it is that *Bacchus*) if in his life time he were as ſober a man, as after his death he was held a drunken God) went not very far into that waſte Country, where he could find nothing but Trees and Stones, nor other buſineſs than to ſet up a Monument.

Threeſcore of the *Macedons* are ſaid to have been ſlain, and one thouſand one hundred hurt in this Fight, which might eaſily be, in paſſing a great River, defended againſt them by good Archers. Of *Scythian* Horſes one thouſand eight hundred were brought into the Camp, and many Priſoners. It is forbidden by ſome Hiſtorians, and indeed it is hardly poſſible to ſet down the numbers of ſuch as periſh in Battel; yet *Cæſar* commonly did it. And where the diligence of the Victors hath been ſo inquiſitive into the greatneſs of their own ſucceſs, that Writers have been able to deliver ſuch particulars by credible report: I hold it not unlawful to ſet down what we find; eſpecially when it ſerves to give light to the buſineſs in hand. The ſmall number which the *Macedonians* loſt; the omiſſion of the number which they ſlew (a thing not uſual in *Curtius*, who forbears nothing that may ſet out the greatneſs of *Alexander*) and the little Booty that was gotten, do make it probable, that this War was no better than the repulſion of a few roving *Tartars* (the like being yearly performed by the *Muſcovite*, without any

any boaſt) and therefore better omitted by ſome Hiſtorians, than ſo highly extolled as a great exploit by others.

While *Alexander* was aſſuring himſelf of thoſe *Scythians* bordering upon *Iaxartes*, he received the ill news that *Menedemus* was ſlain by *Spitamenes*, the Army (by him led) broken, and the greateſt numbers ſlain, to wit, two thouſand Foot, and three hundred Horſe. He therefore, to appeaſe the Rebellion, and to take revenge of *Spitamenes*, makes all the haſte he can; but *Spitamenes* flies into *Bactria*. *Alexander* kills, burns, and lays waſte all before him; not ſparing the innocent Children, and ſo departs, leaving a new Governour in that Province.

To repair this loſs, he received a great ſupply of nineteen thouſand Souldiers out of *Greece*, *Lycia*, and *Syria*; with all which and the old Army, he returns towards the South, and paſſeth the River of *Oxus*; on the South ſide whereof he built ſix Towns near each other for mutual ſuccour. But he finds a new ſtart-up-Rebel, called *Arimazes*, (a *Sogdian*) followed with thirty thouſand Souldiers that defended againſt him a ſtrong piece of Ground on the top of a high Hill; whom, when *Alexander* had fought in vain to win by fair words, he made choice of three hundred young men, and promiſed ten Talents to the firſt, nine to the ſecond, and ſo in proportion to the reſt, that could find a way to creep up to the top thereof. This they performed with the loſs of ſome two and thirty of their Men, and then made a ſign to *Alexander*, that they had performed his Commandment. Hereupon he ſent one *Copbes* to perſwade *Arimazes* to yield the Place; who, being ſhewed by *Cophes* that the Army of *Macedon* was already mounted up, yielded ſimply to *Alexanders* mercy, and was (with all his Kindred) ſcourged and crucified to death; which Puniſhment they well deſerved for neglecting to keep good Watch in ſo dangerous a time. For the Place, as ſeems by the deſcription, might eaſily have been defended againſt all the Armies of the World. But what ſtrength cannot do, mans Wit, being the moſt forcible Engine, hath often effected; of which I will give you an example in a place of our own.

The Iſland of *Sarke*, joyning to *Garnſey*, and of that Government, was in Queen *Maries* time ſurpriſed by the *French*, and could never have been recovered again by ſtrong hand, having Cattel and Corn enough upon the Place to feed ſo many men as will ſerve to defend it, and being every way ſo inacceſſible that it might be held againſt the Great *Turk*. Yet by the induſtry of a Gentleman of the Netherlands, it was in this ſort regained. He anchored in the Road with one Ship of ſmall Burden, and pretending the Death of his Merchant, beſought the *French*, being ſome thirty in number, that they might bury their Merchant in hallowed ground, and in the Chappel of that Iſle; offering a Preſent to the *French* of ſuch Commodities as they had aboard; whereto (with condition that they ſhould not come aſhore with any Weapon, no not ſo much as with a Knife) the *French* men yielded. Then did the *Flemings* put a Coffin into their Boat, not filled with a dead Carkaſs, but with Swords, Targets and Harquebuſſes. The *French* received them at their landing, and ſearching every of them ſo narrowly as they could not hide a Pen-knife, gave them leave to draw their Coffin up the Rocks with great difficulty; ſome part of the *French* took the *Flemiſh* Boat and rowed aboard their Ship, to fetch the Commodities promiſed, and what elſe they pleaſed, but being entred, they were taken and bound. The *Flemings* on the Land, when they had carried their Coffin into the Chappel, ſhut the door to them, and taking their Weapons out of the Coffin ſet upon the *French*; they run to the Cliff and cry to their Company aboard the *Flemings* to come to their Succour, but finding the Boat charged with *Flemings* yielded themſelves and the Place. Thus a Fox Tail doth ſometimes help well to peece out the Lyons Skin, that elſe would be too ſhort.

§. XIX.

How Alexander *ſlew his own Friends.*

After theſe *Sogdian* and *Scythian* Wars, we read of *Alexanders* killing of a Lyon, and other frivolous matter, and that he committed the government of *Maracanda*, and the Country about it to *Clytus*, and how he ſlew him ſoon after, for valuing the Vertue of *Philip* the Father before that of *Alexander* the Son, or rather becauſe he objected to the King the Death of *Parmenio*, and derided the Oracle of *Hammon*, for therein he toucht him to the quick, the ſame being delivered in publick, and at a drunken Banquet. *Clytus*, indeed had deſerved as much at the Kings hands as any man living had done, and had in particular ſaved his Life, which the King well remembred when he came to himſelf, and when it was too late. Yet to ſay the truth, *Clytus* his Inſolency was intolerable. As he in his Cups forgat whom he offended, ſo the King in his (for neither of them were themſelves) forgat whom he went about to ſlay, for the grief whereof, he tore his own Face and ſorrowed ſo inordinately, as, but for the perſwaſions of *Caliſthenes*, it is thought he would have ſlain himſelf.

Wine begat Fury, Fury matter of repentance; but preceding Miſchiefs are not amended by ſucceeding Bewailings. *Omne vitium ebrietas & incendit, & detegit; obſtantem malis conatibus verecundiam removet; ubi poſſedit animum nimia vis vini, quicquid mali latebat, emergit: non facit ebrietas vitia, ſed protrahit. Drunkenneſs both kindles and lays open every Vice; it removes out of the way that ſhame which gives impediment unto bad attempts; where Wine gets the Maſtery, all the Ill that before lay hidden breaks out: Drunkenneſs indeed rather diſcovers Vices, than makes them.*

Soon after this, *Spitamenes*, who ſlew *Beſſus*, and had lately revolted from *Alexander*, was murthered by his Wife, and his Head preſented to *Alexander*. *Spitamenes* being taken away, the *Dahans* alſo ſeized upon his Fellow Conſpirator *Dataphernes*, and delivered him up. So *Alexander* being now freed from all theſe petty Rebels, diſpoſed of the Provinces which he paſt over, and went on with his Army into *Gabaza*, where it ſuffered ſo much Hunger, Cold, Lightning, Thunder, and Storm, as he loſt in one Tempeſt a thouſand of his Train. From hence he invaded the *Sacans*, and deſtroyed their Country. Then came he into the Territory of *Cohortanes*, who ſubmitted himſelf unto him, feaſted him greatly, and preſented him with thirty beautiful Virgins, among whom *Roxane*, afterward his Wife, was one; which although all the *Macedonians* diſdained, yet none of them durſt uſe any freedom of ſpeech after *Clytus* his death. From hence he directed his courſe towards *India*, having ſo increaſed his numbers, as they amounted to an hundred and twenty thouſand armed men.

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In the mean while he would needs be honoured as a God: whereto that he might allure the *Macedonians*, he imployed two pernicious Parasites, *Hagis* and *Cleo*, whom *Calisthenes* opposed: For, among many other honest arguments used to the Assembly, he told *Cleo*, That he thought that *Alexander* would disdain the gift of God-head from his Vassals; that the Opinion of Sanctity, though it did sometime follow the Death of those who in their life-time had done the greatest things, yet it never accompanied any one as yet living in the World. He further told him, That neither *Hercules* nor *Bacchus* were Deified at a Banquet, and upon drink (for this matter was propounded by *Cleo* at a carowsing Feast) but that, for the more than manly acts by them performed while they lived, they were in future and succeeding Ages numbred among the Gods. *Alexander* stood behind a Partition and heard all that was spoken, waiting but an opportunity to be revenged on *Calisthenes*, who being a man of free speech, honest, learned, and a lover of the Kings Honour, was yet soon after tormented to Death, not for that he had betrayed the King to others, but because he never would condescend to betray the King to himself, as all his detestable Flatterers did. For in a Conspiracy against the King, made by one *Hermolaus* and others (which they confest) he caused *Calisthenes* without Confession, Accusation, or Tryal, to be torn asunder upon the Rack: This deed, unworthy of a King, *Seneca* thus censureth. *Hoc est* Alexandri *crimen æternum, quod nulla virtus, nulla bellorum fælicitas redimet. Nam quotiens quis dixerit, Occidit Persarum multa millia: opponitur, &* Calisthenem: *Quotiens dictum erit, Occidit* Darium: *opponitur, &* Calisthenem. *Quotiens dictum erit omnia Oceano tenus vicit, ipsum quoque tentavit novis classibus, & Imperium ex angulo* Thraciæ *usque ad Orientis terminos protulit: dicetur, sed* Calisthenem *occidit. Omnia licet antiqua Ducum Regumque exempla transierit, ex his quæ fecit nihil tam magnum erit quàm scelus* Calisthenes; *This is the eternal Crime of* Alexander, *which no Vertue nor Felicity of his in War shall ever be able to redeem. For as often as any man shall say, He slew many thousand* Persians, *it shall be replied, He did so, and he slew* Calisthenes. *When it shall be said, He slew* Darius, *it shall be replied, and* Calisthenes. *When it shall be said, He won all as far as to the very Ocean, thereon also he adventured with unusual Navies, and extended his Empire from a corner of* Thrace *to the utmost Bounds of the Orient, it shall be said withal, but he killed* Calisthenes. *Let him have outgone all the ancient examples of Captains and Kings, none of all his Acts makes so much to his Glory, as* Calisthenes *to his Reproach.*

§. XX.

Of Alexanders *Journey into* India. *The Battel between him and* Porus.

With the Army before remembred, of one hundred and twenty thousand Foot and Horse, *Alexander* did enter the Borders of *India*, where such of the Princes, as submitted themselves unto him he entertained lovingly, the rest he constrained; killing Man, Woman, and Child, where they resisted. He then came before *Nisa*, built by *Bacchus*, which after a few days was rendred unto him. From thence he removed to a Hill at hand, which on the top had goodly Gardens filled with delicate Fruits and Vines, dedicated to *Bacchus*, to whom he made Feasts for ten days together. Now when he had drunk his fill, he went on towards *Dedala*, and thence to *Acadera*, Countries spoiled and abandoned by the Inhabitants, by reason whereof, Victuals failing, he divides his Army: *Ptolemy* led one part, *Cenon* another, and himself the rest. They take many Towns, whereof that of greatest fame was *Mazage*, which had in it three hundred thousand men; but after some resistance, it was yielded unto him by *Cleophe* the Queen, to whom again he restored it; at the Siege of this City he received a Wound in the Leg. After this *Nora* was taken by *Polysperchon*, and a Rock of great strength by himself: he wan also a Passage upon one *Eryx*, who was slain by his Company, and his Head presented to *Alexander*. This is the sum of *Alexander's* doings in those parts, before such time as he arrived at the River of *Indus*. Coming to *Indus* he found there *Ephestion*, who (being sent before) had prepared Boats for the transportation of his Army, and ere *Alexanders* arrival, had perswaded *Omphis*, King of that part of the Country, to submit himself to this great Conqueror. Therefore, soon upon *Alexanders* coming, *Omphis* presented himself with all the strength of his Country, and six and fifty Elephants unto him, offering him his Service and Assistance. He made *Alexander* know that he was an Enemy to the next two great Kings of that part of *India*, named *Abiasares* and *Porus*, wherewith *Alexander* was not a little pleased, hoping by this Disunion to make his own Victory by far the more easie. He presented *Alexander* with a Crown of Gold, so did he the rest of his Commanders, and withal fourscore Talents of silver Coin, which *Alexander* not only refused, but to shew that he was covetous of Glory, not of Gold, he gave *Omphis* a thousand Talents of his own Treasure, besides other *Persian* rarities. *Abiasares* having heard that *Alexander* had received his Enemy *Omphis* into his Protection, resolved to make his own Peace also: For knowing that his own strength did but equal that of *Omphis*, and that there was no other difference between them, than that which the Chance of War gave, he thought it an ill Match when *Alexander*, who had already beaten under foot all the greatest Princes of *Asia*, should make himself a Party and Head of the Quarrel. So had *Alexander* none now to stand in his way but *Porus*, to whom he sent a Commandment, that he should attend him at the border of his Kingdom, there to do him Homage. But from *Porus* he received this manly answer, That he would satisfie him in his first Demand, which was to attend him on his Borders, and that well accompanied; but for any other Acknowledgment he was resolved to take counsel of his Sword. To be short, *Alexander* resolves to pass over the River *Hydaspes*, and to find *Porus* at his own Home. *Porus* attends him on the farther Bank with thirty thousand Foot, fourscore and ten Elephants, and three hundred armed Chariots, and a great Troop of Horse. If *Darius* had done the like on *Tigris*, *Alexander* had surely staid somewhat longer ere he had seen *India*. The River was four Furlongs broad, which makes half a Mile, and withall deep and swift. It had in it many Islands, among which there was one well shadowed with Wood, and of good capacity. *Alexander* sent *Ptolomy* up the River with a great part of the Army, shrowding the rest from the view of *Porus*, who by this device being drawn from his first incamping, sets himself down opposite to *Ptolomy*, supposing that the whole Army of *Macedon* meant to force their Passage there. In the mean while *Alexander* recovers the farther Shore without resistance. He orders

his Troups, and advanceth towards *Porus*, who at first rather believes that *Abiasares* his Confederate (but now the Confederate of Fortune) had been come over *Hydaspes* to his aid, than that *Alexander* had pass'd it. But he finds it otherwise, and sends his Brother *Hagis* with four thousand Horse, and a hundred armed Waggons to entertain him. Each Waggon had in it four to fight, and two to guide it; but they were at this time of little use: for there had fallen so much rain, and thereby the Fields were so moistned, as the Horses could hardly trot. The *Scythians* and *Dahans* had the Vantguard, who so galled these *Indians*, as they brake their Reins, and other Furniture, over-turning the Waggons and those in them. *Perdiccas* also gave upon the *Indian* Horse-men, and the one and the other were forc'd to recoil. *Porus* moves forward with the gross of his Army, that those of his Vantguard scattered might recover his Rear: *Alexander*, being followed with *Ephestion*, *Ptolomy*, and *Perdiccas*, took on him to charge the *Indian* Horse-men on the left wing, commanding *Cenus* or *Cenon* to invade the right; *Antigonus* and *Leonatus*, he directed to brake upon *Porus* his battel of Foot, strengthened with Elephants, *Porus* himself being carried upon one of them of the greatest stature. By these Beasts the *Macedonian* Foot were most offended; but the Archers and Darters, being well guarded with the long and strong Pikes of the *Macedons*, so galled them, as being enraged, they turned head and ran over the Foot that followed them. In the end, and after a long and doubtful Fight, by the advantage of Weapon, and by the courage and skilfulness of the *Macedonian* Captains, the Victory fell to *Alexander*, who also far exceeded *Porus* in number: for besides the *Macedonians* and other Eastern and Northern Nations, *Porus* was assailed by his own Confederate and Country People. Yet for his own Person he never gave ground otherwise than with his Sword towards his Enemies, till being weakened with many Wounds, and abandoned by his Army, he became a Prisoner to the Conquerour, from whom again he received his Estate with a great enlargement.

§. XXI.

How Alexander *finished his Expedition, and returned out of* India.

I Forbear to trouble my self and others with a frivolous discourse of Serpents, Apes, and Peacocks, which the *Macedonians* found in these there Travels: or of those petty Wars which *Alexander* made between the overthrow of *Porus*, and his sailing down the River of *Indus*. The descriptions of places about the head and branches thereof are better known unto us in this Age, by means of our late Navigations into those parts, than they were in any former times. The Magnificence and Riches of those Kings we could in no sort be perswaded to believe, till our own experience had taught us, that there were many stranger things in the World, than are to be seen between *London* and *Staines*.

Our great Traveller *Mandevile*, who died in the Year 1372. and had seen so much of the World, and of the East *India*, we accounted the greatest fabler of the World; yet had he another reputation among other Nations, as well able to judge as we. Witness the Monument made of him in the Covent of the Friers *Guillimins* in *Liege*, where the Religious of that place keep some things of his, *Comme pour honorable memoire de son Excellence*; *For an honourable memory of his Excelleney*, saith *Guicciardine*.

Guic. in Disc. of the Low Countries.

The Countries towards the Springs of *Indus*, and where those many Rivers of *Hydaspes*, *Zaradrus*, *Acesines*, and the rest, fall into the main Stream, are now possess'd by the great *Mogor*, the Ninth from *Tamberlain*, who commands all that tract between *Persia* and *Indus* towards the West, as also a great extent of Country towards *Ganges*. In the mouth of *Indus*, the *Ascension*, a Ship of *London*, suffered Shipwrack in the Year 1609. and some of the Company travelled over Land till they came to *Agra*, the same great City (as I take it) which our later Cosmographers call *Nagra*, being named of old *Dionysopolis*.

Philostratus in the Life of *Apollonius Tyanæus*, speaking of the expedition of *Bacchus* and *Hercules* into the East *India*, tells us, that those two great Captains (whom *Alexander* sought by all means to out-fame) when they endeavoured to subject unto them the *Oxydracæ*, a People inhabiting between the Rivers of *Hyphasis* and *Ganges*, they were beaten from the assault of their Cities with Thunder and Lightnings. This may well be understood by the great Ordnance that those People had then in use. For it is now certainly known, that the great Kings of the uttermost East, have had the use of the Cannon, many hundreds of years since, and even since their first civility and greatness, which was long before *Alexander*'s time. But *Alexander* pierc'd not so far into the East. It sufficed, that having already over-wearied his Army, he discovered the rest of *India* by fame. The *Indian* Kings whom he had subdued, informed him, that a Prince called *Aggramenes*, who commanded many Nations beyond the River of *Ganges*, was the powerfullest King of all those Regions, and that he was able to bring into the Field two hundred thousand Foot, three thousand Elephants, twenty thousand Horse, and two thousand armed Chariots. With this report, though *Alexander* were more inflamed than ever to proceed in this Discovery and Conquest, yet all the Art he had could not perswade the Souldiers to wander over those great Desarts beyond *Indus* and *Ganges*, more terrible unto them than the greatest Army that the East could gather. Yet at the last contented they were, after many perswasive Orations, to follow him towards the South, to discover such part of the Ocean Sea, as was nearer at hand, whereunto the River of *Indus* was their infallible guide. *Alexander* seeing that it would be no otherwise, devised a pretty trick, where-with he hoped to beguile Posterity, and make himself seem greater than he was. He enlarged his Camp, made greater Trenches, greater Cabins for the Souldiers, greater Horse-stalls, and higher Mangers than his Horses could feed in. He caused all Furniture of Men and Horses to be made larger than would serve for use; and scattered these Armours and Bridles about his Camp, to be kept as Reliques, and wondred at by the Savages. Proportionable to these, he raised up twelve great Altars to be the Monument of his Journeys end. This was a ready way to increase the fame of his bigness; to his greatness it could add nothing save a suspicion that it was less than is thought, seeing he strove so earnestly to make it thought more than it was.

This done, he returned again to the bank of *Acesines*, and there determined to set up his Fleet where *Acesines* and *Hydaspis* encounter, where to testifie by a surer Monument, how far he had past towards the East, he built by those Rivers two Cities; the one he called *Nicæa*, and the other *Bucephalon*, after the name of his beloved Horse

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Bucephalus. Here again he received a fourth supply of six thousand *Thracian* Horse-men, seven thousand Foot, and from his Lieutenant at *Babylon* five and twenty thousand Armours, garnished with Silver and Gold, which he distributed among his Souldiers. About these Rivers he wan many Towns, and committed great slaughter on those that resisted: It is then written of him, that assaulting a City of the *Oxidracans*, he leapt from the top of the Wall into it, and fought, I know not how long, against all the Inhabitants, tales like those of *Bevis* of *Southampton*, frivolous and incredible. Finally, he past down the River with his Fleet, at which time also the news came unto him of a Rebellion in *Bactria*, and then of the arrival of an hundred Embassadors from a King of *India*, who submitted himself unto him. He feasted these Embassadors upon a hundred Beds of Gold, with all the sumptuosity that could be devised, who soon after their dispatch returned again with a Present of three hundred Horse, one hundred and thirty Waggons, and to each four Horses, a thousand Targets, with many other things rare and rich.

Their Entertainments ended, he sails towards the South, passeth through many obscure Nations, which did all yield unto him either quietly, or compelled by force: among these he builded another *Alexandria*. Of many places which he took in this passage, *Samus* was one, the Inhabitants whereof fought against him with poisoned Swords, with one of which *Ptolomy* (afterward King of *Ægypt*) was wounded, and cured by an Herb which *Alexander* dreamt that he had seen in the mouth of a Serpent.

When he came near the out-let of *Indus* (being ignorant of the Tides of the Sea) his Gallies as they were on a sudden shuffled one upon another by the Flood, so on the Ebb they were left on the dry ground, and on the sandy banks of the River, wherewith the *Macedonians* were much amazed; but after he had a few days observed well the course of the Sea, he pas'd out of the Rivers Mouth some few miles, and after Sacrifices offered to *Neptune*, returned: and the better to inform himself, he sent *Nearchus* and *Onesicritus*, to discover the Coast towards the Mouth of *Euphrates*. *Arrianus*, in the beginning of his sixth Book hath written this passage down the River of *Indus* at length, with the manner of the Vessels, in which he transported his Army, the Commanders that were used therein, and other the marvellous provisions made.

Near the out-lets of this River he spent some part of the Winter, and in eighteen days march from thence recovered *Gedrosia*, in which passage his Army suffered such misery for want of Food, that of a hundred and twenty thousand Foot, and twelve thousand Horse, which he carried into *India*, not the fourth part returned alive.

§. XXII.

Of Alexander's *Riot, Cruelty, and Death.*

FRom *Gedrosia* *Alexander* led his Army into *Carmania*, and so drawing near to *Persia*, he gave himself wholly to feasting and drinking, imitating the Triumphs of *Bacchus*. And though this Swinish Vice being hateful enough in it self, yet it always inflamed this King to Cruelty. *For* (saith *Curtius*) *the Hangman followed the Feast, for* Aspastes, *one of his Provincial Governours, he commanded to be slain; so as neither did the excess of Voluptuousness qualifie his Cruelty, nor his Cruelty hinder in ought his Voluptuousness.*

While he refreshed his Army in these parts, a new supply of five thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse, was brought him by *Cleander*, and his fellows, that had been employed in the killing of *Parmenio*. Against these Murderers great complaint was made by the Deputies of the Provinces in which they had commanded; and their offences were so outragious, as *Alexander* was perswaded, that, had they not altogether despaired of his return out of *India*, they durst not have committed them. All men were glad of the occasion, remembring the vertue of him whom they had slaughtered. The end was, That *Cleander* and the other Chief, with six hundred Souldiers by them employed, were delivered over to the Hang-man: every one rejoycing that the lie of the King was at last executed on the Ministers of his lie.

Nearchus and *Onesicritus* were now returned from the Coast, and made report of an Island rich in Gold, and of other strange things: whereupon they were commanded to make some farther Discovery: which done, that they should enter the Mouth of *Euphrates*, and find the King at *Babylon*.

As he drew near to *Babylon*, he visited the Sepulchre of *Cyrus* in *Pasargada*, now called *Chelguena*: where he was presented with many rich Gifts by *Orsines*, one of the Princes of *Persia*, of the race of *Cyrus*. But because *Bagoas*, an *Eunuch*, in especial favour with the King, was neglected, he not only practised certain loose Fellows to witness against *Orsines*, that he had robbed *Cyrus*'s his Tomb, for which he was condemned to die; but he assisted the Hang-man with his own hands in tormenting him. At which time also *Alexander* caused *Phradates* to be slain, suspecting his greatness. *Caperat* (saith *Curtius*) *esse praceps ad reprasentanda supplicia, item ad deteriora credenda*: *He began headlongly to shed blood, and to believe false reports.* It is true, that he took a way to make all men weary of his Government, seeing Cruelty is more fearful than all the adventures that can be made against it.

Arrianus hath a far different description of *Cyrus* his Tomb.

At this time it is said that *Calanus* the Philosopher burnt himself, when he had lived threescore and thirteen years. Whether herein he followed the custom of his Country, being an *Indian*, or sought to prevent the grief and incommodity of elder age, it is uncertain: but in this the Historians agree, that fore-seeing and fore-shewing *Alexander*'s death, he promised to meet him shortly after at *Babylon*.

From *Pasargada* he came to *Susa*, where he Married *Statira*, *Darius* his eldest Daughter, giving her younger Sister to his beloved *Ephestion*, and fourscore other *Persian* Ladies to his Captains. There were six thousand Guests invited to the Feast, to each of which he gave a Cup of Gold. Here there came unto him three thousand young Souldiers out of his conquered Provinces, whereat the *Macedonians* greatly murmured. *Harpalus*, his Treasurer in *Babylon*, having lavishly consumed the Monies in his keeping, got him going with five thousand Talents, and six thousand hired Souldiers, but he was rejected in *Greece*, and there slain. *Alexander* greatly rejoyced at the fidelity of the *Greeks*, whom *Harpalus* with these Forces and Treasures could not stir: yet he sent commandment that they should again receive their banished men, whereunto (fearful of his indignation) all submitted themselves, (except the *Athenians*) though they resolved that it was a manifest preparation towards their Bondage. After this, there followed a marvellous discontentment in his Army, because he had resolved to send into *Macedon* all those old

Souldiers which could no longer endure the Travel of War, and to keep the reſt in *Aſia*. He uſed many Orations to ſatisfie them, but it was in vain during the Tempeſt of their Fury. But afterward, as Whales are drawn to the Land with a twine thread, when they have tumbled a while, ſo are the unconſiderate multitude eaſily conducted when their firſt Paſſions are evaporate. With ſuch as were licenſed to depart, he ſent *Craterus*, to whom he gave the Lieutenantſhip of *Macedon*, *Theſſaly*, and *Thrace*, which *Antipater* had held from his firſt departure out of *Europe*, who had beaten the rebellious *Greeks* in his abſence, diſcharged the truſt committed unto him with great fidelity, and ſent him ſo many ſtrong ſupplies into *Aſia* from time to time. Certainly, if *Alexander* had not taken counſel of his Cups, he would have caſt ſome better colour on this alteration, and given *Antipater* a ſtronger reaſon for his remove, than to have employed him in the conduction of a new ſupply to be brought him to *Babylon*, the War being now at an end. For *Antipater* ſaw nothing in this remove, but the Kings diſpoſition to ſend him after *Parmenio*, and the reſt. With this *Antipater*, the King, notwithſtanding his great courage, had no great appetite to grapple: Princes, though jealous, do not ſtand in doubt of every man ill-affected, though valiant; but there is a kind of Kingly courage, compounded of hardineſs and underſtanding, which is many times ſo fearful unto them, as they take leave both of Law and Religion, to free themſelves thereof.

After he had ſent for *Antipater*, he made a Journey into *Media* to ſettle things there; where *Epheſtion*, whom he favoured moſt of all men, dies. The King, according to the greatneſs of his love, laments his loſs; hangs his Phyſician, and beſtows upon his Monument twelve thouſand Talents: After which he returns to *Babylon*. Thither *Antipater* came not, but ſent; and not to excuſe himſelf, but to free himſelf. For if we believe *Curtius* (whom *Plutarch* and others gain-ſay) *Antipater*, by his Sons, *Caſſander*, *Philip*, and *Iolla*, who waited on *Alexander*'s Cup, gave him Poiſon, *Theſſalus* (who was of the Conſpiracy) having invited him to a drinking Feaſt of purpoſe. For after he had taken a carouſe in *Hercules* his Cup, a draught of drink ſtronger than *Hercules* himſelf, he quitted the World within a few days.

Certainly the Princes of the World have ſeldom found good by making their Miniſters over-great, and thereby ſuſpitious to themſelves. For he that doth not acknowledge fidelity to be a debt, but is perſwaded that Kings ought to purchaſe it from their Vaſſals, will never pleaſe himſelf with the price given. The only reſtorative, indeed, that ſtrengthens it, is the goodneſs and vertue of the Prince, and his Liberality makes it more diligent; ſo as proportion and diſtance be obſerved. It may be that *Antipater*, having commanded two or three Kingdoms twelve years, knew not now how to play any other part; no more than *Cæſar* did, after he had ſo long a time governed the *Gaules*, where he utterly forgot the Art of Obedience. A moſt cruel and ungrateful Traytor *Antipater* was, if *Curtius* do not belie him: For though he feared ſome ill meaſure upon his remove (the Tragedies of *Parmenio*, *Clytus*, and *Calliſthenes*, having been ſo lately acted) yet he knew nothing to the contrary, but that the King had reſolved to have given him ſome other great Government in *Aſia*: the old Souldiers thence returned, having perchance deſired to be governed by *Craterus*, whom they had followed in all the former War.

§. XXIII.

Of Alexander's *Perſon and Qualities*.

HOwſoever it were, *Alexander*'s former cruelties cannot be excuſed, no more than his vanity to be eſteemed the Son of *Jupiter*, with his exceſſive delight in drink and drunkenneſs, which others make the cauſe of his Fever and death. In that he lamented his want of enterpriſing, and grieved to conſider what he ſhould do when he had conquered the World, *Auguſtus Cæſar* found juſt cauſe to deride him, as if the well governing of ſo many Nations and Kingdoms, as he had already conquered, could not have offered him matter more than abundant, to buſie his brains withal. That he was both learned, and a lover of Learning, it cannot be doubted. Sir *Francis Bacon*, in his firſt Book of the advancement of Learning, hath proved it ſufficiently. His Liberality I know not how to praiſe, becauſe it exceeded proportion. It is ſaid, That when he gave a whole City to one of his Servants, He, to whom it was given, did out of modeſty refuſe it, as diſproportionable to his Fortune: to whom *Alexander* replied, That he did not enquire what became him to accept, but the King to give: of which *Seneca*; *Animoſa vox videtur & regia, cum ſit ſtultiſſima. Nihil enim per ſe cuiquam decet. Refert quid, cui, quando, quare, ubi, &c. ſine quibus facti ratio non conſtabit, habeatur perſonarum & dignitatum proportio, & cum ſit ubique virtutis modus, æque peccat quod excedit, quam quod deficit; It ſeems a brave and Royal ſpeech, whereas indeed it is very fooliſh. For nothing ſimply conſidered by it ſelf becomes a man. We muſt regard what, to whom, when, why, where, and the like; without which conſiderations no act can be approved. Let Honours be proportioned unto the Perſons: for whereas vertue is ever limited by meaſure, the exceſs is as faulty as the defect.* L. 2. de Ben. c. 1.

For his Perſon, it is very apparent, That he was as valiant as any man, a diſpoſition taken by it ſelf, not much to be admired; For I am reſolved that he had ten thouſand in his Army as daring as himſelf. Surely, if adventrous natures were to be commended ſimply, we ſhould confound that vertue with the hardineſs of Thieves, Ruffians, and Maſtiff Doggs. For certainly it is no way praiſeworthy but in daring good things, and in the performance of thoſe lawful enterpriſes, in which we are employed for the ſervice of our Kings and Common-weals.

If we compare this great Conquerour with other Troublers of the World, who have bought their glory with ſo great deſtruction, and effuſion of Bloud, I think him far inferiour to *Cæſar*, and many other that lived after him, ſeeing he never undertook any Warlike Nation, the naked *Scythians* excepted, nor was ever encountred with any Army of which he had not a moſt maſtring advantage, both of Weapons and of Commanders, every one of his Fathers old Captains by far exceeding the beſt of his Enemies. But it ſeemeth, Fortune and Deſtinies (if we may uſe thoſe terms) had found out and prepared for him, without any care of his own, both heaps of Men, that willingly offered their Necks to the Yoke, and Kingdoms that invited and called in their own Conquerours. For concluſion, we will agree with *Seneca*, who ſpeaking of *Philip* the Father, and *Alexander* the Son, gives this judgment of them. *Quod non minores fuere peſtes mortalium quam inundatio, qua planum omne perfuſum eſt, quàm conflagratio qua magna pars animantium exaruit; That they were no leſs plagues to mankind, than an overflow of Waters, drowning all the level; or ſome burning drought, whereby a great part of living Creatures is ſcorched up.* Natural. queſt. l. 3. q. 1.

CHAP.

Chap. III.

The Reign of Aridæus.

§. I.

Of the Question about Succession to Alexander.

THE death of *Alexander* left his Army (as *Demades* the *Athenian* then compared it) in such case, as was that monstrous Giant *Polyphemus*, having lost his only Eye. For, that which is reported in Fables of that great *Cyclops*, might well be verified of the *Macedonians*: their force was intolerable, but for want of good guidance ineffectual, and harmful chiefly to themselves. The causes whereof (under the Divine Ordinance) were, partly the uncertainty of Title to Succession in the Kingdom of *Macedon*, partly the stubborn Pride of *Alexander* himself, who thinking none worthy to be his Heir, did refuse to establish the right in any one, leaving every one to his own Fortune: but especially the great ambition of his followers, who all had learned of their Master to suffer no equals; a lesson soon taught unto spirits reflecting upon their own worth, when the reverence of a greater object faileth.

It hath formerly been shewed, That *Philip* (the Father of *Alexander*) Governing in *Macedon* as Protector, assumed unto himself the Kingdom, not rendring it unto *Amyntas*, (the Son of his elder Brother *Perdiccas*) when he grew to mans estate; but only bestowing upon him in Marriage a Daughter of his own: by which bond, and much more by his proper strength, he assured the Crown unto himself: *Amyntas* never attempting ought against *Philip*, though (with price of his life) he did against *Alexander* in the begining of his Reign. Wherefore *Eurydice*, the sole Issue of his Marriage, ought in reason to have been acknowledged Queen after *Alexander*; as having better Title thereto, than either He or *Philip* had, when they lived, unless (peradventure) some Law of that Nation forbad the Reign of Women. But the excellent vertue of those two Princes had utterly defaced the right of all Pretenders, not claiming from their own bodies: and so great were their Conquests, that *Macedon* it self was (in regard of them) a very small Appendix, and no way deserving to be laid in balance against the demand of their Posterity, had they left any able to make challenge of the Royal Seat.

Alexander having taken many Wives, had Issue by none of the principal of them. *Barsine*, the Daughter of *Artabazus* a *Persian*, had born unto him a young Son: and *Roxane*, the Daughter of *Oxyartes* (whom he had more solemnly Married) was left by him great with Child. But the baseness of the Mothers, and contempt of the conquered Nations, was generally alledged in Bar of the Plea made for them, by some that would (perhaps) have wrought out their own ends, under the name of *Alexander*'s Children.

Cleopatra, the Sister of *Alexander*, Widdow to the King of *Epirus*, and *Aridæus* his base Brother (Son to *Philip* by a Concubine of no account) who had Married the Lady *Eurydice* before mentioned, were next in course. Of *Cleopatra* there was no speech, which may give suspicion, that either Law or Custom had made that Sex uncapable of the Soveraignty; *Aridæus* (besides his Bastardy) was neither for Person nor Quality fit to Rule as King; yet upon him the Election fell, but slowly, and (as happeneth often) for lack of a better: when the Counsellors having over-laboured their disagreeing wits in devising what was best, were content for very weariness to take what came next to hand.

Ptolomy (soon after King of *Ægypt*) concurring with them who rejected all mention of the half-*Persian* brood, King *Alexander*'s Children, was of opinion, that the Rule of all should be given to the Captains, that going for Law which by the greater part of them should be decreed: so far was he from acknowledging any one as true Heir to the Crown.

This *Ptolomy* was called the Son of *Lagus*, but reputed of *Philip*: who having used the company of *Arsinoë Ptolomy*'s Mother, delivered her in Marriage to *Lagus*, being great with Child. Therefore, whether it were so, that he hoped well to work his own fortune out of those dissentions, which are incident unto the consultations of many ambitious men, equal in place, forcing them at length to redeem their quiet with subjection to one, deserving regard by his Blood, and trust for his even carriage; or whether he desired only to get a share to himself, which could not have come to pass had all been given to one: plain enough it is, that he thought not on preferring *Aridæus* before himself; and therefore gave such counsel as fitted his own and other mens purposes. Yea, this device of his took place indeed, though not in form as he had propounded it. For, it was in effect all one, to have assembled at *Alexander*'s empty Chair, as *Ptolomy* had conceived the form of their consultations, or to set in the Chair such a King as *Aridæus*, no wiser than the Chair it self. Also the controversies arising were determined by the greater part of the Captains; by the greater part, if not in number, yet in puissance.

But as these counterfeit shews of dissembling aspirers, do often take check by the plain dealing of them, who dare to go more directly to work: so was it like to have fared with *Ptolomy* and the rest, when *Aristonus*, another of the Captains, interpreted the words of *Alexander*; saying, That he left his Kingdom to the worthiest, as designing *Perdiccas*, to whom (lying at the point of death) he delivered his Ring. It seemed good in reason, that *Alexander* should be disposer of his own purchases; and those tokens of *Alexander*'s purpose appeared plain enough, so long as no man would interpose another construction: every one being uncertain how the secret affections of the rest might be enclined. Many therefore, either out of their love, or because they would not be of the latest,

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urged *Perdiccas* to take upon him the Eſtate Royal. He was no ſtranger to the Royal Bloud; yet his Birth gave him not ſuch Reputation, as the great Favour of his dead King, with whom he had been very inward, and that eſpecially ſince the Death of *Epheſtion* (a powerful Minion) into whoſe place he was choſen. For his own worth he might well be commended, as a good man of War, and one that had given much proof of his private Valour. But very ſurly he was: which quality (joyned with good Fortune) carried a ſhew of Majeſty: being checkt with miſadventure, it was called by a true Name *Pride*; and rewarded with Death.

In the preſent buſineſs a fooliſh over-weening did him as great harm, as it had been great happineſs to have ſucceeded *Alexander*. For not content to have the Acclamation of the Souldiers, approving the Sentence of *Ariſtonus*, he would needs counterfeit Modeſty; thinking that every one of the Princes would have entreated him to take the weighty burden of an Empire, which ſwould be the leſs envious, the more ſolemnity he uſed in the acceptance. It is truely ſaid, He that feigneth himſelf a Sheep, may chance to be eaten by a Wolf. *Meleager*, (a man by nature envious, and bearing a particular hatred to *Perdiccas*) took advantage of his irreſolute Behaviour, and very bitterly inveighed againſt him. In concluſion he pronounced, that whoſoever was Heir to the Crown, the Souldiers ought to be Heirs to the Treaſure; and therefore he invited them, who were nothing ſlow, to ſhare it. This diſturbed all the Conſultation. The Captains were left alone, far enough from agreeing, and not able to have brought any concluſion to good effect without conſent of the Souldiers, who greedy of ſpoyl thronged about *Meleager*.

§. II.

The election of Aridæus, *with the Troubles thereabout ariſing; the firſt diviſion of the Empire.*

DUring this uproar, mention was made of *Aridæus* by ſome one, and entertained with good liking of many, until at laſt it grew to the voice of the Army. *Meleager* having withdrawn himſelf tumultuouſly from the company of the Lords, was glad of ſo fair an occaſion to make himſelf great: therefore he produced *Aridæus*, commended him to the Souldiers, who called him by his Fathers Name *Philip*, and brought him into the Palace, inveſting him in *Alexander*'s Robes, and proclaiming him King. Many of the Nobles withſtood this Election, but in vain; for they could not reſolve what courſe to follow, rejecting this. Only *Python*, a hot-headed man, took upon him to proclaim the Son of *Alexander* by *Roxane*, according to the counſel which *Perdiccas* at firſt had given, appointing *Perdiccas* and *Leonatus* his Protectors. But this Child was not yet born, which made that attempt of *Python* vain. Finally, *Perdiccas* with ſix hundred men, and *Ptolomy* with the King's Pages, took upon them to defend the place where *Alexander*'s body lay: but the Army conducted by *Meleager*, who carried the new King about whither he liſted, eaſily brake in upon them, and inforced them to accept *Aridæus* for their Soveraign Lord. Then by the interceſſion of the ancient Captains, a reconciliation was propounded and admitted, but on neither ſide faithfully meant.

Leonatus who was of the Royal Bloud, a goodly Gentleman and valiant, iſſued out of *Babylon*, being followed by all the Horſe, which conſiſted (for the moſt part) of the Nobility. *Perdiccas* abode in the City (but ſtanding upon his Guard) that he might be ready to take the opportunity of any Commotion, that ſhould happen among the Infantry. The King (who was governed by *Meleager*) commanded or gave leave to have *Perdiccas* made away; which attempt ſucceeded ill, being neither ſecretly carried, nor committed to ſure Executioners. Their coming was not unexpected: and they were by *Perdiccas* rebuked with ſuch gravity, that they departed honeſter than they came; being ſorry of their bad Enterprize. Upon the news of this Attempt the Camp was in an uproar, which the King ſeeking to paciſie, wanted Authority, as having newly got the Crown by them, and holding it by their courteſie. The matter it ſelf affordeth not good excuſes, and his indiſcretion made them worſe. He ſaid that no harm was done, for *Perdiccas* was alive: but their exclamations were againſt the tyrannous enterprize, which he imputed to *Meleager*; abandoning the ſureſt of his friends to the rage of the multitude, who were not appeaſed, until the King by offering to reſign his Eſtate unto them, renewed out of their pity that favourable affection, which had moved them to ſet him up at the firſt.

Perdiccas having now joyned himſelf with *Leonatus*, kept the Fields, intending to cut off all proviſion of Victuals from the City. But after ſundry Embaſſies paſſing between the King and the Nobles, (they requiring to have the Authors of Sedition given up into their hands; the King, that *Meleager* might be joyned with *Leonatus* and *Perdiccas*, as a Third in government of the Army) things were compounded according to the King's deſire. *Meleager* ſhould have done well to conſider, that ſuch men as had one day demanded his Head, were not like the day following to give him a principal Place among them, without any new occaſion offered, had not ſome purpoſe of Treachery lurked under their great facility. General peace was renewed, and much love proteſted where little was intended. The face of the Court was the ſame which it had been in *Alexander*'s time: but no longer now: did the ſame heart give it life; and windy ſpirits they were which moved in the Arteries. Falſe Reports were given out by appointment of *Perdiccas*, tending to his own diſgrace, but in ſuch terms as might ſeem to have proceeded from *Meleager*: who finding part of the drift, but not all, took it as an injury done to himſelf; and (as deſirous of a true Friendſhip) deſired of *Perdiccas*, that ſuch Authors of Diſcord might be puniſhed. *Perdiccas* (as a lover of Peace) did well approve the motion; and therefore agreed that a general Muſter ſhould be made, at which time the diſturbers of the common quiet ſhould receive their puniſhment (as was the manner for Souldiers offending) in preſence of the Army. The Plot was miſchievouſly laid: Had *Meleager* given way to ſeditious Rumours, he muſt needs have incurred the general hatred of all, as a ſower of diſſention; and thereby with publick approbation might have been cut off, as having often offended in that kind: his Prince being too weak a Patron. Now ſeeking redreſs of theſe Diſorders, he haſtened his own ruine, by a leſs formal, but more ſpeedy way. This kind of Muſter was very ſolemn, and practiſed with many Ceremonies, as for cleanſing of the Army. The Horſe-men, the Elephants, the *Macedonian* Foot, the Mercenaries, were each according to their quality ſet in array, apart from others, as if they had been of ſundry ſorts, met at adven-

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ture: which done, the manner was to skirmish (as by way of exercise) according to direction of their several Captains. But at that time the great Battel of *Macedonian* Pikes, which they called the *Phalanx*, led by *Meleager*, was of purpose bestowed in a ground of disadvantage; and the countenance of the Horse and Elephants beginning to give charge upon them, was such, as discovered no jesting pastime nor good intent. Kings were always wont to fight among the Horse-men: of which custom *Perdiccas* made great use that day, to the utter confusion of his Enemies. For *Aridæus* was always governed by him, which for the present had him in possession. Two or three days before he had sought the death of *Perdiccas* at the instigation of *Meleager*: now he rides with *Perdiccas* up and down about the Foot-men, commanding them to deliver unto the death all such as *Perdiccas* required. Three hundred they were who were cast unto the Elephants, and by them slain, in the presence of the King who should have defended them, and of their affrighted Companions. But these three hundred were not the men whose punishment *Meleager* had expected: they were such as had followed him, when he disturbed the first Consultation that was held about the election of a new King, and some of them his especial Friends. Having therefore kept himself quiet a while, as unwilling to give offence to them which had the advantage; when he saw their proceedings tend very manifestly to his destruction, he fled away into a Temple, which he found no *Sanctuary*: for thither they sent and slew him.

The Army being thus corrected, was led into the City, where a new Council of the Princes was held, who finding what manner of man their King was, divided all the Provinces of the Empire among themselves; leaving to *Aridæus* the office of a *Visitor*, and yet making *Perdiccas* his *Protector*, and Commander of the Forces remaining with him. Then were the Funerals of *Alexander* thought upon; whose Body having been seven days neglected, was opened, and embalmed by the *Ægyptians*: no sign of poyson appearing, how great soever the suspicion might be. The charge of his Burial was committed to *Aridæus*: one of the Captains, who was two years preparing of a great and costly Shew, making a stately Chariot in which the Corps was laid; many Coarses of his Friends being laid in the ground, before that of *Alexander* was bestowed in *Alexandria*, a City of his own building in *Ægypt*.

§. III.

The beginning of the Lamian *War.*

WHilst these things were in doing, or presently after, *Antipater* and *Craterus*, two principal Noble-men, and inferior to none of *Alexander*'s Followers, if not greater than any of the rest, were busied in *Greece* with a War, which the *Athenians* more bravely than wisely had begun in *Alexander*'s Life, but now did prosecute more boldly than before, upon the courage which they had taken by his Death. *Alexander*, not long before he died, had commanded that all the banished *Greeks* (few excepted) should be restored unto their former Places. He knew the factious quality of the *Græcian* Estates, and therefore thought so to provide, that in every City he would have a sure Party. But it fell out otherwise: For he lost the hearts of many more than he wan by this proud Injunction. His pleasure indeed was fulfilled; yet not without great murmuring of the whole Nation, as being against all order of Law, and a beginning of open Tyranny. The *Athenians* greatly decayed in Estate, but retaining more than was needful, of their ancient spirits, forbad the execution of this Decree in their Dominions; so did also the *Ætolians*, who were valiant men, and inhabited a Region well fortified by nature: yet neither of them took Arms, but seemed to bear themselves, as men that had done no more than they might well justifie by Reason: nevertheless to prevent the worst, the *Athenians* gave secret Instructions to *Leosthenes* a Captain of theirs, willing him to levy an Army, but in his own Name, and to keep it in a readiness for their use. This was no hard thing for *Leosthenes* to do: great numbers of *Greek* Souldiers being lately returned from the *Asian* War in poor estate, as defrauded of their Pay by the Captains. Of these he gathered up eight thousand, when the certain News were brought of *Alexander*'s Death: at which time the City of *Athens* declared it self, and more honourably than wisely, proclaimed open War against the *Macedonians*, for the liberty of *Greece*. Hereupon *Leosthenes* drew in the *Ætolians*, and some other Estates, gave Battel to the *Bœotians*, who sided with *Antipater*, and overthrew them; growing so fast in Reputation, and so strong in Adherents, that *Antipater* (arming in all haste, yet suspecting his own strength) was fain to send into *Asia* to *Craterus* for succour.

Nothing is more vain than the fears and hopes of men, shunning or pursuing their destinies afar off, which deceive all mortal wisdom, even when they seem near at hand. One month was scarcely past, since nothing so heavily burthened the thoughts of *Antipater* as the return of *Craterus* into *Macedon*; which he then feared as Death, but now desired as the most likely assurance of his Life. *Craterus*, whom *Alexander* held as of all men the most assured unto him, was sent into *Macedon* to convey home the old Souldiers (that was the pretence) and to succeed *Antipater* in the government of *Macedon* and *Greece*. The suspicions were strong that he had a privy charge to put *Antipater* to death: neither did that which was commonly published, sound much better; which was, That *Antipater* should be sent unto the King, as Captain of the young Souldiers, newly to be levied in *Europe*. For *Alexander* was much incensed against him by his Mother *Olympias*: and would sometimes give out speeches testifying his own jealousie and hatred of him; but yet he strove to smother it, which in a cruel Prince betokeneth little good. Few of *Alexander*'s Lieutenants had escaped with Life: most of them indeed were mean persons in regard of those who followed him in his *Indian* Expedition, and were therefore (perhaps) removed to make place for their betters. But if the King's rigor was such, as could find rebellious purposes (for so he interpreted even lewd government) in base persons; little might *Antipater* hope for, who having sate *Viceroy* ten years in the strongest part of the Empire, was called away to the presence of so fell a Master, and the envy of a Court, wherein they had been his inferiors, which would now repine to see him their equal. Therefore whether his fear drew him to prevention, working first the King's Death by poyson, given by his Son *Iolaus*, *Alexander*'s Cup-bearer; or whether it brake not forth until opportunity had changed it into the passion of Revenge, which was cruelly performed by his Son *Cassander*: great cause of much fear he had, which I note in this place as the ground of effects to be produced in very few years.

At

At the preſent *Craterus* was ſent for, and all the Captains of Companies lying near, ſollicited to make haſte. Not without cauſe. For in *Macedon* there could not at that time be raiſed more than thirteen thouſand Foot, and ſix hundred Horſe; which Muſter was of raw Souldiers, all the force of the Countrey being emptied into *Aſia*. The *Theſſalians* indeed who had long ſtood firm for *Philip* and *Alexander*, who alſo were the beſt Horſe-men of *Greece*, furniſhed him with very brave Troops, that might have done great ſervice, had their faith held out, which they changed for the liberty of *Greece*. With theſe Forces did *Antipater* in *Theſſaly* try the fortune of a Battel with *Leoſthenes*; rather (as may ſeem) fearing the increaſe of his Enemies power and rebellion of the *Greeks*, (were they not checkt at the firſt) than preſuming on his own ſtrength. For *Leoſthenes* had of *Athenians*, *Ætolians*, and Mercinaries, two and twenty thouſand Foot, beſides the aſſiſtance of many petty Signories, and of ſome *Illyrians*, and *Thracians*: of Horſe he brought into the Field about two thouſand and five hundred; but over-ſtrong he was that way alſo, when once the *Theſſalians* had revolted unto him. So *Antipater* loſt the day: and his loſs was ſuch, that he neither was able to keep the Field, nor to make a ſafe retreat into his own Countrey: therefore he fled into the Town of *Lamia*, which was well fortified, and well provided of all things neceſſary to bear out a Siege. Thither did *Leoſthenes* follow him, preſent him Battel again, and upon the refuſal cloſe up the Town with Earth-works, and a Wall. There will we leave him for a while, travelling in the laſt honourable Enterprize that ever was undertaken by that great City of *Athens*.

§. IV.

How Perdiccas *employed his Army.*

KIng *Aridæus* living under the rule of *Perdiccas*, when all the Princes were gone each to his own Province, kept a naked Court: all his greatneſs conſiſting in a bare title, ſupported by the ſtrength of his Protector, who cared not for him otherwiſe than to make uſe of him. *Perdiccas* had no Province of his own peculiar, neither was he like to be welcome to any whom he ſhould viſit in his Government. A ſtronger Army than any of the reſt he had, which he might eaſily hope in that unſetled condition of things to make better worth to him than many Provinces could have been. The better to accompliſh his deſires, he cloſely ſought the Marriage of *Cleopatra*, the Siſter of *Alexander*; yet about the ſame time he either married *Nicæa* the Daughter of *Antipater*, or made ſuch love to her as blinded their eyes, who did not ſomewhat narrowly ſearch into his doings.

Ariarathes the *Cappadocian*, the ſecond of that Name, and tenth King of that Countrey, had continued faithful to the *Perſian* Empire as long as it ſtood: following the example of his Forefathers, even from *Pharnaces* the firſt that raigned in *Cappadocia*, who married *Atoſſa* Siſter to the great *Cyrus*. Some of his Anceſtors had (indeed) been oppreſſed by the *Perſians*; but what Fortune took from them at one time, Vertue reſtored at another, and their faithful Princes had much increaſed all. But now in the fatal period of ſo great an Empire, with much wiſdom, and (*Darius* being ſlain) with ſufficient honour, he might have acknowledged the *Macedonian* in the *Perſians* room. This he did not; neither did *Alexander* call him to account, being occupied with greater cares. But *Perdiccas*, who had no greater buſineſs wherein to entertain his Army, found it expedient both for the honour of the Empire, to take in that in-land Kingdom, ſurrounded with Provinces of the *Macedonian* Conqueſt, and for his own particular to have one opportune place of ſure retreat, under the government of a ſtedfaſt Friend. Therefore he entred *Cappadocia*, fought with *Ariarathes*, who drew into the Field thirty thouſand Foot, and fifteen thouſand Horſe (a ſtrong Army, had it not encountred a ſtronger, and better trained) wan the Victory, and thereby the whole Kingdom. But with much cruelty did he uſe the Victory: for having taken *Ariarathes* Priſoner with many others, he crucified him, and as many of his Kindred as he could light upon: and ſo delivered that Province to *Eumenes*, whom of all men living he truſted moſt.

Another part of his Forces he had committed to *Python*; rather as to the moſt honourable of ſuch as remained about him, than as to the moſt aſſured. *Python* was to ſubdue the *Greeks*, rebelling in the high Countreys of *Aſia*. Above twenty thouſand Foot, and three thouſand Horſe they were, (all old Souldiers) who planted in Colonies by *Alexander*, to bridle the barbarous Nations, were ſoon weary of their unpleaſant Habitations, and the rude People, among whom they lived: and therefore took advantage of the preſent Troubles to ſeek unto themſelves a better Fortune. Againſt theſe *Python* went, more deſirous to make them his own, than to deſtroy them: which intent of his *Perdiccas* diſcovering, did both give him in charge to put all thoſe Rebels to the Sword, giving the ſpoyls of them to his Souldiers, and further enjoyned it unto *Python*'s Captains (his own Creatures) that they ſhould ſee this Command executed. Theſe Directions for uſe of the Victory might have proved needleſs; ſo uncertain was the Victory it ſelf. A Captain of the Rebels commanding over three thouſand, corrupted by *Python*, did in the heat of the Fight (which was very doubtful) retire without neceſſity to a Hill not far off. This diſmayed the reſt, and gave the day to *Python*: who being far enough from *Perdiccas*, offered compoſition to the vanquiſhed, granting unto them their Lives and Liberty, under condition of laying down their Arms; and hereupon he gave them his faith. Being Maſter of theſe Companies, he might well have a good opinion of his own Power: all Power being then valued by ſtrength in Followers, when as none could vaunt himſelf as free Lord of any Territory. He had thirteen thouſand Foot, and eight thouſand eight hundred Horſe, beſides theſe new Companions, whom needleſs fear without great loſs had cauſed to leave the Field: but in true eſtimation, all the greatneſs whereof *Python* might think himſelf aſſured, was (and ſoon appeared to be) inherent in *Perdiccas*. For by his command were ten thouſand Foot, and eight thouſand Horſe, of thoſe which followed *Python*, levied; the Rulers of the Provinces carefully obeying the Letters of *Perdiccas*, by which they were enjoyned to give aſſiſtance to that buſineſs: and by vertue of the Precept given unto them by *Perdiccas*, did the *Macedonians* cut in pieces all thoſe poor men who had yielded themſelves; leaving *Python* as naked as he came forth to return unto his great Maſter.

Now was *Perdiccas* mighty above the mighty, and had fair leiſure to purſue his hopes of Marriage with *Cleopatra*, and thereby to make himſelf Lord of all: but this muſt be ſecretly carried for fear of oppoſition. How it ſucceeded will appear, when the *Lamian* War taketh ending. §. V.

§. V.

The proceſs of the Lamian *War.*

WE left *Antipater* hardly beſieged, wanting means to free himſelf without Succours from his Friends in *Aſia*. Thoſe Helps not appearing ſo ſoon as he expected, he came to parley with *Leoſthenes*, and would have yielded unto any terms of Reaſon, wherewith men poſſeſſed with hope of Victory do ſeldom limit their Deſires. *Leoſthenes* willed him without further circumſtance to ſubmit himſelf to diſcretion. This was too much for him that had once commanded over them, who now required of him ſuch a diſhonourable compoſition. Wherefore knowing that the Extremities, from which as yet he was far enough, could bring no worſe with it, *Antipater* prepared for the defence; and the other for winning the Town, which felt great want of Victuals. In this lingring War, the *Ætolians* (whether weary of ſitting ſtill at a Siege, or having buſineſs which they pretended at home) took their leave, and returned into their own Countrey. Their departure left the Trenches ſo thinly manned, that *Antipater* found means to ſally out upon his Enemies to their great loſs: for many were ſlain, and *Leoſthenes* himſelf among them, ere he could be repulſed into the Town. Yet hereby the *Macedonians* were nothing relieved; their Victuals waſted, and they were not ſtrong enough to deal with the *Greeks* in open Fight. *Craterus* was long in coming. *Lyſimachus* who was neareſt at hand in *Thrace*, had work too much of his own, leading no more than four thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe, againſt *Seuthas* their King, who brought into the Field above four times that number; and though *Lyſimachus* not without loſs had gotten one Victory, yet the Enemy abounding in multitude felt not the Blow ſo much as might abate his Courage. Therefore *Leonatus* was earneſtly ſollicited by *Antipater*'s Friends, to make all haſte to the reſcue. He had the government of *Phrygia* the leſs, and was able to raiſe an Army of more than twenty thouſand Foot, and two thouſand five hundred Horſe, whether levied out of his Province, or appointed unto him out of the main Army, it is uncertain. Certain it is, that he was more willing to take in hand the Journey into *Greece*, than *Antipater* was to have him come. For *Cleopatra* had written unto him, deſiring his preſence at *Pella*, the chief City of *Macedon*, and very kindly offering her ſelf to be his Wife; which Letters he kept not ſo cloſe as had been requiſite, and therefore brought himſelf into great ſuſpicion, that ſoon ended with his Life. *Antiphilus*, choſen General by the *Athenians* in place of *Leoſthenes*, hearing of his approach, forſook the Siege of *Lamia*, and took the ready way to theſe great Conquerors of *Aſia*, with purpoſe to give them an evil welcome home, before *Antipater* and they ſhould joyn in one. He had (notwithſtanding the departure of the *Ætolians*) the advantage of *Leonatus* in Horſe, by the odds of two thouſand *Theſſalians*; in other things he was equal to him; in cauſe he thought himſelf ſuperior; in the fortune of that day he proved ſo: for he wan a great Victory (chiefly by vertue of the *Theſſalians*) which appeared the greater by the end of *Leonatus* himſelf; who fighting valiantly was driven into a mariſh piece of ground, where he found his Death, which deſperately he had ſought among the *Indians*, but it waited for him at home not far from the place of his Nativity. He was the firſt of *Alexander*'s Captains which died in Battel, but all, or moſt of the reſt, ſhall follow him the ſame way. After this day the *Athenians* did never any thing ſuitable to their ancient glory. The vanquiſhed *Macedonians* were too weak to renew the Fight, and too proud to fly. They betook themſelves to high grounds, unfit for ſervice on Horſe-back, and ſo abode in ſight of the Enemy that day; the day following *Antipater* with his men came into their Camp, and took the charge of all. The *Athenians* perceiving their ſtrength to be at the greateſt, and fearing leſt that of the Enemy ſhould increaſe, did earneſtly ſeek to determine the matter quickly by another Battel. But ſtill *Antipater* kept himſelf on ground of advantage: which gave more than reaſonable confidence to the *Greeks*, many of whom departed to their homes, accounting the Enemy to be vanquiſhed. This wretchleſsneſs (incorrigible in an Army of Voluntaries) was very inexcuſable; ſeeing that the Victories by Land were much defaced by loſſes at Sea, where the *Athenians* labouring to have made themſelves once again Maſters, were put to the worſt.

But now the fatal Captivity of *Greece* came on, of which ſhe never could be delivered unto this day. *Craterus* with a ſtrong Army having made great Marches from *Cilicia*, paſſed over into *Europe*, and coming into *Theſſaly* joyned himſelf with *Antipater*. The Forces of *Leonatus*, *Antipater*, and *Craterus*, being joyned in one, contained forty thouſand weightily armed, three thouſand light-armed men, and five thouſand Horſe; of which numbers the *Greeks* wanted a thouſand and five hundred in Horſe, in Foot eighteen thouſand. Carefully therefore did *Antiphilus* labour to avoid the neceſſity of a Battel, until ſuch time as the Towns confederate ſhould return unto the Camp thoſe Bands which had ſtraggled from it. But thoſe Companies were ſo ſlow in coming, and *Antipater* ſo urgent upon the *Greeks*, that compelled they were to put the matter in hazard without further attendance. Like enough it is, that with a little more help they had carried away the Victory: for the *Theſſalians* had the upper hand, and held it, until ſuch time as they perceived their Battels (overlaid with multitude) retire unto the higher grounds, which cauſed them alſo to fall back. So the *Macedonians* became Lords of the Field, having little elſe to boaſt of, conſidering that with the loſs of a hundred and thirty men, they had purchaſed only the death of ſome five hundred Enemies. Yet hereof was great uſe made. For the *Greeks*, as not ſubject unto the full Command of one General, and being every one deſirous to preſerve his own Eſtate, and City, concluded to make a Treaty of Peace with *Antipater*; who being a ſubtil Artificer, and well underſtanding their aptneſs to diviſion, refuſed to hearken to any general compoſition, but willed every City to deal apart for it ſelf. The intent of his device was ſo apparent, that it was rejected; the *Greeks* chooſing rather to abide the coming of their Aſſiſtants, whoſe unreaſonable careleſneſs betrayed the Cauſe. *Antipater* and *Craterus* beſieging and winning ſome Towns in *Theſſaly*, which the Army of the Confederates wanted means and courage to relieve, wearied that Nation from attending any longer upon other mens unlikely hopes, with their own aſſured and preſent Calamity.

§. VI.

Of the Peace granted to Athens *by* Antipater. *Of* Demoſthenes *his Death.*

THe *Theſſalians* falling off, all the reſt ſoon followed ſeverally, and ſued for Peace; the gentle conditions given to the moſt forward, inviting ſuch as were ſlack. Only the *Athenians* and *Ætolians* held out. Little favour could they hope for, having been Authors of this Tumult; and their fear was not great; the Seat of the War being far from them. But the celerity of *Antipater* confounded all their Imaginations; who ſate ſtill at *Athens*, deviſing upon courſes of proſecuting the War to come, which came to their doors, before their Conſultation could find iſſue. He was ready to enter upon their Frontiers; they had no ability to reſiſt, and were as heartleſs as friendleſs. All that remained was to ſend Embaſſadors deſiring Peace upon ſome good terms: neceſſity enforcing them to have accepted even the very worſt. *Phocion*, with *Demades* the Orator, and *Xenocrates* the Philoſopher, were chief of this Embaſſage; *Phocion* as the moſt honourable; *Demades* as a ſtrong Perſwader (both of them well reſpected by *Antipater*) and *Xenocrates*, as one admired for Wiſdom, Gravity of Manners, and Vertue; but all theſe Ornaments conſiſting in ſpeculation, and therefore of leſs regard, when their admiration was to coſt much in real effects.

Antipater calling to mind the Pride of *Leoſthenes*, required of the *Athenians* that they ſhould wholly ſubmit themſelves to his pleaſure; which being (perforce) granted, he commanded them to defray the Charges of the War paſt, to pay a Fine, and entertain a Garriſon. Further, he abrogated the Popular Eſtate, committing the Government of the City to thoſe of moſt Wealth, depriving of the Right of Suffrage all ſuch as wanted a convenient proportion of Riches.

About nine thouſand they were, all men of good ſubſtance, to whom the adminiſtration of the Common-wealth was given; a number great enough to retain the Name and form of a *Democracy*. But the raſcal Multitude of beggarly perſons, accuſtomed to get their Livings out of the common Troubles, being now debarred from bearing Offices and giving their Voices, cryed out that this was a meer *Oligarchy*, the violent Uſurpation of a few incroaching upon the publick Right. Theſe turbulent Fellows (of whom King *Philip* had been wont to ſay, That War to them was Peace, and Peace War) *Antipater* planted in *Thrace*, and gave them lands to manure; leaving as few of them as he could to moleſt the quiet of *Athens*.

To the ſame end (yet withal for ſatisfying his own ſuſpitions and hatred) he cauſed *Demoſthenes* and *Hyperides* famous Orators, with ſome others to be ſlain. Had the Death of theſe two, eſpecially of *Demoſthenes*, been forborn, the reſt of his proceedings in this action might well have paſſed for very mild: whereas now all ſuch, as either are delighted with the Orations of *Demoſthenes*, or have ſurrendred their Judgments to Authors juſtly admiring him, as the moſt eloquent of all that ever did ſpeak and write, condemn him utterly, calling him a bloody Tyrant. Such Grace and Reputation do the learned Arts find in all civil Nations, that the evil done to a man, famous in one of them, is able to blemiſh any action, how good ſoever otherwiſe it be or honourably carried.

Demoſthenes had taken Sanctuary in the Temple of *Neptune*, in the Iſle of *Calauria*; there did *Archias* (ſent with Souldiers by *Antipater* for the purpoſe) find him, and gently perſwade him to leave the place, but not ſo prevailing he threatned violence. Then *Demoſthenes* entreating a little reſpite as it had been to write ſomewhat, ſecretly took Poyſon which he had kept for ſuch a neceſſity, and ſo died; rather chooſing to do the laſt Execution upon himſelf, than to fall into the hands of ſuch as hated him. Only this act of his (commendable, perhaps, in a Heathen man) argued ſome Valour in him, who was otherwiſe too much a Coward in Battel, howſoever valiant in perſwading to enterpriſes, wherein the way to very honourable ends was to be made through paſſages exceeding dangerous. He loved Money well, and had great ſums given him by the *Perſian*, to incourage him in finding Work for the *Macedonians* at home. Neither did he ill (methinks) in taking from the *Perſians* which loved not his Country, great rewards, for ſpeaking ſuch things as tended to his Countries Good; which he did not ceaſe to procure, when the *Perſians* were no longer able to give him recompence. Such as in tender contemplation of his Death can indure no honourable, though true mention of *Antipater*, may (if they can) believe *Lucian*, who tells us, That it was *Antipaters* purpoſe to have done him great Honour. Sure it is, that he was a ſtedfaſt Enemy to the *Macedonians*; therefore diſcretion required that he ſhould be cut off.

The matters of *Athens* being thus ordered, the chief Command was left in the hands of *Phocion*, a vertuous man, and lover of his Country, yet applying himſelf to the neceſſity of the Times; by which Commendations he had both at other times done the City much good, and now procured this Peace, which (though grievous to Freemen, yet favourable to the Vanquiſhed) he endeavoured carefully to preſerve.

§. VII.

How Craterus *and* Antipater *were drawn from their* Ætolian *Wars into* Aſia. *The Grounds of the firſt Civil War between the* Macedonian *Lords.*

SO *Antipater* with *Craterus* returned into *Macedonia*, where they ſtrengthened their Friendſhip with a new Alliance, *Craterus* taking *Phila*, the Daughter of *Antipater*, to Wife.

Shortly after they went againſt the *Ætolians*, whoſe Poverty was not ſo eaſily daunted, as the Luxurious Wealth of the more Powerful State of *Athens* had been. Their Country was rough and mountainous, having many Places of great faſtneſs, into which they conveyed ſuch of their Goods as they moſt eſteemed, and of their People as were leaſt fit for War, with the reſt they fortified the ſtrongeſt of their Cities, and ſo abode the coming of the *Macedonians*, whom they manfully reſiſted. With great obſtinacy did the *Macedonians* contend againſt the difficulties of the Places, which the *Ætolians* made good as long as their Victuals held out. But when *Craterus* had ſhut up all Paſſages, and utterly debarred them of Relief; then were they put to a miſerable Choice; either to deſcend from their ſtrong Holds and fight upon equal Ground with unequal Numbers, or to endure the Miſeries of Hunger and Cold, againſt which they could make no long reſiſtance; or to yield themſelves to the *Macedonians*: who incenſed by the loſs of many good Souldiers, were not like to leave ſo ſtubborn Enemies in Places which

which might give confidence to Rebellion. In cases of extremity, much fineness of Wit apprehending all circumstances of danger commonly doth more hurt, than a blunt consideration of that only, which at the present is in hand. These *Ætolians* did not as yet want Meat; but their Enemies daily molested them: wherefore as yet they thought upon nothing but fighting. Fortune was gracious to their Courage. For such news came out of *Asia* into the *Macedonian* Camp, as made *Antipater* and *Craterus* think every hour a month, till they had rid their hands of these *Ætolians*, giving them whatsoever Conditions they would ask; yet with purpose to call them to severe account; yea, to root them out of *Greece* by death, or by Captivity, when once they should have setled the Affairs of *Asia*, as they hoped and desired. But of mens Purposes God is the Disposer: in whose high Councel it was ordained that this poor Nation should continue a troublesome bar to the Proceedings of *Macedon* and *Greece*, and (when time had ripened the next Monarchy) an open Gate to let the *Roman* Conquerors into those and other Provinces. Likewise concerning the matters of *Asia*, the Reformation intended by *Antipater* and *Craterus*, was so far from taking effect, that it served meerly as an Introduction to all the Civil Wars ensuing.

The Grounds of the *Asiatique* Expedition, which did set the World in an Up-roar, were these. *Antipater* and *Craterus* were of *Alexanders* Captains the mightiest in Reputation: The one, in regard of his ancient Precedency, and the present Rule which he bare in the parts of *Europe*: The other, as of all men the best beloved, and most respected, both of *Alexander* and of the whole Army. Next unto these had *Perdiccas* been, whom the advantage of his Presence at the Kings Death did make equal, or superiour to either of these, if not to both together. The first intents of *Perdiccas* were to have consorted with these two, and to have been with them a third Partner in the Government of all: to which purpose he entertained the Discourse of Marriage with one of *Antipaters* Daughters. But feeling in short space the strength of that Gale of Wind which bore him up, he began to take Wing and soar quite an other way. *Aridæus* was a very simple man, yet served well enough to wear the Title of that Majesty, whereof *Perdiccas* being Administrator, and hoping to become proprietary, the practice was more severe than had been in the days of *Alexander*: the desire to seem terrible being very familiar with weak Princes, and their ambitious Officers, who know no other means of preserving themselves from contempt, and of giving such a fiery Lustre to their actions, as may dazel the eyes of the Beholders. How cruelly the poor *Greeks* in the higher *Asia* were all put to the Sword; and how tyrannously the King and Princes of *Cappadocia* were crucified, hath already been shewed. The *Pisidians* were the next who felt the wrath of these counterfeit *Alexanders*. One City of theirs was utterly razed; the Children sold for Slaves, and all the rest massacred. The *Isaurians* by this example grown desperate, when after two or three days tryal they found themselves unable to continue the defence, lockt themselves into their Houses and set the Town on fire, into the Flame whereof the young men did throw themselves, after that they had a while repelled the *Macedonians* from the Walls.

These Exploits being performed, the Army had no other Work than to sift the Ashes of the burnt City for Gold and Silver; but *Perdiccas* had business of greater importance troubling his brains. Nothing was more contrary to his ends, than to sit still without imployment, letting his Souldiers grow idle about him, whilest others grew great, and took deep root in their several Provinces. He purposed therefore to transport his Forces into *Europe*, under pretence of bringing the King into *Macedonia*, the Seat of his Ancestors, and Head of the Empire. The Kings presence would make the Offices of his *Viceroys* (during the time) actually void; *Antipater* with *Craterus* being once in case of private men, and only *Perdiccas* holding Authority, the Match with *Cleopatra* might easily be made. So should greatness meet with a good Title; and what more could be wished? Some impediment the Power of *Ptolomy* might give, who held *Ægypt* well fortified with men, but much better with Love of the People; yet if the business prospered in *Macedonia*, like enough it was that either *Ptolomy* would follow of himself, or be driven to come to reason. *Antigonus* likewise then governing in *Phrygia*, a busie headed man, and ill affected to the side, was to be looked into and made away, for fear of further trouble. So thought *Perdiccas*, and was deceived in so thinking. *Antigonus* was as good a Man of War, of as deep a Judgment, as high a Spirit, and as great Undertaking as any of *Alexanders* Captains. His imployments had been less than some of theirs, which made him also the less respected. But his thoughts were as proud as theirs; for he valued himself by his own Worth, not by the Opinions of other men; with careful attention had he watched *Perdiccas*, and sounded the depth of his purposes, which it was now high time to discover. For *Perdiccas* having with a jealous eye pryed into the demeanour of *Antigonus*, and finding him no way fit for his turn, caused him to be charged with such Accusations as might suffice to take away his Life, especially by a Judge that sought his Death. This device *Antigonus* would not seem to perceive, but prepared himself in shew to make answer, indeed, to make escape, which easily he did, putting himself and his Son *Demetrius* aboard of some *Athenian* Gallies that carried him to *Antipater*, laden with such Tidings as finished the *Ætolian* War before mentioned.

As the coming of *Antigonus* made *Craterus* and *Antipater* manifestly perceive their own danger: so his flight gave *Perdiccas* to understand that his Intentions were laid open, and must now be justified by the Sword. Therefore he prepared as fast as he could, not only for defence, but (as having on his side the Kings name) to meet with them at Home, who were nothing slack in providing to encounter him. *Ptolomy* being advertised of these proceedings, and considering how nearly they concerned him, sided with *Antipater*. To his Government of *Ægypt* he had annexed the Dominion of *Cyrene*, not without consent of the chief Citizens; and now in the midst of these Garboils he celebrated the Funeral of *Alexander* with great solemnity, purchasing thereby to himself much good will and many Partakers, notwithstanding the terrible report of the Kings Army coming against him.

§. VIII.

Perdiccas *His Voyage into* Ægypt, *and his Death.*

Perdiccas, uncertain which way to bend his main Power, at length resolved to set upon *Ptolomy*; leaving *Eumenes* to keep to his use,

againſt *Craterus* and *Antipater*, the parts of *Aſia* bordering upon *Europe*.

It may ſeem ſtrange, that he did not rather make head againſt thoſe who were to come out of *Greece* with a great number, and of more able men than *Ptolomy* could bring. Perhaps he thought to make a quick end with *Ptolomy*; or believed that *Craterus* would not be ready for him ſoon enough. Sure it is that he took a bad courſe, and made it worſe with ill handling.

Ptolomy by his ſweet Behaviour allured many to his Party, without help of any bad Arts. *Perdiccas* contrariwiſe was full of Inſolency, which never failed to be rewarded with Hatred; that is truly defined. An Affection founded upon Opion of an unjuſt Contempt. The whole Story of his procceedings in *Ægypt* is not worth relating: for he did nothing of importance; but (as a wilful man) tired his Followers, and waſted them in hard Enterpriſes without ſucceſs. His moſt forceable Attempt was upon a little Town called the *Camels Wall*: thither he marched by night, with more haſte than good ſpeed; for *Ptolomy* preventing him, did put himſelf into the place, where behaving himſelf not only as a good Commander, but as a ſtout Souldier, he gave the Foil to *Perdiccas*, cauſing him to retire with loſs, after a vehement, but vain Aſſauſt continued one whole day. The night following, *Perdiccas* made an other Journey (which was his laſt) and came to the diviſions of *Nilus*, over againſt *Memphis*. There with much difficulty he began to paſs over his Army into an Iſland where he meant to incamp. The Current was ſtrong, the Water deep, and hardly foordable. Wherefore he placed his Elephants above the Paſſage, to break the violence of the Stream, and his Horſe-men beneath it; to take up ſuch as were carried away by ſwiftneſs of the Water. A great part of his Army being arrived on the further Bank, the Channel began to wax deep; ſo that whereas the former Companies had waded up to the Chin, they who ſhould have followed could find no footing. Whether this came by riſing of the Water, or ſlitting away of the Ground (the Earth being broken with the Feet of ſo many Men, Horſe, and Elephants) no remedy there was, but ſuch as had paſſed muſt re-paſs again, as well as they might: for they were too weak for the Enemy, and could not be relieved by their Fellows. With great confuſion therefore they committed themſelves to the River wherein above two thouſand of them periſhed, a thouſand were devoured by *Crocodiles*; a miſerable Spectacle even to ſuch as were out of danger; ſuch as were ſtrong and could ſwim recovered the Camp, many were carried down the Stream, and driven to the contrary Bank, where the fell into the hands of their Enemies.

This misfortune exaſperated the Souldiers againſt their General, giving liberty to their Tongues, which long time had concealed the evil thoughts of their Hearts. While they were thus murmuring, news came from *Ptolomy*, which did ſet them in an Up-roar. *Ptolomy* had not only ſhewed much compaſſion on thoſe who fell into his hands alive, but performed all Rights of Funeral to the dead Carcaſſes, which the River had caſt upon his ſide; and finally, ſent their Bones and Aſhes to be interred by their Kinſmen or Friends. This did not only move the common Souldiers, but made the Captains fall to mutiny, thinking it unreaſonable to make War upon ſo vertuous and honourable a Perſon, to fulfil the Pleaſure of a Lordly ambitious man, uſing them like Slaves. The Sedition growing ſtrong, wanted only a Head, which it quickly found. *Python* was there, who inwardly hated *Perdiccas*, for the Diſgrace which he had ſuffered by his procurement after the Victory upon the rebellious *Greeks*. *Python* had lived in honourable place about *Alexander*; he was in the diviſion of the Provinces made Governour of *Media*; he had followed *Perdiccas*, and being in all things (the Protectorſhip excepted) equal to him, had nevertheleſs been ſcornfully uſed by him, which now he requited. Drawing together a hundred of the Captains, and a good part of the Horſe, which conſiſted of the Gentry, (the Foot-men having declared themſelves before) he entred the Tent of *Perdiccas*, where, without further circumſtance they all ran upon him, and ſlew him. Such end had the proud miſgoverning Authority of *Perdiccas*. He might have lived as great as any, could he have ſuffered any as great as himſelf; yea, peradventure Maſter of all, had he not been too maſterly over thoſe which were already his.

The next day *Ptolomy* came into the Camp, where he was joyfully received; he excuſed himſelf of things paſt, as not having been Author, or given cauſe of the War, and was eaſily believed: the Favour of the Army being ſuch toward him, that needs they would have made him Protector in the room of *Perdiccas*. But this he refuſed. It was an Office fit for one, that would ſeek to increaſe his greatneſs with his trouble. *Ptolomy* was well enough already; wherefore, for his own quiet he forbare to accept it, and for their well-deſerving of him, he procured that honourable Charge to *Python*, and to *Aridæus* the Captain, who having had ſome Companies of Souldiers to furniſh with their attendance the Solemnities of *Alexanders* Funerals, did with them adhere to him againſt *Perdiccas*.

In the midſt of theſe buſineſſes came news of two great Victories obtained by *Eumenes*; which news, had they arrived two or three days ſooner, had been entertained with joyful acclamations; and would have given ſuch reputation to *Perdiccas*, as had cauſed both his private Maligners to to continue his open Flatterers, and his open Enemies to have accepted any tolerable compoſition. But theſe good tidings coming in ill time, when death had ſtopped the ears which would have given them welcome, found bad acceptance, as ſhall be ſhewed hereafter.

§. IX.

Victories of Eumenes *in the lower* Aſia.

BEfore we proceed in the relation of things, happening about the perſon of the King, it is meet that we ſpeak of thoſe buſineſſes in the lower *Aſia*, which were handled by *Eumenes* with notable dexterity, whileſt *Perdiccas* was occupied in the *Ægyptian* Wars. *Alcetas*, the Brother of *Perdiccas*, and *Neoptolemus*, had received command from *Perdiccas* to be aſſiſtant to *Eumenes*, and to follow his directions. But *Alcetas* made flat anſwer, That he would not; alledging the backwardneſs of his men to bear Arms againſt ſo great a Perſon as *Antipater*, and a man ſo much honoured as *Craterus*. *Neoptolemus* was content to make fair ſhew, but inwardly he repined at the Precedency given to *Eumenes*, as thinking himſelf the better man. *Eumenes* diſcovering, through the counterfeited looks of *Neoptolemus*, the miſchief lurking in his heart, wiſely diſſembled with him, in hope to win him by gentle behaviour, and ſweet language, that com-

commonly are loſt, when beſtowed upon arrogant Creatures. Yet the better to fortifie himſelf, that he might ſtand upon his own ſtrength, he raiſed out of the Countries under his Juriſdiction, about ſix thouſand Horſe, giving many priviledges to ſuch as were ſerviceable, and training them well up. Not without great need: For when upon advertiſement of the great preparations made by *Craterus* and *Antipater* (who had newly paſſed the *Helleſpont*) for the invaſion of his Provinces, he willed *Neoptolemus* to come to him with all his power; *Neoptolemus* did (indeed) advance, but in Hoſtile manner, though unprovoked, preſented him Battel. *Neoptolemus* had ſecretly covenanted with *Antipater* to lay open the way for him to the Conqueſt of *Aſia*, which now intending to perform, he was ſhamefully diſappointed. For though his Foot-men, being all *Macedonians*, had much the better, and prevailed far upon *Eumenes* his Battels; yet were his Horſe driven out of the Field, and himſelf compelled, with a few of them, to run away, leaving naked the backs of his *Macedonian* Foot-men, to be charged by *Eumenes*, who forced them in ſuch wiſe, that caſting down their Pikes, they cried for mercy, and gladly took their Oath to do him faithful ſervice. *Antipater* and *Craterus* endeavoured with many goodly promiſes to draw *Eumenes* into their Society, who contrariwiſe offered himſelf, as a mean of reconciliation, between *Perdiccas* and *Craterus*, whom he dearly loved; profeſſing withal his hatred to *Antipater*, and conſtant faith to the cauſe which he had undertaken to maintain.

Whileſt theſe Negotiations were on foot, *Neoptolemus* came with his broken crew to *Antipater* and his Aſſociates, vilifying *Eumenes*, and calling him a *Scribe* (at which fooliſh railing they laught) but extolling the vertue of *Craterus* (as well he might) with high commendations; aſſuring them, that if *Craterus* did but once appear, or that his voice were but heard by any *Macedonian* in *Eumenes* his Camp, the Victory was won, for they would all forth-with revolt unto him. Earneſtly therefore he deſired them to give him aid againſt *Eumenes*, and eſpecially requeſted that *Craterus* might have the leading of the Army to be ſent. Their own affections did eaſily lead them to condeſcend to his motion; and good hope there was, that the reputation of *Craterus* might prevail as much, as the force which he drew along. For he had in the midſt of *Alexander*'s vanities, when others (imitating their King) betook themſelves to the *Perſian* faſhions of Garments, and Cuſtoms, retained the ancient *Macedonian* form of behaviour and apparel; whereby he became very gracious with the common Souldiers, who beheld theſe new tricks of *Aſia* with diſcontented Eyes, as reproachful and derogatory to the manners of their Native Country. So *Antipater* took the way toward *Cilicia*, to hold *Perdiccas* at bay, and to joyn with *Ptolomy*. *Craterus* uſed great celerity, to have taken *Eumenes* revelling (as he hoped) according to the common faſhion of Captains after a great Victory. But he had a wary and well-adviſed Enemy to encounter, who kept good eſpial upon him, and with much wiſdom fore-ſaw all that was to be feared, and the means of prevention, which his courage did not fail to execute.

Eumenes was not ignorant, that *Craterus* was able to defeat him without Battel, yea, without ſtroke; him therefore he feared more than the Army following him: (yet the Army following him was ſuch as much exceeded his own in Foot-men, but was inferiour in Horſe-men) and thought it more uneaſie to keep the *Macedonians* from revolting to him, than from knowing him. Hereupon he took in hand a ſtrange piece of work, which deſperation (of all courſes elſe) taught him, and wiſe managing, proſperouſly accompliſhed. He gave out reports that *Neoptolemus* was returned with ſuch company as he could gather together, and had gotten *Pigres* (a Captain of no great eſtimation, who lay not far off) to joyn with him. Having animated his men againſt *Neoptolemus*, whom he knew to be deſpiſed and hated among them, (as having been vanquiſhed by ſome of them, and forſaken others in plain Field, whileſt they valiantly fought in his Quarrel) he took great care to keep them from receiving any intelligence of the Enemies matters. Peremptorily he commanded, that no Meſſenger nor Trumpeter ſhould be admitted; and not herewith ſatisfied, he placed againſt *Craterus* no one *Macedonian*, nor any other that much would have regarded him had he been known: but *Thracians*, *Cappadocians*, and *Perſians*, under the leading of ſuch, as thought more highly of none, than of *Perdiccas* and himſelf. To theſe alſo he gave in charge, that without ſpeaking or hearkening to any word, they ſhould run upon the Enemy, and give him no leiſure to ſay or do any thing, but fight. The directions which he gave to others, he did not fail to execute in his own perſon: but placing himſelf in the right wing of his Battel, oppoſite to *Neoptolemus*, who (as he underſtood) conducted the left wing on the contrary ſide, he held the *Macedonians* arranged in good order, and ready to charge the Enemy as ſoon as the diſtance would give leave. A riſing piece of ground lay between them, which having aſcended, the Armies diſcovered each other: but that of *Eumenes* every way prepared for the fight, the other wearied with long Journies, which over-haſtily they had made, ſeeking the deceitful iſſue of frivolous hopes. Then was it high time for *Craterus* (having failed in ſurpriſing them as Enemies) to diſcover himſelf to his old Friends and fellow-ſouldiers, of whom he could ſee none. *Phœnix*, a *Tenidian*, and *Artabazus*, a *Perſian*, had the leading of that ſide, who mindful of their inſtructions, began to give upon him with ſuch countenance, as told him his error; which to redeem, he bad his men fight and win the day, and take the ſpoil to themſelves. But the Bear whoſe skin he ſells, is not yet caught. The ground whereon the Battel was fought gave moſt advantage to the Horſe, who encountred very roughly on all parts; eſpecially about *Eumenes* and *Neoptolemus*, who as ſoon as they had diſcovered one another, could not contain themſelves, but with great rage met body to body, and letting looſe their Bridles, grappled ſo violently together, that their Horſes ran from under them, leaving both of them tumbling on the ground. *Neoptolemus* roſe firſt up, but *Eumenes* had his Sword firſt drawn, wherewith he houghed the other, cauſing him to fall down and fight upon one knee. In this conflict they received many wounds, but *Neoptolemus* giving ſlight ones, took ſuch as were deadly, by which he died in the place, and was there (being half-dead, half-alive) ſtripped by his Mortal Enemy, whoſe revilings he requited, lying even at the laſt gaſp, with one wound in the groin, dangerous, had it not wanted force. The death of *Neoptolemus* cauſed his followers to run away upon the ſpur, and ſeek ſhelter behind the battels of their Foot. They were nothing hotly purſued: For *Eumenes* pained himſelf to carry ſuccour to his left wing, which he ſuſpected much to be diſtreſſed, but found accompanied with the ſame Fortune, that had aſſiſted him when he fought in Perſon. *Craterus* had gallantly born himſelf

himſelf a while, and ſuſtained the impreſſion of *Artabazus* and *Phœnix*, with more courage than force; holding it nothing agreeable with his Honour to retire and protract the fight, when he was charged by men of little eſtimation or note. Otherwiſe it is not unlikely, that he might have either carried the day, or preſerved himſelf to a better adventure by giving ground, as the reſt (when he and *Neoptolemus* were ſlain) did. But whileſt he ſought to preſerve his Reputation, he loſt his life by the fall of his Horſe, or his falling from his Horſe, through force of a wound received; upon which accident he was trampled under foot by many that knew him not, and ſo periſhed unknown, till it was too late to know it. *Eumenes* coming to the place where he lay, made great lamentation, as having always loved and honoured *Craterus*, of whoſe death he was now become the inſtrument. The vanquiſhed Army entertained a Treaty of Peace with *Eumenes*, making ſhew of willingneſs to become his followers; but their intent was only to refreſh themſelves, which (by his permiſſion) having done, they ſtole away by Night, and fled toward *Antipater*.

This Battel fought within ten days of the former wan to *Eumenes* more reputation than good will: for his own Souldiers took the death of *Craterus* heavily; and the Armies lying further off were enraged with the news. But other matters there were which incenſed men againſt him, beſides the death of *Craterus*, whereof it manifeſtly appeared, that he was as ſorry as any that pretended greater heavineſs. His Army wanted pay. This was a great fault; which he wiſely amended, by giving to them the ſpoil of ſuch Towns as were ill-affected to him. So he redeemed the love of his own men, who of their meer motion appointed unto him a guard for defence of his Perſon. Others were not ſo eaſie to be reconciled. They who had been Traytors to *Perdiccas* hated him for his faithfulneſs, as greatly, as they thought that he would hate them for their falſhood; neither found they any fairer way of excuſing their late revolt, than by accuſing and condemning the ſide which they had forſaken. Wherefore they proclaimed *Eumenes* a Traytor, and condemned him to die: but it was an eaſier matter to give that ſentence, than to put it in execution.

§. X.

Quarrels between Eurydice *the Queen, and* Python *the Protector.* Python *reſigns his Office, into which* Antipater *is choſen.*

Python and *Aridæus* being choſen Protectors of King *Aridæus*, and the Children of *Alexander*, took the way to *Aſia* the Leſs, conducting the Army through *Syria*. Of theſe two *Python* was the greater in reputation, yet far too weak to ſuſtain ſo important a charge. For *Eurydice*, Wife to King *Aridæus*, was come to her Husband, a Lady of a Maſculine ſpirit, well underſtanding what ſhe was or ſhould be, and thinking her ſelf able to ſupport the weight which Fortune had laid upon her fooliſh Husband, being due to her own Title. Her Mother *Cyna*, Siſter to *Alexander* by her Father *Philip*, was Married (as hath been ſhewed) to *Amyntas*, who was right Heir to the Kingdom of *Macedon*, being the only Son of King *Perdiccas*, *Philip*'s elder Brother.

This *Cyna* was a Warlike Woman; ſhe had led Armies, and (as a true Siſter of *Alexander*) fighting hand to hand with *Cæria* Queen of the *Phrygians*, a *Virago* like unto her ſelf, had ſlain her. She brought up this *Eurydice* in the ſame unwomanly Art of War, who now among the Souldiers began to put in practice the rudiments of her Education, to the ſmall contentment of *Python*, that could not brook her curious intermedling in his charge. Whether it were ſo that *Python* had ſome purpoſe to advance the Son of *Alexander* by *Roxane*, to the Kingdom; (as once he had ſought to do) or whether the Queen did ſuſpect him of ſome ſuch intent; or whether only deſire of Rule cauſed her to quarrel with him, quarrel ſhe did, which diſturbed the proceeding againſt *Eumenes*. The Army having ſhaken off ſuch a rank-rider as *Perdiccas*, would not afterward be reined with a twined thread. *Python* bearing himſelf upon his Office, took upon him to give directions in the Kings Name, which the Queen did oftentimes controul, uſing the ſame name, with more Authority, and better liking of the Souldiers. *Python*, ſeeing this, would needs reſign his Office, whether upon wearineſs of the contentions daily growing, or on purpoſe to bring the Queen into envy, it is uncertain. Perhaps he thought, that now being the far worthieſt man in the Camp, he ſhould be intreated to retain the place, and have his Authority confirmed, or (as might be) increaſed, were it but for want of a fit Succeſſor. *Eurydice* was nothing ſorry at this courſe; for now ſhe thought to manage the affairs of the Empire at her own will, being freed from the troubleſome aſſiſtance of a Protector. But the Souldiers diſappointed both her and *Python* of their contrary expectations; chooſing *Antipater*, the only powerful man of *Alexander*'s Captains then living, into the room of *Python*. Hereat the Queen fretted exceedingly, and began to deal earneſtly with the *Macedonians*, that they ſhould acknowledge no Lord ſave only the King their Sovereign. Yet ſhe failed of her purpoſe, being hindred (as may ſeem) by three things: the apparent weakneſs of her Husband, the growth of *Alexander*'s Children, who (though born of outlandiſh Women) were bred in the *Macedonian* Camp; and the mightineſs of *Antipater*, who commanding a great Army near at hand arrived in few days at the Camp, and enforced *Eurydice* to hold her ſelf content. *Antipater* was of ſuch power, that he needed not to work by any cloſe devices, as *Perdiccas* had done; he had no concurrents, all the Governours of Provinces that remained alive acknowledged him their better; yea, many of them he diſplaced out of hand, putting others in their rooms. This done, he took the King, Queen, and Princes along with him into *Macedonia*, leaving *Antigonus* General of the Royal Army: to whom for his good ſervices done, and to be done againſt *Eumenes*, he gave the rule of *Suſiana*, beſides his former Provinces, and committed into his hands the Government of *Aſia* during that War.

§. XI.

Antigonus *Lieutenant of* Aſia, *wins a Battel of* Eumenes, *and beſiegeth him in* Nora: *He vanquiſheth other followers of* Perdiccas.

HEre begins the greatneſs of *Antigonus*, whoſe power in few years over-growing the reſt, wanted little of ſpreading it ſelf over the whole Monarchy. He was to make War upon *Eumenes*, *Alcetus* the Brother, and *Attalus* the Brother-in-law to *Perdiccas*: work enough to keep his Army employed in the Publick Service, till ſuch time as he might find occaſion to make uſe of it in his own buſineſs.

buſineſs. The firſt of theſe which he undertook was *Eumenes*, with whom *Alcetus* and *Attalus* refuſed to joyn, having unſeaſonably contended with him in time of common danger about the chief place. *Eumenes* had an Army ſtrong in number, courage, and all needful proviſions; but obedient only at diſcretion. Therefore *Antigonus* tryed all ways of corrupting his Souldiers, tempting firſt the whole Army with Letters; which practice failing by the cunning of *Eumenes* (who made ſhew as if he himſelf had ſcattered abroad thoſe Letters to try the faith of his men) he dealt apart with ſuch Captains, as he thought moſt eaſie to be won. Of theſe Captains one rebelled, breaking out too haſtily before any help was near him, yet looking ſo careleſly to himſelf, that he and his were ſurpriſed, when he thought his Enemies far off. Another follower of *Eumenes* (or rather of good Fortune, which he thought now to be in company with *Antigonus*) kept his Treachery ſecret, reſerving it for the time of execution. Upon confidence of the Treaſon which this falſe man *Apollonides* had undertaken, *Antigonus* preſented Battel to *Eumenes*; in the heat whereof, *Apollonides*, General of the Horſe to *Eumenes*, fled over to the contrary ſide, with ſuch as he could get to follow him: but was cloſely followed by ſome, whoſe company he deſired not. *Eumenes*, perceiving the irrecoverable miſchief which this traiterous practice brought upon him, purſued the Villain, and cut him off before he could thruſt himſelf into the Troups of *Antigonus*, and boaſt of his Treachery. This was ſome comfort to *Eumenes* in the loſs of that Battel, which diſabled him utterly to keep the Field, and left it very hard for him to make a ſafe retreat. Yet one thing he did which much amazed his Enemies, and (though a matter of ſmall importance) cauſed *Antigonus* himſelf to admire his high reſolution. It was held no ſmall part of the Victory to get poſſeſſion of the dead Bodies. *Eumenes*, whileſt *Antigonus* held him in chace, turned out of the way, and fetching a compaſs returned to the place where the Battel had been fought; there he burned (according to the manner of the time) the bodies of his own men, and interred the bones and aſhes of the Captains and common Souldiers apart, raiſing up heaps of Earth as Mountains over them, and ſo went his way. As this bold adventure bred in the *Macedonians* (returned to their Camp) great admiration of his brave ſpirit; ſo the news which *Menander* (who was ſet to look unto their Carriages) brought and publiſhed among them, enticed them to love him as their honourable Friend. He had found *Menander* in an open Plain, careleſs, as after an aſſured Victory, and loaden with the ſpoils of many Nations, the rewards of their long Service, all which he might have taken: but fearing leſt ſuch a purchaſe ſhould prove a heavy burthen to him, whoſe chief hope conſiſted in ſwift expedition, he gave ſecret warning to *Menander* to flie to the Mountains, whileſt he detained his men (whom Authority could not have reſtrained) by this ſleight, ſetting them to bait their Horſes. The *Macedonians* extolled him for this courteſie, as a noble Gentleman, that had forborn when it lay in his power to ſtrip them out of all their Wealth, and make their Children Slaves, and to raviſh their Wives: but *Antigonus* told them, that he had not forborn to do this out of any good will to them; but out of meer ſubtilty had avoided thoſe precious Fetters, which would have hindred his ſpeedy flight. He told them true: For *Eumenes* did not only think all Carriages to be over-burdenſome, but the number of his men to be more troubleſome than available, in his intended courſe. Wherefore he ſent them from him as faſt as he could, wiſhing them to ſhift for themſelves; and retaining only five hundred Horſe, and two hundred Foot. When he had wearied *Antigonus* a while in following him up and down, he came to *Nora*; where again, keeping no more about him, than neceſſity required to make good the place, he lovingly diſmiſſed all the reſt. *Nora* was a little Fortreſs in the borders of *Lycaonia* and *Cappadocia*, ſo ſtrongly ſituated, that it ſeemed impregnable; and ſo well victualled and ſtored with all Neceſſaries, that it might hold out for many years. Thither did *Antigonus* follow him, with more deſire to make him his Friend, than to vanquiſh him in War. To this purpoſe he entertained parley with him, but in vain. For whereas *Antigonus* offered him Pardon, and his love; *Eumenes* required reſtitution of his Provinces, which could not be granted without *Antipater*'s conſent. Then was *Nora* cloſed up; where *Antigonus* leaving ſufficient ſtrength for continuance of the Siege, took his Journey into *Piſidia* againſt *Alcetas* and *Attalus*, with whom he made ſhort work. He came upon them unexpected, and ſeized on paſſages, which wanted not men, but ſuch a Captain as *Eumenes*, to have defended them. *Alcetas* and *Attalus*, as they had been too ſecure before his coming, ſo were they too adventurous in fighting at the firſt ſight, upon all diſadvantages; and their folly was attended with ſutable event. *Attalus* with many principal Captains was taken; *Alcetas* fled to the City of *Termeſus*, where the love of the younger ſort was toward him ſo vehement, that ſtopping their Ears againſt all perſwaſions of the ancient men, they needs would hazard their lives and their Country in his defence. Yet this availed him nothing: For the Governours of the Town, having ſecretly compounded with *Antigonus*, cauſed the young men to ſally out; and uſing the time of advantage, they with their Servants did ſet upon *Alcetas*, who unable to reſiſt, ſlew himſelf. His dead Body was conveyed to *Antigonus*, and by him barbarouſly torn, was caſt forth without Burial. When *Antigonus* was gone, the young men interred the Carcaſs with ſolemn Funerals, having once been minded to ſet on fire their own Town, in revenge of his death. Such favour had he purchaſed with courteous liberality: but to make an able General, one vertue, how great ſoever, is inſufficient.

§. XII.

Ptolomy *wins* Syria *and* Phœnicia. *The death of* Antipater.

WHileſt theſe things were in doing, the reſt of the Princes lay idle, rather ſeeking to enjoy their Governments for the preſent, than to confirm or enlarge them. Only *Ptolomy* looking abroad, wan all *Syria* and *Phœnicia*: an action of great importance, but not remarkable for any circumſtance in the managing. He ſent a Lieutenant thither with an Army, who quickly took *Laomedon* Priſoner, that ruled there by appointment of *Antipater*, and formerly of *Perdiccas*; but (as may ſeem) without any great ſtrength of Souldiers, far from aſſiſtants, and vainly relying upon the Authority which had given him that Province, and was now occupied with greater cares, than with ſeeking to maintain him in his Office.

Antipater

Antipater was old and ſickly, deſirous of reſt, and therefore contented to let *Antigonus* purſue the diſpatch of thoſe buſineſſes in *Aſia*. He had with him *Polyſperchon*, one of the moſt ancient of *Alexander*'s Captains, that had lately ſuppreſſed a dangerous Inſurrection of the *Ætolians*, which Nation had ſtirred in the Quarrel of *Perdiccas*, prevailing far at the firſt, but ſoon loſing all that they had gained, whileſt *Antipater* was abroad in his *Cilician* expedition. In this *Polyſperchon* *Antipater* did repoſe great confidence; ſo far forth, that (ſuſpecting the Youth of his own Son *Caſſander* of inſufficiency in ſo great a charge) he bequeathed unto him on his Death-bed the Government of *Macedon* and *Greece*, together with his Office of *Protectorſhip*. So *Antipater* died, being fourſcore years old, having always travelled in the great Affairs of mighty Princes, with ſuch reputation, that *Alexander* in all his greatneſs was jealous of him, and the Succeſſors of *Alexander* did either quietly give place unto him, or were unfortunate in making oppoſitions. In his private qualities he was a ſubtile man, temperate, frugal, and of a Philoſophical behaviour; not unlearned, as having been Scholar to *Ariſtotle*, and written ſome Hiſtories. He had been much moleſted by *Olympias*, *Alexander*'s Mother, whom after the death of her Son he compelled to abſtain from coming into *Macedonia*, or intermedling in matters of Eſtate: yea, at his own death he gave eſpecial direction, that no Woman ſhould be permitted to deal in the adminiſtration of the Empire. But this Precept was ſoon forgotten; and yet, ere long, by ſorrowful experience approved to have been found and good.

§. XIII.

Of Polyſperchon *who ſucceeded unto* Antipater *in the Protectorſhip. The Inſurrection of* Caſſander *againſt him.*

Polyſperchon was very skilful in the Art of War, having long time been Apprentice in that Occupation; other qualities, requiſite in ſo high an Office as he underwent, either Nature had not given to him, or Time had robbed him of them. He managed his buſineſs more formally, than wiſely, as a man of a ſecond wit, fitter to aſſiſt, than to Command in Chief. At the firſt entrance upon the Stage he called to Council all his Friends, wherein, for weighty conſiderations (as they who weighed not the contrary reaſons held them) the Queen *Olympias* was revoked out of *Epirus* into *Macedon*, that the preſence of *Alexander*'s Mother might countenance and ſtrengthen their proceedings. For the condition of the times requiring, that the Governours of Provinces abroad ſhould keep greater Armies, than were needful or eaſie to be retained about the Perſon of the King in *Macedonia*; it ſeemed expedient, that the face of the Court ſhould be filled with all Majeſty, that might give Authority to the Injunctions from thence proceeding, and by an awful regard contain within the bounds of Duty ſuch as could not by force have been kept in order, being ſtrong, and lying too far off.

Such care was taken for prevention of imaginary dangers and out of ſight, whileſt preſent miſchief lay unregarded in their boſoms. *Caſſander*, the Son of *Antipater*, was not able to diſcover that great ſufficiency in *Polyſperchon*, for which his Father had repoſed in him ſo much confidence: neither could he diſcern ſuch odds in the Quality of himſelf and *Polyſperchon*, as was in their Fortune. He was left Captain of one thouſand; which Office by practice of thoſe times was of more importance, than the Title now ſeems to imply. He ſhould thereby have been as Camp-Maſter, or Lieutenant General to the other: a place no way ſatisfying his ambition, that thought himſelf the better man. Therefore he began to examine his own power, and compare with the Forces likely to oppoſe him. All that had relied on his Father were his own aſſured, eſpecially ſuch as commanded the Garriſons beſtowed in the principal Cities of *Greece*. The like hope was of the Magiſtrates, and others of principal Authority, in thoſe Common-weals, whoſe forms had been corrected by *Antipater*, that they would follow the ſide, and draw in many partakers: it concerned theſe men in their own particular to adhere unto the Captains by whom their Faction was upheld; and by whom the raſcal multitude, covetous of regaining the tyrannous power which they had formerly exerciſed over the principal Citizens, were kept in order, obeying their betters perforce. Beſides all theſe helps, *Caſſander* had the ſecret love of Queen *Eurydice*, who had in private rendred him ſuch courteſie, as was due only to her Husband. But neither the Queens favour, nor all his other poſſibilities, gave him confidence to break out into open Rebellion, becauſe he ſaw *Polyſperchon* much reverenced among the *Macedonians*, and ſtrong enough to ſuppreſs him before he could have made head. Therefore he made ſhew of following his pleaſures in the Country, and calling many of his Friends about him, under pretence of Hunting, adviſed with them upon the ſafeſt courſe, and moſt free from all ſuſpicion. The neceſſity was apparent of raiſing an Army, before the buſineſs were ſet on foot; and to do this, Opportunity preſented him with fair means. *Ptolomy* had by fine force, without any Commiſſion, annexed *Syria* to his Government of *Ægypt* and *Cyrene*: this was too much either for the King to truſt him with, or for him to part with. *Antigonus* upon the firſt news of *Antipater*'s death, began to lay hold upon all that he could get, in ſuch ſort that he manifeſtly diſcovered his intent of making himſelf Lord of all *Aſia*. Theſe two therefore ſtood in need of a Civil War; which *Caſſander* well noted, and preſumed withal, That the friendſhip which had paſſed between his Father and them, would avail him ſomewhat. Whereupon he ſecretly diſpatched Meſſengers to them both; and within a little while conveyed himſelf on a ſudden over the *Helleſpont*, that he might in perſon advance the buſineſs with greater ſpeed. Much perſwaſion is needleſs in winning a man to what he deſireth. *Antigonus* coveted nothing more, than to find *Polyſperchon* work by raiſing ſome Commotion in *Greece*. Yet (as formalities muſt not be neglected) *Caſſander* did very earneſtly preſs him, by the memory of his Father, and all requiſite conjurations, to aſſiſt him in this enterpriſe; telling him that *Ptolomy* was ready to declare for them, and urging him to a ſpeedy diſpatch. *Antigonus* on the other ſide repayed him with the ſame coin; ſaying, That for his own ſake, and his dead Fathers, whom he had very dearly loved, he would not fail to give him all manner of ſuccour. Having thus feaſted one another with words, they were nothing ſlack in preparing the common means leading to their ſeveral ends.

§. XIV.

§. XIV.

The unworthy course held by Polysperchon, *for the keeping down of* Cassander.

GReat necessity there was of timely provision. For *Polysperchon* needed no other Instructions to inform him of *Cassander*'s drift, than the news of his departure. He was not ignorant of the ready disposition, which might be found in *Antigonus* and *Ptolomy*, to the strengthning of Rebellion: and well he knew that one principal hope of *Cassander* was reposed in the confidence of such as ruled in the *Græcian* Estate. Therefore (loving to work circumspectly) he called another Councel, wherein it was concluded, That the popular form of Government should be erected in all the Cities of *Greece*; the Garrisons withdrawn; and that all Magistrates and principal Men, into whose hands *Antipater* had committed the supream Authority, should forthwith be either slain or banished. This was a sure way to diminish the number of *Cassander*'s Friends, and to raise up many Enemies to him in all Quarters. Yet hereby was disclosed both an unthankful nature in *Polysperchon*, and a factious malice in his adherents. For how could he be excused of extream ingratitude, that for hatred of the Son went about to dishonour the Father's actions, whose only bounty had enabled him to do it? or what could be said in their defence, who sought to destroy many worthy men, Friends to the State, by whom the *Greeks* were held restrained from stirring against the *Macedonians*; and in opposition to their private Enemy, gave the rule of things to base Companions, and such as naturally maligned the Empire? But as in mans Body, through sinews newly issuing from one branch, a finger is more vexed by inflammation of his next Neighbour, than by any distemper in the contrary hand: so in Bodies politick, the humours of men, subdivided in faction, are more enraged by the disagreeable qualities of such as curb them in their neareſt purposes, than they are exasperated by the general opposition of such as are divided from them in the main trunk. Hereby it comes to pass, that contrary Religions are invited to help against neighbour Princes; bordering Enemies drawn in, to take part in Civil Wars; and ancient hatred called to counsel against injurious Friends. Of this fault Nature is not guilty; she hath taught the Arm to offer it self unto manifest loss in defence of the Head: they are depraved affections, which render men sensible of their own particular, and forgetful of the more general good, for which they were created.

The Decree, whereby the *Greeks* were presented with a vain shew of liberty, ran under the King's Name; but so, as one might easily discern, that *Polysperchon* had guided his Pen. For the main point was, That they should follow such Directions as *Polysperchon* gave, and treat with him about all difficulties. In the rest it contained such a deal of kindness, as proceeding on a sudden from those who had kept them in hard subjection, might well appear to have some other root than the pretended good will; and was of it self too base and unfit for a King to use toward his conquered Subjects, and often-subdued Rebels.

§. XV.

Of the great Commotions raised in Athens *by* Polysperchon's *Decree. The Death of* Phocion.

NEvertheless the *Athenians* with immoderate joy entertained this happy-seeming Proclamation, and sought how to put it in execution without further delay. But *Nicanor*, Captain of the Garrison, which kept one of their Havens, called *Munychia*, in the lower part of the Town, would needs take longer time of deliberation, than was pleasing to their hasty desires.

Nicanor, as a trusty follower of *Cassander*, was by him shifted into the Place, and *Menillus* (that was Captain there before) discharged, when *Antipater* was newly dead. His coming to *Athens* was no way grateful to the Citizens, who soon after hearing the news of *Antipater*'s Death, cried out upon *Phocion*, saying, That he had sufficient intelligence of that Accident, and might by advertising them in due time have put into their hands a fair opportunity of thrusting out the *Macedonians*. But these Exclamations argued no more than a desire to shake off the *Macedonian* yoke. Far more grievously would they have been offended, had they known the Instructions which *Cassander* had given to *Nicanor*, and his resolution to follow them. It was concluded, That he should not only retain *Munychia*, any injunction to the contrary notwithstanding; but that he should find means to thrust some Companies into *Piræus*, and fortifie that also, which was the principal Haven, against the high-Town. How to accomplish this he rather wanted some reasonable pretence, than good ability. But the *Athenians* were not long in giving him sufficient cause to do that, which he would have done without any cause given. They desired him to come unto their Councel, assembled in the *Piræus*, there to consider of the King's Proclamation; whither upon *Phocion*'s word and safe conduct he came, and earnestly pressed them to hold with *Cassander* in the War which was ready to break forth. Contrariwise they urged him first of all, to make them Masters of their own, which how to use they might consult afterwards. Each of them refusing to condescend unto the others demand; the *Athenians* (who did always measure justice by profit, yet seldom thrived by that course) practised with *Dercyllus*, a Captain following *Polysperchon*, and then lying near at hand, that he should enter into the Town, and take *Nicanor* Prisoner. But *Phocion* who then governed in *Athens*, a man very unlike to the rest of the Citizens, being nothing pleased with such a trick of politick dishonesty, did quietly suffer him to depart and save himself.

Nicanor hereupon began to devise upon taking *Piræus*; not as following now the project of *Cassander*, but prosecuting his own just revenge. He levied as many Souldiers as he could, and drew them closely into *Munychia*; which done, he issued into *Piræus*, took it, and intrenched himself therein: to the exceeding discomfort of the *Athenians*, who lately impatient of his keeping the one Haven, saw him now Master of both. *Alexander* the Son of *Polysperchon*, came thither shortly after, with an Army. Then were the Citizens in great hope of recovering all, and addressed themselves unto him; who made fair shews, intending meer mischief, which they perceived not, being blinded with the vain Epistles of his Father, and of *Olympias* the old Queen. *Olympias* taking upon her to command, before she durst well adventure to return into *Macedon*, had peremptorily charged *Ni-*

canor to reſtore to the *Athenians* the Places which he held: but he would firſt conſider more of the matter. *Polyſperchon* had further ordained, that the Iſle of *Samos* ſhould be rendred unto them: a goodly offer, had it accorded with his power and meaning. He was (indeed) ſo far from purpoſing to let them have *Samos*, that as yet he did not throughly intend to let them have themſelves. The commodity of their Havens was ſuch, as he would rather get into his own hands, than leave in theirs; yet rather wiſhed in theirs, than in *Caſſander*'s. His Son *Alexander* not ignorant of this, made fair ſhew to the *Athenians*, and ſpent much labour in communing with *Nicanor*, but ſuffered not them, for whom he ſeemed to labour, to intermeddle with the buſineſs. Hereupon the Citizens grew jealous, and the diſpleaſure they conceived againſt him they poured out upon *Phocion*, depriving him of his Office. This was done with much tumult: baniſhed men and ſtrangers, thruſting themſelves into the Aſſembly of the Citizens, who diſtracted with ſundry paſſions, growing out of their preſent misfortunes, thought every one that beſt could inveigh againſt things paſt, a moſt likely man to find ſome remedy for the evil threatning them. In this Hurliburly was *Alexander* deviſing how he might come to ſome good point of compoſition with *Nicanor*, and held much privy conference with him; which he could not ſo ſecretly carry; but that his Negotiation was diſcovered, whereby the uproar in the Town was ſo far increaſed, that *Phocion* with many of his Friends were accuſed, and driven to ſeek ſafeguard of their Lives by flight. So they came to *Alexander*, who entertained them gently, and gave them his Letters of commendation to his Father, deſiring him to take them into his protection.

Polyſperchon was in the Countrey of *Phocis*, ready to enter with an Army into *Attica*. Thither came *Phocion* with his Companions, hoping well that the Letters which they brought, and their own deſerts, (having always been Friends to the *Macedonians*, as far as the good of their Countrey gave leave) ſhould be enough to get patronage to their Innocency. Beſides all this, *Dinarchus* a *Corinthian*, *Polyſperchon*'s familiar Friend, went along with them, (in an evil hour) who promiſed to himſelf and them great favour by means of his Acquaintance. But *Polyſperchon* was an unſtable man, very earneſt in what he took in hand, yet, either for want of judgment in following them, or of honeſty in holding the beſt of them, eaſily changing his intended courſes, and doing things by the halfs, which made him commonly fail of good ſucceſs. For fear of *Caſſander*, he had offered wonderful kindneſs to the *Athenians*; this had cauſed them to love him: out of their love he gathered hope of deceiving them, which made him to change his mind, and ſeek how to get into his own hands thoſe Keys, with which *Caſſander* held them faſt lockt up: finding himſelf diſappointed of this purpoſe, and ſuſpected as a falſe diſhonourable man, he ſtood wavering between the contrary allurements of Profit and Reputation. To keep the *Athenians* perforce at his devotion, would indeed have done well: but the effecting of this began to grow deſperate; and many Towns of importance in *Greece* began to caſt their eyes upon his proceeding in that action. Wherefore he thought it the wiſeſt way to redeem their good opinion, by giving all contentment unto the popular Faction, which then was grown to be Maſter of that City. And in good time for this purpoſe were the *Athenian* Ambaſſadors come, treading (as one may ſay) upon *Phocion*'s heels, whom they were ſent to accuſe. Theſe had ſolemn audience given to them in the King's preſence, who was attended by many great Lords, and for oſtentations ſake was glorified with all exterior ſhews of Majeſty; yet all too little to change *Aridæus* into *Alexander*: for he did nothing there, but either laugh or chafe, as he ſaw others do. For beginning of the buſineſs *Polyſperchon* commanded that *Dinarchus* ſhould be tortured and ſlain: This was enough to teſtifie his hearty affection to the Commonalty of *Athens*, in that he ſpared not his old Acquaintance for their ſake; whoſe Ambaſſadors he then bad to ſpeak. When their errand was done, and anſwer to it made by the accuſed, who had no indifferent hearing, *Phocion* and the reſt were pronounced guilty of Treaſon; but to give Sentence, and do the execution upon them, was (for Honours ſake) referred unto the City of *Athens*, becauſe they were Burgeſſes. Then were they ſent away to *Athens*, where the raſcal multitude, not ſuffering them to ſpeak for themſelves, condemned them to die. So they periſhed being innocent. But the Death of *Phocion*, a man very conſpicuous, made the fortune of the reſt to be of the leſs regard. Five and forty times had he been choſen Governour of the City, never ſuing for the Place, but ſent for when he was abſent: ſo well was his Integrity known, and ſo highly valued, even of ſuch as were no pretenders to the ſame vertue. He was a good Commander in War, wherein though his actions were not very great, yet were they of good importance, and never unfortunate. Never did the City repent of having followed his counſel: nor any private man of having truſted his word. *Philip* of *Macedon* highly eſteemed him ſo; and much more did *Alexander*, who (beſides other ſigns of his love) ſent him two hundred Talents of ſilver, and offered to beſtow upon him of four Cities in *Aſia* any one which he would chooſe. But *Phocion* refuſed theſe and other gifts, howſoever importunately thruſt upon him; reſting well contented with his honeſt poverty: wherein he lived above fourſcore years, and then was compelled by the unjuſt judgment of wicked men to drink that poyſon, which by juſt judgment of the righteous God, ſo infected the City of *Athens*, as from that day forwards it never brought forth any worthy man reſembling the vertue of their Ancients.

§. XVI.

Of Polyſperchon *his vain Expedition againſt* Caſſander.

NOt long after theſe things were done, *Caſſander* with ſuch Forces as *Antigonus* lent him, entred into *Piræus*; which news drew *Polyſperchon* head-long into *Attica*, with a great Army, but ſo ill victualed, that he was fain to depart without any thing done. Only he had given ſome impediment to the Enemy; who not contented with defending what he held, began to look out, and make new Purchaſes abroad. Finding therefore himſelf unable to drive *Caſſander* out of *Athens*, he left his Son *Alexander*, with ſuch number of men, as exceeded not the proportion of Victuals, to withſtand his further incroaching. The greateſt part of his Army he carried into *Peloponneſus*, to make the Countrey ſure to himſelf, wherein *Caſſander* had many Friends.

His doings in *Peloponneſus* were ſuch, as they had been in other Parts of *Greece*. Firſt, he began to fight with Edicts, reſtoring the *Democracy*, or popular form of Government. He commanded that the

the principal Citizens, that had by *Antipater* been made Rulers, ſhould be either ſlain or driven into exile. This Decree took immediate effect in moſt places; the vulgar ſort being very ready to ſeal the Charter of their Freedom and Authority with the Blood of thoſe who had kept them in ſubjection. yet many Cities there were which delighted in the Rule of the chief Citizens, and manly which wiſhed well to *Caſſander*; eſpecially they of *Megalopolis*, on whom *Polyſperchon* meant to inflict an exemplary Puniſhment of Diſobedience to him, which he termed Rebellion. *Megalopolis* had in it fifteen thouſand ſerviceable men, well furniſhed with neceſſaries, and reſolved to endure the worſt. And need there was of ſuch reſolution. For *Polyſperchon* coming thither with all his Power did ſo much, that he overthrew, by a Mine, three of their Bulwarks, and all the ſpace of Wall between them. But the Defendants manfully repelled the *Macedonians* which came up to the Breach; and at the ſame time, with great labour, they raiſed up an inner Wall, to bear out the next Aſſault. The Aſſailants having failed to carry the Town at the firſt attempt, took much pains to clear the Ground, and make fair way for their Elephants, whoſe Violence was likely to overthrow all that came in their way. But the Townſmen perceiving their drift, prepared Boards driven through with long Nails, which they uſed as Gall-throps, beſtowing them ſlightly, covered with the points upwards, in the way by which the Beaſts were to paſs. Neither did they ſet any to encounter them in Front, but appointed certain light-armed men to beat upon their ſides with Arrows and Darts, as they were inſtructed by ſome that had learned the manner of that Fight in the *Aſian* Warrs. Of theſe Proviſions they made happy uſe in the next Aſſault. For by them were the Elephants (wherein the Enemy chiefly truſted) either ſorely hurt, or driven back upon the *Macedonians*, whom they trampled under feet. *Polyſperchon* came as ill furniſht for long abode to *Megalopolis*, as before to *Athens*. Therefore being neither able to diſpatch the buſineſs quickly, nor to take ſuch leiſure as was requiſite, he forſook the Siege, with ſome loſs, and much diſhonour, leaving ſome part of his Army to lye before the Town for his credit.

After this, he ſent *Clitus* his Admiral to Sea, to joyn with *Aridæus* that was come out of *Phrygia*, and to cut off all Succour which might come to the Enemy out of *Aſia*. *Caſſander* alſo ſent his whole Fleet under *Nicanor*, who taking along with him ſome Ships of *Antigonus*, came to the *Propontis*, where he fought with *Clitus* and was beaten. But *Antigonus* hearing of the Overthrow, gathered together the Ships that were eſcaped, and manning them very well, ſent out *Nicanor* again, aſſuring him of the Victory, as well he might. For he ſent out ſufficient numbers of Light-armed men, whom he had cauſed to be wafted over the Straights in ſmall Veſſels by night; theſe before day-light ſetting upon *Clitus*, drave his men, that lay ſecurely on the Land, headlong into their Ships; in which Tumult, *Nicanor* arriving, did aſſail them ſo luſtily, that few or none eſcaped him.

This Loſs at Sea, together with his bad Succeſs by Land, brought *Polyſperchon* into great contempt. He had a good facility in penning bloody Decrees; but when the Execution was referred to his own Sword, he could find the matter more difficult. Wherefore the *Athenians* perceiving that he had left them to ſhift for themſelves, and was not able to give them Protection againſt the Enemy which lay in their Boſoms, came to agreement with *Caſſander*, accepting a Governour of his appointment; and reſtoring all things to the ſame State wherein *Antipater* had left them. The like inclination to the Party of *Caſſander*, was found in very many Cities of *Greece*, which daily and willingly revolted unto him; as to an induſtrious man, and likely to prevail in the end. Thus was the whole Country ſet in a combuſtion, uneaſie to be quenched; which preſented unto *Antigonus* an opportunity that he neglected not, of making himſelf Lord of *Aſia*.

§. XVII.

Antigonus ſeeks to make himſelf an abſolute Lord; and thereupon treats with Eumenes, *who diſappointeth him.* Phrygia *and* Lydia *won by* Antigonus.

Antigonus had in *Antipaters* life time a firm reſolution, to make unto himſelf the utmoſt benefit that he might of the Army committed to his Charge. And in fair ſeaſon for advancement of his purpoſes came the news of *Antipaters* Death; even then, when all the buſineſs in *Piſidia* was diſpatched, and no more imployment for the Army remaining, ſave only the continuance of the Siege of *Nora*; a ſmall thing of it ſelf, but as hard as a greater matter; and requiring few men, but much time; when time of all things was moſt precious. *Eumenes* lay in that Fort of *Nora*, able to make the place good, and hoping that the mutability, to which the preſent State was manifeſtly ſubject, would in continuance of ſome years (which he might abide) work more for him, than his Enemies in that ſpace could work againſt him. His moſt fear was, that for want of exerciſe in that narrow Caſtle, his Men and Horſes might grow ſickly and unſerviceable: which made him to practiſe many deviſes of keeping them in health and luſty. But when he had continued ſhut up in this manner about a year, his hopes came to good paſs, and he was eaſed of his Cares by *Antigonus* himſelf, whoſe Forces held him beſieged.

Antigonus knowing the great ſufficiency of *Eumenes*, and conſidering his Fidelity ſhewed unto *Perdiccas*, thought that he could not find in all the World a fitter man than him, to imply in managing thoſe high deſigns, wherein he doubted not that he ſhould be withſtood by the mightieſt Princes of the Empire. He ſent therefore to *Eumenes* by one that was friend to them both, acquainting him with ſome part of his intent, and promiſing to make him a greater Lord than ever he had been, and the next man to himſelf, if things fell out as he deſired, in regard whereof he required only his Friendſhip, and thereupon ſent him an Oath to take; which done, he might at his good pleaſure iſſue ſafely out of *Nora*, and enjoy his perfect Liberty. *Eumenes* peruſing the Form of the Oath, perceived the meaning of *Antigonus*; which was rather to make him his Follower than his Fellow. For whereas, in a few words, it mentioned the King and Princes of the Blood, rather to keep the *Decorum*, than upon any Loyal Intent; the binding words and ſum of all the reſt were ſuch as tied him faſt only to *Antigonus*, omitting all reſervation of Duty to the King or any other. This he liked not, holding it unſeemly to become a ſworn man to him, with whom he had fought for the Maſtery; and being aſſured that his voluntary aſſiſtance, which way ſoever he gave, would be more acceptable, and far more

honourable than the course propounded. Yet would he not therefore break off the Negotiation, and wait for some better occasion of inlargement, which might perhaps be long in coming; but seeming to be well agreed with *Antigonus*, he prepared to give up his Hold and depart. As for the Oath it self, when he came to take it, he made shew of dislike, in that it was not solemn enough for such personages as they were, who could not be too ceremonious in testifying their Allegiance. The *Macedonians* which lay incamped before *Nora*, liked his Words, and gave him leave to put in *Olympias*, and the Children of *Alexander*, binding himself to them and their Adherents, as well as to *Antigonus*; and so he departed.

Antigonus had taken upon him, as soon as he came down to the Sea-side, to remove some of the Governours of Provinces, behaving himself according to the Authority which he had received of *Antipater*, to exercise in the time of War. Neither did he want sufficient pretence whereby to justifie his Proceedings. For if *Polysperchon* might lawfully hold the *Protectorship*, which the old man doting on his Death-bed bequeathed unto him as a Legacy, without consent of the Princes or Souldiers; why might not he himself as well retain the *Lievtenantship* of *Asia*, that was granted unto him for the general good of the State, in presence of the whole Army, by the King, and by *Antipater*, who had power to ordain what should seem convenient whilst he lived, not to dispose of things that should happen after his Death? To give a fair colour to his Ambition, this was enough: if any were not herewith satisfied, he had three-score thousand Foot-men, ten thousand Horse, and thirty Elephants in a readiness to answer them.

The first that perceived his drift, and provided to resist him, was *Aridæus* Governour of *Phrygia*; who fortified the Towns of his own Province, and fought to have won *Cyzicus*, a fair Haven Town, and seated very conveniently for him, but was fain to go away without it. Hereupon *Antigonus* took occasion to command him out of the Country. *Aridæus* was so far from obeying him, that he sent Forces to relieve *Eumenes*. Nevertheless finding that he was unable of himself to make long resistance, he took such Companies as he could draw along with him, and so passed over into *Europe*, to complain at the Court. The like Fortune had *Clitus*, who ruled in *Lydia*, and sought the like remedy of his Fortune, with some hope at the first (for both of them were entertained with very good Words) which quickly vanished, and grew desperate, when they were beaten at Sea, as hath already been declared.

§. XVIII.

Antigonus *pursues* Eumenes, Eumenes *having Authority from the Court, raiseth great War against* Antigonus, *in defence of the Royal House.*

Antigonus having thus gotten into his hands all, or most of *Asia* the less, was able to have entred *Macedon*, and seized upon the Court; which that he forbore to do, it proceeded (as may seem) for some of these reasons. It would have bred as much jealousie in *Cassander*, as fear in *Polysperchon*, which might have brought them to terms of reconciliation; It would ask more time than he could spare; and the Envy which followed the *Protectorship* was such, as he that had power enough without the Office, ought rather to shun, than to pursue. Besides all this, it was manifest that *Eumenes* would not only refuse to take his part, but would make War upon him in defence of the Royal House, to which it was found that *Antigonus* did not stand well affected. Against him therefore he bent his Course, and with an Army of twenty thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse, made great haste toward *Cilicia*, hoping to suppress him before he should be able to make head.

Eumenes was one of those few that continued faithful to their dead Master, which being well known in the Court, he had Commission sent unto him from thence to raise an Army, and make War upon *Antigonus*, taking of the Kings Treasure as much as he should need. Other Letters also there were directed to all the Governours of Provinces, requiring them to give assistance to *Eumenes*, and be ordered by his direction: especially to the Captains of the old Souldiers, called the *Argyraspides*, or Silver-shielded Bands, Commandment was given to be at his appointment. He had of his old Followers gathered together two thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse, before this Authority was given him; but now he purposed with all the strength that he could make, to fight with *Antigonus* in defence of the Royal Blood. *Olympias* had written to him, desiring him to bring help to her and her Nephew the Son of *Alexander*, and in the mean time, to give her his advice in that which *Polysperchon* required of her, for she was desirous to return into *Macedon*, but suspected his Ambition, as not contained within lawful bounds. *Eumenes* therefore counselled her to remain in *Epirus*, till such time as he could bring the War to a good issue; which done, he promised that his Faith and Care should not be wanting to the Seed of *Alexander*.

Strange it is to consider, that in all the Empire, scarse any one could be found among the Noble Men, in whom *Alexanders* Mother, Wives and Children, might repose firm Confidence, saving only this *Eumenes*, a Stranger to the *Macedonian* Blood, born at *Cardia*, a City of *Thrace*. His Reputation was no more than his own Vertue had made it; his Followers obeyed at their own discretion; and compelled he was to travel as far as *Persia*, to gather together an Army sufficient to resist the Enemies that pursued his Heels.

§. XIX.

How the Princes of Macedon *stood affected mutually.* Olympias *takes* Aridæus *and* Euridice, *whom she cruelly puts to death.*

NOw, forasmuch as in this present War all the Rulers of the Provinces did entermeddle; and great alterations happened, not only in the parts of *Asia*, but *Macedon* it self, which brought a new Face unto the State, by the extirpation of the Royal House of *Philip* and *Alexander*: I hold it convenient in this place, before we enter into the particulars of the War it self, to shew briefly how the great ones did mutually stand affected; and by what passions they were drawn into those courses which overthrew most of them, and out of their Ruines built the greatness of a few: as likewise to what extremity the Faction brake out in *Macedon* it self, about the main controversie of Title to the Crown, whereupon all other Quarrels were or should have been depending.

Aridæus the King, being simple and fearful, did only what he was bidden.

Polysperchon

Polysperchon desirous to continue long in Office, had a purpose to advance the Son of *Alexander* by *Roxane*, to the Kingdom, and become Governour to a King of his own making.

Eurydice the Queen discovering plainly this intent, and meaning nothing less than to let her Husband serve as a Stale, keeping the Throne warm, till another were grown old enough to sit in it, grew acquainted with *Cassander*, who hated the Memory of *Alexander*, and was therefore the fitter for her turn.

Cassander held fresh in mind, the danger wherein his Family had been through *Alexander's* Malice, together with the indignity offered to himself by *Alexander*, who knocked his Head against a Wall, for deriding one that adored him after the *Persian* manner. The displeasure hereof, and the pleasure which he took in the amorous Queen, made him resolve, both to suppress the Lineage which he hated, and to maintain his beloved Mistress, either by supporting her weak Husband, or by taking her to be his own Wife.

The rest of the Lords held it a thing indifferent, who raigned over all, so as they might raign in their several Countries, and establish their authority in such wise, that it might not be taken from them.

Among these, *Ptolomy* and *Antigonus* were well enough already, if their ambition would have suffered them to see it.

Pytho and *Seleucus* lying far off, and being strong, had some good hope to encroach upon their Neighbours. Against these, *Peucestes* and some others with much ado hardly made resistance, until such time as *Eumenes* came to them, who propounded to himself great matters which he lived not to accomplish.

Olympias the old Queen (as it is common with Step-dames) hated the Children of her Husband by his other Wives. It was thought that she had given Poyson to *Aridæus*, which failing to take away his Life, had much impaired both his Body and Wits. Now she considering that *Eumenes* was too full of business to come home so soon as she wished that he should, and that *Cassander* daily prevailed in *Greece*; thought it the best way to joyn with *Polysperchon*, and set up, as King, her Nephew *Alexander*, the Son of *Roxane*, removing *Aridæus* before *Cassander* were able to defend him. To this intent she procured men among her Kindred in *Epirus*, and so took her way towards *Polysperchon*, who joyning with her, entred into *Macedon*.

Eurydice hearing these news, wrote very earnestly to *Cassander*, praying him to set aside all other business, and come to succour her. She herself, by Entreaty, Gifts and Promises, drew to her Party as many of the *Macedonians* as she could, untill she thought her own side strong enough; and then taking her Husband with her, went boldly forth against *Olympias*, and the Traitor *Polysperchon*.

These two Queens met armed, as if the matter should have been determined by their own hands, which ended without any stroke stricken, by the Revolt of those who followed *Eurydice*. For as soon as the *Macedonians* beheld *Olympias*; calling to mind her former Estate, and the victorious Reigns of her Husband and Son, they refused to lift any Weapon against her. *Eurydice* finding herself thus forsaken, fled towards *Amphipolis*, but was intercepted and made Prisoner with her Husband.

Olympias having obtained this Victory without Blood, thought that all things would succeed as easily, and that upon the same considerations for which they had refused to bear Arms against her, the *Macedonians* would not stick to maintain her, whatsoever her proceedings were. Having therefore shut up *Aridæus* and his Wife in a close Room, where they could scarce turn round, she fed them through a little Hole, till after a while it came in her head (for fear lest the People should have commiseration of him that had raigned almost six years and a half) to put them to death. So she delivered *Aridæus* to some barbarous *Thracians*, who took away his Life by cruel Torments: to *Eurydice*, she sent a Sword, a Halter, and a Cup of Poyson, willing her to choose the Instrument of her own Death, who praying that the like Presents might one day be sent to *Olympias*, yielded her Neck to the Halter, having spent her last Curses not in vain. *Nicanor* the Brother of *Cassander*, and a hundred the chief of his Friends, did *Olympias* then choose out, all whom she commanded to be slain. His Brother *Iolaus* that was already dead, and buried, she accused of Poyson given to *Alexander*; and thereupon caused his Tomb to be thrown down, and his Bones to be scattered abroad. The *Macedonians* wondering at this Fury, began to condemn themselves, and the Folly of *Polysperchon*, who had, quite contrary to *Antipaters* charge given on his Death-bed, called this outragious Woman to the Government of the Empire.

§. XX.

How Cassander *was revenged upon* Olympias.

† I.

The great Expedition of Cassander. Olympias *shuts her self into* Pydna, *where* Cassander *besiegeth her.* Æacides, *King of* Epirus, *coming to succour* Olympias, *is forsaken, and banished by his own Subjects.*

Cassander at that time lay before *Tegea*, in *Peloponnesus*; whither when all these ill tidings were brought to him, he never staid to take the City, nor to give order for the state of things in that Country, (though *Alexander* the Son of *Polysperchon* were there with an Army) but compounding with them of *Tegea*, he willed his Associates to look to themselves as well as they could, till his return, and so in all haste he took his Journey toward *Macedon*, carried head-long with the greedy desire of just revenge. The *Ætolians* had taken the Streights of *Thermopylæ*, in favour of the Queen and *Polysperchon*, to hinder his passage; but he, not willing to mispend any time in dealing with them, got together as many Ships as he could, great and small, with which he transported his Army into *Thessaly*. There he divided his Companies, appointing some under *Callias*, a subtil Captain, to hold *Polysperchon* busied, who then lay encamped near to *Perbæbia*; with the rest he marched directly against *Olympias*. She, having once prevailed by the respect given to her Dignity, took more care now to appear Majestical, than to make her self strong. To this end she made a solemn Progress to *Pydna*, a Sea-Town, and well fenced, having in her company all the flower of the Court, especially the great Ladies, among whom was *Roxane*, and her young Son *Alexander*, Heir to the great *Alexander*, by his Grand-mothers designment; who, during his Minority, kept the Soveraign Power in her own hands. But all this Pomp served to little use, against the violence of the Enemy, that soon presented himself before the Walls; only it fed the besieged with a vain hope of succour, that would from

from all parts arrive, to reſcue Perſons of their Quality. And hereof there ſoon appeared fair likelihood, which as ſoon vaniſhed, and went away in ſmoak.

For *Æacides*, King of *Epirus*, made great haſte to bring ſuccour to *Olympias* his Couſin, with whom *Deodamia* his Daughter was alſo ſhut up. Nevertheleſs, his Subjects were nothing forward in this expedition; but finding certain paſſages taken in the way by *Caſſander*'s men, they called upon him to retire, and quit the enterpriſe. The Kings importunity urging them to proceed, and the obſtinate refuſal of the Army, brake out at length into ſuch terms, that when he had raged in vain againſt the multitude, his Authority, with which he thought to have prevailed upon them, was by them taken from him, and he compelled to forſake his Kingdom, and to wander up and down in Foreign Countries, a baniſhed man; his People joyning with the Enemy, againſt whom he had led them forth to War.

Pydna in the mean time was cloſed up ſtraightly, both by Sea and Land, ſo that neither any could iſſue out of the City, nor any relief be conveyed into it; but it held out as long as any Food was left, no memorable Service being done there, whileſt great Actions were managed abroad.

†. II.

A continuation of Olympias *her ſtory.* Polyſperchon *defeated.* *Extream Famine in* Pydna. Olympias *yields to* Caſſander.

NOW, though order of time require it, that we ſhould rehearſe the doings of *Eumenes* and *Antigonus* in this place, leaving *Olympias* yet a while to the hour of her Deſtiny, which grows the faſter upon her, becauſe ſhe may diſcern it coming; yet that we may not be compelled to interrupt the courſe of our Narration, by inſerting her Tragedy in the midſt of things, not manifeſtly coherent with it, we will here (as elſewhere we have done, and elſewhere muſt) continue to end one Hiſtory, that we may not be therewith diſtracted, when we ſhall come to the relation of another. All the hope of the beſieged, remaining in *Polyſperchon*, was in like manner diſappointed, as their former truſt had been, which was repoſed in the ſuccours of the *Epirot*. For *Callas*, who was ſent againſt him, found the means to corrupt the greateſt part of his Army with Money, leaving him within a little while ſo ſlenderly accompanied, that he was fit for no other buſineſs of War, than a ſwift retreat. When Famine had ſo far prevailed in the City, that the Horſes were killed as a precious Food, many men feeding on the dead carcaſſes of their fellows, and Saw-duſt being given to the Elephants for Provender; ſome of the Souldiers obtaining the Queens leave; (who could not deny it) others, without asking leave, yielded themſelves to the Enemy, and were by him gently relieved, and ſent abroad into the Country. The news of the Queens affairs, diſperſed by theſe men, did ſo affright her well-willers, that ſuch as had reſerved themſelves to the event, came in apace, and ſubmitted them to *Caſſander*. At length, when the Mortality was ſo great in the Town, that the living were even poyſoned with the noiſome ſcent of the dead; *Olympias* bethought her ſelf of ſtealing away by Sea in a Galley that ſhe had; wherein her ſucceſs was as bad as in the reſt. For God had appointed this Town, by her choſen as a place of Refuge, to be unto her as a Houſe of Torment, and a Gaol, out of which ſhe ſhould not be delivered, but unto an evil death. Being therefore utterly broken with miſeries, which daily afflicted her and the other Ladies, unaccuſtomed to ſo wretched a kind of life, ſhe offered compoſition; and with much labour hardly obtained of *Caſſander* (who having fetch'd her Galley out of the Haven, accounted himſelf as good as Maſter of her Body) a grant of her own life. Immediately upon her apprehenſion, *Pella*, the chief City of the Kingdom, was yielded to *Caſſander*. *Amphipolis* did ſtand out for *Ariſtonus*, to whom *Olympias* had given charge of ſuch Forces as were left abroad in the Country, taking courage from the ſucceſs of ſome petty ſervices wherein he had prevailed, began to promiſe himſelf great unlikelihoods. But *Olympias*, to win *Caſſander*'s favour, very earneſtly required him upon his faith to her, that he ſhould give it up. He did ſo; and preſently after was killed by his private Enemies, that were ſet on by *Caſſander*, who partly hated him upon old reſpects, partly doubted him, as a man likely to ſeek innovation.

†. III.

The death of Olympias, *and her Condition.*

WHen *Olympias* had now heard ſorrowful tidings of all her Friends, ſhe her ſelf was called into queſtion, and accuſed in an Aſſembly of the *Macedonians*, for the Murthers (they were ſo ſtiled in her Affliction, which in time of Proſperity ſhe called Juſtice) by her committed. There was ſhe (being not heard, nor called to ſpeak) condemned to die. The Suit was commenced and proſecuted againſt her, by the kindred of thoſe whom ſhe had ſlain. But it was at *Caſſander*'s inſtigation; who (to haſten the Execution) ſent her word that he would furniſh her with a Ship and other Neceſſaries, to ſave her ſelf by flight: which when ſhe refuſed, ſaying, that ſhe would plead for her ſelf, and tell her own tale; he diſſembled no longer, but ſent unto her ſuch men as hated her moſt, who took away her miſerable life. She was Daughter and Siſter unto two Kings of *Epirus*, Wife and Mother unto two the mightieſt Kings of that or many other Ages, a ſtout Lady, and of unreprovable Chaſtity; but her Ambition was boundleſs, her Hatred unappeaſable, and her Fury in revenge moſt unwomanly. Her perverſe Conditions made her Husband ſeek other Wives and Concubines, which cauſed her to hate both him and them. She was thought privy to her Husbands death; after which, very cruelly ſhe ſlew his late Wife *Cleopatra*, having firſt murdered one of her two Children in her arms, and with a beaſtly fury broiled the other alive in fire, in a copper Baſon. For theſe things, her Son *Alexander* (otherwiſe loving her well) forbad her to meddle in the Government of *Macedon*. But God, more ſevere unto cruel Tyrants, than only to hinder them of their wills, permitted her to live and fulfill the reſt of her wickedneſs; (which was his Juſtice upon the Adulteries of *Philip*, and the oppreſſion done by him and others) after all which he rewarded her malice, by returning it upon her own Head.

†. IV.

†. IV.

Cassander *celebrates the Funeral of* Aridæus *and* Eurydice; *and seeks to make himself King of* Macedon.

AFter her death, *Cassander* gave honourable Burial to *Aridæus* and *Eurydice*, among their Progenitors, Kings of *Macedon*. And looking further into his own possibilities of greatness, he married the Lady *Thessalonica*, whom he had taken at *Pydna*, being the Daughter of King *Philip* by another of his Wives; that by her he might have some Title to the Crown. For the same end he committed *Roxane* and her young Son, to close Prison, removing thereby some part of his impediment. And, the better to increase his Fame, and purchase Love, he built a City, called by his own name *Cassandria*, that soon grew to be very great and powerful. He re-edified likewise *Thebes* in *Greece*, and restored it unto the old Inhabitants, after it had lain twenty years waste, being utterly razed by *Alexander*. By these means, especially by the restauration of *Thebes*, whereunto all *Greece* voluntarily contributed, he grew so strong, that few remained Enemies unto him; and they, with much labour, hardly could resist him. Leaving him therefore daily prevailing in *Greece*, we will return to them, who contended in *Asia* for less Titles, but larger Provinces, with greater Forces.

CHAP. IV.

Of the great Lordship which ANTIGONUS *got in* Asia.

§. I.

The Journey of Eumenes *into* Persia. *His wise dealing with those that joyned with him.*

EUMENES, having joyned unto his company the *Argyraspides*, made haste into the Eastern parts, to take possession of those Countries, according to his Commission, and strengthen himself against *Antigonus*. He took his Journey through *Celosyria* and *Phœnicia*, hoping to reclaim those Provinces, usurped with the rest of *Syria* (as hath been shewed) by *Ptolomy*, to the Kings obedience. But to effect this, his haste of passing forward was too great, his Army too little, and the readiness of the People to return to their due obedience, none at all. Besides all which impediments, one inconvenience troubled him in all his proceedings, making them the less effectual. The Captains of the *Argyraspides* were so froward, that they scorned to repair to him, and take his directions; and their fidelity was so unsteady, that he might have more easily dealt with open Traytors. It was not expedient, that he, being General, should weaken his Authority by courting them; neither lay it in his power to keep them in order by compulsion. Therefore he feigned, that *Alexander* had appointed unto him in a Dream, a place for their meeting, namely, in a rich Pavilion, wherein an empty Throne was placed, as if *Alexander* himself had been present at their consultations. Thus he freed himself from their vain Pride; but of their Faith he could have no assurance. Yet when *Ptolomy* requested them, and *Antigonus* bribed them to forsake him, they continued (though not without considering of the matter) to take his part. So he marched on, sending before him the Kings Warrant, which *Pytho* and *Seleucus* refused to obey; not as rejecting the Kings Authority, but excepting against the person of *Eumenes*, as a man condemned to die by the *Macedonian* Army, for the death of *Craterus*. *Eumenes*, knowing well that he was not to relie upon their assistance, who stood otherwise affected than his affairs required, and were not to be dealt with by perswasion, sought passage by strong hand through the Country of *Babylon*, in such wise, that *Seleucus*, having in vain assaied to hinder him, by opening the Sluces of *Euphrates*, was glad at length to grant him friendly way, as desirous to be rid of him. Thus he came to *Peucestes* and the rest of the Eastern Lords, who were glad of his company, because of the differences between *Pytho*, *Seleucus*, and themselves. Yet the contention about superiority, grew very hot among them; every one finding matter enough to feed his own humour of self-worthiness. But the former device of assembling in one Pavilion, made all quiet; the conclusion ever being sure to follow that which *Eumenes* propounded, who was both wisest in giving Advice, and best able to Reward, by means of the Authority given him, to take what he pleased of the Kings Treasures. By these means he won to himself many of those who had most power to do good or hurt.

§. II.

How Antigonus, *coming to set upon* Eumenes, *was driven off with loss.*

ANtigonus, hearing that *Eumenes* lay in the Province of *Susa*, had an earnest desire to follow him, and drive him further from the Kings Treasures, which were kept there. To which end, as soon as he had made himself strong enough, he removed out of *Mesopotamia*, where he had wintered; and taking to him *Pytho* and *Seleucus*, with their men, he marched directly against the Ene-

Enemies, with intent to give them Battel. *Eumenes* had fortified the Caſtle of *Suſa*, and was retired back toward *Perſia*, keeping the River of *Tigris* between him and his purſuers. The paſſages of the River were well guarded, and good eſpial kept upon *Antigonus*, to obſerve which way he took. Before he came to *Tigris* it ſelf, he was to paſs over *Coprates*, a great River, and not foordable, which he ſought to do by ſmall Veſſels, whereof he had no great ſtore. A great part of his Army had gotten over, when *Eumenes*, who kept a Bridge upon *Tigris*, came with a thouſand Horſe, and four thouſand Foot, to ſee their demeanour: and finding them out of order, charged them, brake them, and drave them headlong back into *Coprates*, wherein moſt of them were drowned; very few eſcaping with life, except four thouſand that yielded themſelves Priſoners, in ſight of *Antigonus*, that was not able to relieve them. This loſs made *Antigonus* glad to fall off; and the heat of that Countrey in the Dog-days, breeding Diſeaſes in his Army, by which many periſhed, cauſed him to remove as far as into *Media*. So he took *Python* with him; (leaving *Seleucus* to beſiege the Caſtle of *Suſa*) and ſeeking to go the neareſt way, paſſed through ſavage Nations, that continually vexing him with skirmiſhes, ſlew great numbers of his men, before he could arrive in *Media*, with his Troops that were quite heart-broken.

§. III.

Of Eumenes *his cunning. A Battel between him and* Antigonus.

After his departure, *Eumenes* with his Aſſociates fell into conſultation, about the remainder of their buſineſs. Fain he would have had them to enter upon thoſe Provinces, which *Antigonus* had left behind him; to which alſo the Captains of the *Argyraſpides* or *Silver-ſhields* were very inclinable, as deſiring to draw nearer to *Greece*. But *Peuceſtes*, and the reſt, whoſe Dominions lay in the high-Countreys, had more care of their own particular Eſtates, and would needs march Eaſtward. Theſe carried it; for the Army was not ſtrong enough to divide it ſelf into parts.

When they came into *Perſia*, *Peuceſtes*, ruling there, feaſted them royally, and ſought by all means to win the Souldiers love to himſelf. *Eumenes*, perceiving whereunto thoſe doings tended, ſuffered him a while to keep good chear, till the time of War drew near. Then did he feign an Epiſtle, directed, as from *Orontes* Governour of *Armenia*, to *Peuceſtes* himſelf: The purport whereof was; that *Olympias* had vanquiſhed *Caſſander*, and ſent over a great Army under *Polyſperchon*, to joyn with *Eumenes*. Theſe news, as they filled the Camp with vain joy, ſo they wrought in all mens minds a great willingneſs to obey *Eumenes*, by whom was the likelieſt appearance of their preferment; wherein they dealt wiſely, he being far the moſt ſufficient Commander, as they found ſoon after. For when *Antigonus*, coming out of *Media*, drew near unto them, *Eumenes* by ſome miſchance was fallen ſick, and fain to be carried in a Litter; the Army marched in very bad array, and was likely to have been forced to take Battel in that diſorder. But *Eumenes*, when the reſt of the Captains were amazed, was carried about the Army in his Litter, and upon the ſudden did caſt his men into ſo good form, that *Antigonus*, perceiving him afar off, could not refrain from giving him deſerved commendations. Yet he did not ceaſe to promiſe great rewards to the Captains, and all ſorts of men, if they would forſake *Eumenes*: which hopes deceiving him, he came to the trial of a Battel. *Eumenes* had more Elephants than *Antigonus*; otherwiſe, he was inferior in number both of Horſe and Foot by a third part. The Battel was fought with variable ſucceſs, and great loſs on both ſides, continuing a great part of the day, and of the night following. Yet the Victory was uncertain. For *Eumenes* could not force his men to lye far from their Carriages; by which means *Antigonus* (who had a more abſolute command over his) incamping on the ground whereon they fought, had in his power the dead bodies; which was accounted the ſign of Victory; for he buried his own, and gave leave to his Enemies, craving it, to do the like. But a greater ſign of Victory had *Eumenes*. For he abode ſtill in the ſame place, and not only buried his men very honourably, at great leiſure, but held the Countrey round about; whereas *Antigonus* was glad (having tarried but one day) to ſteal away by night, and return into *Media*, from whence he came.

§. IV.

Of divers Stratagems practiſed by Antigonus, *and* Eumenes, *one againſt the other.*

Thus did the War continue doubtful, and was protracted to a greater length, each part having ſtout Souldiers, and skilful Generals: but the ſide which had hitherto prevailed, being hindered by the equal Authority of many, from purſuing all advantages to the beſt. *Antigonus* grew daily weaker in men and reputation, ſo that to repair himſelf, he could find no way fairer, than to put all to adventure. He knew that his Enemies lay in their wintering places, quartered far aſunder, ſo that if he could ſuddenly come among them, he was likely to put them in great diſtreſs. Between him and them the way was not long, being only nine days journey, but very bad, through a rough dry wilderneſs, hardly paſſable. Another way fairer, and leading through a Countrey well peopled, but requiring twenty five days journey, he forſook, partly for the length, partly and chiefly, becauſe he would come undiſcovered. So therefore taking his journey in the dead of Winter, he forbad unto his men the uſe of fire by night, becauſe he would not have them deſcried afar off. This commandment had been well obſerved four or five days, when continuance of time (as commonly) breeding negligence, and the cold weather pinching them, they were bold to cheriſh themſelves, being near to their ways end. The light of theſe fires gave notice of their coming; which being reported to *Peuceſtes*, and other Captains, they were ſo aſtoniſhed with the ſudden danger, that in all haſte they betook themſelves to flight. But *Eumenes*, meeting with the news, began to hearten his affrighted companions, promiſing to make *Antigonus* march leiſurely, and willing them to abide, and draw up their men together. They could ſcarce believe him; yet they were content to be ruled, and did as he appointed, who failed not in making his word good. He took with him ſome Companies of the readieſt men, wherewith he occupied certain tops of Mountains, looking toward the Camp of *Antigonus*: there he choſe a convenient ground to incamp upon, and made great ſtore of fires in ſundry places, as if the whole Army had been preſent. This was a ſorrowful ſpectacle to *Antigonus*, who thought himſelf prevented

vented of his purpoſe; and began to fear leſt he ſhould be compelled to fight, whilſt his men were tired with a long and painful journey. Therefore he began to turn aſide, and take the way to ſuch places, as might better ſerve to refreſh his Army. This he did with great care and circumſpection, at the firſt, as knowing how ready *Eumenes* would be upon all advantages. But after a while, conſidering that no Enemy ſtirred about him, he began to pauſe, and think in himſelf, that ſomewhat or other was not fallen out according to his opinion. To be the better informed in the matter, he cauſed ſome Inhabitants of that Deſart to be taken, and brought before him; of whom he learned, that they had ſeen no other Army than his thereabout, but only a few men that kept fires on the Hill-tops. It vexed him exceedingly to find that he had been ſo deluded. Therefore he went againſt theſe Troops with great fury, meaning to take ſharp vengeance on them, for having ſo deceived him. But by this time, ſufficient ſtrength was arrived there, which could not be forced without much buſineſs, and long time. All the Army was come, ſave only *Eudamus*, Captain of the Elephants, who, beſides thoſe Beaſts, had no more than four hundred Horſe-men in his Company. *Antigonus* hearing of this ſupply coming to his Enemies, ſent above two thouſand Horſe, and all his light-armed Foot-men, to cut it off by the way. *Eudamus* being fallen into this danger, was fain to place his Elephants round about his Carriages, and ſo to defend himſelf as well as he could; for his Horſemen being overlaid with multitudes were quickly broken, and driven to run away upon the ſpur. Neither knew they, who ſate upon the Elephants, which way to turn them; for on all ſides they received wounds, and were not able to requite them with the like. In this extremity there appeared brave Troops of Horſe and Foot, that came unexpected to the reſcue; and charging the aſſailants upon the back, drave them to ſeek their own ſafety by ſpeedy flight. Theſe were ſent by *Eumenes*; who though he knew not what his Adverſary meant to do, yet he knew very well what was fitteſt for him to do: and therefore playing both games himſelf, provided the remedy.

§. V.

The Conſpiracy of Penceſtes *and others, againſt* Eumenes *his Life.*

BY theſe means *Eumenes* wan great Honour, and was by the whole Army acknowledged a moſt expert General, and well worthy of the chief Command. But *Penceſtes*, and the other Captains, guilty of their own much inſufficiency, were ſo tranſported with envy, that they could now no longer contain their vile thoughts, but held communication, as upon a neceſſary point, how they might find means to murder him.

Surely, it is great injuſtice to impute the miſchief, contrived againſt worthy men, to their own proud carriage, or ſome other ill deſerving: For, though it often happen, that ſmall vices do ſerve to counterpoiſe great vertues; (the ſenſe of evil being more quick and laſting, than of good) yet he ſhall bewray a very fooliſh malice, that, wanting other teſtimony, will think it a part of wiſdom to find good reaſon of the evil, done to vertuous men, which oftentimes have no other cauſe than their vertue it ſelf. *Eumenes*, among many excellent qualities, was noted to be of ſingular courteſie, of a very ſweet converſation among his friends, and careful by all gentle means to win their love, that ſeemed to bear him any ſecret ill affection. It was his meer vertue that overthrew him, which even they that ſought his life acknowledged. For they concluded that he ſhould not be ſlain, before the Battel were fought with *Antigonus*, wherein they confeſſed that it ſtood beſt with their ſafety, to be governed by his directions. Of this Treaſon, he was quickly advertiſed by *Eudamus*, to whom he had done many pleaſures, and by ſome others of whom he uſed to borrow money when he needed not, to the end that they ſhould be careful of his good, for fear of loſing their own. Conſidering therefore, and diſcourſing with himſelf of the Villany intended againſt him, he made his laſt Will, and burnt all his Writings that contained any matter of ſecret: which done, he revolved many things in his mind; being doubtful what courſe were beſt to follow. All the Nobles of the Empire ſtood ill-affected to the Royal Bloud, excepting thoſe which were with him, that were more in number, than in worth. How things at that time ſtood in *Macedon* and *Greece*, either he knew not, or, knowing the truth, knew nothing that might encourage him to ſeek their help, that needed his. To make his own peace with *Antigonus*, had been againſt his faith to *Olympias*, and the Princes, that had committed this great power into his hands. For which cauſe alſo it may be thought, that he forbare, either to loſe the Battel willingly, or to fly into *Cappadocia*, and make ſhift for himſelf among his old friends. At length he reſolved to do his beſt againſt the common Enemy, and afterwards to look to himſelf as well as he might.

§. VI.

The laſt Battel between Antigonus *and* Eumenes.

THe Souldiers, eſpecially thoſe old Bands of the Silver-ſhields, finding *Eumenes* perplexed, and not knowing the cauſe, entreated him not to doubt of the Victory, but only to bring them into the Field, and ſet them in array; for the reſt, they alone would take ſufficient order. The like alacrity was generally found in the common Souldiers faces; but the chief Commanders were ſo miſchievouſly bent againſt him, that they could not endure to think upon being beholding to him for the Victory. Yet he ordered the Battel ſo well, that, without their own great fault, they could hardly fail of getting the upper hand.

Before the Armies came to joyning, a Horſeman from the ſide of *Eumenes*, proclaimed with a loud voice to the followers of *Antigonus*, That their wickedneſs, in fighting againſt their own Fathers, would now be puniſhed, as it well deſerved. This was not ſpoken in vain. For the *Silver-ſhields* were men of threeſcore or ſeventy years old, ſtrengthned more by continual exerciſe, than decayed by age, and excelling in courage, as having paſſed through greater dangers, than any like to be preſented in that Fight. Therefore *Antigonus* his men (who had often been beaten by them, and were now to try their laſt hope with theſe reſolute Warriors, the moſt ancient and beſt regarded of all *Alexander*'s Souldiers) grew very penſive, and advanced heavily, ſuſpecting their own cauſe, and fearing that the threatnings uttered would prove true.

Antigonus was now again far the ſtronger in Horſe, which gave him cauſe of great hope; the ground, on which they were to fight, being a plain levelled Field. Placing therefore himſelf and

his Son *Demetrius* in the right wing, and committing the left wing to *Python*, he did ſet forward couragiouſly againſt the Enemies, that were ready to give him a ſharp entertainment.

Eumenes took unto him *Peuceſtes*, with the reſt of the Lords, and ſtood in the left wing of his Battel, in the face of *Antigonus*, meaning both to prevent the Traitors, his Companions, of all means to make head againſt him on the ſudden, and (withal) to give proof of his own valour, which perhaps he ſhould no more do, in the face of all his Enemies. In the right wing, oppoſite unto *Python*, he beſtowed the weakeſt of his Horſe and Elephants, under one *Philip*, an honeſt man, and (which was enough at ſuch a time) obedient: commanding him to protract the Fight, and make a leiſurable retreat, expecting the event of the other ſide.

So they joyned very fiercely; *Antigonus*, labouring to make himſelf Maſter of all; *Eumenes*, to die an honourable death, or to win ſuch a Victory upon his open Enemies, as might give him leiſure and opportunity to deal with his falſe Friends.

The Foot-men of *Antigonus*, being, even in their own opinions, far inferior to thoſe whom they muſt encounter, were at the firſt brunt preſently defeated by the *Silver-ſhields*, who ſlew above five thouſand of them, loſing of their own, not one man. But in Horſe, *Eumenes* was ſo over-matched, that he could not repel *Antigonus*, who preſſed him very hard, but was fain to ſtand wholly upon defence. Yet his courage wrought ſo well by example, among his followers, that the Enemy could not win one foot of ground upon him, until ſuch time as *Peuceſtes*, with one thouſand five hundred Horſe, withdrew himſelf out of the Battel, leaving his Companions fighting to defend his back.

Then did *Eumenes* deſperately ruſh amongſt his Enemies, labouring to break open the way unto *Antigonus* himſelf. And though he failed of his purpoſe; yet with great ſlaughter he did ſo beat upon them, which came in his way, that the Victory hung a long time in ſuſpence, uncertain which way to incline.

The ground whereon they fought, being of a ſlight ſandy mould, through the trampling of Horſes, Men, and Elephants, did caſt up ſuch a cloud of duſt, as hindred the proſpect, ſo that no man could ſee what was done a little from him. *Antigonus* finding this advantage, diſpatched away ſome Companies of Horſe, that paſſed undiſcovered beyond *Eumenes* his Battels, and came to his Carriages, which lay about half a mile from the place of Fight, ſlenderly guarded, (for that the whole body of the Army lay between them and danger) and therefore eaſily taken. Had *Peuceſtes* retired himſelf no further than unto the Carriages, he might not only have defended them, but peradventure have ſurprized thoſe which came to ſurprize them, and ſo have done as good a piece of ſervice as a better man. But he was gotten ſomewhat further, to a place, where out of danger he might expect the event: and *Eumenes* was ſo over-laboured both in body and mind, that he could not give an eye to every place, being not well able to continue where he was.

It happened ſo, that the Elephants meeting together, thoſe of *Antigonus* had the better hand; whereupon *Eumenes*, finding himſelf every way over-charged, began to give back, and withdrew himſelf and his Companies in good order, to the other ſide of the Battel, where *Philip* (as he was directed) had by fighting and retiring together, kept that wing from loſs. The *Antigonians* had felt ſo much of *Eumenes* that day, that they were well contented to let him depart quietly, and wiſhed not to ſee him come again; as fain he would have done.

The loſs of the Carriages was reported unto him, as ſoon as he had any leiſure to hear how things went; whereupon he preſently ordered his men for a freſh charge, and ſent for *Peuceſtes* that was not far off, requeſting him to bring in his men, and renew the Fight, whereby he truſted, not only to recover their own Goods, but to enrich themſelves with the Spoyls of the Enemies. *Peuceſtes* not only refuſed to joyn with him, but immediately withdrew himſelf into a ſafer place, where he might be further from ſuch dangerous temptations.

By this, the night grew on; and both Armies, wearied with fighting, were deſirous to return into their Camps. Yet *Antigonus* conceived hope of doing ſomewhat more; and therefore taking half his Horſe-men, he waited upon *Eumenes* a part of his way homewards, but found no opportunity to offend him: the other half he committed to *Python*, willing him to ſet upon the *Silver-ſhields* in their retreat; which yet he forbare to do, becauſe it appeared too full of danger. So the Battel ended; wherein *Antigonus* had not ſo much the better in Horſe, as the worſe in Foot: but the ſpoyl which he got, by ſurprizing his Enemies Carriages, made amends for all his other loſſes.

§. VII.

How Eumenes *was betrayed to* Antigonus, *and ſlain.*

Eumenes, coming into his Camp, and finding the *Silver-ſhields* extreamly diſcontented with their misfortune, began to chear them up, and put them in hope of recovering all with advantage. For their brave demeanour that day had ſo cruſhed the Enemy, that he had no power left wherewith to abide them in open Field, and was much leſs able to draw their Carts after him, through that great Wilderneſs, over the high Mountains.

But theſe perſwaſions availed nothing. *Peuceſtes* was gone; the other Captains would needs return into the high-Countreys; and the Souldiers had no deſire either to fly or to fight, but only to recover their Goods. Wherefore *Teutamus*, one of the two Captains of the *Silver-ſhields*, (who had in former times readily conſented unto traiterous motions, in hope of gain, but was letted by his partner *Antigenes*) finding, as he thought, a fit occaſion of making himſelf great, and winning the love of thoſe Bands, dealt ſecretly with *Antigonus*, requeſting him to reſtore unto thoſe old Souldiers their Goods, which he had taken, being the only reward of their Services in the Wars of *Philip*, and *Alexander*.

Antigonus, as a ſubtil man, knew very well, that they which requeſted more than they had reaſon to expect, would alſo with a little entreaty perform a great deal more than they promiſed; and therefore he lovingly entertained the Meſſengers, filling them with hopes of greater matters than they deſired, if they would put *Eumenes* into his hands, by whom they were ſeduced to make War againſt him. This Anſwer pleaſed them ſo well, that they forthwith deviſed how to deliver him alive. Wherefore coming about him, as at other times, to do their duty, and pretending more joy of their victory, than ſorrow of their loſs, which they ſaid they would redeem by another Fight; in the midſt of this goodly talk they leapt upon him, caught hold

of

of his Sword, and bound him fast. So they haled him away; and stopping their ears against all perswasions, would not yield so far, as to loosen one of his hands and let him kill himself, but brought him alive (that was their own General, under whom they had obtained many Victories) as it had been in triumph, into the Camp of their Enemies.

The press of men, running out of the Camp to see him, was so great, that *Antigonus* was fain to send a guard of Horse-men and Elephants, to keep him from being smothered, whom he could not suddenly resolve either to kill or save. Very few they were that sued for his life; but of these, *Demetrius* the Son of *Antigonus* was one; the rest were desirous to be rid of him quickly; thinking belike, that if he were saved, he would soon be the chief in great reputation, for his great ability. So after long deliberation, *Antigonus* concluded, that it was the safest way to put him to death; which intending to have done by Famine (perhaps because he would keep it a while in his own power to reverse the Sentence, as desiring (if it might be) to have him live his Friend) haste of other business made him do it by the Sword.

To this end came all the Travels of the worthy General, *Eumenes*; who had with great wisdom, fidelity, and patience, laboured in vain, to uphold the Family which God had purposed to cast down. He is reckoned among the notable Examples of Fortunes mutability, but more notable was his government of himself in all her changes. Adversity never lessened his courage, nor Prosperity his circumspection. But all his Vertue, Industry, and Wit, were cast away, in leading an Army, without full power to keep it in due obedience. Therefore it was not ill answered by *Gaspar de Collignie*, Admiral of *France*, in our days, to one that foretold his death, which ensued soon after in the Massacre of *Paris*; That rather than to lead again an Army of Voluntaries, he would die a thousand times.

Antigonus himself gave to the Body of *Eumenes* honourable Funeral; and rewarded the Treason, wrought against him, with deserved vengeance. One chief Captain of the *Silver-shields* he burnt alive; many of the other Captains he slew; and to the whole multitude of the *Silver-shields*, that had betrayed so worthy a Commander, he appointed a Leader, that should carry them into far Countreys, under pretence of Wars; but with a privy charge, to consume them all, as perjured wretches, letting none of them return alive unto his Friends and Kindred, or so much as once behold the Seas, that beat upon the shoars of *Greece* and *Macedon*.

§. VIII.

How Antigonus *slew* Python, *and occupied* Media. *How he removed Governours of Provinces, and made himself Lord of* Persia, *carring away* Peucestes.

THe two Armies being joyned thus in one, were carried into *Media*, where they spent the rest of the Winter; the common Souldier idlely; the principal men intentively bent unto the business ensuing. *Python* began to consider his own deservings; for that the whole War had been chiefly maintained by the strength and riches of his Province. Besides, he thought himself as good a man as *Antigonus*, unless it were in the Souldiers opinion, which he judged easie to be purchased with gifts, and therefore spared not to assay them with great liberality. But in following this course, he was driven by necessity to trust many, of whom he stumbled upon some, that were unsecret, and others, bearing him no sincere affection. Thus was his purpose discovered to *Antigonus*, who (nothing like to *Python*) dissembled his Indignation, and rebuked the Informers, as breeders of Dissention between him, and his honourable Friend, unto whom he meant to commit the government of all those Countreys: his own business calling him into the lower *Asia*. These Reports, coming daily to his ears, did finely delude *Python*. By his greatness with *Alexander*; his Authority in that Province where they lay, whereof he was Governour; and the love of the Souldiers which he had bought with money; he was strong enough to maintain, even an offensive War. But what need had he to use the Sword, when he was likely without contention, to obtain more than his own asking? Therefore he came as soon as he was sent for, to take his farewel of *Antigonus*, and to divide the Provinces with him, that meant nothing less than to yield to any such division. As soon as he came, he was taken, and accused, condemned to die, and slain out of hand. For *Antigonus*, having begun with *Eumenes* his ancient Friend, was not afterward restrained by any consideration of old Acquaintance, from cutting down indifferently all that stood in his way: but swam carelesly through the bloud, wherein at the first he doubtfully waded.

When this business was ended, he appointed a new Governour in *Media*, to order the Province; and a Captain, to suppress all Commotions: thinking belike, that the Power aud Authority, so divided, would hardly agree in one against him, from whom both were derived.

After this, he marched into *Persia*, where he was entertained, as absolute Lord of *Asia*. There began he to shew how well he understood his own mightiness. For he placed and displaced, at his pleasure, Governours in all Provinces; leaving none in Office, that were not his own Creatures, excepting such as lay too far off to be dislodged easily.

Peucestes, who ruled in *Persia*, thought with good chear to redeem old offences; but was deceived; having to do with one that could not be taken with such baits: he was carried away, and feasted with goodly words of promise, that never took effect. Thus he, that envied the vertue of his Friend, was driven to flatter (in vain) the fortune of his Enemy; after which he lived a contemptible life, till he died obscurely a man forgotten.

§. IX.

How Seleucus *was chased out of* Babylon, *by* Antigonus. *The great Riches of* Antigonus.

SEleucus was the next in this Visitation; one that had from time to time continued in the same tenor of good-will to *Antigonus*, and now gave proof of his hearty affection toward him, by making the Captain of the Castle of *Susa* to meet him on the way, rendring unto him that strong Piece, and all the Treasures therein bestowed. This offer was so great, that *Antigonus* (though having in his hands the Keeper of the Place) could hardly believe it; but used him with excessive kindness, for fear so good a mood should change. In that Castle he found all the Treasures of *Alexander*, with the Jewels of the *Persian* Kings, which, added to his former store of money, made up twenty five

thousand Talents. Having all this, he might well account himself a happy man, if Riches were sufficient to Happiness. But large Dominion was the Mark at which he aimed; therefore he proceeded, with intent to leave no Country behind his back, that should not acknowledge him for Soveraign Lord. Coming to *Babylon*, he was entertained by *Seleucus* with all possible demonstration of Love, and honoured with Presents, beseeming the Majesty of a King. All this he accepted with great Gravity, as being due to him, and began to require an account of the Revenues of that Province. This demand *Seleucus* held unreasonable; saying, that it was not needful for him to render unto any man an account of that Province which was given unto him, in respect of his many good Services to the State. But whether he spake reason or no, it sufficed, that *Antigonus* was powerful; who urged him daily to come to a Reckoning. Manifest it was, that neither want of Money, nor any other Necessity moved *Antigonus* to press him thus, but only the desire to pick matter of quarrel against him, whereof it was likely that he should find such issue as *Python* and *Peucestes* had done. Therefore taking with him only fifty Horse, he conveyed himself away, and fled into *Ptolomies* Dominions, desiring him to protect him from the violence of such a man, as went about to oppress all, that in former times had been his Betters, or at least his Equals. *Antigonus* was glad of his Flight; for now all those Countries were yielded unto him without Battel, whereas to fight with *Seleucus* for them, he wanted all pretence, and to kill him it was not his desire, having received many Benefits of him, and those not intermixed, as commonly it happens with any injuries. Yet it is reported, that the *Caldæans* brought a strange Prophesie to *Antigonus*, bidding him look well to himself, and know, that if *Seleucus* did escape his hands, he should recover *Babylon*, yea, win all *Asia*, and kill *Antigonus* in Battel. Easie believers may give credit to this Tale. Had it been true, methinks *Antigonus* rather should have hanged those *Caldæans*, for giving him no warning till it was too late, than sent Pursuers (as they say that he did) after him, whom the Destinies preserved for so great purposes. When he had setled things at *Babylon*, he took his Journey into *Cilicia*, where he wintred. There he took up ten thousand Talents more of the Kings Treasures, and casting his Accounts, found his yearly Income to amount unto eleven thousand Talents.

Chap. V.

Of the great Civil War between Alexanders *Captains: and how they assumed the Name and State of Kings.*

§. I.

The Combination of Ptolomy, Cassander, *and others, against* Antigonus. *Their Demands, and his Answer.*

THis great Riches, and the rest of his Power, made *Antigonus* dreaded, envied, and suspected, whereby he quickly was embarked in a new War. *Ptolomy*, *Cassander*, and *Lysimachus* had privily combined themselves together, intending to hinder his further growth, and bring him to more reason, than of his own accord he seemed like to yield unto. Of their Practises he had some notice; the good entertainment given unto *Seleucus*, giving him sufficient cause of mistrust. Therefore he sent Embassadors to them severally, entreating them to continue firm in their Love toward him, that would be ready to requite them with the like. The cold Answers which they made occasioned his hasty preparation against the most forward of them, which was *Ptolomy*, it being likely that a good Army should prevail more than a fair Message. Therefore, as soon as the Season of the year would permit, he took the way toward *Syria*, and was encountred by Embassage from them all. These told him, that their Lords did much rejoyce at his Victory obtained against *Eumenes* their common Enemy, and the Honour that he had thereby gotten. In which War, forasmuch as they being his Confederates, must have endured great loss, with hazzard of their whole Estates, if the contrary Faction had prevailed; they held it very just, that all should be partakers in the fruits of that Voyage, wherein they had been all adventurers. Wherefore they desired him, that making between them all an equal division of the Treasures that were in his hands (a thing easie to be done) he would also take some convenient order for enlarging their Dominions, according to the Rate of his new Purchases. This might best be to every ones liking, if he would make over *Cappadocia*, with *Lycia*, to *Cassander*; and *Phrygia*, bordering upon the *Hellespont*, to *Lysimachus*; for whereas his own Dominions were so much extended Eastward by his late Victory, he might well spare some of those Western Provinces, to those that were seated in the West. As for *Ptolomy*, he would not crave any new addition, but rest contented within his own Territories. Provided always, that *Seleucus* their common Friend, and Partner in the late War, might be restored to his own, out of which he had been driven so injuriously, that all of them were forced to take it deeply to heart; requiring amends, with his friendly Consent unto their Demands, which otherwise they must labour to obtain with armed hands.

Antigonus knew, that after many losses received, he should yet be able to redeem Peace whensoever he listed, with these, or perhaps with easier conditions. Neither was he so weak, to give away quietly any part of his strength into the hands of such bad Friends, for fear only, lest it should be taken from him perforce. Rather he hoped that he should be able to find them Work, more than enough to defend their own. Therefore, he roundly answered the Embassadors, that it was no part

part of his meaning to communicate with other men the Profits of that Victory, which he alone, without other mens help had obtained. Though indeed they had already ſufficiently gained by him, if they could ſee it, having by his means kept their Governments, whereof they were like to be diſpoſſeſſed by *Polyſperchon*, and the Councel of Eſtate in *Macedon*. But what marvel was it, if they conſidered not how he had ſaved them, ſeeing one of them had forgotten the time, when coming to him as a Fugitive, and begging ſuccour, he was by his meer Bounty relieved, and enabled to get all that he now held? *Caſſander* did not (ſaid he) in thoſe days command me to ſurrender Provinces, and give him his equal ſhare of my Treaſures; but (for his Fathers ſake) deſired me to pity him, and help him againſt his Enemies; which I did, by lending him an Army and Fleet, on confidence whereof, he now preſumes to threaten me. As for *Seleucus*, how can he complain of Wrong, that durſt not ſtay to plead his Right? I did uſe him well; but his Conſcience told him that he had deſerved ill: elſe he would not have fled. Let them that ſo curiouſly ſearch into my doings, conſider well their own, which ſome of them can hardly juſtifie. I am now in the way to *Syria*, meaning to examine *Ptolomy*'s Proceedings; and after him, to deal with others, if they continue to provoke me.

§. II.

The Preparations and beginnings of the Wars.

WHen the Embaſſadors were diſmiſſed with this anſwer, nothing was thought upon but War. *Antigonus* perceiving that he ſhould be invaded from *Europe*, as ſoon as he were entred into *Syria*, left his Nephew *Ptolomy* to guard the Sea-coaſts, and hinder *Caſſander* from landing in *Aſia*: giving him alſo in charge, to drive out of *Cappadocia* ſome that were already ſent over to moleſt him. Likewiſe he diſpatched Meſſengers into *Greece* and *Cyprus*, not unfurniſhed of Money, to draw Friends to his ſide, and raiſe up Troubles to his Enemies. Eſpecially he laboured to make himſelf the ſtrongeſt by Sea; to which purpoſe he rather haſtned, than foreſlowed his Journey into *Syria*, that he might get poſſeſſion of Mount *Libanus*, which afforded many excellent Commodities for building of a Navy. Therefore, having erected Beacons, and laid Poſt-Horſes throughout all *Aſia*, to give ſwift advertiſement of all occurrences, he invaded *Syria*, that was not held againſt him by any Power ſufficient to maintain the Field.

Ptolomy lay in *Ægypt*, the ſtrength and heart of his Dominion, where he was beloved and honoured of all the People as their natural Lord: his other Provinces he kept with a few Garriſons, better ſerving to contain the People within obedience, than to confront a forraign Enemy. So *Antigonus* took many Cities and Places of that Country, and began to ſet great numbers of Artificers on work in making Ships, which was one of his moſt earneſt cares. In theſe buſineſſes he conſumed a year and three months; not idly. For he took *Joppe* and *Gaza*, which were yielded unto his diſcretion, and well uſed. The ſtrong City of *Tyrus* held out long, but was compelled in the end, by Famine, to render it ſelf upon compoſition, that *Ptolomies* Souldiers might depart with their Arms, which was permitted.

Ptolomy was not aſleep whileſt theſe things were in doing, though he kept himſelf within the bounds of *Ægypt*, as indeed it behoved him to do. His Forces were not able to ſtand againſt *Antigonus* in plain Field, but likely they were to increaſe, which made him willing to protract the time. Nevertheleſs by Sea (where his Enemy was as yet unready) he ſent his Fleet into all Quarters, whereof *Seleucus* had the chief command.

Seleucus paſſed with an hundred Sail along the Coaſt of *Syria*, in the full view of *Antigonus* and his Army, to their no little diſcomfort. He landed in *Cyprus*, which was then governed by many petty Lords, of whom the greateſt adheared to *Ptolomy*; the reſt were, by the Factors of *Antigonus*, bought for him with Gold, but now redeemed by the *Ægyptian* with ſharp Steel.

The ſame Commodity of Aid by Sea encouraged the Preſident of *Caria* (called alſo *Caſſander*, but not the Son of *Antipater*, howſoever by the painful and learned Writer *Reinerus Reineccius*, he is by ſome over-ſight counted for the ſame) to declare for *Ptolomy* and his Confederates, and buſily employ in their Quarrel all his Forces, which he had hitherto kept in good neutrality, and thereby enjoyed reſt; but now he threw himſelf into dangerous War, chooſing rather to undergo trouble at hand, than to fall under certain ruine, though ſomewhat further diſtant, which would have overwhelmed him, if *Antigonus* had beaten all the reſt.

§. III.

How each Party ſought to win the Aſſiſtance of Greece. Antigonus *his Declaration againſt* Caſſander. Alexander *the Son of* Polyſperchon *revolteth from* Antigonus, *who had ſet him up.*

IN the mean ſeaſon all care poſſible was taken on both ſides, to aſſure unto them the People of *Greece*, whoſe Aid, which way ſoever it inclined was of great importance. Herein at the firſt *Antigonus* ſped ſo well by large effuſion of his Treaſure, that he drew to him the *Lacedæmonians*, and other *Peloponneſians*, of whom he waged eight thouſand, and cauſed *Polyſperchon* (who had had a good while made hard ſhifts) to rowſe himſelf again, and taking upon him the Title of Captain of *Peloponneſus*, to make head againſt *Caſſander*.

Theſe hopeful beginnings encouraged him to proceed further in the ſame kind. Wherefore to make *Caſſander* the more odious, he called together both his own Souldiers, and all the *Greeks* and *Macedonians* that were to be found thereabouts. To theſe he declared, That *Caſſander* had very cruelly ſlain *Olympias*, Mother to the great *Alexander*; and not herewith contented, had ſhut up in cloſe Priſon the poor Lady *Roxane*, *Alexanders* Wife, and his Son begotten on her Body. That all this proceeded from a deſire to make himſelf King over the *Macedonians*; which well appeared by his enforcing the Lady *Theſſalonica*, Daughter to King *Philip*, a Match unfit for a man of no greater Parentage than he, to joyn with him in Marriage. That in meer deſpight of thoſe dead Princes, *Philip* and *Alexander*, he had planted the *Olynthians*, rooted out by *Philip*, in a new City by him built, and called by his own Name *Caſſandria*; and had re-edified the City of *Thebes*, which for the great Treaſon of the Inhabitants, was levelled with the Ground by the victorious hand of *Alexander*. For theſe reaſons he required them

them to make a Decree, that *Caſſander* ſhould reſtore to abſolute Liberty the Lady *Roxane* and her Son, and ſhould yield Obedience to the Lord Lievtenant General of the Empire (by which Name *Antigonus* himſelf was underſtood) or elſe ſhould be reputed a Traitor, and open Enemy to the State. Furthermore he propounded, that all the Cities of *Greece* ſhould be reſtored into Freedom; this he did, not becauſe he was careful of their Good, but for the need which he had of their aſſiſtance.

Theſe things being decreed, *Antigonus* was perſwaded, that not only the *Greeks* would adhere unto him, as to their loving Patron, and fall off from *Caſſander*; but that the Rulers of Provinces, who had hitherto ſuſpected him as a man regardful of nothing but his own Benefit, would correct their Opinion, and think him the moſt faithful of all others to the Royal Blood. But concerning his Loyalty to the young Prince, the World was too wiſe to be deceived with vain ſhews. His undertaking for the Liberty of the *Greeks* was more effectual, and got eaſie belief, in regard of his preſent hatred to *Caſſander*. Yet herein alſo *Ptolomy* ſtrove to be as earneſt as he, making the like Decree, in hope to win to himſelf that Valiant Nation, which afforded men far more ſerviceable in War, than were to be found in any Province of the Empire.

And this indeed was the point, at which both ſides aimed. Wherein *Antigonus* thinking to make all ſure, deceived himſelf, not without great coſt. For he gave to *Alexander* the Son of *Polyſperchon* five hundred Talents, willing him to ſet the War on foot in *Peloponneſus*, whereby it might appear, that on his ſide was meant nothing elſe than what was openly pretended.

In *Peloponneſus*, *Caſſanders* men had, with much Blood-ſhed, grievouſly afflicted the contrary Faction; and he himſelf perceiving that they were more eaſily ſpoiled as Enemies, than retained as Friends, thought it the beſt way, to make what uſe he could of them, that were not long like to continue his. Finally, perceiving that *Alexander* came furniſhed with plenty of Gold, wherewith he was able, not only to win the doubtful, but to corrupt ſuch as might ſeem beſt aſſured: he thought it a good part of Wiſdom, to ſurrender upon fair Conditions, that which he could not aſſure himſelf to hold any long time by force. Therefore, he ſent one to deal with *Alexander*, about the matters in controverſie; letting him know that *Antigonus* was very skilful in ſetting men together by the ears, not caring who prevailed, but only deſiring to have them weary themſelves, whileſt he was buſied elſewhere; that ſo at length he might find opportunity to ſet upon the ſtronger. If therefore *Alexander* were ſo wiſe, as to keep in his Purſe the five hundred Talents which he had, and without ſtroke ſtricken, to receive the whole Lordſhip of *Peloponneſus*; it ſhould be freely put into his hands by *Caſſander*: provided, that he ſhould from thenceforth renounce all Confederacy made with *Antigonus*, and enter into a ſure and faithful League with *Ptolomy*, *Caſſander*, and the reſt of the Confederates. Otherwiſe, he might well perſwade himſelf, that the Country which his Father could not keep, when he was indeed the Lieutenant of the Empire, ſhould not in haſte be won by him, that was only the Factor of a proud injurious man, ſo ſtiling himſelf, but not acknowledged by others.

Alexander had lived a while with *Antigonus* ſince the beginning of theſe Wars; among whoſe Followers it was not hard to diſcover the intent (which he did not carry very ſecret) of making himſelf abſolute Lord of all. Therefore he was ſoon entreated to accept ſo good an offer; and did not ſtick to enter into that League, whereby he was to become a free Lord, and ſubject unto no mans Controul.

Howbeit this his Honour continued not long ere he loſt both it and his Life together, by treaſon of the *Sicyonians*; who thinking thereby to have made themſelves free, were ſoon after vanquiſhed in Battle by *Crateſipolis*, *Alexanders* Wife, a diſcreet and valiant Lady. She in revenge of her Husbands Death, crucified thirty of the Citizens taken in Fight; and having by ſeverity taught them Obedience, did afterwards contain her Army in good order, and governed thoſe places that ſhe held with the Love and Commendation of her Subjects and Neighbours.

§. IV.

The Ætolians *riſe againſt* Caſſander *in favour of* Antigonus, *and are beaten. A Fleet and Land-Army of* Antigonus *utterly defeated by* Ptolomy's *Lieutenant. In what terms the War ſtood at this time.* Antigonus *draws near to* Greece.

Antigonus, when he found that with ſo much money he had only bought an Enemy, began to raiſe Troubles to *Caſſander* and his other Adverſaries in *Greece*, by ſtirring up the *Ætolians* againſt them; likewiſe he laboured to win to his Party the Iſlands in the *Greek* Seas, by whoſe aſſiſtance he might be the better able to deal with *Ptolomy*, that greatly prevailed by reaſon of his ſtrong Fleet. But neither of theſe Attempts had the ſucceſs which he expected. The *Ætolians*, a factious Nation, and always envying the greatneſs of their Neighbours, were often in commotion, but ſo, that commonly their Gains equalled not their Loſſes. *Caſſander* wan ſome of their own Countries; fortified the *Acarnanians* againſt them, and compelled *Glaucias*, King of the *Illyrians*, whom he vanquiſhed in Battel, to forſake their ſide, and bind himſelf to bear no Arms againſt *Caſſanders* Friends.

On the other ſide, as many petty Iſlands were drawn to joyn with *Antigonus*: ſo the Fleet of the *Rhodians* under *Theodatus*, who was Admiral to *Antigonus*, paſſing along the Coaſt of *Aſia* toward *Cyprus*, with an Army under conduct of *Perilaus*, marching on the Shore for mutual aſſiſtance, was quite overthrown by *Ptolomies* Navy. *Polyclytus*, who in *Ptolomies* behalf had been ſent into *Peloponneſus* againſt *Alexander*, finding no need of his ſervice in that Country, becauſe *Alexander* was come over to their ſide, returned homewards, and by the way heard of the courſe which theſe *Antigonians* held, whom he very cunningly ſurpriſed. He rode with his Fleet behind a Cape, which the Enemies were to double; his Land-forces he placed in ambuſh, whereinto *Perilaus* falling, was taken Priſoner, with many of his men, and many were ſlain, making little reſiſtance. *Theodatus* the Admiral perceiving this, made all haſte to help his Fellows that were on Land; but whileſt he with all his Fleet were intentive only to that buſineſs, *Polyclytus* appeared at their backs, who as ſoon as he perceived their diſorder, haſtened about the Cape, and charging them behind, ſuffered not one of them to eſcape him. Theſe ill Tidings cauſed *Antigonus* to deal with *Ptolomy* about ſome compoſition. Firſt, he ſent Embaſſadors; afterwards they met in Perſon. But *Antigonus*

tigonus would not yield unto the Demands of *Ptolomy*, ſo the Parly was vain.

Hitherto each part ſeemed to have indifferently ſped in the War, and thereby to have equal cauſe of hope and fear. This late Victory, with the good ſucceſs of his Affairs in *Cyprus*, did ſeem to make amends to *Ptolomy* for his Loſſes in *Syria*. Likewiſe the Revolt of *Alexander* from *Antigonus* did equal the Confederacy made between the *Ætolians* and him; as alſo thoſe petty Skirmiſhes, that had been in *Aſia* the leſs, to *Antigonus* his advantage, were ſufficiently recompenſed by others of like regard, but adverſe to him; and by the Troubles brought upon his Eſtates in thoſe parts by the two *Caſſanders*.

Contrariwiſe, *Antigonus* valued the loſs of his Men, Money, and Ships, no otherwiſe than as the paring of his Nails that were left long enough, and would eaſily grow again; but the enlargement of his Territory by addition of *Syria*, he prized at a higher rate, as if thereby he had fed upon a Limb of *Ptolomy* his Enemy, and ſtrengthened the Body of his own Empire. Concerning other accidents, whereof the good were hitherto ſufficient to counterpoiſe the bad, he meant to proceed as occaſion ſhould direct, which commonly is not long wanting to them that want no Money.

That which moſt moleſted him, was the attempts of his Enemies upon *Aſia* the leſs; wherein, though as yet they had gotten little, yet had he cauſe to fear, leſt the People, being tied unto him by no Bond of Allegiance, might upon ſmall occaſion revolt from him, to men of as honourable Reputation as he himſelf. To prevent this, and to be nearer to *Greece*, he held it expedient for him to be there in Perſon, where his Affairs did ſeem to proſper the worſe, by reaſon of his Abſence. Therefore he left part of his Army in *Syria*, under his Son *Demetrius*, to whom, being then but two and twenty years old, he appointed many ancient Captains as Aſſiſtants, or rather as Directors: the reſt he carried with him into *Phrygia*, where he meant to Winter.

§. V.

How Lyſimachus *and* Caſſander *vanquiſhed ſome Enemies, raiſed againſt them by* Antigonus. *The good ſucceſs of* Antigonus *in* Aſia *and* Greece: *with the Rebellion of many Cities againſt* Caſſander.

THe coming of *Antigonus* into thoſe parts wrought a great alteration in the Proceſs of his buſineſs thereabouts. For his Enemies had ſhort leiſure to think upon moleſting him in *Aſia*: they themſelves were held over-hardly to their own Work on *Europe* ſide. *Seuthes*, a King of the *Thracians*, joyning with ſome Towns that rebelled againſt *Lyſimachus*, brought alſo the bordering *Scythians* into the Quarrel. All theſe relied upon *Antigonus*, who was to help them with Money and other Aid. The *Ætolians* likewiſe took Courage, and roſe againſt *Caſſander*, having *Æacides*, lately reſtored to the Kingdom of *Epirus*, their Aſſiſtant. But *Lyſimachus* gave unto his Rebels no time to confirm themſelves. He ſuddenly preſented himſelf before two of the Cities that had rebelled, and compelled them by fear to return to their Duty. He fought a Battel with the *Scythians*, and wild *Thracians*, and drave them out of the Country. Finally, he overcame *Seuthes*; and following the heat of his Victory, ſlew *Pauſanias* in Battel, whom *Antigonus* had ſent over with an Army; and all his men he did either put to Ranſome, or fill up with them his own Bands. The like ſucceſs had *Philip*, *Caſſanders* Lieutenant againſt the *Ætolians*. For he waſted their Country; fought with the *Epirotes* that came to help them; and after the Victory, fought again with their forces joyned in one, overthrowing them, and killing *Æacides*, that unfortunate King. Finally, he drave the *Ætolians* out of moſt of their Country, and forced them to ſeek their ſafety among the wild Mountains. Of the *Epirotes* he ſent as Priſoners to *Caſſander*, the principal Authors of the Kings Reſtitution, and of the preſent War.

Yet theſe actions required ſome time, and wearied *Antigonus* his Adverſaries with painful Travail; after which, they remained only Savers. *Antigonus* himſelf at fair leiſure won all *Caria* the whileſt, and ſent Armies into *Peloponneſus*, and other parts of *Greece*, beſtowing Liberty upon all the Cities he took out of *Caſſanders* hands. The whole Country of *Peloponneſus* (excepting *Sicyon* and *Corinth*) with the Iſle of *Eubœa*, and many places of the firm Land were by theſe means won to be his in true and vehement Affection, ready to do or ſuffer any thing for him that had made ſo evident a demonſtration of his readineſs to give them the liberty indeed, which others promiſed in idle words. Many States deſirous of the ſame benefit, would fain have ſhewed their good Will; but they were kept in by *Caſſanders* Garriſons, who was too wiſe to truſt them looſe. Therefore *Antigonus* made ſhew as if he would paſs over into *Macedon*: by which terror he forced *Caſſander* to repair thither in all haſte, with the beſt of his ſtrength, leaving many good Towns of *Greece* ſo weakly guarded, that well they might take courage to help themſelves, if any forraign Succour appeared. The Aid which they deſired was not long wanting. The Lieutenants of *Antigonus*, taking the advantage of *Caſſanders* Departure, entred the Country; drave his Garriſons out of divers Cities; forced the Governour of *Athens* to enter into League with their Lord; won the Cittadel of *Thebes*, and ſet the People at liberty. This laſt action was ſomewhat remarkable. For *Thebes* had not long before been raiſed out of her old Ruines by the meer Power of *Caſſander*; of which act he was accuſed by *Antigonus*, as if it had been ſome hainous Crime. Yet now the ſame *Antigonus* winneth the City, and the Love of the Inhabitants, only by expelling him that was their Founder. So much are men readier to thank the Increaſer, than the Author of their Good; and rather to look forward upon thoſe Hopes, which vainly they extend beyond all meaſure, than backward upon their miſerable Nullity, that held them uncapable of being any thing.

§. VI.

Victories of Ptolomy *by Sea. A great Battel at* Gaza, *which* Ptolomy *and* Seleucus *wan, against* Demetrius *the Son of* Antigonus.

AS the preſence or nearneſs of *Antigonus* gave life to his Affairs in the lower *Aſia*, and *Greece*; ſo the deſigns of his Enemies, taking advantage of his abſence, ruined the very foundations of thoſe great Works in the Eaſtern parts, wherewith in the year preceding he had over-topped them. The Iſle of *Cyprus*, whoſe Princes wavered between contrary Affections, inclining one while to *Antigonus*, another while faintly regarding their Covenant with *Ptolomy*, was viſited by an *Ægyptian* Fleet, wherewith *Ptolomy*, in his own perſon, eaſily reduced them to a more ſetled order, putting ſome to death, carrying others away Priſoners, and leaving a Lieutenant of his own appointment, Governour of the whole Countrey. With the ſame Fleet he ran alongſt the Sea-coaſts, waſting a great part of *Caria* and *Cilicia*, with the ſpoyls of which he enriched his followers, and returned loaden to *Cyprus*. *Demetrius* the Son of *Antigonus*, hearing frequent reports of the Miſeries, wherewith his Fathers Subjects were oppreſſed, made all haſte out of *Syria* to the reſcue, taking only his Horſe and light-armed Foot with him, becauſe the buſineſs required expedition. But in vain did he tire himſelf and his followers, in haſty ſeeking of one, that by lanching out into the deep could in a few minutes delude the labour of ſo many days, if need had ſo required. Anſwerable to the vanity of this Expedition was the ſucceſs. For *Ptolomy* was gone, before *Demetrius* came into *Cilicia*. Neither was it certain, whether having lightened his Ships of their burthen in *Cyprus*, he would return upon thoſe maritime Countreys; or make toward *Syria*, where his coming was expected. He was indeed gone into *Ægypt*, and there with *Seleucus* was deſcribing a royal Army, which he levied with all convenient ſpeed, for the recovery of *Syria*. This was more than *Demetrius* knew. Therefore he was fain to chooſe out of uncertainties the moſt likelihood, and return the way that he came, with all his Companies, which were fitter for ſervice in the open Field, than to be beſtowed in Garriſons among the *Cilicians*. He had ſcarce refreſhed his Men and Horſes in *Syria*, when the news arrived of *Ptolomy*'s coming with a puiſſant Army, to give him Battel. Hereupon he called to counſel his principal Friends, who adviſed him to give way to the time, and expect ſome better opportunity in the future: being a young man, and weakly furniſhed with means to reſiſt ſuch ancient and famous Generals, as *Ptolomy* and *Seleucus*. This counſel ſeemed rather to proceed from the cold temper of thoſe aged men that gave it, than from any neceſſity growing out of the preſent buſineſs. For *Demetrius* conſidering himſelf to be the Son of *Antigonus*, and now General of his Father's Army, thought his own title weighty enough to be laid in ballance againſt the bare Names of thoſe two great Commanders. Neither found he much reaſon that ſhould move him to diſtruſt his Forces, as inſufficient. His men were better exerciſed than the Enemies, and promiſed as much as could be required. Therefore perſwading himſelf, that ſuch odds of number, and of great fame, would rather ſerve to adorn his Victory, than hinder him in obtaining it, he reſolved to put the matter to trial, without expecting the advantage of more help. So animating his Souldiers with hope of ſpoyl and rewards, he abode the coming of the Enemies at *Gaza*, with purpoſe to encounter them, as ſoon as they had finiſhed their weariſom Journey over the Deſarts of *Arabia*.

Ptolomy and *Seleucus* iſſuing out of ſo rich a Province, as *Ægypt*, came ſo well provided of all Neceſſaries, that their Army felt not any great grievance of the evil way, when Battel was preſented them, which confidently they undertook. In all things elſe they had the odds of *Demetrius*; of Elephants they were utterly unprovided. But how to deal with thoſe Beaſts they were not ignorant. They had prepared a kind of Paliſado, faſtened together with chains, and ſharpened in ſuch manner, that the Elephants could not ſeek to break upon it, without receiving much hurt. The reſt of their Forces, which (beſides that they had advantage in multitude) were heartened with many fortunate Services, by them performed that year, whilſt the Enemies had wearied themſelves, either with vain Journeys, or long and dulling expectation, they diſpoſed in ſuch order, as beſt anſwered to the form, wherein *Demetrius* was embattelled. The Fight began, and was maintained with equal courage, for a long time, each part ſtriving more to win honour, than to ſatisfie any other paſſion, as having little cauſe of hatred, or revenge. But after ſome continuance, the greater number holding better out, the error of *Demetrius*, who upon no neceſſity would needs fight a Battel with diſadvantage, began to appear by his loſſes. He had committed himſelf to Fortune, having more to loſe by her than he could get: but in this Fight ſhe was idle, and left all to be decided by ſtrong hands; unleſs it may be ſaid, that the terrour brought upon his men, by the loſs of his Elephants, was bad luck. Thoſe Beaſts were in that kind of War hardly to be reſiſted on plain ground, and therefore at the firſt they made great ſpoyl amongſt *Ptolomy*'s men. Afterward ſeeking to break through the Paliſado, they were ſorely hurt, and every one of them taken. This diſaſter cauſed the Horſemen of *Demetrius* to faint. They had laboured hard, and prevailed little, till now perceiving that all muſt lye upon their hands, who were ill able to make their own Places good, they began to ſhrink, and many of them to provide for their ſafety by timely flight, which example the reſt quickly followed. When *Demetrius* had ſtroven ſo long in vain to make his men abide, that he himſelf was likely to be loſt; he was fain to give place to the ſtronger, making a violent retreat as far as to *Azotus*, which was about thirty miles from the place of Battel. A great part of his Carriages was in *Gaza*, whither ſome of his Company turned aſide, hoping to ſave ſuch Goods, as in haſte they could pack up. This fooliſh covetouſneſs was their deſtruction, and the loſs of the Town. For whilſt they, forgetful of the danger, had filled the Streets with ſumpter Horſes, and cloyed up the Gates, thronging, ſome to get in and fetch, others, to carry out what they had already loaden, *Ptolomy*'s Army brake in without reſiſtance, taking them with their Goods and the City altogether.

This Victory reſtored unto *Ptolomy* the beſt part of *Syria*, a Province more eaſie in thoſe Times to get, than to keep; and opened the way unto all the greatneſs of *Seleucus*. For between *Gaza* and *Phœnicia* no Place offered reſiſtance. In *Cœloſyria* and *Phœnicia*, ſome Towns held out a while, but were ſoon taken in by *Ptolomy*. Among theſe were the great Cities of *Tyrus* and *Sidon*; of which *Sidon* was given up by the Inhabitants; *Tyrus* by the Garriſon, falling to mutiny againſt their Captain; who truſting to the ſtrength of it, had made great vaunts,

vaunts, but was pardoned by *Ptolomy*, and honourably entertained, in respect of his fidelity.

§. VII.

How Seleucus *recovered* Babylon, *and made himself Lord of many Countreys in the higher* Asia. *The* Æra *of the Kingdom of the* Greeks, *which began with this Dominion of* Seleucus.

WHile *Ptolomy* followed his business with such prosperity, *Seleucus* took leave of him, and went up to *Babylon*, to try his own fortune; which he found so favourable, that recovering first his own Province, he became at length Master of the better part of *Alexander*'s Purchases.

This Expedition of *Seleucus* was very strange, and full of unlikelihoods. His Train consisted of no more than eight hundred Foot, and two hundred Horse, a number too small, to have been placed as Garrison, in some one of those main great Cities, against which he carried it into the higher *Asia*. But little force is needful, to make way into strong Places, for him that already stands possessed of their hearts which dwell within the Walls. The Name of *Seleucus* was enough; whom the *Babylonians* had found so good a Governour, that none of them would find courage to resist him; but left that work to *Antigonus* his own men, wishing them, ill to speed. Some of the *Macedonians* that were in those Countreys, had the like affection; others made a countenance of War, which by easie compulsion they left off, and followed new Ensigns. This added courage to the people, who came in apace, and submitted themselves joyfully to *Seleucus*. In a defection so general, it was not a safe course for the *Antigonians*, to thrust themselves into the Towns of most importance: for every man of them should have been troubled with daily Enemies, in his own Lodging. It remained that they should issue forth into the Field, and try the matter by Fight. But the Treason of one principal man, who revolted to the Enemy, with more than a thousand Souldiers following him, so dismayed the rest, that they did no more than seek to make good one strong Place, wherein were kept the Hostages and Prisoners, that *Antigonus* held for his security in those Quarters. This Castle, belike, they had not fortified in times of leisure, against dangers, that were not then apparent. *Seleucus* quickly took it; and so got the entire possession of *Mesopotamia* and *Babylon*.

Antigonus had bestowed in *Media* and *Persia*, Forces convenient for defence of those Provinces, that were the utmost of his Dominion. In the Countreys about *Euphrates* he had not done the like: for his own great Army lay between them and all Enemies. Therefore when the Victory at *Gaza*, had opened unto *Seleucus* the way into those Parts, he found little impediment in the rest of his business. Having now gotten what he sought; it behoved him to seek how he might keep his gettings: for his own Forces were too small, and his Friends were ill able to lend him any more. That which his Friends could not do for him, his Enemies did. *Nicanor*, to whom *Antigonus* had committed his Army in *Media*, joyning unto himself, out of *Persia* and other Countreys, all needful help, came with ten thousand Foot, and seven thousand Horse, either to save all from being lost, or to drive *Seleucus* out of that which he had won.

Against this Power, *Seleucus* had only four hundred Horse, and somewhat above three thousand Foot, wherewith to oppose himself: his large conquest of unwarlike Nations having yielded him many loving Subjects, but few Souldiers. Therefore when his Enemies were near to the River of *Tigris*, he withdrew himself from the Place where his Resistance was expected, into certain Marishes not far off; where he lay secretly waiting for some advantage. *Nicanor* thought that he had been fled, and was the less careful in fortifying his Camp. In recompence of this vain security, his Camp was taken by surprize, the first night of his arrival; the *Satrapa*, or Lieutenant of *Persia*, together with sundry of the Captains, were slain, he himself was driven to flee for his life into the Desarts; and the whole Army yielded unto *Seleucus*: whose gentle demeanour, after the Victory, drew all *Media*, *Susiana*, and the neighbour Provinces, to acknowledge him their Lord, without any further stroke stricken.

This Victory of *Seleucus* gave beginning unto the new style, of *The Kingdom of the Greeks*, an accompt much used by the *Jews*, *Chaldæans*, *Syrians*, and other Nations in those Parts. I will not make any long disputation about the first year of this *Æra*. The Authority of that great Astrologer *Ptolomy*, from which, there is no appeal, makes it plain, that *the five hundred and nineteenth year of* Nabonassar, *was the fourscore and two year of this accompt*. Other Inference hereupon is needless, than that Note of the learned *Gauricus*, *That the first of these years was reckoned compleat, at* Babylon, *together with the end of four hundred thirty and eight years after* Nabonassar. With the observation of the *Saturn*, recorded by *Ptolomy*, agrees (as it ought) the calculation of *Bunting*; finding the same Planet to have been so placed in the Sign of *Virgo*, as the *Chaldæans* had observed it, in the same year; which was from *Nabonassar* the five hundred and nineteenth; from *Seleucus* the fourscore and two year; and the last of the hundred thirty and seventh *Olympiad*. These Observations of the celestial Bodies, are the surest marks of Time: from which he that wilfully varies, is inexcusable. As for such occurrences in History, and the years of succeeding Princes (that are not seldom ambiguous, by reason of unremembred fractions) if they seem to be here-against, it is not greatly material. Yet thus much is worthy of note; that these years of the *Greeks*, were not reckoned in all Countreys from one beginning; as plainly appears in the difference of one year, that is found between actions, related by the several Authors of the two Books of the *Maccabees*, who follow divers accomps. He that shall adhere to the time defined by *Ptolomy*, may apply the other supputations thereunto, as being no farther from it, than a years distance.

Ptol. Almag l. II. *c.* 7. *&* 8. *L. Gauric. in annot. at. ad locum Citatum.*

§. VIII.

How Ptolomy *lost all that he had won in* Syria. *What the causes were of the quiet obedience, performed unto the* Macedonians, *by those that had been subject unto the* Persian *Empire. Of divers petty Enterprizes, taken in hand by* Antigonus *and* Demetrius, *with ill success.*

IN a happy hour did *Seleucus* adventure, to go up to *Babylon*, with so few men as his Friend could then well spare: for had he stayed longer upon hope of getting more Souldiers, *Ptolomy* could have spared him none at all, *Demetrius* the Son of *Antigonus*, having lost the Battel at *Gaza*, received from *Ptolomy* all his own Goods, his Pages, and Servants, in free gift, and therewithal a courteous

meſſage, to this effect: That no perſonal hatred was the ground of this War, which he and his Confederates held with *Antigonus*; but only terms of Honour, wherein they would ſeek to right themſelves after ſuch manner, that other friendly Offices, without reference to the quarrel, ſhould not be forgotten.

This noble dealing of *Ptolomy*, did kindle in *Demetrius*, an earneſt deſire of requiting him with ſome as brave liberality. Which to effect, he gathered together the remainder of his broken Troops; drew as many as could be ſpared, out of the Garriſons in *Cilicia*, or other Provinces thereabouts; and advertiſing his Father of his misfortune, beſought him to ſend a new ſupply, wherewith he might redeem his Honour loſt. *Antigonus*, upon the firſt news of this overthrow, had ſaid, That the Victory, which *Ptolomy* wan upon a beardleſs Boy, ſhould be taken from him by bearded men: yet upon deſire that his Son, whom he tenderly loved, ſhould amend his own Reputation, he was content to make a ſtand in *Phrygia*. *Ptolomy* hearing of *Demetrius* his Preparations, did nevertheleſs follow his own buſineſs in *Cæloſyria*; thinking it enough, to ſend part of his Army under *Cilles* his Lieutenant, againſt the remnant of thoſe, that had been already vanquiſhed, when their Forces were entire. This peradventure would have been ſufficient, had not *Cilles* too much undervalued the power of ſuch an Enemy. He thought that this young Gallant, having lately ſaved his life by flight, would now be more careful of having a fair way at his back, than adventurous in ſetting further forward, than urgent reaſon ſhould provoke him. In this confidence he paſſed on without all fear; as one that were already Maſter of the Field, and ſhould meet with none, that would iſſue out of their places of ſtrength, to make reſiſtance. When *Demetrius* was informed of this careleſs March, he took the lighteſt of his Army, and made his Journey with ſuch diligence, one whole night, that early in the morning, he came upon *Cilles* unexpected, and was on the ſudden, without any Battel, Maſter of his Camp: taking him alive, with his Souldiers, and their Carriages all at once.

This Exploit ſerved not only to repair the Credit of *Demetrius*, which his loſs at *Gaza* had almoſt ruined: but further it enabled him, to recompence the Bounty of *Ptolomy*, with equal Favour, in reſtoring to him *Cilles*, with many other of his Friends, accompanied with rich Preſents. But neither was *Ptolomy* ſo weakned by this loſs, nor *Demetrius* ſo emboldened by his Victory, that any matter of conſequence thereupon enſued. For *Demetrius* feared the coming of *Ptolomy*; and therefore he fortified himſelf in Places of advantage: *Ptolomy* on the other ſide was loth to engage himſelf in an Enterprize, wherein he might perceive, that if the coming of *Antigonus* found him entangled, he ſhould either be driven to make a ſhameful retreat, or a dangerous adventure of his whole Eſtate, in hope of not much more than already he poſſeſſed.

Antigonus, indeed, was nothing ſlow in his way towards *Syria*; whither he made all haſte, not ſo much to relieve his Son, as to embrace him. For he rejoyced exceedingly, that the young man had ſo well acquitted himſelf, and being left to his own advice, performed the office of a good Commander. Wherefore to increaſe the reputation of this late Victory, he brought ſuch Forces, as might ſerve to re-conquer all *Syria*: meaning, that the honour of all, ſhould be referred unto the good foundation, laid by his Son; whom from this time forwards, he imployed in matters of greateſt importance.

Ptolomy had now leſs reaſon, to encounter with *Antigonus*, than before his coming to have aſſailed the Camp of *Demetrius*. Yet he made it a matter of Conſultation; as if he had dared more than he meant. But all his Captains adviſed him to retire into *Ægypt*; alledging many good Arguments, to that purpoſe: which they might well perceive to be agreeable to his own intent, by his propounding that courſe; not without remembrance of the good ſucceſs againſt *Perdiccas*, in the like defenſive War. So he departed out of *Syria*, preſerving his Honour; as being rather led by mature deliberation, than any ſudden paſſion of fear: and he departed at fair leiſure, not only carrying his Treaſures along with him, but ſtaying to diſmantle ſome principal Cities, that he thought moſt likely to trouble him in the future. All the Countrey that he left at his back, fell preſently to *Antigonus*, without putting him to the trouble of winning it by pieces: ſo eaſie was it in thoſe Times, for the Captain of a ſtrong Army, to make himſelf Lord of a great Province.

We may juſtly wonder, that theſe Kingdoms of *Syria*, *Media*, *Babylon*, and many other Nations, (which the Victory of *Alexander* had over-run, with ſo haſty a courſe, as gave him not leiſure to take any good view of them) were ſo eaſily held not only by himſelf, but by the Captains of his Army after him. The hot Contentions for ſuperiority between the King of *Iſrael*, and thoſe of *Damaſcus* between *Ægypt*, and *Babylon*; *Babylon*, and *Nineve*; the *Perſians*, and many Countreys; argue a more manly temper, to have once been in thoſe people; which are now ſo patient of a foreign yoke, that like Sheep or Oxen, they ſuffer themſelves to be diſtributed, fought for, won, loſt, and again recovered, by contentious Maſters; as if they had no title to their own Heads, but were born to follow the fortune of the *Macedonians*. This will appear the more ſtrange, if we ſhall conſider, how the ſeveral States of *Greece* (many of which had never poſſeſſed ſo large Dominion, as might cauſe their Spirits to ſwell beyond their ability) did greedily embrace all occaſions of liberty: and how theſe proud Conquerors were glad to offer it, deſiring to have them rather Friends than Servants, for fear of further inconvenience.

It muſt therefore be noted, that moſt of theſe Countreys, had always been ſubject unto the rule of Kings, or petty Lords; whom the *Babylonians* and *Perſians* long ſince had rooted out, and held them in ſuch bondage, that few of them knew any other Law, than the command of foreign Maſters. This had utterly taken from them all remembrance of home-born Princes, and incorporated them into the great body of the *Perſian* Empire: ſo that wanting within themſelves all ſoveraign power, or high authority (the life and ſpirit of every Eſtate) they lay as dead, and were bereaved of motion, when that Kingdom fell, whereof they lately had been members.

Why the *Perſian Satrapæ*, or Princes of that Empire, did not when *Darius* was taken from them, as the *Macedonian* Captains, after the death of *Alexander*, ſtrive to lay hold upon thoſe Provinces, which had many Ages been ſubject unto them, and ſcarce four years in quiet poſſeſſion of their Enemies; or why at leaſt they contended not (when the terrible Name of that great Conqueror did ceaſe to affright them) to get their ſhares among his followers, if not wholly to diſpoſſeſs them of their new Purchaſes: it is a queſtion, wherein, who is not ſatisfied, may find no leſs reaſon to ſuſpect the Hiſtory, than Authority to confirm it. For we ſeldom read, that any ſmall King-

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dom, prevailing againſt a far greater, hath made ſo entire a Conqueſt, in the compaſs of ten years, as left unto the vanquiſhed no hope of recovery, nor means to rebel; eſpecially when ſuch diſorders, or rather utter confuſion hath enſued, by the fury of Civil War among the Victors.

The cauſe why the *Macedonians* held ſo quietly the *Perſian* Empire, is well ſet down by *Machiavel*; and concerns all other Kingdoms, that are ſubject unto the like form of Government: the ſumm whereof is this. Whereſoever the Prince doth hold all his Subjects under the condition of ſlaves; there is the conqueſt eaſie, and ſoon aſſured: Where ancient Nobility is had in due regard, there is it hard to win all, and harder to keep that which is won. Examples of this are the *Turkiſh* Empire, and the Kingdom of *France*. If any Invader ſhould prevail ſo far upon *Turky*, that the great *Sultan* and his Children (for Brethren he uſeth not to ſuffer alive) were taken or ſlain: the whole Empire would quickly be won, and eaſily kept, without any danger of Rebellion. For the *Baſſa's*, how great ſoever they may ſeem, are meer ſlaves; neither is there in all that large Dominion, any one man, whoſe perſonal regard could get the people to follow him in ſuch an attempt, where in hope of private gain, ſhould not countervail all apparent matter of fear. Contrariwiſe, in *France*, it were not enough for him that would make a Conqueſt, to get into his hands the King and his Children; though he further got the better part of the Countrey, and were by far the ſtrongeſt in the Field. For, beſides the Princes of the Royal Bloud, there are in that Kingdom ſtore of great men; who are mighty in their ſeveral Countreys, and having certain Royalties and Principalities of their own; are able to raiſe War, in all quarters of the Realm; whereunto the remembrance of their own ancient Families, and long continued Nobility, will always ſtir up and inflame them, ſo that until every one piece were won, and every one (an endleſs work) of the chief Nobility, brought under or deſtroyed, the Victory were not compleat, nor well aſſured. It is true, that ſuch power of the Nobility, doth oftentimes make way for an Invader; to whom the diſcontentments of a few can eaſily make a fair entrance. But ſuch Aſſiſtants are not ſo eaſily kept, as they are gotten: for they look to be ſatisfied at full, in all their demands; and having what they would, they ſoon return to their old allegiance, upon condition to keep what they have, unleſs they be daily hired with new rewards: wherein it is hard to pleaſe one man, without offending another as good as himſelf. The *Turk*, on the other ſide, needs not to fear any peril, that might ariſe from the diſcontented ſpirits of his principal men. The greateſt miſchief that any of them could work againſt him, were the betraying of ſome frontier Town, or the wilful loſs of a Battel: which done, the Traitor hath ſpent his ſting, and muſt either flie to the Enemy, whereby he loſeth all that he formerly did hold, or elſe, in hope of doing ſome further harm, he muſt adventure to excuſe himſelf unto his Maſter, who ſeldom forgives the Captain, that hath not ſtriven by deſperate valour, againſt misfortune. As for making head, or arming their followers againſt the great *Sultan*, and ſo joyning themſelves unto any Invader; it is a matter not to be doubted: for none of them have any followers or dependants at all, other than ſuch, as are ſubject unto them, by vertue of their Offices and Commiſſions. Now as this baſe condition of the principal men, doth leave unto them no means, whereby to oppoſe themſelves againſt the flouriſhing eſtate of their Prince; ſo would it weaken both their power and their courage in giving him aſſiſtance, if adverſity ſhould make him ſtand in need of them. For there is ſcarce any one among the *Turks Baſſa's*, or Provincial Governours, that knows either from whence he was brought, or from whom deſcended, nor any one among them, that by the loſs and utter ruine of the *Turkiſh* Empire, can loſe any foot of his proper Inheritance, and it is the proper Inheritance of the Subject, which is alſo a Kingdom unto him, which makes him fight with an armed heart againſt the Conquetor, who hath no other device painted on his Enſign, than the Picture of Slavery.

As is the *Turkiſh* Empire, ſo was the *Perſian*, void of liberty in the Subjects, and utterly deſtitute of other Nobility, than ſuch as depended upon meer favour of the Prince. Some indeed there were of the Royal Bloud, and others, deſcended from the Princes that joyned with *Darius*, the Son of *Hyſtaſpes*, in oppreſſing the *Magi*: theſe were men of Reputation in *Perſia*; but their Reputation conſiſted only in their Pedigree, and their ſafety in not medling with affairs of State, which made them little eſteemed. In what ſmall account theſe *Perſian* Princes were held, it may appear by this, that the Kings Uncles, Couſin Germans, and Brethren, were called by the Kings, *Their Slaves*, and ſo did ſtyle themſelves, in ſpeaking unto theſe great Monarchs. That upon every light occaſion of diſpleaſure they were handled as Slaves; it is eaſie to be diſcerned, in that example of Cruelty, practiſed by *Xerxes* upon his own Brother *Maſiſtes*, which hath been formerly noted, in place more convenient. As for the *Satrapæ*, or Governours of the Provinces, it is needleſs to cite Examples, proving them to have been meer ſlaves: it may ſuffice, that their Heads were taken from them at the King's will; that is, at the will of thoſe Women and Eunuchs, by whom the King was governed.

To this want of Nobility in *Perſia*, may be added the general want of Liberty convenient among the people: a matter no leſs available, in making eaſie and ſure the Conqueſt of a Nation, than is the cauſe aſſigned by *Machiavel*. For as *Æſop* his Aſs, did not care to run from the Enemies, becauſe it was not poſſible, that they ſhould load him with heavier burthens, than his Maſter cauſed him daily to bear: ſo the Nations, that endure the worſt under their own Princes, are not greatly fearful of a foreign yoke; nor will be haſty to ſhake it off, if by experience they find it more light, than was that whereunto they had been long accuſtomed. This was it that made the *Gaſcoigns* bear ſuch faithful affection to the Kings of *England*; for that they governed more mildly than the *French*: this enlarged the *Venetian* Juriſdiction in *Lumbardy*; for the Towns that they wan, they wan out of the hands of tyrannous Oppreſſors: and this did cauſe the *Macedonians*, with other Nations, that had been ſubject unto the poſterity of *Alexander's* followers, to ſerve the *Romans* patiently, if not willingly; for that by them they were eaſed of many burthens, which had been impoſed upon them by their own Kings.

So that of this tameneſs, which we find in thoſe that had been Subjects of the *Perſian* Kings, the Reaſons are apparent. Yet ſome of theſe there were, that could not ſo eaſily be contained in good order by the *Macedonians*: for they had not indeed been abſolutely conquered by the *Perſian*. Such were the *Sogdians*, *Bactrians*, and other Nations about the *Caſpian* Sea. Such alſo were the *Arabians* bordering upon *Syria*: againſt whom *Anti-*

gonus ſent part of his Army, thinking therewith to bring them under; or rather to get a rich booty. The Captain that he ſent fell upon the *Nabathæans* at ſuch time as they were buſied in a great Mart, wherein they traded with the more remote *Arabians*, for *Myrrh*, *Frankinſence*, and other ſuch Commodities. All, or moſt of theſe rich Wares, together with five hundred Talents of Silver, and many Priſoners, the *Macedonians* laid hold upon: for their coming was ſudden, and unexpected. But ere they could recover *Syria*, the *Nabathæans* overtook them, and finding them weary with long marches, made ſuch a ſlaughter, that of four thouſand Foot, and ſix hundred Horſe, only fifty Horſe eſcaped. To revenge this loſs, *Demetrius* was ſent out with a greater power: yet all in vain; for he was not reſiſted by any Army, but by the natural defence of a vaſt Wilderneſs, lack of Water, and of all things Neceſſary. Therefore he was glad to make Peace with them, wherein he loſt not much Honour; for they craved it, and gave him Preſents. Returning from the *Nabathæans*, he viewed the Lake *Aſphaltites*, whence he conceived hope of great profit that might be raiſed, by gathering the Sulphur. With this good Husbandry of his Son, *Antigonus* was well pleaſed, and appointed men to the work; but they were ſlain by the *Arabians*, and ſo that hope vaniſhed.

Theſe petty enterpriſes, with the ill ſucceſs accompanying them, had much impaired the good advantage againſt *Ptolomy*: when the news of *Seleucus* his Victories in the High Countries, marred all together. For neither was the loſs of thoſe great and wealthy Provinces, a matter to be neglected; neither was it ſafe to tranſport the War into the parts beyond *Euphrates*, whereby *Syria* and the lower *Aſia* ſhould have been expoſed to the danger of ill affected Neighbours. A middle courſe was thought the beſt; and *Demetrius*, with fifteen thouſand Foot, and three thouſand Horſe, was ſent againſt *Seleucus*. Theſe Forces being ſent away, *Antigonus* did nothing, and his Son did leſs. For *Seleucus* was then in *Media*; his Lieutenants about *Babylon* withdrew themſelves from neceſſity of fight; ſome places they fortified and kept; *Dementius* could hold nothing that he got, without ſetting in Garriſon more men than he could ſpare; neither did he get much, and therefore was fain to ſet out the bravery of his expedition by burning and ſpoiling the Country; which he did thereby the more alienate, and as it were, acknowledge to belong unto his Enemy, who thenceforth held it as his own aſſured.

Antigonus had laid upon his Son a peremptory commandment, to return unto him at a time prefixed: reaſonably thinking (as may ſeem) that in ſuch an unſettled ſtate of things, either the War might be ended, by the fury of the firſt brunt; or elſe it would be vain to ſtrive againſt all difficulties likely to ariſe, where want of Neceſſaries ſhould fruſtrate the Valour, that by length of time was like to become leſs terrible to the Enemy. *Demetrius* therefore, leaving behind him five thouſand Foot, and a thouſand Horſe, rather to make ſhew of continuing the War, than to effect much, where himſelf, with greater Forces, could do little more than nothing, forſook the enterpriſe, and went back to his Father.

§. IX.

A general Peace made and broken. How all the Houſe of Alexander *was deſtroyed.*

THeſe ambitious heads, having thus wearied themſelves with uneffectual Travel, in ſeeking to get more than any one of them could hold, were contented at length to come to an agreement; wherein it was concluded, That each of them ſhould hold quietly, that which at the preſent he had in poſſeſſion. As no private hatred, but meer deſire of Empire had moved them to enter into the War, ſo was it no friendly reconciliation, but only a dulneſs growing upon the ſlow advancement of their ſeveral hopes, that made them willing to breath a while, till occaſion might better ſerve to fight again.

Beſides that main point, *Of retaining the Provinces which every one held*, there were two Articles of the Peace, that gave a fair, but a falſe colour to the buſineſs: *That the Son of* Alexander *by* Roxane, *ſhould be made King, when he came to full Age*; and, *That all the Eſtates of* Greece *ſhould be ſet at liberty*. The advancement of young *Alexander* to his Fathers Kingdom, ſeems to have been a matter, forcibly extorted from *Antigonus*; in whom was diſcovered a purpoſe to make himſelf Lord of all. But this, indeed, more nearly touched *Caſſander*. For in his cuſtody was the young Prince and his Mother; neither did he keep them in ſort anſwerable to their degree, but as cloſe Priſoners, taken in that War, wherein they had ſeen the old Queen *Olympias* taken and murdered, that ſought to have put them in poſſeſſion of the Empire. The mutual hatred and fear between them, rooted in theſe grounds, of injuries done, and revenge expected; upon this concluſion of Peace, grew up faſter than any time before, in the heart of *Caſſander*, who ſaw the *Macedonians* turn their favourable expectation towards the Son of their late renowned King.

All this, either little concerned *Antigonus*, or tended greatly to his good. The young Prince muſt firſt have poſſeſſion of *Macedon*; whereby *Caſſander* ſhould be reduced to his poor Office, *of Captain over a thouſand men*, if not left in worſe caſe. As for them that held Provinces abroad, they might either do as they had done under *Aridæus*; or better, as being better acquainted with their own ſtrength. He in the mean time, by his readineſs to acknowledge the true Heir, had freed himſelf from that ill-favoured imputation, of ſeeking to make himſelf Lord of all that *Alexander* had gotten.

The like advantage had he in that Article, of *reſtoring the* Greeks *to their Liberty*. This Liberty had hitherto been the ſubject of much idle diſcourſe; but it never took effect. *Antigonus* held ſcarce any Town of theirs; *Caſſander* occupied moſt of the Country: which if he ſhould ſet free, he muſt be a poor Prince; if not, there was matter enough of quarrel againſt him, as againſt a Diſturber of the common Peace.

In the mean ſeaſon, the Countries lying between *Euphrates* and the *Greek* Seas, together with a great Army, and Money enough to entertain a greater, might ſerve to hold up the Credit of *Antigonus*, and to raiſe his hopes as high as ever they had been.

With much diſadvantage do many men contend againſt one that is equal to them in all puiſſance, *Caſſander*'s Friends had left him in an ill caſe; but he could not do with all: for where every one

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mans help is necessary to the War, there may any one make his own peace; but no one can stand out alone, when all the rest are weary. The best was, that he knew all their affections, which tended to no such end as the becoming Subjects unto any man; much less to the Son of an *Asiatique* Woman, of whom they had long since refused to hear mention. Therefore he took a short course, and caused both the Child and his Mother to be slain: freeing thereby himself in a trice, from the dangerous necessity of yielding up his Government, which he must have done when the Child had come to Age. *Roxane* was a Lady of singular Beauty, which was perhaps the cause, why *Perdiccas* desired to have her Son, being as yet unborn, proclaimed Heir to the great *Alexander*. Immediately upon the death of *Alexander*, she had used the favour (if it were not love) of *Perdiccas*, to the satisfying of her own bloudy malice, upon *Statira*, the Daughter of King *Darius*, whom *Alexander* had likewise married, according to the custom of those Countries, wherein plurality of Wives is held no crime. For having by a counterfeit Letter, in *Alexander's* name, gotten this poor Lady into her hands, she did, by assistance of *Perdiccas*, murder her and her Sister, and threw their bodies into a Well, causing it to be filled up with Earth. But now, by Gods just vengeance, were she and her Son made away, in the like secret fashion; even at such time, as the near approaching hope of a great Empire had made her life, after a wearisom imprisonment, grow dearer unto her than it was before.

The fact of *Cassander*, was not so much detested in outward shew, as inwardly it was pleasing unto all the rest of the Princes. For now they held themselves free Lords of all that they had under them; fearing none other change of their Estates, than such as might arise by chance of War; wherein every one perswaded himself of success, rather better than worse. Hereupon all of them (except *Lysimachus* and *Seleucus*, that had work enough at home) began to rouse themselves; as if now the time were come, for each man to improve his own stock. *Antigonus* his Lieutenants were busie in *Peloponnesus*, and about *Hellespont*, while their Master was careful in following other, and some greater matters that were more secretly to be handled. He pretended the Liberty of *Greece*; yet did the same Argument minister unto *Ptolomy* matter of Quarrel, against both him and *Cassander*. *Ptolomy* complaining (as if he had taken the matter deeply to heart) that *Antigonus* had put Garrisons into some Towns, which ought, in fair dealing, to be set at liberty. Under colour of redressing this enormity, he sent an Army into *Cilicia*, where he wan four Towns, and soon after lost them, without much labour of his own or his Enemies.

After this, putting to Sea with a strong Fleet, he ran along the Coast of *Asia*, winning many places: and in that Voyage allured unto him a Nephew of *Antigonus*, (a good Commander, but discontented with the ill requital of his Services) whom finding shortly, as false to himself, as he had been to his own Uncle, he was fain to put to death. But in doing these things, his desire to set the *Greeks* at liberty, appeared not so plain, as he wished that it should: for their case was no way bettered, by his molesting *Antigonus* in *Asia*. Therefore to get the love of that valiant Nation, he made at the last an Expedition into *Greece* it self; where having set free some little Islands, and landed in *Peloponnesus*, he raised so great an expectation of finishing the long desired work, that *Cratesipolis*, the Widow of *Alexander*, *Polysperchon's* Son, gave up into his hands the Towns of *Cicyon* and *Corinth*.

Ptolomy had conceived a vain belief, that the *Greeks*, emboldened by his countenance and assistance, would all of them take heart, and rise up in Arms, whereby, with little labour, their liberty might be gotten; and he be acknowledged as Author of this immortal benefit. But long servitude had well-near extinguished the ancient Valour of that Nation: and their ill Fortune, in many likely attempts to recover Freedom, had so tired their spirits, that they would no more stir in pursuit thereof; but sat idly still, as wishing it to fall into their mouths.

The *Lacedæmonians*, about these times, began to fortifie their Town with Walls; trusting no longer in their vertue (for both it, and the discipline that upheld it, were too much impaired) that had been a Wall to their Town and Territory.

The *Athenians* were become as humble Servants, as they had been, in times past, insolent Masters; erecting as many Statues in honour of *Demetrius Phalereus*, as there were days in their year. This *Demetrius* was now their Governour, and he governed them with much moderation; but in spight of their hearts, as being set over them by *Cassander*. By this base temper of the principal Cities, it is easie to gather, how the rest of the Country stood affected. *Ptolomy* could not get them to set their helping hands to their own good; and to furnish him with the promised supplies, of Money and Victuals. Credible it is, that he had a true meaning to deliver them from thraldom; as judging the Commodity that would arise by annexing them to his party, a matter of more weight, than the loss that *Cassander* should receive thereby, who could hardly retain them, if once *Antigonus* took the work in hand. But when he found such difficulty in the business, he changed his purpose; and renewing his former friendship with *Cassander*, he retained *Sicyon* and *Corinth* in his own possession.

Before the coming of *Ptolomy* into *Greece*, *Cassander* had been held occupied with very much work. For (besides his pains taken in Wars among barbarous Princes) he found means to allure unto himself the Lieutenants of *Antigonus*, that were in *Peloponnesus*, and about *Hellespont*; making his own advantage of their discontentments. By the like skilful practice, he freed himself from a greater danger; and made those Murders which he had committed seem the less odious, by teaching his Enemies to do the like. Old *Polysperchon*, that had made so great a stir in the Reign of *Aridæus*, did after the death of *Roxane* and her Child, enter again upon the Stage, leading in his hand another Son of the great *Alexander*, and meaning to place him in his Fathers Throne.

The name of this young Prince was *Hercules*: he was begotten on *Barsine*, the Daughter of *Artabazus*, a *Persian*; but had been less esteemed than the Son of *Roxane*, either for that his Mother was held no better than a Concubine, or else perhaps, in regard of the favour which *Perdiccas*, and after him *Olympias*, did bear unto *Roxane*. At this time, the death of his Brother, had moved such compassion, and regard of his being *Alexander's* only living Child, had procured unto him such good will, that the demand which *Polysperchon* made in his behalf, was deemed very just and honourable. There were indeed more hearts than hands, that joyned with this young Prince; yet wanted he not sufficient strength of hands, if the heart of him, that least ought, had not been most false. *Cassander* had raised an Army to withstand his entry into *Macedon*: but little trust could he repose

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in that Army, whose wishes he perceived to be with *Hercules*. Therefore he assayed *Polysperchon* himself with gifts and promises; wherewith at length he prevailed so far, that the old Villain was contented to murder his Pupil, choosing rather with many curses, and fowl dishonour, to take the offered Lordship of *Peloponnesus*, and Commander of an Army, than to purchase a Noble Fame with dangerous Travel, in maintaining his Faith unto both his dead and living Soveraigns.

Antigonus had not all this while been asleep, though his losses were hitherto the chief witnesses of his having been a stirrer in these commotions. He thought it enough for him at the present, to retain his own; and therefore took order for the recovery of those places, which *Ptolomy* had taken pains to win. As for the rest, it no way grieved him, to see *Cassander* incur the general hatred of men, by committing those Murders, of which the profit was like to redound unto him, that was the most powerful: or to see *Polysperchon* and *Ptolomy* sweat in a busie War against *Cassander*. If they would have continued their quarrels, he could well have afforded them leisure, and have thought the time well spent in beholding their contentions. For he was throughly perswaded, that when the rest had wearied themselves in vain with long strife, his Armies and Treasures, wherein he exceeded them all, would bring all under. According to these haughty conceipts, he demeaned himself among his followers; looking big upon them, and like a King before his time. This was it that caused so many of them to revolt from him: but it was no great loss to be forsaken by those that looked with envious eyes upon that fortune, whereon their own should have depended. Against this envy of his own men, and the malice of others, *Antigonus* busily sought a remedy, such as was like to give him a goodly Title to the whole Empire.

Cleopatra, Sister unto the great *Alexander*, lay for the most part in *Sardes*, whom he had a great desire to take to Wife. This his desire was not without good hope: for howsoever she discovered much willingness thereunto, yet was she in his power, and might therefore be entreated, were it only for fear of being enforced. But it was not his purpose to get her by compulsive means; either because his fancy, being an old man, was not over violent; or rather because his ambition, whereunto all his affections had reference, could have made small use of her, by doing such apparent wrong. She had been married unto *Alexander*, King of *Epirus*, after whose death, she came to her Brother in *Asia*; hoping, belike, to find a new Husband in his Camp. But neither any of those brave Captains, that were, in times following, so hot in love with her, durst then aspire unto her Marriage: nor did her Brother, full of other cares, trouble himself with providing her of an Husband. She therefore, being a lusty Widow, suffered her Bloud so far to prevail against her Honour, that she supplied the want of an Husband by entertainment of Paramours. *Alexander* hearing of this, turned it to a jest; saying, that she was his Sister, and must be allowed this liberty, as her portion of the Empire. When by his death, the Empire lay, in a manner, void, and the Portion due to her therein, grew, in mens opinion, greater than it had been; then did many seek to obtain her, while she her self desired only a proper man, with whom she might lead a merry life. To this purpose did she invite *Leonatus* unto her; who made great haste, but was cut off by death, ere he came to her presence. Now at the last, after long tarrying, she had her choice of all the great Commanders: *Antigonus*, *Ptolomy*, *Lysimachus*, and *Cassander*, being all her earnest woers. All these (*Antigonus* excepted) had Wives already; *Ptolomy* had many Wives, and many Concubines, whom he respected as much as his Wives, being noted of too much dotage in that Kind. This hindred not his suit, peradventure it advanced it, by giving to *Cleopatra* some hope of mutual toleration. To him therefore she bequeathed her self, and was taking her Journey from *Sardes* towards him, when *Antigonus* his Deputy in that City, made her to stay, until his Masters further pleasure should be known. *Antigonus* had now a Wolf by the Ears; he neither could well hold her, nor durst let her go. She would not be his Wife; he had none honest pretence to force her; and to keep her Prisoner, had been the way, by which he might have incurred a general hatred, lasting perhaps beyond her life; as the course taken by *Cassander* against *Roxane* (a Lady less respected than *Alexander's* own Sister) did well testifie. Therefore he thought it the wisest way, to procure her death: for to let any other enjoy the commodity of so fair a Title to the Kingdom, it was no part of his meaning. To this purpose he sent instructions to the Governour of *Sardes*, willing him in any case to do it secretly. So the fact was committed, and certain Women about her put in trust with the Murder; which Women afterwards were put to death, as mischievous conspirers against the life of that good Lady. So was *Antigonus* freed from blame, at the least, in his own opinion: but the World was less foolish, than to be so deluded. How the Murther was detected, we need not ask; for seldom is that bloudy crime unrevealed; and never so ill smothered, as when great Persons are the Authors.

Thus was the whole race of *Philip* and *Alexander* the Great extinguished, and it was extinguished by the hands of such as thought upon nothing less than the execution of Gods Justice, due unto the cruelty of these powerful, but mercilesse Princes. Wherefore the ambitious frames, erected by these Tyrants, upon so wicked foundations of innocent Bloud, were soon after cast down, over-whelming themselves or their Children with the Ruines, as the sequel will declare.

§. X.

How Demetrius, *the Son of* Antigonus, *gave liberty to* Athens, *expelling the Garrisons of* Cassander *out of those parts. The immoderate Honours decreed by the* Athenians *to* Antigonus *and* Demetrius.

NOne being left alive, that had any Title to the Kingdom; it stood with good reason, that they which were Lords of the Provinces, acknowledging no Superiour, should freely profess themselves Kings in name, as they were already in substance. Yet had this name ill beseemed the weaker, while the strongest of all did forbear it: neither seemed it convenient in the judgment of *Antigonus*, to crown his last action with such a Title, as if he had attained unto greatness by that foul Murder, the infamy whereof he was careful how to discharge from his own Head. He purposed therefore to undertake a plausible enterprise, even the liberty of *Greece*: whereby it was apparent, that he might get such Honour as would not only drown all bad reports, but make him be thought equal to any name of Royalty; whereof in seeming modesty, he was not covetous. To this purpose, he delivered a strong Army, with a Navy of two hundred and fifty Sail, and five thousand Talents

Talents of Silver, unto *Demetrius* his Son; willing him to begin at *Athens*, and thence to proceed, in ſetting all the Country free.

Demetrius came to *Athens* before he was expected; ſo that without reſiſtance he entred the Haven, it being thought that a Fleet of *Ptolomy*, *Caſſander*'s good Friend, had been arrived. But when it was known, both who he was, and what was the cauſe of his coming, the joy of the Citizens brake out into loud acclamations; *Demetrius Phalereus* forſook the Town, and withdrew himſelf to *Thebes*, under ſafe conduct; only the Garriſon in *Munychia* ſtrove to make good that piece, which after a while was won upon them by force. During the Siege of *Munychia*, *Demetrius* went to *Megara*; whence he expelled the Garriſon of *Caſſander*, and ſo reſtored the City to liberty.

I think it not impertinent, ſometimes to relate ſuch accidents as may ſeem no better than meer trifles, for even by trifles, are the qualities of great Perſons as well diſcloſed, as by their great actions; becauſe in matters of importance, they commonly ſtrain themſelves to the obſervance of general commended Rules; in leſſer things they follow the current of their own Natures. The Lady *Crateſipolis* lay in *Patræ*, and had a great deſire to ſee *Demetrius*; hoping, belike, that ſhe might by his means better her Eſtate, and recover her Towns of *Sycion* and *Corinth*, detained by *Ptolomy* (to whoſe Lieutenant, in thoſe places, *Demetrius* before his departure out of *Greece*, offered Money for the ſurrender of them) yet the only buſineſs pretended was Love. He being advertiſed hereof, left his Forces in the Country of *Megara*, and taking a Company of his lighteſt armed, for guard of his Perſon, made a long journey to meet with her. This Troop alſo he cauſed to lodge a great way from his Tent, that none might ſee her when ſhe came. As cloſely as the buſineſs was carried, ſome of his Enemies had gotten knowledge of it; whereby they conceived good hope, that the diligence of a very few men, might overthrow all the great preparations of *Antigonus*; and bring him to any terms of reaſon, by taking his dear Son Priſoner. Their project fell but a little ſhort of the effect. For they came ſo ſuddainly upon him, that he had no better ſhift than to muffle himſelf in an old Cloak, and creep away diſguiſed, leaving them to ranſack his Tent. There was in this Prince a ſtrange medly of Conditions; eſpecially an extream diſſoluteneſs in wanton Pleaſures, and a painful induſtry in matter of War. He was of a moſt amiable Countenance, a gentle Nature, and a good Wit; excellent in deviſing Engines of War, and curious in working them with his own Hands. He knew better how to reform his bad Fortune, than how to rule his good. For Adverſity made his Valour more active, Proſperity ſtupified him with an over-weening, wherein he thought that he might do what he liſted. His Fortune was as changeable, as were his Qualities: turning often round, like the Picture of her Wheel, till ſhe had wound up the Thread of his Life, in ſuch manner as followeth to be ſhewed.

Returning to his Camp, and finiſhing his buſineſs at *Megara*; he reſolved, no longer to attend the iſſue of a Siege, to aſſail *Munychia* by force, that ſo he might accompliſh the Liberty of *Athens*; which, until it was fully wrought out, he refuſed to enter into the City. *Munychia* was ſtrongly fortified: yet by continuance of the Aſſault, the Multitude without, through help of their Engines that ſcoured the Walls, prevailed upon the reſolution of thoſe that lay within it, and wan the place in two days. The Walls and all the Defences of that Peece againſt the City, were levelled with the Ground; and ſo was it freely put into the Citizens hands, to whom withal was given their Liberty, with promiſe to aid them in maintaining it.

The Fame of this Action was louder than of any other Victory gotten by *Demetrius* with greater Skill and Induſtry. For the *Athenians* having forgotten how to employ their hands, laboured to make up that defect with their Tongues: converting to baſe Flattery that Eloquence of theirs, which the Virtues of their Anceſtors had ſuited unto more manly Arguments.

They decreed unto *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, the Name of Kings; they conſecrated the place in which *Demetrius* leaped from his Chariot, when he entred their City, and built there an Altar, calling it by the Name of *Demetrius the Alighter*; they called them by the Names of the *Gods their Saviours*, ordaining that every year there ſhould be choſen a Prieſt of theſe Gods; and further, that ſuch as were employed by their State, in dealing with either of theſe two Princes, ſhould not be called Embaſſadors, but *Theori*, or *Conſulters with the Gods*; like as were they, whom they ſent unto the Oracle of *Jupiter* or *Apollo*.

It were a frivolous diligence to rehearſe all their Flatteries, theſe being ſo groſs. Hereby they not only corrupted the young Prince, but made that Acclamation, which beſt would have pleaſed the old man, to be of no uſe. For he could not handſomly take upon him the Name of King, as impoſed by the *Athenians*, unleſs he would ſeem to approve their Vanity, in loading him with more than humane Honours. Yet was he ſo tickled with this their fine handling him, that when their *Theori*, or *Conſulters* came ſhortly after, deſiring him to relieve them with Corn, and Timber to build Ships, he gave them almoſt a hundred thouſand quarters of Wheat, and matter ſufficient to make a hundred Gallies. So gracious was his firſt Oracle, or rather, ſo weak is great Power in reſiſting the Aſſaults of Flattery.

§. XI.

The great Victory of Demetrius *againſt* Ptolomy *in* Cyprus. *How* Antigonus *and* Demetrius *took upon them the Stile of Kings; wherein others followed their Example.*

FRom this glorious Work, *Antigonus* called away *Demetrius* unto a buſineſs of greater difficulty: meaning to imploy his ſervice againſt *Ptolomy* in *Cyprus*. Before his departure out of *Greece*, he was willed to eſtabliſh a general Council, that ſhould treat of matters concerning the common good of the Country. About the ſame time *Antigonus* withdrew his own Garriſon out of *Imbros*, committing their Liberty entire into the Peoples hands: whereby it might appear, That as he would not permit any other to oppreſs the *Greeks*, ſo would he be far from doing it himſelf. This was enough to hold his Reputation high among theſe new purchaſed Friends: it followed, that he ſhould convert his Forces to the winning of ground upon his Enemies.

A pitiful Tragedy had lately happned in *Cyprus*, through the indiſcretion of *Menelaus*, *Ptolomy*'s Brother, and his Lieutenant in that Iſle. *Nicocles*, King of *Paphos*, was entred into ſome practice with *Antigonus*: yet not ſo far that he thought him-

himſelf paſt excuſe; by which confidence, he was perhaps, the more eaſily detected. To cut off this Negotiation and the falſe-hearted King of *Paphos* at one Blow, *Menelaus* was ſent thither, who ſurrounding *Nicocles* his Houſe with Souldiers, required in *Ptolomies* Name, to have him yielded to the Death. *Nicocles* offered to clear himſelf; but *Menelaus* told him, that die he muſt, and bid him come forth quietly. This deſperate neceſſity cauſed the unhappy King to rid himſelf of Life: and his Death ſtruck ſuch an impreſſion into his Wife, that ſhe not only ſlew her ſelf, but perſwaded the Wives of her Husbands Brethren to do the like. Alſo thoſe Brethren of *Nicocles*, unto whom *Ptolomy* had intended no ill, being amazed with the ſuddenneſs of this Calamity, did ſhut up the Palace, and ſetting it on fire, conſumed it, with all that was in it, and themſelves together.

Whatſoever the Crime objected was, *Nicocles* periſhed as a man innocent, becauſe he was not ſuffered to make his Anſwer. Of this ſad Accident, though *Menelaus* deſerved the Blame for his rigorous proceeding: yet is it to be thought that much diſlike fell alſo upon *Ptolomy*: as men that are grieved, caſt an ill affection, even upon thoſe that gave the fartheſt removed occaſion.

Not long after this, *Demetrius* came into *Cyprus*, with a Power ſufficient againſt any Oppoſition that *Ptolomy* was like to make. The *Cypriots* did little or nothing againſt him: either becauſe they had ſmall ſtrength, or for that they held it a matter indifferent, whom they acknowledged as their Lord, being ſure that they ſhould not themſelves have the Rule of their own Country. *Menelaus* therefore, out of his Garriſons, drew forth an Army, and fought with *Demetrius*. But he was beaten, and driven to ſave himſelf within the Walls of *Salamis*; where he was ſo hardly beſieged, that without ſtrong Succour, he had no likelihood to make good the Place, much leſs to retain Poſſeſſion of the whole Iſland. His greateſt help at the preſent, was the Fidelity of his Souldiers; whom no Rewards could win from him, nor good Uſage (when any of them were taken Priſoners, and inrolled in the Enemies Bands) keep from returning to him, with the firſt opportunity. Moſt of them were Mercenaries; but all their Goods were in *Ægypt*, which was enough to keep them faithful. Yet could not this their Reſolution have ſtood long againſt the odds of number, which *Demetrius* had of men as reſolute, and againſt his terrible Engines of Battery, if *Ptolomy* had not haſted to the Reſcue.

Ptolomy brought with him a hundred and forty Gallies, beſides two hundred Ships of burden, for tranſporting his Army and Carriages. This Fleet made a terrible ſhew, when it was deſcried afar; though more than half of it, was unfit for ſervice in Fight at Sea. Wherefore to make the Opinion of his Forces the more dreadful, *Ptolomy* ſent unto *Demetrius* a threatning Meſſage, willing him to be gone, unleſs he would be overwhelmed with multitudes, and trampled to death in a Throng. But this young Gallant repaied him with Words of as much bravery, promiſing to let him eſcape, upon condition that he ſhould withdraw his Garriſons out of *Sicyon* and *Corinth*.

Demetrius had no more than one hundred and eighteen Gallies; but they were for the moſt part, greater than thoſe of *Ptolomy*; better ſtored with Weapons fit for that Service; and very well furniſhed with Engines in the Prowes to beat upon the Enemy. Nevertheleſs he ſtood in great doubt of threeſcore Gallies that lay in the Haven of *Salamis*, leſt *Menelaus* with them ſhould ſet upon his Back: in which caſe, it was likely that all ſhould go very ill with him. Againſt this miſchief, he beſtowed ten of his own Gallies in the Mouth of that Haven, to keep *Menelaus* from iſſuing forth, and ſetting his Horſe-men on the Shore, to give what aſſiſtance they could, he, with the reſt of his Fleet, puts to Sea againſt *Ptolomy*.

The Fight began early in the morning, and continued long with doubtful ſucceſs. The Generals were not ranged oppoſite one to the other; but held each of them the left Wing of his own Fleet. Each of them prevailed againſt the Squadron wherewith he encountred; but the ſucceſs of *Demetrius* was to better purpoſe. For his Victory in one part was ſuch as cauſed others to fall out of order, and finally drave all to betake themſelves unto ſpeedy flight. As for *Ptolomy*, he was fain to leave his advantage upon the Enemy in one part of the Fight, that he might relieve and animate thoſe of his own which needed him in another. Wherein he found his Loſs over great, to be repaired, by contending any longer againſt the Fortune of that day; and therefore he laboured only to ſave himſelf, in hope of better event, that might follow ſome other time.

There fell out in this Battel no unuſual accident; yet was the Victory greater than could have been expected. The occaſions whereof were, partly the great skill in Sea-ſervices, which the *Greeks* and *Phœnitians*, that were with *Demetrius*, had, above thoſe which followed *Ptolomy*: partly the good Furniture of the Ships, wherein conſiſted no leſs, than in the Quality of thoſe with whom they were manned. Further, we may reaſonably judge, that the two hundred Ships of Burthen, carrying the ſtrength of *Ptolomies* Army, did not more encourage his own men and terrifie his Enemies the day before the Fight; than breed in each part the contrary Affections, when in the beginning of the Fight, they fell off, and ſtood aloof. For though it were fitting that they ſhould ſo do, yet a Multitude prepoſſeſſed with vain Conceits, will commonly apprehend very ſlight occaſions, to think themſelves abandoned. Beſides all this, the expectation, that *Menelaus* iſſuing with his Fleet out of *Salamis*, ſhould charge the Enemies in Stern, was utterly fruſtrate. He was kept in perforce, by the ten Ships appointed to bear up the Mouth of the Haven: which they manfully performed, as great neceſſity required.

Such diſappointment of expectation, doth much abate the Courage of Men in Fight; eſpecially of the Aſſailants: whereas on the contrary, they that find ſome part of their Fears vain, do eaſily gather hopeful Spirits, and conceive an Opinion of their own Ability, to do more than they had thought upon, out of their not ſuffering the harm that they had imagined.

Whatſoever the cauſes of this Victory were, the Fruit was very great. For *Ptolomy* had no more than eight Gallies that accompanied him in his flight: all the reſt of his Fleet was either taken or ſunk. Neither did *Menelaus* any longer ſtrive againſt the violence of Fortune; but yielded up all that he held in *Cyprus*, together with his Army, conſiſting of twelve thouſand Foot, and a thouſand and two hundred Horſe, and thoſe Gallies in the Haven of *Salamis*. The ſame dejection of Spirit was found in the common Souldier, as well that was taken at Sea, as that had ſerved the *Ægyptian* by Land: none of them repoſing any more confidence in *Ptolomy*, but willingly becoming

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ing Followers of a new Lord, whose Army they now increased.

It was generally believed, that much more depended on the event of this Fight, than the Isle of *Cyprus*; for which they contended. Wherefore the common expectation was great; especially *Antigonus*, whom it most concerned, was deeply perplexed with Cares, thinking every day a year, till he were advertised of the Issue. In this mood *Aristodemus* found him, a notable Flatterer, whom *Demetrius* had honoured with the Message of these good News. *Aristodemus* had bethought himself of a Trick, whereby to double the Welcome of his joyful Errand: he caused his Ships to ride at Anchor a good distance from the Shore; he himself landed in a Cock-boat, which he sent immediately back to the Ship, and so all alone, he went forward, looking very sadly, that no part of his Tidings might appear in his Countenance. Report of his Arrival (for it was known where he had been) came presently to *Antigonus*, who sent Messenger after Messenger to meet him on the way, and bring speedy word how all went. But neither any Answer, nor so much of a Look, as might intimate the purport of his Errand, could be won from this demure Gentleman. Thus marched he fair and softly forward, with a great Throng at his Heels (that served well to set out his Pageant) until he came in sight of *Antigonus*; who could not contain himself, but went down to meet him at the Gate, and hear the News. Then did *Aristodemus*, upon the suddain, with a high Voice, salute *Antigonus* by the Name of King; uttering the greatness of the Victory (with as much Pomp as before he had covered it with Silence) in the hearing of all the People; who with loud Acclamations, gave that Name of King both to *Antigonus* and to his Son *Demetrius*. *Antigonus*, in requital of the long Suspence, wherein *Aristodemus* had held him, said that it should also be long ere he received his Reward. But the Title of King, together with the Diadem, which his Friends did set on his Head, he could not wish a fairer occasion to assume: wherefore he readily accepted them, and sent the like to his Son.

When it was once noised abroad that *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* called themselves Kings; it was not long ere their Fellows were ready to follow the good Example. *Ptolomy* his Friends would by no means endure that their Lord should be thought a man dejected for the loss of a Fleet; therefore they saluted him also King. *Lysimachus* in *Thrace*, had boldness enough to put the Diadem about his own Head. *Seleucus* had, before this time, among the barbarous People, taken upon him as King; but now he used the stile indifferently, as well among the *Greeks* and *Macedonians*, as in dealing with others. Only *Cassander* held himself contented with his own Name: whereby howsoever he might shadow his Pride, he no way lessened the Fame of his Cruelty against his Masters House. But the Name which he forbore, his Sons after him, were bold to usurp, though with ill success, as will appear, when they shall enter upon the Stage; whereon these old Tragedians, under new Habits, as no longer now the same Persons, begin to play their parts, with bigger Looks, and more boistrous Actions, not with greater Grace and Judgment than in the Scenes already past.

Chap. VI.

Of the Wars between the Kings of Ægypt, Asia, Macedon, Thrace, *and others, until all* Alexanders *Princes were consumed.*

§. I.

The Expedition of Antigonus *against* Ægypt, *with ill success.*

ALL the rest of these Kings had taken that Name upon them, in imitation of *Antigonus* himself, as beseeming his Greatness; which was such as gave him hope to swallow them up, together with their new Titles. Being not ignorant of his own strength, he resolved to single out *Ptolomy*, and make him an example to others: who should hardly be able to stand, when the greatest of them was fallen. To this purpose he prepared an Army of eighteen thousand Foot, and eight thousand Horse, with fourscore and three Elephants: as likewise a Fleet of a hundred and fifty Gallies, and a hundred Ships of Burden. The Land-forces he commanded in Person: of the Navy, *Demetrius* was Admiral.

When all was ready for the Journey, the Seamen advised him to stay yet eight days longer, and expect the setting of the *Pleiades*. But his hasty desire to prevent all preparations for resistance that *Ptolomy* should make, rejected this Counsel, imputing it rather to their Fear than Skill. Wherefore he departed from *Antigonia* (a Town which he had built in *Syria*, and called after his own Name, that was soon changed into *Seleucia*, by his mortal Enemy) and came to *Gaza*; where he met with his Fleet. The nearer that he drew to *Ægypt*, the more haste he made: thinking by celerity to prevail more than by his great Power. He caused his Souldiers to carry ten days Provision of Victuals, and had many Camels loaden with all necessaries for passing the Deserts, over which he marched with no small toil, though he met with no resistance. At Mount *Cassius*, which is near adjoyning to *Nilus*, he saw his Fleet riding at Anchor, not far from the Shore, in ill

caſe, and many Ships wanting. It had been ſorely beaten with foul weather, wherein ſome were loſt, others driven back to *Gaza*, or ſcattered elſewhere into ſuch Creeks as they could recover: *Demetrius* himſelf, with the beſt and ſtrongeſt Veſſels, did ſo long beat it up againſt the Wind, that all his freſh Water was ſpent; in which extremity, he and all his muſt have periſhed, had not the Tempeſt ceaſed when it did, and *Antigonus* appeared in ſight, from whom theſe over-wearied, thirſty, and Sea-beaten Souldiers received relief; after theſe painful Travels there followed a War, no leſs painful than to little purpoſe, for *Ptolomy* had ſo fortified all the Paſſages upon the River of *Nilus*, as he aſſured himſelf either to end the War there, or if his Guards ſhould happen to be forc'd, yet could it not be done, but ſo much to the weakning of the Aſſailants, as he ſhould afterward, with a ſecond Army (which he held entire) entertain the Invader upon advantage enough. All that *Antigonus* ſought, was to come to Blows ſpeedily, *Ptolomy* on the contrary to beat *Antigonus* by the Belly. It is true that *Nilus* gave him Water enough, but Wood he had none to warm it, and while *Antigonus* aſſaulted the Rampiers raiſed upon the River in vain, *Ptolomy* aſſaied the Faith of his Souldiers with good ſucceſs, for with great Gifts, and greater Promiſes, he ferried them over ſo faſt, as had not *Antigonus* thruſt ſome aſſured Regiments upon the Paſſages next the Enemy, and in the mean while taken a reſolution to return, *Ptolomy* had turned him out of *Ægypt* ill attended.

Some of them indeed he laid hands on, in the way of their eſcape, and thoſe he put to death with extream Torments, but in all likelihood with the ſame ill ſucceſs that *Perdiccas* had formerly done when he invaded *Ægypt*, had he not readily removed his Army further off from the noiſe of their Entertainment that had already been won from him. To prevent therefore, as well the preſent danger of his ſtay, as the ſhame following a forc'd Retreat, he ſecretly practiſed the advice of his Councel, upon whom the burden muſt be laid of his entrance, and leaving *Ægypt*.

It is indeed leſs prejudicial in ſuch like caſes, that Errors, Diſhonours, and Loſſes, be laid on Counſellors and Captains, than on Kings, on the Directed than on the Director, for the Honour and Reputation of a Prince is far more precious than that of a Vaſſal; *Charles* the Fifth, as many other Princes have done, laid the Loſs and Diſhonour he received in the Invaſion of *France*, by the way of *Provence*, to *Antonie de Leua*, whether juſtly or no, I know not; but howſoever all the Hiſtorians of that time agree, that the Sorrow thereof coſt that brave Captain his Life. Certainly to give any violent advice in doubtful Enterpriſes, is rather a Teſtimony of Love, than of Wiſdom in the giver; for the ill ſucceſs is always caſt upon the Councel, the good never wants a Father, though a falſe one, to acknowledge it. Yet I have ſometime known it, that great Commanders, who are for the preſent in place of Kings, have not only been diſſwaded, but held in a kind by ſtrong hand, from hazarding their own Perſons, and yet have thoſe kind of Mutiners never been called to a Marſhalls Court.

§. II.

How the City of Rhodes *was beſieged by* Demetrius.

THis departure of *Antigonus* left behind it many dead Carcaſſes, and a great deal of Joy in *Ægypt*. *Ptolomy* held a ſolemn Feaſt, and ſent Meſſengers abroad, loaden with glad News, to *Seleucus*, *Lyſimachus*, and *Caſſander*, his Confederates: ſtrongly incouraging all that ſide with the report of this his late Felicity, though it appeared but in a defenſive War. *Antigonus* on the contrary flattered himſelf with another interpretation, calling the Joys of his Enemies for Witneſſes of his own Greatneſs, ſeeing they aroſe but from ſo little things: his Enemies being but bare Savers by the laſt Bargain, and himſelf, as he ſuppoſed, having loſt but a little time, and no part of his Honour in the late Retreat. Howſoever it were, yet he meant to follow his Affairs henceforth in another faſhion, for that which he could not cleave aſunder by great blows, he purpoſed by little and little to pare off, by cutting off the Branches firſt, to fell the Tree it ſelf with the more facility. To effect which he reſolved (leaving the great ones to grow a while) to root up the Dependants of his Enemies: Dependants, whom the forenamed Confederates ſhould be forc'd, either to relieve, or to loſe; and hereby he doubted not to draw them into the Field, where the advantage of Power, and of all other Warlike Proviſions, promiſed him Victory.

At this time the City of *Rhodes* was very mighty, being well governed, and having long held it ſelf in good Neutrality, it drew the better part of all the Trade of thoſe parts, and thereby a great deal of Riches to it ſelf, to maintain which, and to increaſe it, it furniſhed and kept on the Seas a Fleet of well armed Ships, by which, it not only beat off all Pirats and petty Thieves, but the Reputation of their Strength was thereby ſo much increaſed, as all the Neighbour Princes ſought their Alliance and Confederacy.

In this ſo dangerous a time (in which they muſt either refuſe all that ſought them, and ſo ſtand friendleſs and apart, or joyn themſelves to ſome one; and thereby forgoe the Peace, by which their Greatneſs had grown) their Affections carried them to the *Ægyptian*, both becauſe the greateſt part of their Trade lay that way, as alſo for that *Antigonus* his Diſpoſition, Greatneſs, and Neighbourhood was fearful unto them. This Affection of theirs, with ſome other Paſſages more apparent, gave argument of quarrel to *Antigonus*, who began to declare himſelf againſt them by petty Injuries, of taking ſome of their Ships, with ſuch other Grievances, while he made a more weighty preparation to purſue the War againſt them openly and ſtrongly. All things ſoon after ordered according to the greatneſs of the Enterpriſe, he imployed his Son *Demetrius* againſt them in their own Iſland, who brought ſuch terrour upon the Citizens, that laying aſide all reſpect of Friendſhip and Honour, they offered him their aſſiſtance and ſervice againſt whomſoever. *Demetrius*, who knew from whence this Charge came, and that the alteration was perſwaded by fear, and not by Love, raiſed his Demands to an intolerable height, requiring an hundred Hoſtages to be delivered him, and liberty to lodge in their Port as many Ships of War as himſelf pleaſed: theſe Conditions, more properly to be impoſed upon a State already conquered, than on thoſe who as yet had heard of nothing but a conſtrained aſſiſtance,

assistance, restored unto the *Rhodians* their lost courage, and made them resolve to defend their Liberty to the last man: this taught them to infranchise all their able Bond-men, and wisely rather to make them their fellow Citizens, than to make themselves fellow Slaves with them.

Demetrius having refused the fair conditions offered, and the *Rhodians* the fearful ones propounded them, makes preparation for a long Siege, and finding no appearance to carry the Place in fury, he set in hand with his Engines of Battery; in the invention and use of which, he never shewed himself a greater *Artisan*, than in this War. But in conclusion, after the Citizens had sustained all the Assaults given them for a whole year, after many brave Sallies out of the Town, and the Famine which they indured within the Town, which had proved far more extreme, if *Ptolomy* had not with many hazards relieved them, *Demetrius* by mediation of the *Græcian* Embassadors, gave over the Siege; a hundred Hostages they gave him for performance of the Peace made, but with exception of all the Magistrates and Officers of the City.

Hereunto *Demetrius* was brought by the usual Policy of War and State: for while, with the Flower of all his Fathers Forces, he lay before *Rhodes*, *Cassander* recovered many of those places in *Greece*, which *Demetrius* had formerly taken from him; neither did *Cassander* make the War as in former times, by Practise and Surprise, but by a strong and well compounded Army, which he himself led as far as into *Attica*, and therewith greatly distressed and indangered *Athens* it self. On the other side (though with less success) did *Polysperchon* invade *Peloponnesus*. These dangerous undertakings upon *Greece*, advised the *Athenians* and *Ætolians* to dispatch their Embassadors towards *Demetrius*, and advised *Demetrius* rather to abandon the Enterprise of *Rhodes*, than to abandon the great Honour which he had formerly gotten, by setting all *Greece* at liberty.

Demetrius was no sooner out of the Island, than that the *Rhodians* erected Statues in Honour of *Lysimachus* and *Cassander*, but for *Ptolomy*, whom they most affected, and from whom they received their most relief, they consulted the Oracle of *Jupiter*, whether it were not lawful to call him a *God*. The Priests which attended in the Temple of *Hammon*, gave the same fair answer for *Ptolomy*, which they had formerly done for *Alexander* his Master; for as *Alexander* consulted the *Oracle* with an Army at his heels, so was *Ptolomy* at this time Lord of the Soil: and yet was this a far more cleanly Creation than that done by the *Athenians*, who Deified *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* by Decree of the People. A mad Age it was, when so many of *Alexanders* Captains could not content themselves with the Stile of Kings, but that they would needs be called Gods.

§. III.

How Demetrius *prevailed in* Greece, Cassander *desires Peace of* Antigonus, *and cannot obtain it. Great Preparations of War against* Antigonus.

Demetrius coming with a strong Fleet and Army into *Greece*, quickly drave *Cassander* out of *Attica*; and pursuing his Fortune, chased him beyond the Straits of *Thermopylæ*. Herein his Reputation did much avail him, which was so great, that six thousand of his Enemies Souldiers revolted unto him. So partly by the greatness of his Name, partly by force, he recovered in short space all that *Cassander* held in those Straights, and giving liberty unto the People, he bestowed upon the *Athenians* those Peeces which had been fortified against them, to block them up. Then went he into *Peloponnesus*, where he found the like, or more easie success: for he suddainly took *Argos*, *Corinth*, *Sicyon*, and the most of the Country, bestowing liberty upon such as needed it. The Town of *Sicyon* he translated by consent of the Citizens, from the old Seat into an other place: and called it after his own Name *Demetrius*. This done, he betook himself to his Pleasure: At the *Isthmian* Games he caused himself to be proclaimed Captain General of *Greece*, as *Philip* and *Alexander* had been in former times: whereupon (as if he were now become as great as *Alexander*) he despised all others, making it a matter of Jest, that any, save himself or his Father, should usurp the Name of King. But in his Behaviour, he was so far unlike to a King, that in all the time of his leisure, he deserved none other Name than of a drunken *Palliard*. Yet were the *Athenians* as ready as ever to devise new Honours for him; among which they made one Decree, that whatsoever King *Demetrius* should command, ought to be held sacred with the Gods, and just with Men.

All *Greece* being now at the disposition of *Antigonus*, *Cassander* stood in great fear, lest the Wars should fall heavily upon him in *Macedon*, which to avoid, he knew no better way than to make Peace with his Enemy betimes. And to that purpose he sent Embassadors, but had no better answer from *Antigonus*, than that he should submit his whole Estate to his discretion. This proud demand made him look about him, and labour hard in soliciting his Friends, both to assist him, and take heed to themselves; neither found he them slow in apprehending the common Danger, for *Lysimachus* knew, that if once *Cassander* had lost *Macedon*, *Demetrius* would soon be Master of *Thrace*. Neither were *Ptolomy* and *Seleucus* ignorant of that which was like to befall them, if *Antigonus* were suffered to put himself in quiet possession of those Provinces in *Europe*. Wherefore it was agreed, that with joynt Forces they should all together set upon the common Enemy.

Hereof *Antigonus* had notice, but scorned all their preparations, saying, That he would as easily scatter them, as a Flock of Birds are driven away with a Stone. With these conceipts he pleased himself, and no way hindred the proceeding of his Enemies. He lay at that time in his Town of *Antigonia* (a Name that it must shortly loose) where he was carefully providing to set out some stately Game and Pageants, in ostentation of his Glory. But thither was brought unto him the tumultuous News of *Lysimachus* his Victories about *Hellespont*. For *Cassander* had committed unto *Lysimachus* part of his Forces, wherewith to pass over into *Asia*, while himself with the rest should oppose *Demetrius* on *Europe* side. So *Lysimachus* passing the *Hellespont*, began to make hot War upon the Subjects of *Antigonus*; getting some of the Cities in those parts to joyn with him by fair means; winning others by force, and wasting the Country round about.

To repress this unexpected boldness, *Antigonus* made hasty Journeys, and came soon enough to recover his Losses, but not strong enough to drive *Lysimachus* home, or compel him to come to Battel.

Lyſimachus waited for the coming of *Seleucus*; keeping himſelf the whilſt from neceſſity of fighting. But *Babylon* was far off; and *Seleucus* his Preparations were too great to be ſoon in a readineſs. The Winter alſo did hinder his Journey: which inforced them on both ſides to reſt in ſome quiet, without performing any matter of importance. This delay of debating the Quarrel in open Field, held all thoſe Nations in a great ſuſpence, and bred much expectation. Yet might all have come to nothing, had not *Antigonus* been ſo froward, that he refuſed to yield unto any peaceable Conditions. At length *Seleucus* drew near with a mighty Army of his own (for he had gathered ſtrength in that long time of leiſure, which *Antigonus* had given him) and with great Aid from *Ptolomy*, that was joyned with his Forces.

To help in this needful caſe, *Demetrius* was called over into *Aſia* by his Fathers Letters: which he readily obeyed. Before his departure out of *Greece*, he made Peace with *Caſſander*, upon reaſonable terms: to the end he might not be driven to leave any part of his Army for defence of the Countrey; and that his Journey might be without any ſuch blemiſh of Reputation, as if he had abandoned his Dependants: for one Article of the Peace was, That all the Cities of *Greece* ſhould be at liberty. *Caſſander* was glad to be ſo rid of an Enemy, that was too ſtrong for him. Yet would this League have done him little good, if things had fallen out contrariwiſe than they did in *Aſia*; ſeeing the ratification thereof was referred unto *Antigonus*. It ſufficed, that for the preſent, every one found means to clear himſelf of all Incumbrances elſewhere, to the end that each might freely apply himſelf to the tryal of the main Controverſie in *Aſia*.

§. IV.

How Antigonus *was ſlain in a great Battel at* Ipſus, *near unto* Epheſus; *wherein his whole Eſtate was loſt.*

SEleucus, with his Son *Antiochus*, joyning with *Lyſimachus*, compounded a great Army, which was (all conſidered) not inferior to that of the Enemy. In greatneſs of Name (that helpeth much in all Wars, but eſpecially in the Civil) they were rather unanſwerable, than equal to their Adverſaries: for *Antigonus* had of long time kept them under with a maſtering ſpirit, and had been reputed a King indeed, when the reſt were held but Uſurpers of the Title. Likewiſe *Demetrius* was generally acknowledged a brave Commander, having given proof of his worth in many great Services of all kinds, and enriched the Art of War with many inventions, which even his Enemies, and particularly *Lyſimachus*, did much admire. *Seleucus*, who had ſometimes flattered *Antigonus*, and fearfully ſtollen away from him to ſave his life; with young *Antiochus*, a Prince not heard of before this Journey; and *Lyſimachus*, that had lived long in a corner, hardly keeping his own from the wild *Thracians*; wanted much in Reputation, of that which was yielded to their oppoſites: yet ſo, that as ancient Captains under *Philip* and *Alexander*, two of them were held worthy enough, to receive any benefit that Fortune might give, and the third a Prince of great hope, whereof he now came to make experience.

The Souldiers, on both ſides, were for the moſt part hardy and well exerciſed: many of them having ſerved under *Alexander*; though of thoſe old Companies, the long ſpace of two and twenty years had conſumed the greateſt number. But concerning their Affections; the Followers of *Seleucus* were eaſily perſwaded, that in this Battel they muſt either get the upper hand, or put in extream danger all that belonged unto the Confederate Princes: whereas *Antigonus* his men could diſcern no other neceſſity of fighting, than the obſtinate quality of their Lord, that needs would be Maſter of all. *Antigonus* had about threeſcore and ten thouſand Foot, ten thouſand Horſe, and threeſcore and fifteen Elephants. His Enemies were ſix thouſand ſhort of him in number of their Foot; in Horſe they had the odds of five hundred; of Elephants they had four hundred, and a hundred and twenty armed Chariots of War; which Helps, though they little had availed the *Perſians*, yet were they not to be deſpiſed, in the hands of a good Captain.

Antigonus himſelf, either troubled with the unexpected greatneſs of his Enemies Forces, or preſaging little good like to enſue, grew very penſive, communing much in private with his Son, whom he commended to the Army as his Succeſſor: whereas in former times he had never been ſo jocund, as towards the hour of Battel, nor had been accuſtomed to make his Son, or any other, privy to his counſel, before it required execution. Other tokens of bad luck, either foregoing the Fight, or afterwards deviſed, I hold it needleſs to recount: *Diana* of *Epheſus* dwelt near to the place of Battel, a buſie Goddeſs in many great Fights, and therefore likely to have been thruſt into the Fable, if any matter, nearly reſembling a miracle, had chanced.

It is eaſie to believe that theſe two ſo gallant Armies, containing well near all the ſtrength of *Alexander*'s whole Empire, performed a notable Fight, being led by ſuch worthy Commanders and whom the iſſue thereof did highly concern. Yet are few of the Particulars recorded: an eaſie loſs in regard of the much variety, wherewith every Story aboundeth in this kind. The moſt memorable things in the Battel, were theſe. *Demetrius* with his beſt force of Horſe, charged valiantly upon young *Antiochus*; whom when he had broken, and put to flight, he was ſo tranſported with the heat of his good ſucceſs, that he never gave over his purſuit, but left his Father naked, and loſt thereby both him, and the Victory. For when *Seleucus* perceived this advantage, he interpoſed his Elephants, between *Demetrius* and the *Phalanx* of *Antigonus*: and with many Troops of Horſe offering to break upon the Enemies Battel, whereſoever it lay moſt open, he did ſo terrifie the *Antigonians*, that a great part of them rather choſe to revolt from their Lord, whilſt they were fairly invited, than to ſuſtain the fury of ſo dangerous an impreſſion. This Cowardize, or rather Treaſon of ſome, diſcouraged others; and finally, caſt them all into flight; expoſing their General to the laſt end of his Deſtinies. *Antigonus* was then fourſcore years old, very fat and unweildy, ſo that he was unapt for flight, if his high ſpirit could have entertained any thought thereof. He had about him ſome of his moſt truſty Followers, and as many others as he could hold together. When one that perceived a great Troop making towards his Perſon, told him, *Sir King, yonder Company means to charge you*; he anſwered, *Well may they; for who defends me? but anon* Demetrius *will relieve us.* Thus expecting, to the very laſt, that his Son ſhould come to the reſcue, he received ſo many Darts into his Body, as took away his lately ambitious, but then fearful Hopes, together with his troubleſom Life.

His

His great ability in matter of Arms, together with his insatiable desire of Empire, have sufficiently appeared in the whole Volume of his Actions. He was more feared by his Enemies, than loved by his Friends; as one that could not moderate his Fortune, but used Insolence towards all alike, as if it had been some Vertue neareſt representing a Kingly Majesty. This was the cause that so many of his Followers revolted to his Enemies; and finally, that a great part of his Army forsook him in his last necessity. For those Kings and Princes that call all the careful endeavours of their Vassals, only Duty and Debt; and are more apt to punish the least Offences, than to reward the greatest Services: shall find themselves upon the first change of Fortune, (seeing it is Love only that stays by Adversity) not only the most friendless, but even the most contemptible, and despised of all other. This *Antigonus* found true in part, while he lived; in part he left it to be verified upon his Son.

§. V.

How Demetrius *forsaken by the* Athenians *after his Overthrow, was reconciled to* Seleucus *and* Ptolomy, *beginning a new Fortune, and shortly entring into new Quarrels.*

FOr *Demetrius*, at his return, from the idle pursuit of young *Antiochus*, finding all quite lost, was glad to save himself, with four thousand Horse, and five thousand Foot, by a speedy retreat unto *Epheſus*, whence he made great haste towards *Athens*, as to the Place, that for his sake would suffer any Extremity. But whilst he was in the midst of his course thither, the *Athenian* Ambassadors met him with a Decree of the People, which was, that none of the Kings should be admitted into their City. These were Ambassadors, not *Theori*, or *Consulters* with the *Oracle*. It was a shameless Ingratitude in the *Athenians*, to reward their Benefactor, in his misery, with such a Decree: neither did any part of his Calamity more afflict the unfortunate Prince, than to see his Adversity despised by those whom he had thought his surest Friends. Yet was he fain to give good words. For he had left many of his Ships in their Haven, of which he now stood in great need, and therefore was fain to speak them fair, that sometimes had grosly flattered him. But he shall live to teach them their old Language, and speak unto them in another Tune. When he had gotten his Ships, he sailed to the *Isthmus*, where he found nothing but matter of discomfort. His Garrisons were every where broken up; the Souldiers having betaken themselves to his Enemies Pay. So that he was King only of a small Army and Fleet, without money or means, wherewith to sustain him and his Followers, any long time. All the rest, or the greatest part, of his Fathers large Dominion, was now in dividing among the Conquerors, and those few Places which as yet held for him (having not perchance heard the worst of what had happened) he no way knew how to relieve. For to put himself into the Field, on the side of *Asia*, he had no power; and to incloſe himself in any Town, how strong soever, were but to imprison his Fortune, and his Hopes, or therein indeed to bury himself and his Estate. He therefore creeping thorow those Bushes, that had fewest Briars, fell upon a corner of *Lysimachus* his Kingdom, whereof he gave all the spoyl, that was gotten, to his Souldiers: his own losses having been too great, to be repayed again by small Prizes.

In the mean while, the Confederate Princes had wherewithal to busie themselves, in the partition of those Provinces, of which their late Victory had made them Lords: wherein *Seleucus* had a notable advantage, by being present and Master of the Field. For neither *Ptolomy*, nor *Cassander*, were at the Overthrow given, having only sent certain Troops to re-inforce the Army which *Seleucus* led: who took hold of a part of *Asia* the less, and all *Syria*, being no otherwise divided from his own Territory than by the River of *Euphrates*. For there had not any order been taken by the Confederates, for the division of all those Lands: because they did not expect so prosperous an issue of that War, which they made only in their own common defence. It was therefore lawful for *Seleucus*, to make the best benefit that he could of the Victory: at which, nevertheless others did repine, and though they neither could, nor durst, accuse him of ill dealing, for the present, yet seeing the overgreatness of *Seleucus* brought no less danger to the rest of the new Kings, than that of *Antigonus* had done, they consulted upon the same Reason of State as before, how to oppose it in time. Neither was *Seleucus* ignorant of what they had determined: for he read it in the Law universal of Kingdoms and States, needing no other intelligence. Hereupon they forget Friendship on all sides, and cure themselves of all unprofitable Passion: the hatred of each to other, and their Loves being laid on the one side, against their Profits on the other were found so far too light, as *Seleucus* who had to day slain *Antigonus* the Father, and driven *Demetrius* the Son out of *Asia*, sought to morrow, how to match himself with *Stratonica*, *Demetrius* his Daughter, and so by *Demetrius* to serve his turn against *Lysimachus*.

The Story of this *Stratonica*, with whom young *Antiochus*, the Son of *Seleucus*, fell so passionately in love, and so distempered, as *Seleucus* his Father, to save his Sons life, gave her (though she were his Wife) unto him, and how his passion was discovered by his pulse, is generally noted by all Writers. But neither did this Alliance between *Seleucus* and *Demetrius*; between *Ptolomy* and *Lysimachus*; between *Demetrius* and *Cassander*; between *Demetrius* and *Ptolomy*; though for the present it brought one of them again into the rank of Kings; otherwise tye any of them to each other, than the Marriages between Christian Kings have done in latter Times: namely between the *Austrians*, the *Aragonians*, the *French*, and other Princes; neither have the Leagues of those elder Times been found more faithful, than those of the same later Times have been; as in the Stories of *Charles* the eighth of *France*, and of *Charles* the Emperor, of *Francis* the first, and of the Kings of *Naples*, Dukes of *Millan*, and others, the Reader may observe: between whom from the year of our Lord, *One thousand, four hundred, ninety and five*, when *Charles* the eighth undertook the Conquest of *Naples*, to the year, *One thousand, five hundred, fifty and eight*, when *Henry* the second died, the Histories of those Times tell us, that all the Bonds, either by the Bed or by the Book, either by Weddings, or Sacramental Oaths, had neither faithful purpose nor performance. Yet did *Demetrius* reap this profit, by giving his Daughter to his Enemy *Seleucus*, that he recovered *Cilicia* from *Pliſtarchus*, the Brother of *Cassander*; who had gotten it as his share in the division of *Antigonus* his Possessions: for the Intruder was not strong enough to hold it by his proper Forces, from him, that entred upon it as a lawful Heir: neither would *Seleucus* lend him any Help,

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as by the Rule of Confederacy he ſhould have done, againſt the common Enemy. So *Pliſtarchus* with very angry complaint, as well againſt *Seleucus* as *Demetrius*, went unto *Caſſander*; whither *Phila*, their Siſter, followed him ſhortly, to pacifie them both, and keep all quiet; being ſent for that purpoſe by *Demetrius* her Husband, that was not ſtrong enough to deal with *Caſſander*, and therefore glad to make uſe of that bond of Alliance betwixt them, whereof in his own proſperity, he never took notice to the others good. About the ſame time he took to Wife a Daughter of *Ptolomy* (plurality of Wives being familiar with theſe *Macedonians*, that had learned it in their Eaſtern Conqueſts) and ſo was he by two Marriages, rather freed from two Enemies, than ſtrengthened with two Friends: for neither of them wiſhed him any good, otherwiſe than might ſerve to advance their own ambitious deſires.

Seleucus and *Ptolomy*, could both of them have been contented better, that *Demetrius*, with help of their Countenance, ſhould ſeek his Fortune ſomewhat farther off, than ſettle his Eſtate under their Noſes. Particularly *Seleucus* thought that *Cilicia* lay very fitly for himſelf: and *Ptolomy* had a great appetite (which yet he concealed a while) to the Iſle of *Cyprus*. Now whether it were ſo that *Seleucus* would fain have ſet his new Father-in-law upon the neck of *Lyſimachus*; or whether he were indeed greedy of the bargain, he offered to buy of *Demetrius* for ready money, his late Purchaſe of *Cilicia*. Hereunto *Demetrius* would not hearken, but meant to keep as much Land as he could, having already found in *Cilicia* twelve thouſand Talents of his Fathers Treaſure, that would ſerve him to make ſport a while. This refuſal ſo diſpleaſed *Seleucus*, that in angry terms he demanded the City of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, to be ſurrendred unto him; which were the only Places in *Syria*, that had not followed the fortune of the late great Battel. Inſtead of giving them up, *Demetrius* took preſent order to have them better manned; and ſpake it ſtoutly, That were he overcome a thouſand times, yet would he not hire *Seleucus* to become his Son-in-law. In this Quarrel *Seleucus* was generally reprehended, as one of a malignant diſpoſition, that would break Friendſhip with his Father-in-law for two Towns, from whom he had already taken more than well he knew how to govern. But the fire conſumed it ſelf in words, which had it faſtned upon arms, like it is that the weaker ſhould have found Friends, out of envy to the ſtronger.

§. VI.

How Demetrius *wan the City of* Athens, *and prevailed in* Greece, *but loſt in* Aſia. *Of Troubles in* Macedon *following the death of* Caſſander.

IN the mean while, the *Athenians* not knowing how to uſe the liberty, which *Demetrius* had beſtowed on them, were fallen by Sedition, under the Tyranny of *Lachares*. Through which alteration their diſtempered City was ſo weakned, that it ſeemed ill able to keep off the puniſhment due to their late Ingratitude. This advantage haſtned him, whom they had once called their *God and Saviour*, to preſent himſelf unto them, in the habit of a revenging Fury. He brought againſt them all the Force that he could well ſpare from other Employments, which were at that time perhaps the more, becauſe his doubtful Eaſtern Friends, were unwilling to give impediment to any Buſineſs that might entangle him in *Greece*. His firſt Enterprize in *Athens* had ill ſucceſs; a great part of his Fleet periſhing in a Tempeſt. But he ſoon repaired the loſs; and (after ſome Victories in *Peloponneſus*, where he wan divers Towns that had fallen from him) returning to the Enterprize, waſted the Countrey of *Attica*, and cut off all Relief from the City, both by Land and Sea.

Athens was not able to feed the great multitude within it, any long time: for it ſtood in a barren Soyl, and wanted now the command of thoſe Iſlands, and Places abroad, from whence it was wont to be ſtored with Victuals; being alſo deſtitute of means to keep ſuch a Navy, as might bring in ſupply, or dare to do any thing at Sea, againſt that of *Demetrius*. Yet was there ſome hope of Succour from *Ptolomy*, who (truſting thereby to win the Love of *Greece*) had loaden a hundred and fifty Ships with Corn, and ſent them to relieve the hungry City. But theſe hundred and fifty were unable to deal with three hundred good fighting Ships, which *Demetrius* had; rather they feared to become a prey to him, and therefore haſted them away betimes, as having done enough, in adventuring to come ſo near, that they might be deſcryed. This brake the heart of the People; among whom the Famine was ſo extream, that a Father and his Son did fight for a dead Mouſe, which dropped down between them from the Houſe top. Wherefore they ſent Ambaſſadors to yield up the Town, and crave pardon, having ſo far offended, that out of deſperation, they made it a capital offence, to propoſe any motion of Peace. Yet were they fain to aboliſh this Decree: rather becauſe they knew not what elſe to do, than becauſe they hoped to be forgiven.

Demetrius, contented with the honour of the Victory, did not only forbear to take away the Lives of theſe unthankful men; which they had ſubmitted unto his mercy; but out of his liberality gave them food, and placed in Office amongſt them ſuch as were moſt acceptable to the People. Nevertheleſs he was grown wiſer than to truſt them ſo far as he had done in Times paſt. And therefore, when (among other flattering Acclamations) they bade him take their Havens, and diſpoſe of them at his pleaſure; he was ready to lay hold upon the word, and leave a ſure Garriſon within their Walls, to keep them honeſt perforce. After this he went into *Peloponneſus*, vanquiſhed the *Lacedæmonians* in two Battels, and was in very fair poſſibility to take their City: when the dangerous news called him in all haſte, of *Lyſimachus* and *Ptolomy*, that prevailed faſter upon him elſewhere, than himſelf did upon his Enemies in *Greece*. *Lyſimachus* had won many Towns in *Aſia*; *Ptolomy* had gotten all the Iſle of *Cyprus*, except the City of *Salamis*, wherein *Demetrius* had left his Children and Mother, that were ſtraightly beſieged. Whilſt he was bethinking himſelf which way to turn his Forces, a notable piece of buſineſs offered it ſelf, which thruſt all other Cares out of his Head.

Caſſander was lately dead in *Macedon*, and ſoon after him, *Philip* his eldeſt Son, whoſe two younger Brethren, *Antipater* and *Alexander*, fought for the Kingdom. In this Quarrel, *Theſſalonica* the Daughter of King *Philip*, whom *Caſſander* had married, ſeemed better affected to *Alexander*, than to her elder Son: who thereupon grew ſo enraged, that moſt barbarouſly he ſlew his own Mother. The odiouſneſs of this Fact gave a fair luſtre to *Alexander*'s Cauſe: drawing the generality of the *Macedons* to take his part, as in revenge of the Queens death, upon that wicked Parricide *Antipater*. But

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Antipater was ſo ſtrongly backed by *Lyſimachus*, whoſe Daughter he had married, that *Alexander* could not hope to make his Party good without ſome foreign aid. For which cauſe he called in both *Pyrrhus* and *Demetrius*; who how they dealt with him, it will ſoon appear, in the following Tragedy, of him and his Brother. Their Father *Caſſander* had been one that ſhifted well for himſelf, at ſuch time as every man ſought how to get ſomewhat, in the ill ordered diviſion of the Empire. He was cunning in practice, and a good Souldier: one of more open dealing than were his Companions, but withal more impudent, rudely killing thoſe, whom others would more wiſely have made away. He deeply hated the memory of *Alexander*, that had knocked his Head againſt a Wall, upon ſome opinion of Contempt. With *Olympias* he had an hereditary Quarrel, derived from his Father, whom ſhe could not abide. Her feminine malice did ſo exaſperate him, by cruelty, that ſhe uſed againſt his Friends, both alive and dead, as it made him adventure upon ſhedding the Royal Bloud; wherewith, when once he had ſtained his hands, he did not care how far he proceeded in that courſe of Murder. His carefulneſs to deſtroy thoſe Women and Children, whoſe Lives hindred his purpoſe, argues him to have been rather skilful in matters of Arms, than a valiant man: ſuch cruelty being a true mark of cowardiſe, which fears afar off the dangers that may quietly paſs away: and ſeeks to avoid them by baſe and wicked means, as never thinking it ſelf ſafe enough, until there be nothing left, that carries likelihood of danger. Of *Olympias* and *Roxane* it may be ſaid, that they had well deſerved the bloudy end which overtook them; yet ill beſeemed it *Caſſander* to do the office of a Hangman. But *Alexander*'s Children had by no Law of men deſerved to die for the tyranny of their Father. Wherefore, though *Caſſander* died in his Bed, yet the divine Juſtice brought Swords upon his Wife and Children, that well revenged the cruelty of this bloudy man, by deſtroying his whole Houſe, as he had done his Maſters.

§. VII.

Of Pyrrhus *and his doings in* Macedon. *The death of* Caſſander's *Children.* Demetrius *gets the Kingdom of* Macedon; *prevails in War againſt the* Greeks; *loſeth reputation in his War againſt* Pyrrhus, *and in his Civil Government, and prepares to win* Aſia. *How all conſpire againſt* Demetrius. Pyrrhus *and* Lyſimachus *invade him; his Army yields to* Pyrrhus, *who ſhares the Kingdom of* Macedon *with* Lyſimachus.

Pyrrhus, the Son of that unfortunate Prince *Æacides*, which periſhed in War againſt *Caſſander*, was hardly preſerved, being a ſucking Infant, from the fury of his Fathers Enemies. When his Fofterers had conveyed him to *Glaucias*, King of *Illyria*, the deadly hatred of *Caſſander* would have bought his Life with the price of two hundred Talents. But no man can kill him that ſhall be his Heir. *Glaucias* was ſo far from betraying *Pyrrhus*, that he reſtored him by force to his Fathers Kingdom, when he was but twelve years of Age. Within the compaſs of ſix years, either the indiſcretions of his Youth, or the rebellious temper of his Subjects, drave him out of his Kingdom, and left him to try the World anew. Then went he to *Demetrius*, (who married his Siſter) became his Page; followed him a while in his Wars; was with him in the great Battel of *Ipſus*, whence he fled with him to *Epheſus*; and was content to be Hoſtage for him, in his reconciliation with *Ptolomy*. In *Ægypt* he ſo behaved himſelf, that he got the favour of *Berenice*, *Ptolomy*'s principal Wife; ſo that he married her Daughter, and was thereupon ſent home, with Money and Men, into *Epirus*; more beholding now to *Ptolomy*, than to *Demetrius*. When he had fully recovered the Kingdom of *Epirus*, and was ſetled in it, then fell out that Buſineſs between the Children of *Caſſander*, which drew both him and *Demetrius* into *Macedon*.

Antipater, the elder of *Caſſander*'s Sons, was ſo far too weak for *Pyrrhus*, that he had no deſire to attend the coming of *Demetrius*, but made an haſty Agreement, and divided the Kingdom with his younger Brother *Alexander*; who likewiſe felt the Aid of *Pyrrhus* ſo troubleſom, that he was more willing to ſend him away, than to call in ſuch another Helper. For *Pyrrhus* had the audacity to requeſt, or take as granted, by ſtrong hand, *Ambracia*, *Acarnania*, and much more of the Countrey, as the reward of his pains: leaving the two Brethren to agree as well as they could about the reſt. Neceſſity inforced the Brethren to Compoſition: but their Compoſition would not ſatisfie *Demetrius*, who took the matter hainouſly, that he was ſent for, and made a Fool, to come ſo far with an Army, and find no work for it. This was a frivolous Complaint; whereby it appeared, that *Demetrius* had a purpoſe to do as *Pyrrhus* had done, and ſo much more, by how much he was ſtronger. Hereupon it ſeemed to *Alexander* a wiſe courſe, to remove this over-diligent Friend, by murdering him upon ſome advantage. Thus *Demetrius* reported the Story, and it might be true; though the greateſt part, and perhaps the wiſeſt, believed it not. But the iſſue was, that *Alexander* himſelf was feaſted and ſlain by *Demetrius*; who took his part of the Kingdom, as a reward of the Murder; excuſing the fact ſo well, by telling his own danger, and what a naughty man *Caſſander* had been, that all the *Macedonians* grew glad enough to acknowledge him their King. It fell out happily, that about the ſame time *Lyſimachus* was buſied in War with a King of the wild *Thracians*: for thereby he was compelled to ſeek Peace of *Demetrius*, which to obtain, he cauſed the remainder of *Macedon* to be given up; that is, the part belonging to *Antipater*, his Son-in-law. At this ill Bargain *Antipater* grievouſly ſtormed, though he knew not how to amend it: yet ſtill he ſtormed; until his Father-in-law, to ſave the labour of making many excuſes, took away his troubleſome Life. Thus in haſte, with a kind of neglect, and as it were to avoid moleſtation, were ſlain the Children of *Caſſander*: of *Caſſander* that had ſlain his own Maſters Children, in a wiſe courſe of policy, with careful meditation (ſo much the more wicked as the more long) ſtudying how to erect his own Houſe, that fell down upon his Grave, ere the Earth on it was throughly ſetled.

It might be thought, that ſuch an acceſs of Dominion, added much to the greatneſs of *Demetrius*. But indeed it ſhewed his Infirmity; and thereby made him neglected by many, and at length hated by all. For he had no Art of Civil Government: but thought (or ſhewed by his actions that he thought) the uſe and fruit of a Kingdom, to be none other, than to do what a King liſted. He gave himſelf over to Women and Wine, laughing openly at thoſe that offered to trouble him with Supplications, and the tedious diſcourſe of doing Juſtice. He hath more skill in getting a Kingdom than in ruling it: War being his Recreation, and Luxury his Nature. By long reſt (as ſix years

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Raign is long to him, that knows not how to raign one year) he discovered so much of his worst condition, as made both the People weary of his Idleness; and the Souldiers, of his Vanity. He was freed from care of Matters in *Asia*, by hearing that all was lost, though more especially, by hearing that *Ptolomy* had with great honour, entertained and dismissed his Mother and Children. This afforded him the better leisure, of making War in *Greece*: where he vanquished the *Thebans*, and won their City twice in short space, but used his Victory with mercy. Against *Lysimachus* he would fain have done somewhat (the Peace between them notwithstanding) at such time as he was taken by the *Thracians*; but *Lysimachus* was freely dismissed, and in good case to make resistance ere *Demetrius* came; so as this Journey purchased nothing but enmity. Another Expedition he took in hand against *Pyrrhus*, with no better, or rather with worse event. *Pyrrhus* held somewhat belonging to *Macedon*; which he had indeed as honestly gotten, as *Demetrius* the whole Kingdom; he had also made Excursions into *Thessaly*; but there needed not any handsom pretence of Quarrel, seeing *Demetrius* thought himself strong enough to over-run his Enemies Countrey, with two great Armies. It is a common fault in men, to despise the vertue of those, whom they have known raw Novices in that faculty, wherein themselves are noted as extraordinary. *Pyrrhus* was a Captain, whom later Ages, and particularly the great *Hannibal*, placed higher in the rank of Generals, than either *Demetrius*, or any of *Alexander*'s followers. At this time, he misled that part of the Army, which *Demetrius* led, and fell upon the other half: which he overthrew, not with more commendations of his good Conduct, than of his private Valour, shewed in single Combat against *Pantauchus*, *Demetrius* his Lieutenant; who being a strong man of Body, challenged this young Prince to fight hand to hand, and was utterly beaten. The loss of this Battel did not so much offend the *Macedonians*, as the gallant behaviour of *Pyrrhus* delighted them. For in him they seemed to behold the lively figure of *Alexander* in his best quality. Other Kings did imitate, in a counterfeit manner, some of *Alexander*'s Graces, and had good skill in wearing Princely Vestures: but (said they) none, save *Pyrrhus*, is like him indeed, in performing the office of a Captain.

These Rumours were not more nourished by the vertue of the *Epirot*, than by dislike of their own King; whom they began to dis-esteem, not so much in regard of his unprofitable Journey into *Epirus* (for he had wasted much of the Countrey, and brought home his Army in good case) as of his Insolence, that grew daily more and more intolerable. His Apparel seemed, in the eyes of the *Macedons*, not only too sumptuous and new fangled, but very unmanly; and serving chiefly, to be a daily witness, how much he contemned them and their good opinion. Of his Souldiers lives he was rechless: and suffered unwisely this un-princely sentence to escape out of his mouth; That *the more of them died, the fewer he was to pay*. He made a mockery of Justice; and (as it were, to publish unto all his Subjects, how little he esteemed it or them) having by a shew of Popularity invited Petitioners, and with a gracious countenance entertained their Supplications, he led the poor suiters after him in great hope, till coming to a Bridge, he threw all their Writings into the River; pleasing himself, in that he could so easily and so boldly delude the cares of other men. By these courses he grew so odious, that *Pyrrhus* gathered audacity, and invading *Macedon*, had almost won it all with little resistance. *Demetrius* lay then sick in his Bed: who recovering health, and taking the Field, had such great odds of strength, as made *Pyrrhus* glad to forsake his winnings and be gone.

At length he began to have some feeling of the general hate; which to redress, he did not (for he could not) alter his own conditions; but purposed to alter their idle discourses of him, by setting them on work in such an action, wherein his best qualities might appear; that is, in a great War. His intent was to invade *Asia*, with a Royal Army: wherein the fortune of one Battel might give him as much, as the fortune of another had taken from him. To this end, he first made Peace with *Pyrrhus*; that so he might leave all safe and quiet at home. Then did he compose a mighty Army, of almost a hundred thousand Foot, and twelve thousand Horse: with a Navy of five hundred Sayl, wherein were many Ships, far exceeding the greatness of any that had been seen before; yet so swift and useful withal, that the greatness was least part of their commendation.

The terrible fame of these Preparations, made *Seleucus* and *Ptolomy* suspect their own Forces, and labour hard with *Lysimachus* and *Pyrrhus*, to joyn against this ambitious Son of *Antigonus*; that was like to prove more dangerous to them all, than ever was his Father. It was easily discerned, that if *Demetrius* once prevailed in *Asia*, there could be no security for his Friends in *Europe*; what League soever were of old concluded. Therefore they resolved to begin with him betimes, and each to invade that Quarter of *Macedon*, that lay next his own Kingdom. *Lysimachus* came first, and against him went *Demetrius* with a great part of his Army: but whilst he was yet on the way, news were brought into his Camp, that *Pyrrhus* had won *Berrhæa*. The matter was not over-great: were it not, that minds prepared with long discontent, are ready to lay hold upon small occasions of dislike. All the Camp was in uproar: some wept, others raged, few or none did forbear to utter seditious words, and many desired leave of *Demetrius*, to go to their own Houses, meaning indeed to have gone to *Lysimachus*.

When *Demetrius* perceived the bad affection of his Army, he thought it the wisest way, to lead the *Macedonians* further off from *Lysimachus* their own Countreyman, against *Pyrrhus* that was a stranger: hoping by Victory against the *Epirot*, to recover the love of his followers, in such sort that he might afterwards at leisure deal with the other. But herein his wisdom beguiled him. For the Souldiers were as hasty as he, to meet with *Pyrrhus*; not intending to hurt him, but longing to see that noble Prince, of whom they daily heard the honourable fame. Some spake of his Valour; some enquired, others answered, of his Person, his Armour, and other tokens whereby he might be known; as particularly, by a pair of Goats Horns, that he wore on his Crest. It was not likely, that these men should hurt him. Divers of them stole away, and ran over into *Pyrrhus* his Camp: where the news that they brought, were better welcome than their persons. For they said, and it was true, that if the *Macedonians* might once get sight of *Pyrrhus*, they would all salute him King. To try this, *Pyrrhus* rode forth, and presented himself bareheaded in view of the Camp, whither some were sent before to prepare his welcom. The news of his arrival found a general applause, and every one began to look out, with desire to set eye on him. His Face was not so well known as his Helmet; there-

therefore he was admoniſhed to put it on; which done, all came about him, and proffered their Service; neither were there any that ſpake for *Demetrius*; only ſome (and they the moſt moderate of tongue) bade him be gone betimes, and ſhift for himſelf. So *Demetrius* threw aſide his Maskers Habit, and attiring himſelf poorly, did fearfully ſteal away out of his own Camp: deſerving well this calamity, whether it were ſo, that he would not hearken to the good counſel of his Friends, or whether, his behaviour deprived him of ſuch Friends, as would dare to let him hear the unpleaſant ſound of neceſſary truth.

Whileſt *Pyrrhus* was making this Triumphant Entry into the Kingdom of *Macedon*, *Lyſimachus* came upon him very unſeaſonably, and would needs have half; ſaying, that he had done as much as *Pyrrhus* in the War, and therefore had reaſon to challenge his part of the gains. The bargain was quickly made, and the diviſion agreed upon; each of them being rather deſirous to take his part quietly, than to fight for the whole; as hoping each of them, to work his fellow quite out of all upon better opportunity.

§. VIII.

How Demetrius *gathering Forces, enterpriſed many things with ill ſucceſs, in* Greece *and* Aſia. *How he was driven upon* Seleucus, *and compelled to yield himſelf. His Impriſonment and Death.*

THE *Athenians* were as unthankful to *Demetrius* in this his Adverſity, as they had been in former times. For they preſently forſook his Friendſhip, and called *Pyrrhus* out of *Macedon* to be their Patron. *Demetrius*, when he went againſt *Lyſimachus*, had left a great part of his Forces in *Greece*, under his Son *Antigonus*. Therefore it is like, that he had ſoon gotten an Army; though *Phila* his Wife (who is highly commended for a wiſe and vertuous Lady) did Poiſon her ſelf, upon deſperate grief of his misfortune. The firſt upon whom he attempted to ſhew his anger, were the *Athenians*, that had well deſerved it. He began to lay Siege to their Town; but was pacified by *Crates* the Philoſopher, whom they made their Spokeſman; and taking fair words inſtead of ſatisfaction, paſſed over into *Aſia* with eleven thouſand Souldiers, meaning to try his Fortune againſt *Lyſimachus*, for the Provinces of *Lydia* and *Caria*.

At his firſt coming into thoſe parts Fortune ſeemed to ſmile upon him. For many good Towns, willingly, or by compulſion, yielded to his obedience. There were alſo ſome Captains, that fell from *Lyſimachus* to him, with their Companies and Treaſures. But it was not long, ere *Agathocles*, the Son of *Lyſimachus*, came upon him with an Army ſo ſtrong, that it was not for *Demetrius* his good, to hazard his laſt ſtock againſt it. Wherefore, he reſolved to paſs through *Phrygia* and *Armenia*, into *Media*, and the Provinces of the higher *Aſia*; truſting to find a Kingdom ſomewhere in thoſe remote quarters. The execution of this counſel was grievouſly impeached by *Agathocles*; who purſued him cloſe, and cut off all his Proviſions, driving him to take which ways he could, without following his intended courſe. In many skirmiſhes, *Demetrius* vanquiſhed this troubleſome Enemy: nevertheleſs, he could not be ſhaken off, but continued afflicting the poor titulary King with extream Famine. At length, in paſſing the River *Lycus*, ſo many of *Demetrius* his men were loſt, that the reſt could no longer make reſiſtance; but were driven to travel with ſuch ſpeed, as might well be called a plain flight. So that with Famine, Peſtilent Diſeaſes following Famine, and other accidents of War, eight thouſand of them were conſumed: the reſt, with their Captain, eſcaped into *Cilicia*. *Seleucus* had gotten poſſeſſion of *Cilicia*, whileſt *Demetrius* was occupied in *Greece*: yet was it no part of *Demetrius* his errand, to lay claim to the Country; but with vehement and humble Letters he beſought his Son-in-law to call to mind their Alliance, and to pity him in his great miſery. Theſe Letters, at the firſt, wrought well with *Seleucus*, and he condeſcended to the requeſt: yet conſidering further how *Demetrius* had carried himſelf, when he recovered ſtrength after the Battel at *Ipſus*, he changed his purpoſe, and went againſt him with an Army.

Many Treaties were held between them; of which none took effect, through the jealouſie of *Seleucus*. Therefore, meer deſperation enforced *Demetrius* to fight like a mad man; and his fury got him ſome Victories, though of ſmall importance. At length, ſickneſs took and held him forty days, in which time, a great number of his few men ran to the Enemy. This notwithſtanding he ſtill held out, and once had like to have taken *Seleucus* in his bed, had not his coming been diſcovered by Fugitives, that gave the Alarm. Finally, when all his Army had forſaken him, and left him, with a few of his Friends, to ſhift for himſelf: he was compelled, by the laſt of thoſe adherents (for even ſome of thoſe few forſook him) to yield unto *Seleucus*.

Seleucus hearing this, was exceeding glad, and ſent him very comfortable meſſages. But the approbation of his own Humanity, by his followers, was ſuch, as renewed his jealous thoughts, and hindred him from admitting *Demetrius* to his preſence; though otherwiſe he uſed him with as much favour, as any Priſoner could wiſh. He was kept under ſure Guard in a Demi-Iſland, wherein were goodly Walks, Orchards, and Parks for Hunting. He had all that he asked Royally, and Friends allowed to viſit him, at his, and their pleaſure. Only his Liberty was reſerved unto the coming of young *Antiochus* and *Stratonica*, out of the High Countries. In this ſort he ſpent three years, living merrily all the while (as one that now enjoyed the happineſs, which with ſo much Travel and Bloud-ſhed, he had ſought in vain) and then died, leaving to his Son *Antigonus*, the ſame which his Father had left unto himſelf; that is, Friends and Hope. His aſhes were honourably buried in *Corinth*; his Qualities have appeared in his Actions, and the Fortune of his Houſe will ſhew it ſelf hereafter, in times and places convenient.

§. IX.

The death of Ptolomy, *of* Lyſimachus, *and of* Seleucus, *that was laſt of* Alexander's *Captains: with other occurrences.*

ABout the ſame time that *Demetrius* died, died alſo *Ptolomy* King of *Ægypt*; a vertuous Prince, warlike, gentle, bountiful, and (which in thoſe times was a rare commendation) regardful of his word. He had, by many Wives and Concubines, many Children: out of whom he ſelected *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, and cauſed him to raign together with himſelf, two or three years before he died, that ſo he might confirm him in the inheritance of the Kingdom. At this, *Ptolomy*

Ceraunus (for all of that Houſe aſſumed the name of *Ptolomy*) was grievouſly incenſed: but no man cared for his anger. Therefore he went to *Seleucus*, who gave him loving Entertainment. There were now only two of *Alexander*'s Captains left; *Seleucus* and *Lyſimachus*. Theſe two needs would fight for it, who ſhould be the longeſt liver of that brave Company. The true ground of their Quarrel was, their near equality of ſtrength, and want of one to part them. The pretence was, the Murders which *Lyſimachus* had committed upon many of his Nobles, together with his poiſoning *Agathocles* his eldeſt Son; whoſe Wife and Children fled unto *Seleucus* for aid.

The *Macedons*, after ſeven Months pauſe, having ſpent their firſt heat of admiration, began to hearken ſo well to *Lyſimachus*, their natural Country-man, that they forſook *Pyrrhus*, upon none other ground than becauſe he was an Alien. This they had known well enough before; but they did him no great wrong in taking lightly from him, what they lightly gave him. *Lyſimachus* had raigned about five years alone, when the City of *Lyſimachia* (built by him, and called after his name) falling by an Earthquake, appeared, by events, to have fore-ſhewed the fall of his Houſe. His own jealouſie, and the inſtigation of a Mother-in-law, cauſed him to poiſon his Son *Agathocles*, which drew upon him that War, wherein (after the loſs of all his fifteen Children, that were taken away by divers accidents) he periſhed himſelf.

Seleucus was encountred by *Lyſimachus* on *Aſia* ſide, where one Battel concluded the War, with *Lyſimachus* his death. It pleaſed *Seleucus* more than the Victory, that he was the laſt of all the great Heroes which had followed *Alexander*. For now he ſeemed to himſelf, as Lord and Heir of all the conquered World. So he paſſed over into *Macedon*, to take poſſeſſion of *Europe*, where there was none to withſtand him. But there he ended his days, and within ſeven Months followed *Lyſimachus*, and other of his fellows, by a bloudy death; being treacherouſly ſlain by *Ptolomy Ceraunus*, whole Friend and Patron he had been. Seventy and ſeven years old he was, when he fought with *Lyſimachus*, and *Lyſimachus* was ſeventy and four. With them ended the generation of old Captains, that had ſeen the days, as it were of another World under the *Perſian*: yet was there left one equal to any of them in the Art of War; even *Pyrrhus* the *Epirot*, of whom we ſpake before; that is now ready to enter into War with the *Romans*, a more Warlike People, than *Alexander* himſelf ever did encounter. Of which War, and of which People, it is needful that we here make mention, as of a ſtory more important, than any likely to enſue in *Greece*, or in the great Kingdoms, that were held by *Alexander*'s Succeſſors, with leſs (and ſtill decreaſing) vertue, than was that, by which they were firſt purchaſed.

CHAP. VII.

The growth of Rome; *and ſettling of the Eaſtern Kingdoms.*

§. I.

How the Romans *enlarged their Dominion in* Italy, *from the death of* Tullus Hoſtilius, *unto ſuch time as they were aſſailed by* Pyrrhus.

HOW *Rome* was founded by *Romulus*, ſetled in good order by *Numa Pompilius*; and by many, though ſmall Victories, it gathered ſtrength; unto ſuch time as it became the Head of *Latium*, by the Conqueſt of *Alba*, in the Reign of *Tullus Hoſtilius*, it hath been already noted in due order of time. But whereas now the *Roman* greatneſs beginneth to encounter the power of *Greece*; and extending it ſelf out of *Italy*, to overwhelm the Dominions of other States and Princes: I hold it convenient (as in like caſes I have done) briefly to ſet down the growth of this mighty City, in a compendious relation of thoſe many actions, which could not have been delivered in the Ages, wherein they were ſeverally performed, without much interruption of the Hiſtory, that was then occupied in matter more important.

After the death of *Tullus Hoſtilius* (who when he had raigned two and thirty years, was burnt together with his Houſe by Lightning) *Ancus Martius*, Grand-child to *Numa Pompilius* by his Daughter, and not much unlike him in diſpoſition, ſucceeded in the Kingdom of *Rome*. He walled the City about, enlarged it with the Hill *Aventine*, which he encloſed; built a Bridge over *Tybris*, and the City of *Oſtia* upon the Sea, ſixteen miles diſtant from *Rome*. Finally, having raigned four and twenty years, he died, and by his laſt Will he left his Children in charge with one *Lucumon*, the Son of *Damaratus* a *Corinthian*, who avoiding *Cypſelus* King of *Corinth* his Tyranny, had fled into *Hetruria*, and dwelt in *Tarquinii*, by the name of which Town he was afterwards called *Tarquinius*. From that City in *Hetruria* coming to *Rome*, and encouraged by ſome ominous occurrents, together with his Wife *Tanaquils* Propheſie, he grew a Favourite of *Ancus Martius*; by his *Græcian* wit humouring the Factions of the *Roman* Court, in ſo much that after his deceaſe, he became not only Protector to the Children, but Governour to the City. He doubled the number of Senators, and enlarged

enlarged the Centuries of Horſe-men: neither was he leſs eminent in War than in Peace: for he prevailed often againſt the *Tuſcans*, and from his Victories, the chiefeſt Ornaments of Triumph took their Original. When this *Lucius Tarquinius* had raigned eight and thirty years, he was ſlain by the Sons of *Ancus Martius*, to whom he had been left Guardian. But *Tanaquil* his Wife, perceiving what was done, informed the People from out of an high Turret, that her Husband was wounded, and ſick, but not dangerouſly: And withall ſignified unto them, that in the *interim* of his ſickneſs, one *Servius Tullius*, whom from his birth ſhe always Prophecied to be born to great hopes, (the Son of *P. Corniculanus* and *Ocriſia*, a well deſcended, but Captive Woman) brought up in her Houſe, and Husband unto her Daughter, ſhould ſupply her Husbands place, in Governing the State, until his recovery: which Government, being thus at firſt obtained by cunning, he afterwards uſurped as his right. He firſt ordained Ratements, Subſidies, and Valuations of the Peoples Wealth; among whom, at that time, fourſcore thouſand were muſtered, of which number conſiſted their whole Corporation; and by diſtinction of Dignities, Ages, Trades, and Offices, he managed the Kingdom in as good ſort, as if it had been a private Houſhold. At length, having two Daughters of different natures, the one mild and gentle, the other fierce and outragious: and finding alſo that the two Sons of *Tarquinius Priſcus*, *Sextus* and *Aruns*, which had been committed to his Tuition, were of different diſpoſitions, proportionably anſwering to his Daughters; he (willing to add Water, not Oyl, to Fire) gave the mild Daughter to *Sextus*, the hot-headed Son; and the violent, to *Aruns*, the gentle, in Marriage. But whether by intended courſes, or by accident, it happened; the two mild ones being made away, the furious natures were readily joyned in Marriage: who ſoon concurring, and calling the Senate together, began to lay claim to the Kingdom. Upon this Tumult, *Servius Tullius* haſting to the Senate, (where he thought by Authority to have bridled Inſolency) was thrown down the ſtairs, and going home ſore bruiſed, was ſlain by the way, when he had raigned forty and four years. Then *Tullia* his Daughter, firſt proclaiming her Husband *Tarquinius Superbus* King; returning home, enforced her Coach-man to drive his Chariot over her Father's Corps; whereupon the Street had the denomination of *Wicked-ſtreet*. This *Tarquine*, exerciſing Cruelty without Juſtice, and Tyranny without Mercy, upon the People and Senators; having tired himſelf and them at home, uſed the ſame rage of Treachery upon his Borders. He took *Ocriculum*, *Sueſſa Pometia*, and the *Gabii*. The iſſue of beſieging *Ardea*, a Town eighteen miles diſtant from *Rome*, was of bad ſucceſs. In the heat of which War, his Son *Sextus Tarquinius* violently raviſhed that chaſte Lady *Lucretia*, his Kinſman *Collatines* Wife: who in way of expiation for ſo unchaſte a deed, thought good to waſh out thoſe ſpots of infamy with her own Bloud; ſo (having firſt bequeathed the revenge unto her Father *Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, her Husband *Collatine*, and *Junius Brutus*) ſhe killed her ſelf: whereupon (chiefly by *Junius Brutus* his reſolution) *Tarquinius Superbus*, with his Wife and Children, was depoſed and baniſhed; and fled to *Porſenna* King of *Hetruria* for ſuccour, in the five and twentieth year of his Reign, and the two hundred forty and fourth from the building of their City; in which ſpace *Rome* had ſcarce gotten full poſſeſſion of fifteen miles round about her.

Junius Brutus, by the help of *Collatine*, having expelled *Tarquine*, and freed his Country from that heavy yoak of Bondage, enforced the People by ſolemn Oath, never to admit any Government by Kings amongſt them: whereupon they ranſacked their Kings Goods, conſecrated their Fields to *Mars*, and conferred the Government of the State upon *Brutus* and *Collatine*. But becauſe the name of King was odious in their Ears, they changed the manner of their Government, from perpetual to annual, and from a ſingle Governour to a double; leſt perpetual or ſole Dominion might be ſome motive to Uſurpation: and inſtead of Kings they called them *Conſuls*, ſignifying, as it may be interpreted, *Providers*; that their Titles might remember them of their place, which was to be always mindful of their Citizens welfare. And yet was it ſo hard ſetling of troubled Waters, that the People, after this innovation of State, ſcarce daring to aſſure themſelves of their own ſecurity, enforced *Tarquinius Collatine* to reſign up his Authority, fearing that Tyranny would be Hereditary, and ſuppoſing that the very name and affinity with the Houſe of *Tarquin*, ſavoured already of their condition. In his room was ſubſtituted *Valerius Publicola*, who that he might (as his name importeth) be gratious in the Peoples Eyes, gave liberty, in matters of Controverſie, to appeal from the *Conſuls* to the People: and that he might as well in Goods as in Perſon, avoid occaſion of ſuſpicion, cauſed his own Houſe to be pulled down, becauſe it was built in a place defenſible, as if it had been a *Cittadel*. Neither was *Brutus* any ways deficient in matter of greater moment, which concerned as well the Peoples ſafety, as their favour: for having got intelligence, that ſome greener wits, and in the firſt rank his own Sons, were itching after innovations, hoping to reſtore the baniſhed Kings; he cauſed them, publickly in the Market-place, to be whipt, and then to be brought all unpartially to the block.

Hitherto the *Romans*, having by the unblemiſhed integrity of *Brutus*, well appeaſed all inbred Quarrels at home, now hereafter employ their Military deſignments againſt Foreigners; firſt, for their Liberty; ſecondly, for enlarging of their Poſſeſſions; and laſtly, for defending their confederate Provinces, and extending their Empire. For *Rome*, ſituated as it were in the mid-way between *Latium* and the *Tuſcans*, having as yet but narrow bounds, being in her Minority, could not but give occaſion of offence to her Neighbours; until by main oppoſition, having prevailed againſt her borderers, ſhe uſed them as inſtruments, whereby to obtain the reſt.

Their firſt War, in the firſt year of *Conſuls*, was againſt *Porſenna* King of *Hetruria*; who being overperſwaded by *Tarquin*'s lamentation, came to *Rome*, together with the baniſhed King, and with great Forces, to ſeat him again in his Kingdom.

In the firſt conflict, *Horatius Cocles*, having long time born the main brunt of his Enemies, on the Bridge over *Tybris*; at length, feeling himſelf too faint to ſtand againſt ſo many, cauſed the Bridge behind him to be broken down, and with his Armour, leaping into the River, like a hunted Stag, refreſhed his hot ſpirits, and returned ſafe to his fellows, with the like reſolution to ſuſtain a new charge. *Porſenna*, although by this he had well-nigh won the Hill *Janiculus*, which is the very entrance unto the City, and found the Victory, in a manner, aſſuredly his own: yet admiring their Valour, and terrified by the conſtant reſolution of *Mutius Scævola* (who having by error ſlain *Porſenna* his Secretary, inſtead of the King himſelf,

ſelf, did in ſcorn of torments threatned, burn off his own Hand) he thought it not any whit prejudicial, either to his ſafety, or credit, to enter League with them at the worſt hand. And yet the edge of *Tarquinius* his ſpleen was not quite abated, though *Arunς* his Son, and *Brutus* his Enemy, in ſingle Combat, had ſlain each other. And here the *Romans*, although they loſt *Brutus*, got the Field; and their Ladies, whoſe Champion he was, for their Chaſtity, not for Beauty, mourned the loſs of him one whole year. Into his place, for the reſidue of his year, was ſubrogated *Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, Father to *Lucretia*: and in his room (deceaſing naturally before the year expired) *Horatius Pulvillus*.

Tarquine, upon his overthrow, feeling the Fates diſaſtrous, thought it no boot to ſtrive againſt the ſtream; and ſpent the reſidue of his time, which was about fourteen years, privately at *Tuſculum*. Yet his Son-in-law, *Mamilius Tuſculanus*, ſtomaching afreſh at thoſe old repulſes, becauſe *Porſenna* had made Peace with the *Romans*, and denied further ſuccour unto the *Tarquines*, muſtered up his *Latines*, and gave Battel to the *Romans* at the Lake *Regillum*; where the conflict was fierce, and the iſſue uncertain, until *Aulus Poſthumius*, the *Roman Dictator*, (for they had created this Magiſtracy greater than Conſuls, purpoſely for this War, when firſt it was expected) to exaſperate his Souldiers courage, threw their own Enſigns amidſt the Enemy; and *Coſſus*, or *Spurius Caſſius* (Maſter of the Horſe-men, an aſſiſtant Officer to the *Dictator*) commanded to take off their Bridles, that they might run with free violence, to recover again their Enſigns. This Fight was ſo well performed, that a report went currant, of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, two *Gods*, who came on milk-white Steeds, to be Eye-witneſſes of their Valour, and fellow helpers of their Victory; for the General conſecrated a Temple to them, as a ſtipend for their pains. After this, the *Romans* fierce ſpirits, having no object of Valour abroad, reflected upon themſelves at home; and the ſixteenth year after the Kings expulſion, upon inſtigation of ſome deſperate bankrouts, thinking themſelves wrongfully oppreſſed by the Senate and Conſuls, they made an uproar in the Holy Mount; until by *Menenius Agrippa*, his diſcreet alluſion, of the inconvenience in the head and bellies diſcord, to that preſent occaſion, they were reconciled to the Senate: with condition, that they might have ſome new Magiſtrates created, to whom they might appeal in caſes of variance, and make them Solicitors in their controverſies, the Conſuls Authority notwithſtanding. This was enacted; and they were called the Tribunes of the People. After this attonement amongſt themſelves, they had continual War with the *Latines*, concerning their bounds and limits, and with other Neighbouring States. Amongſt theſe, the *Volſci* and *Æqui* held them longeſt; who made War, of themſelves, upon the *Romans*; whereby they loſt the beſt City in their whole Juriſdiction, *Corioli*.

In this Conqueſt, *T. Martius* got the ſirname of *Coriolanus*: a name honourable then, as derived from a great Victory; although by reaſon of the poverty of the Town, a *Roman* General, in after times, would have been aſhamed of that Title. But yet theſe graces had been no occaſion of diſparagement, had he not afterwards, in a great time of dearth, adviſed to ſell Corn, which they procured from *Sicil*, at too high a rate, to the People: whereupon, *Decius Mus*, their Tribune, in their behalf, accuſed him, and after Judgment, baniſhed him. *Coriolanus* flying to the *Volſci*, whom lately before he had vanquiſhed, incenſed them to renew their Forces again, which being committed unto him, and to *Attius Tullus*, he prevailed in Field ſo far forth, that he was come within four or five miles of the City. Encamping there, he made ſo ſharp War, and was at ſuch defiance with his Country, that he would not relent, by any ſupplications of Embaſſadors, until his Mother *Veturia*, and *Volumnia* his Wife, with a pitiful tune of Deprecation, ſhewing themſelves better Subjects to their Country, than Friends to their Son and Husband, were more available to *Rome*, than was any force of Arms. Hereupon *Coriolanus* diſmiſſing his Army, was after put to death among the *Volſci*, as a Traytor, for neglecting ſuch opportunity: or (as others ſurmiſe) living with them until old age, he died naturally.

Not long after this, the *Veii* in *Hetruria* provoked the *Romans*; againſt whom the *Fabii*, three hundred and ſix in number, all of one Family, entreated and obtained, that they only might be employed, as it had been in a private Quarrel. Theſe *Fabii*, after ſome good ſervices, lying encamped at *Cremera*, were circumvented, and all ſlain; one only of that whole Houſe, had been left, by reaſon of infancy, at home; from whom afterward ſprang *Fabius Maximus*, who vanquiſhed *Hannibal*.

In proceſs of time, the *Romans* were alſo troubled with the *Volſci*, at the Hill *Algidum*, two miles from *Rome*; where *Lucius Minucius* their Conſul, with his whole Army, had been diſcomfited, had not *L. Quintius Cincinatus*, choſen *Dictator*, and taken from the Plough to the higheſt Honour in *Rome*, with ſucceſs anſwerable to his Expedition, diſperſed his Enemies, and freed his Country in the ſpace of ſixteen days. In the continuance of this *Volſcian* War it was, that *Appius Claudius*, one of the ten men, whom they had two years before choſen Governours of the State, and enactors of *Solon's* Laws amongſt them, procured from *Athens* (abrogating in the mean while the Conſuls, and all other Magiſtracies) would have raviſhed *Virginia*, the Daughter of *T. Virginius*, Captain of a Company, and lying then in Camp at *Algidum*. Hereupon the People, in an uproar, took the Hill *Aventine*, and after much variance, enforced the ten men to reſign up their Authority again to new Conſuls.

After this, either new quarrels, or deſire to revenge old loſſes, drew the *Romans* into a new War againſt the *Veientes*, and their adherents, upon whom having tried their Forces, with diverſity of Captains, and variety of event, they vanquiſhed the *Faliſci*, and the *Fidenates*, and utterly ſubdued the *Veientes*. In conquering the *Faliſci*, *Furius Camillus* ſhewed no leſs integrity than fortitude. For when a School-Maſter, by training forth into the *Roman* Camp, many Children of the principal Citizens, thought to betray the Town, yielding them all up as Hoſtages: *Camillus* delivered this Traytor bound unto his Scholars, willing them to whip him back into the City; which forth-with yielded unto him in reverence of his Juſtice. The Siege of *Veii* was ten years, and ſo troubleſome, that the *Romans* were there firſt enforced to winter abroad under Beaſts skins (to which they were the more eaſily induced, becauſe then firſt they received Pay) and to make vows never to return without Victory.

At length, winning the City by a Mine, they got ſo large ſpoils, that they conſecrated their Tenths to *Apollo Pythius*; and the whole People in general, were called to the ranſacking of the City. But yet they were no leſs unthankful to *Camillus* for his ſervice, than before they had been to *Coriolanus*;

lanus; for they baniſhed him the City, upon ſome occaſion of inequality in dividing the ſpoils: yet he requited their unkindneſs with a new piece of ſervice, againſt the fury of the *Gauls*; who being a populous Country, and very healthful, the Fathers (as ſometimes now) lived ſo long, that the Sons, deſtitute of means, were enforced to rove abroad, ſeeking ſome place, where to ſet up their reſt: and withal being a Nation vaſt in Body, rude by Nature, and barbarous in Conditions, wandred as Rovers over many Countries. Some of them lighting on *Italy*, ſet upon *Cluſium*, a Town in *Hetruria*; whereof *Rome* having information (and being careful of her Confederate Towns) ſent Embaſſadors, warning them to deſiſt from ſuch injurious enterpriſes. But the barbarous People, not regarding the Meſſage, upon ſome injury offered by the *Roman* Embaſſadors, converted their Forces from *Cluſium* towards *Rome*; and giving a great overthrow to the *Romans*, by the River *Allia*, upon the ſixteenth day before the *Calends* of *Auguſt* (which day was after branded for unlucky, and called *Allienſis* in the *Roman Kalendar*) they haſtened towards the City. Then was *Rome* the true map of miſery and deſolation. For ſome leaving the City, ſome creeping into holes, Prieſts hiding their Reliques, and every one ſhifting for himſelf; ere the Enemy came, *Rome* was abandoned, as indefenſible. The Veſtal Virgins, in this Tumult, were ſafely conveyed away; the Ancients of the City, gathering boldneſs out of deſperate fear, did put on their Robes, and taking their leave of the World, did ſeat themſelves in Thrones, in their ſeveral Houſes, hourly expecting the Meſſengers of Death, and meaning to die, as they had lived, in State. The younger ſort, with *M. Manlius* their Captain, took upon them to make good the Capitol.

By this, the *Gauls* were entred the City, who ſeeing all quiet, at firſt ſuſpected ſome Ambuſh; afterward finding all ſecure, they fell to the ſpoil, committing all to the fire and ſword. As for the old Senators, that ſate in their Majeſty, with a grave reſolution: having firſt reverenced them as *Gods*, anon they tryed whether they would die like Men. When the City was throughly rifled, they attempted the Capitol; which held them work for the ſpace of ſeven Months. Once they were like to have ſurpriſed it by Night, but being deſcried by the gagling of *Geeſe*, *M. Manlius* did awaken, and kept them from entrance. At length a compoſition was agreed upon: the *Gauls* being weary, and the *Romans* hungry. The bargain was, that the *Gauls* ſhould take a thouſand pound weight in Gold, to deſiſt from their Siege. Whileſt the Gold was in weighing, the *Gauls*, with open inſolency, made their weights too heavy: *Brennus*, their Captain, caſting his Sword into the Balance, and, with a proud exprobration, ſaying, that the vanquiſhed muſt be patient perforce. But in the midſt of this cavilling, came *Furius Camillus* with an Army from *Ardea*, (where he had lived in his baniſhment) and fell upon the *Gauls* with ſuch violence, that he diſperſed their Troops, quenched the fire of the City with their Bloud, forcing them to reſtore the ſpoils with advantage, and forbear the Gold, in accepting which, they had lately been ſo nice. Further, having rid the City of them, he ſo hotly purſued them through a great part of *Italy*, that the remainder of their Army which eſcaped from him, was very ſmall. Other Armies of the *Gauls*, which followed this firſt, had the like ill ſucceſs. They were often beaten by the *Romans*; eſpecially the Victories of *M. Torquatus*, and of *M. Valerius Corvinus* (each of which in ſingle fight ſlew a Champion of the *Gauls*) abated their preſumption, and reſtored courage to the *Romans*. *Camillus*, for his notable ſervice, was afterwards accounted a ſecond *Romulus*.

The People, after this deſtruction of their City, were earneſtly bent to go to the *Veii* to inhabit; but *Camillus* diſſwaded them.

About the ſame time, ſomewhat before the Siege of *Veii*, they changed their Government from Conſuls to Military Tribunes. The government of theſe alſo, after ſome years, was by civil diſſenſion interrupted: ſo that one while Conſuls ruled; another while there was an Anarchy: Then the Tribunes were reſtored and ruled again, till after many years expired, the Conſular Authority was eſtabliſhed; it being enacted, that one of the Conſuls ſhould always be a *Plebeian*. This was after the building of the City, three hundred ſixty five years. And now *Rome*, by ſuppreſſion of her Neighbour Countries, creeping well forward out of her Minority, dares ſet forth againſt the warlike *Samnites*, who dwelt almoſt one hundred and thirty miles off, ſituated between *Campania* and *Apulia*. Theſe did ſo ſtrongly invade the *Campanians* their Neighbours, that they forced them to yield themſelves Subjects to *Rome*, and undergo any conditions of Tribute, or whatſoever elſe, to obtain protection: which the *Romans*, although both Countries had been their Confederates, yet not willing that the greater, like Fiſh, ſhould devour the leſs, eaſily allowed of; aiming themſelves at the good ſituation of *Campania*, the abundance of Corn and Wine, pleaſant Cities and Towns, but eſpecially *Capua* it ſelf, the faireſt City then in all *Italy*.

The Families of the *Papyrii* and *Fabii* were moſt employed in the managing of this War, which endured the ſpace of fifty years. And in this ſeaſon were the *Romans* often-times dangerouſly encountred by the *Samnites*; as when *T. Veturius*, and *Sp. Poſthumius* were Conſuls; and diſcomfited by *Pontius* at *Caudium*, with no ſmall ignominy; and when *Q. Fabius Gurges* loſt the Field with three thouſand men. But for theſe loſſes, many great Victories made large amends: The greateſt whereof were gotten by *L. Papyrius*, and by *Quintus Fabius Maximus*.

The *Samnites* drew the *Hetrurians* into their Quarrel. But the force of the *Samnites* was well broken, ere the *Hetrurians* (the greater and richer, but leſs warlike Nation) began to ſtir. So the one and the other of theſe two Countries, became at length, tributary to *Rome*.

In the continuance of this long War it was, (though in time of Truce between the *Romans* and the *Samnites*) that the *Latines* began to challenge equal freedom in the Corporation of *Rome*, and right in bearing Office, ſo that they required to have one of the Conſuls yearly choſen out of them.

This demand of the *Latines* was not unreaſonable. For the *Romans* themſelves were a *Latine* Colony; beſides all which, they made offer, to change their name, and to be all called *Romans*. But the *Romans* were too proud, to admit any ſuch Capitulation. So a great Battel was fought between them; wherein the fortune of *Rome* prevailed, by the vertue of the Conſuls.

Manlius Torquatus, and the elder *Decius*, were then Conſuls, whom the Sooth-ſayers advertiſed, that the ſide ſhould be victorious which loſt the General in Fight. Hereupon, *Decius* the Conſul, expoſed his life to the Enemy, and purchaſed Victory (as was believed) by his death. In which kind of devoting himſelf for his Army, the Son of this *Decius*, being after Conſul, did imitate his Father,

Father in the *Hetrurian* War. But (as *Tully* well notes) it was rather the desperate resolution of these *Decij*, that purchased Victory, by rushing into the midst of the Enemies, wherein their Souldiers followed them, than any great commendation of such a Religion as required the Lives of so worthy Citizens to be sacrificed for their Country. The Discipline of *Manlius* was no less resolute than the Valour of *Decius*. He forbad any one to forsake his Place, and fight single with an Enemy. For breach of which order, he caused his own Son to be put to death, who had slain a Captain of the *Latines*, being challenged in single Fight.

When the *Latines*, the *Æqui*, *Volsci*, *Hernici*, *Campani*, *Samnites*, and *Hetrurians*, with some other People, were brought under obedience; it was a vain labour for any People of *Italy* to contend against the *Romans*.

Yet the *Sabines* adventured to try their Fortune; and found it bad. For *Curius Dentatus*, the *Roman* Consul, wasting all their Country with Fire and Sword, from the River *Nar* and *Velia*, to the *Adriatique Sea*, brought them into quiet subjection.

The last of the *Italians* that made trial of the *Roman* Arms, were the *Tarentines*, and their adherents. These had interposed themselves as Mediators between the *Romans* and *Samnites*; with a peremptory denunciation of War unto that Party which should dare to refuse the Peace by them tendred. These Threats, which discovered their bad affection to *Rome*, ended in words; but when the *Samnites* were utterly subdued, matter enough of quarrel was found to examine their ability of performance.

The *Romans* complained that certain Ships of theirs were robbed; and sent Embassadors unto *Tarentum*, to require amends. Upon some wrong done to these Embassadors, was laid the foundation of that War, wherein the *Lucans*, *Messapians*, *Brutians*, and *Appulians*, joyning with the *Tarentines*, procured the *Samnites*, and other Subjects of *Rome* to rebel and take their part. But some experience of the *Roman* strength, taught all these People to know their own Weakness. Wherefore they agreed to send for *Pyrrhus*, by whose aid (being a *Græcian*, as the *Tarentines* also were) great hope was conceived, that the Dominion of *Rome* should be confined unto more narrow bounds than all *Italy*, which already, in a manner it did overspread.

§. II.

How Pyrrhus *warred upon the* Romans, *and vanquished them in two Battels.*

Pyrrhus, forsaken by the *Macedonians*, and unable to deal with *Lysimachus*, was compelled a while to live in rest: which he abhorred no less than a wiser Prince would have desired. He had a strong Army, and a good Fleet, which in that unsetled estate of things, was enough to purchase a Kingdom: but the fall of *Demetrius* had so encreased the Power of *Lysimachus*, that it was no point of wisdom to make an offensive War upon him, without far greater forces. *Antigonus*, the Son of *Demetrius*, held *Corinth* at the same time, and some other Towns, with the remainder of his Fathers Army and Treasures left in his hand. Upon him it is like that *Pyrrhus* might have won; but it was better to let him alone, that he might serve to give some hindrance to *Lysimachus*.

In this want of Imployment, and covetous desire of finding it, the *Tarentine* Embassadors came very fitly to *Pyrrhus*: and they came with brave Offers, as needing none other aid than his good Conduct, which to obtain, they would cast themselves under his Protection. They had in their company some of the *Samnites*, *Lucanians*, *Messapians*, and others; which promised, in behalf of their several Nations, as much as could be desired. This encouraged *Pyrrhus*, and filled him with hopes of goodly Conquests; that he might enlarge his Empire to the West, as far as *Alexander* had gotten Eastward; and still by one Victory open the Gate unto another. To which effect it is said, that once he answered *Cyneas* his chief Counsellor, asking what he meant to do after every of the Victories which he hoped to get: that, having won *Rome*, he would soon be Master of all *Italy*; that, after *Italy*, he would quickly get the Isle of *Sicil*; that out of *Sicil* he would pass over into *Africk*, and win *Carthage*, with all the rest of the Country; and being strengthened with the force of all these Provinces, he would be too hard for any of those that were now so proud and troublesome. But *Cyneas* enquired yet further what they should do, when they were Lords of all: Whereunto *Pyrrhus* (finding his drift) answered pleasantly, that they would live merrily; a thing (as *Cyneas* then told him) that they presently might do, without any trouble, if he could be contented with his own.

Nevertheless this *Italian* expedition seemed unto *Pyrrhus* a matter of such consequence, as was not to be omitted, in regard of any Scholastial Disputation. Wherefore he prepared his Army, of almost thirty thousand men, well sorted, and well trained Souldiers: part of which he sent over before him under *Cyneas*, with the rest he followed in person. At his coming he found the *Tarentines* very prompt of Tongue, but in matter of Execution, utterly careless to provide for the War. Wherefore he was fain to shut up their Theater, and other places of pleasure and resort; enforcing them to take Arms, and making such a strickt Muster, as was to them very unpleasing, though greatly behooving to their Estate.

Whilest he was occupied with these cares, *Lævinus* the *Roman* Consul drew near, and began to waste *Lucania*, a Province confederate with the *Tarentines* in this War.

The *Lucanians* were not ready to defend their own Country; the *Samnites* were careless of the harm, that fell not (as yet) upon themselves; the *Tarentines* were better prepared than they would have been, but their Valour was little: all of these had been accustomed to shrink, for fear of the *Roman* Fortitude: and therefore it fell out happily, that *Pyrrhus* relied more upon his own Forces, than the issue of their vaunting Promises. He was now driven, either to set forward with those that himself had brought into *Italy*, and the assistance of the *Tarentines*, wherein little was to be reposed; or else to weaken the reputation of his own sufficiency, which by all means he was careful to uphold. In good time a great part of his Forces that had been scattered by foul Weather at Sea, were safely come to him: with which he resolved to assay the Valour of the *Romans*, against whom he proudly marched.

Lævinus the Consul was not affrighted with the terrible Name of a great King; but came on confidently to meet him, and give him Battel ere all his Adherents should be ready to joyn with him.

This

This boldneſs of the *Roman*, and the ſlackneſs of the *Meſſapians*, *Lucanians*, *Samnites*, and others, whom the danger moſt concerned, cauſed *Pyrrhus* to offer a Treaty of Peace: requiring to have the Quarrel between the *Romans* and his *Italian* Friends, referred to his Arbitrement. Whether he did this to win time, that the *Samnites* and their Fellows might arrive at his Camp; or whether, conſidering better at near diſtance, the weight of the buſineſs which he had taken in hand, he were deſirous to quit it with his Honour; the ſhort anſwer that was returned to his Propoſition, gave him no means of either the one or the other: for the *Romans* ſent him this Word, that *they had neither choſen him their Judge, nor feared him their Enemy*.

Hereupon both Armies haſtened their March unto the River of *Siris*: *Lævinus* intending to fight, before the arrival of the *Samnites*; *Pyrrhus*, to hinder him from paſſing that River, until his own Army were full. Upon the firſt view of the *Roman* Camp, it was readily conceived by *Pyrrhus*, that he had not now to do with barbarous People, but with men well trained in a brave diſcipline of War: which cauſed him to ſet a ſtrong *Corps de garde* upon the Paſſage of the River, that he might not be compelled to fight, until he ſaw his beſt advantage. But he quickly found that this new Enemy was not only skilful in the Art of War, but couragious in execution. For the *Roman* Army entred the Foord in face of his *Corps de garde*; and their Horſe, at the ſame time began to paſs the River in ſundry places: which cauſed the *Greeks* to forſake the defence of their Bank, and ſpeedily retire unto their Camp.

This audacity forced *Pyrrhus* to Battel, wherewith he thought it beſt to preſent them ere their whole Army had recovered firm footing, and were in order. So directing his Captains how to marſhal his Battails, himſelf with the Horſe charged upon the *Romans*, who ſtoutly received him, as men well exerciſed in ſuſtaining furious impreſſions. In this Fight, neither did his Courage tranſport him beyond the duty of a careful General; nor his providence in directing others, hinder the manifeſtation of his perſonal Valour. It behooved him indeed to do his beſt, for he never met with better Oppoſers. Once, and ſhortly after the Fight began, his Horſe was ſlain under him: afterwards he changed Armour with a Friend; but that Friend paid his Life for the uſe of his Kings Armour, which was torn from his Back. This accident had almoſt loſt him the Battel: but he perceiving it, diſcovered his Face, and thereby reſtored courage to his men, and took from the *Romans* their vain joy. The Fight was obſtinate, and with the greater loſs (at leaſt of more eminent men) on *Pyrrhus* his ſide, as long as only Spear and Sword were uſed. But when the Elephants were brought into the Wings, whoſe unuſual form and terrible aſpect the Horſes of the *Romans* (unaccuſtomed to the like) were not able to ſuſtain; then was the Victory quickly gotten. For the *Roman* Battails perceiving their Horſe put to rout, and driven out of the Field; finding alſo themſelves both charged in Flank, and overborn by the force and huge bulk of theſe ſtrange Beaſts; gave way to neceſſity, and ſaved themſelves as well as they could by haſty flight: in which conſternation, they were ſo forgetful of their Diſcipline, that they tarried not to defend their Camp, but ran quite beyond it, leaving both it and the honour of the day entirely to *Pyrrhus*.

The Fame of this Victory was ſoon ſpread over *Italy*; and the Reputation was no leſs than the Fame. For it was a matter very rare to be heard, that a *Roman* Conſul, with a ſelect Army, ſhould loſe in plain Battel, not only the Field, but the Camp it ſelf, being ſo notably fortified as they always were. And this Honour was the more bravely won by *Pyrrhus*, for that he had with him none of his *Italian* Friends, ſave the unwarlike *Tarentines*. Neither could he well diſſemble his content that he took, in having the glory of this Action peculiarly his own, at ſuch time as he blamed the *Lucans* and *Samnites* for coming (as we ſay) a day after the fair. Nevertheleſs he wiſely conſidered the ſtrength of the *Romans*, which was ſuch as would better endure many ſuch Loſſes, than he could many ſuch Victories. Therefore he thought it good to compound with them, whileſt with his Honour he might; and to that purpoſe he ſent unto them *Cyneas* his Embaſſador; demanding only to have the *Tarentines* permitted to live at reſt, and himſelf accepted as their eſpecial Friend. This did *Cyneas*, with all his Cunning, and with liberal Gifts, labour to effect: but neither Man nor Woman could be found in *Rome*, that would take any Bribe of him; neither did their deſire of recovering their Captives, or their danger, by the riſing of many States in *Italy* againſt them, ſo incline them to Peace, as the vehement exhortation of *Appius Claudius*, an old and blind Senator, did ſtir them up to make good their Honour by War. So they returned anſwer, that whileſt *Pyrrhus* aboad in *Italy*, they would come to no agreement with him.

Such was the report that *Cyneas* made at his return, of the *Roman* puiſſance and Vertue, as kindled in *Pyrrhus* a great deſire of confederacy with that gallant City. Hereupon many kind Offices paſſed between them: but ſtill when he urged his motion of Peace, the anſwer was, *He muſt firſt depart out of* Italy, *and then treat of Peace*.

In the mean ſeaſon each part made proviſion for War; the *Romans* levying a more mighty Army than the former; and *Pyrrhus* being ſtrengthened with acceſs unto his Forces, of all the Eaſt parts of *Italy*. So they came to trial of a ſecond Battel, wherein (though after long and cruel fight) the boiſtrous violence of the Elephants gave to *Pyrrhus* a ſecond Victory. But this was not altogether ſo joyful as the former had been: rather it gave him cauſe to ſay, that ſuch another Victory would be his utter undoing. For he had loſt the Flower of his Army in this Battel, and though he drave the *Romans* into their Camp, yet he could not force them out of it, nor ſaw any likelihood of prevailing againſt them that were like to be relieved with daily ſupplies, whileſt he ſhould be driven to ſpend upon his old Stock. Neither could he expect that his Elephants ſhould always ſtand him in ſtead. A little knowledge of their manner in fight, would ſoon teach the *Romans*, that were apt Scholars in ſuch Learning, how to make them unſerviceable. Wherefore he deſired nothing more, than how to carry his Honour ſafe out of *Italy*: which to do (ſeeing the *Romans* would not help him, by offering or accepting any fair conditions of Peace or of Truce) he took a ſlight occaſion, preſented by Fortune, that followeth to be related.

§. III.

§. III.

The great Troubles in Macedon *and* Sicil. *How* Pyrrhus *being invited into* Sicil, *forsook* Italy; *won the most of the Isle, and lost it in short space.* Pyrrhus *returns into* Italy; *where he is beaten by the* Romans, *and so goes back to his own Kingdom.*

WHen *Ptolomy Ceraunus* had traiterously murdered his Benefactor and Patron *Seleucus*, he presently seized upon all the Dominions of *Lysimachus* in *Europe*, as if they had been the due reward unto him, that had slain the Conquerour. The Houses of *Cassander* and *Lysimachus* were then fallen to the ground: neither was there in *Macedon* any man of strength and reputation enough to advance himself against *Ceraunus*. The Friends of *Lysimachus* were rather pleased to have him their King, that had (as he professed) revenged their Lords Death, than any way offended with the odiousness of his Fact, by which they were freed from subjection, to one, against whom they had stood in opposition. Many there were, that upon remembrance of his Fathers great Vertue, gathered hope of finding the like in *Ceraunus*: perswading themselves that his Raign might prove good, though his entrance had been wicked. These affections of the *Macedonians* did serve to defeat *Antigonus* the Son of *Demetrius*, that made an attempt upon the Kingdom. As for *Antiochus*, the Son of *Seleucus*, he was far off, and might be questioned about some part of *Asia*, ere he should be able to bring an Army near unto *Europe*. Yet he made great shew of meaning to revenge his Fathers Death: but being stronger in Money than in Arms, he was content, after a while, to take fair words, and make peace with the Murtherer. While these three strove about the Kingdom, *Pyrrhus*, who thought his claim as good as any of theirs, made use of their dissention: threatning War, or promising his assistance to every one of them. By these means he strengthened himself, and greatly advantaged his *Italian* Voyage, which he had then in hand: requesting Money of *Antiochus*, Ships of *Antigonus*, and Souldiers of *Ptolomy*, who gave him his Daughter in Marriage, and lent him a strong Power of *Macedonian* Souldiers, and of Elephants (covenanting to have them restored at two years end) more for Fear than for Love: that so he might free himself from trouble, and quietly enjoy his Kingdom. Thus *Ptolomy* grew mighty on the suddain; and the Power that by wicked means he had gotten, by means as wicked he increased.

All *Macedon* and *Thrace* being his, the strong City of *Cassandria* was held by *Arsinoe* his Sister, the Widow of *Lysimachus*, who lay therein with her young Children. Her he circumvented by making Love to her, and (according to the Fashion of those times, wherein Princes regarded no degree of consanguinity) taking her to Wife, with promise to adopt her Children: a Promise that he meant not to perform; for it was not long ere he slew them and drave her into exile.

In the pride of this good success which his Villany found, vengeance came upon him from a far, by the fury of a Nation that he had never heard of. *Belgius* a Captain of the *Gauls*, having forced his passage through many Countries, unto the Confines of *Macedon*, sent a proud Message to *Ceraunus*, commanding him to buy Peace with Money, or otherwise, to look for all the miseries of War. These *Gauls* were the Race of those that issued out of their Country, to seek new Seats in that great Expedition, wherein *Brennus* took and burnt the City of *Rome*. They had divided themselves at their setting forth, into two Companies; of which the one fell upon *Italy*, the other passing through the Countries that lie on the Northern side of the *Adriatick Sea*, made long aboad in *Pannonia*, and the Regions adjoyning, where they forced all the neighbour Princes to redeem Peace with Tribute, as now they would have compelled *Ceraunus* to do, unto whose Borders they came, about an hundred and eight years after such time as their Fellows had taken *Rome*.

When their Embassadors came to *Ptolomy*, asking what he would give: His answer was, that he would be contented to give them Peace, but it must be with condition, that they should put into his hands their Princes as Hostages, and yield up their Arms, for otherwise, he would neither pardon their Boldness, nor give any credit to their Words. At this answer, when it was returned, the *Gauls* did laugh; saying, that they would soon confute with Deeds the Vanity of such proud Words. It may seem strange, that he, who had given away part of his Army unto *Pyrrhus* for very fear, should be so confident in undertaking more mighty Enemies. The King of the *Dardanians* offered to lend him twenty thousand men against the *Gauls*, but he scorned the offer; saying, that he had the Children of those, which under the conduct of *Alexander*, had subdued all the East. Thus he issued forth against the barbarous People, with his famous *Macedonians*, as if the Victory must needs have followed the reputation of a great Name. But he soon found his great Error, when it was too late. For the Enemies were not only equal in strength of Body, and fierceness of Courage, but so far superiour to the *Macedonians* in numbers, that few or none escaped their Fury. *Ptolomy* himself grievously wounded, fell into their hands whilest the Battel continued, and they presently strook off his Head, which they shewed to his men on the top of a Lance, to their utter astonishment.

The Report of this great Overthrow filled all *Macedon* with such desperation, that the People fled into walled Towns, and abandoned the whole Country as lost. Only *Sosthenes*, a valiant Captain, animating as many as he could, gathered a small Army, with which he many times got the upper hand, and hindred *Belgius* from using the Victory at his whole pleasure. In regard of this his Vertue, the Souldiers would have made him King, which Title he refused, and was content with the Name of a General. But (as mischiefs do seldom come alone) the good success of *Belgius*, drew into *Macedon Brennus*, another Captain of the *Gauls*, with an hundred and fifty thousand Foot, and fifteen thousand Horse; against which mighty Army, when *Sosthenes* with his weak Troops made opposition, he was easily beaten, and the *Macedonians* again compelled to hide themselves within their Walls, leaving all the Country to the spoil of the Barbarians.

Thus were the *Macedonians* destitute of a King, and trodden down by a Nation that they had not heard of in less than fifty years after the Death of *Alexander*, who sought to discover and subdue unknown Countries, as if all *Greece*, and the Empire of *Persia* had been too little for a King of *Macedon*.

Very seasonably had these News been carried to *Pyrrhus* in *Italy*, who sought a fair pretext of relinquishing his War with the *Romans*, had not other

other tidings out of *Sicil* distracted him, and carried him away in pursuit of nearer hopes. For after the death of *Agathocles*, who raigned over the whole Island, the *Carthaginians* sent an Army to conquer *Sicil*, out of which, by him, they had been expelled. This Army did so fast prevail, that the *Sicilians* had no other hope to avoid slavery, than in submitting themselves to the rule of *Pyrrhus*; whom, being a *Græcian*, and a noble Prince, they thought it more for their good to obey, than to live under the well known heavy yoke of *Carthage*. To him therefore, the *Syracusans*, *Leontines*, and *Agragentines*, principal Estates of the Isle, sent Ambassadors, earnestly desiring him to take them into his protection.

It grieved *Pyrrhus* exceedingly, that two such notable occasions, of enlarging his Dominions, should fall out so unluckily, both at one time. Yet whether he thought the business of *Sicil* more important, or more full of likelihood; or whether perhaps he believed (as came after to pass) that his advantage, upon *Macedon*, would not so hastily pass away, but that he might find some occasion to lay hold on it, at better leisure, over into *Sicil* he transported his Army, leaving the *Tarentines* to shift for themselves; yet not leaving them free as he found them, but with a Garrison in their Town, to hold them in subjection.

As his departure out of *Italy*, was rather grounded on head-long passion, than mature advice; so were his actions following, until his return unto *Epirus*, rather many and tumultuous, than well ordered, or note-worthy. The Army which he carried into that Isle, consisted of thirty thousand Foot, and two thousand five hundred Horse: with which, soon after his descent in *Sicil*, he forc'd the *Carthaginians*, out of all, in effect, that they held therein. He also won the strong City of *Eryx*; and having beaten the *Mamertines* in Battel, he began to change condition, and turn Tyrant. For he drave *Sostratus* (to whom his cruelty was suspect) out of the Island, and put *Thenon* of *Syracuse* to death, being jealous of his greatness; which two persons had faithfully served him, and delivered the great and rich City of *Syracuse* into his hands. After this, his Fortunes declined so fast, as he served himself, and salved the dis-reputation of his leaving *Sicil*, by an Embassage sent him from the *Tarentines*, and *Samnites*, imploring his present help against the *Romans*, who since his leaving *Italy*, had well near dispossest them of all that they had.

Taking this fair occasion, he imbarked for *Italy*; but was first beaten by the *Carthaginian* Gallies, in his passage, and secondly assailed in *Italy* it self, by eighteen hundred *Mamertines*, that attended him in the straits of the Country. Lastly, after he had recovered *Tarentum*, he fought a third Battel with the *Romans*, led by *M. Curius*, who was victorious over him, and forc'd him out of *Italy*, into his own *Epirus*.

A Prince he was far more valiant than constant, and had he been but a General of an Army, for some other great King or State, and had been directed to have conquered any one Country or Kingdom, it is to be thought, that he would have purchased no less honour, than any man of War, either preceding or succeeding him; for a greater Captain, or a valianter man, hath been no where found. But he never staid upon any Enterprize; which was, indeed, the disease he had, whereof not long after he died in *Argos*.

§. IV.

How Antigonus, *the Son of* Demetrius, *delivered* Macedon *from the* Gauls. *How* Pyrrhus *won the Kingdom of* Macedon *from* Antigonus.

THE vertue of *Sosthenes* being too weak, to defend the Kingdom of *Macedon*; and the fortune which had accompanied him against *Belgius*, failing him in his Attempts against *Brennus*: the *Macedonians* were no less glad to submit themselves unto the Government of *Antigonus*, than they had formerly been desirous, to free themselves, from the impotent Rule of his Father *Demetrius*. His coming into the Country, with an Army, Navy, and Treasure, beseeming a King, did rather breed good hope in the people, than fill them with much confidence: for he was driven to use against the *Barbarians*, only those Forces, which he brought with him, having none other than good wishes of the *Macedons*, to take his part. *Brennus*, with the main strength of his Army, was gone to spoyl the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, having left no more behind him, than he thought necessary to guard the Borders of *Macedon*, and *Pannonia*; which were about fifteen thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse. These could not be idle, but thought to get somewhat for themselves, in the absence of their Fellows: and therefore sent unto *Antigonus*, offering to sell him Peace, if he would pay well for it; which by the example of *Ceraunus*, he had learnt (as they thought) not to refuse. *Antigonus* was unwilling to weaken his Reputation, by condescending to their proud demands: yet he judged it unfit to exasperate their furious choler, by uncourteous words or usage, as *Ceraunus* had overfondly done. Wherefore he entertained their Ambassadors in very loving and sumptuous manner, with a royal Feast: wherein he exposed to their view, such abundance of massie Gold and Silver, that they were not so much delighted with the Meat, as with sight of the Vessels, wherein it was served. He thought hereby, to make them understand, how great a Prince he was, and how able, if need required, to wage a mighty Army.

To which end, he likewise did shew unto them, his Camp and Navy, but especially his Elephants. But all this bravery served only to kindle their greedy appetites; who seeing his Ships heavy loaden, his Camp full of Wealth, and ill fortified, himself (as it seemed) secure, and his men, both in strength and courage inferior unto the *Gauls*: thought all time lost, wherein they suffered the present possessors, to spend the Riches, which they accounted assuredly their own. They returned therefore to their Companions, with none other news in their mouths, than of Spoyl and Purchase: which Tale, carried the *Gauls* head-long, to *Antigonus* his Camp, where they expected a greater Booty, than the Victory over *Ceraunus* had given to *Belgius*. Their coming was terrible and sudden; yet not so sudden, but that *Antigonus* had notice of it: who distrusting the courage of his own men, dislodged somewhat before their arrival, and conveyed himself, with his whole Army and Carriage, into certain Woods adjoyning, where he lay close.

The *Gauls*, finding his Camp forsaken, were not hasty to pursue him, but fell to ransacking the empty Cabbins of the Souldiers; in hope of finding all that was either lost or hidden. At length, when they had searched every place in vain, angry at their lost labour, they marched with all speed toward the Sea-side; that they might fall upon him,

whilſt he was buſie in getting his Men and Carriages a Ship-board. But the ſucceſs was no way anſwerable to their expectation. For being proud of the terrour which they had brought upon *Antigonus*, they were ſo careleſs of the Sea-men, that without all order, they fell to the ſpoyl of what they found on the ſhore, and in ſuch Ships as lay on ground.

Part of the Army had left *Antigonus*, where he lay in covert, and had ſaved it ſelf by getting aboard the Fleet: in which number were ſome well experienced men of War, who diſcovering the much advantage offered unto them, by the deſperate preſumption of their Enemies, took courage, and encouraged others, to lay manly hold upon the opportunity. So the whole number, both of Souldiers and Mariners, landing together, with great reſolution, gave ſo brave a charge upon the diſordered *Gauls*, that their contemptuous boldneſs was thereby changed into ſudden fear, and they, after a great ſlaughter, driven to caſt themſelves into the ſervice of *Antigonus*.

The fame of this Victory, cauſed all the barbarous Nations in thoſe Quarters, to re-entertain their ancient belief of the *Macedonian* Valour: by which, the terrible and reſiſtleſs oppreſſors of ſo many Countreys, were overthrown.

To ſpeak more of the *Gaules*, in this place; and to ſhew how, about theſe Times, three Tribes of them paſſed over into *Aſia* the leſs, with their Wars and Conqueſts there; I hold it needleſs: the victorious Arms of the *Romans*, taming them hereafter, in the Countreys which now they wan, ſhall give better occaſion, to rehearſe theſe Matters briefly.

Howſoever the good ſucceſs of *Antigonus* got him Reputation, among the barbarous people, yet his own Souldiers, that without his leading, had won this Victory, could not thereupon be perſwaded, to think him a good man of War: knowing that he had no intereſt in the honour of the Service, wherein his conduct was no better, than creeping into a Wood.

This (as preſently will appear) was greatly helpful unto *Pyrrhus*: though as yet, he knew not ſo much. For *Pyrrhus*, when his Affairs in *Italy* ſtood upon hard terms, had ſent unto *Antigonus* for help: not without threats, in caſe it were denied. So was he ſure to get, either a ſupply, wherewith to continue his War againſt the *Romans*, or ſome ſeeming honourable pretence, to forſake *Italy*, under colour of making his word good, in ſeeking revenge. The threats which he had uſed in bravery, meer neceſſity forced him, at his return into *Epirus*, to put in practice.

He brought home with him, eight thouſand Foot, and five hundred Horſe: an Army too little to be imployed, by his reſtleſs nature, in any action of importance; yet greater than he had means to keep in Pay. Therefore he fell upon *Macedon*; intending to take what Spoyl he could get, and make *Antigonus* compound with him, to be freed from trouble. At his firſt entrance into this Buſineſs, two thouſand of *Antigonus* his Souldiers, revolted unto *Pyrrhus*; and many Cities, either willingly or perforce, received him. Such fair beginnings, eaſily perſwaded the courage of this daring Prince, to ſet upon *Antigonus* himſelf, and to hazard his fortune, in tryal of a Battel, for the whole Kingdom of *Macedon*.

It appears, that *Antigonus* had no deſire to fight, with this hot Warrior; but thought it the wiſeſt way, by protracting of time, to weary him out of the Countrey. For *Pyrrhus* overtook him in a ſtraight paſſage, and charged him in the Rear; wherein were the *Gauls*, and the Elephants, which were thought the beſt of his ſtrength: a manifeſt proof that he was in retreat. The *Gauls* very bravely ſuſtained *Pyrrhus* his impreſſion; yet were broken at length (when moſt of them were ſlain) after a ſharp Fight: wherein it ſeems, that *Antigonus* keeping his *Macedonian Phalanx* within the ſtreight, and not advancing to their ſuccour, took away their courage, by deceiving their expectation. The Captains of the Elephants were taken ſoon after; who, finding themſelves expoſed to the ſame violence, that had conſumed ſo many of the *Gauls*, yielded themſelves and the Beaſts. All this was done in full view of *Antigonus*, and his *Macedonians*, to their great diſcomfort: which emboldened *Pyrrhus*, to charge them where they lay in their ſtrength. Where the *Phalanx* could be charged only in a Front, it was a matter of extream difficulty (if not impoſſible) to force it. But the *Macedonians* had ſeen ſo much, that they had no deſire to fight againſt *Pyrrhus*; who diſcovered ſo well their affections, that he adventured to draw near in perſon, and exhort them to yield. Neither the common Souldier, nor any Leader, refuſed to become his follower. All forſook *Antigonus*, a few Horſe-men excepted, that fled along with him to *Theſſalonica*; where he had ſome ſmall Forces left, and Money enough to entertain a greater Power, had he known where to levy it. But whilſt he was thinking, how to allure a ſufficient number of the *Gauls* into his ſervice; whereby he might repair his loſs: *Ptolomy*, the Son of *Pyrrhus*, came upon him, and eaſily defeating his weak Forces, drave him to fly from the Parts about *Macedon*, to thoſe Towns afar off in *Peloponneſus*, in which he had formerly lurked, before ſuch time as he looked abroad into the World, and made himſelf a King.

This good ſucceſs revived the ſpirits of the *Epirot*, and cauſed him to forget all ſorrow, of his late misfortunes in the *Roman* War: ſo that he ſent for his Son *Helenus* (whom he had left with a Garriſon, in the Caſtle of *Tarentum*) willing him to come over into *Greece*, where was more matter of Conqueſt, and let the *Italians* ſhift for themſelves.

§. V.

How Pyrrhus *aſſailed* Sparta *without ſucceſs. His Enterprize upon* Argos, *and his Death.*

Pyrrhus had now conceived a great hope, that nothing ſhould be able to withſtand him; ſeeing, that in open Fight, he had vanquiſhed the *Gauls*, beaten *Antigonus*, and won the Kingdom of *Macedon*. There was not in all *Greece*, nor, indeed, in all the Lands that *Alexander* had won, any Leader of ſuch name and worth, as deſerved to be ſet up againſt him: which filled him with the opinion that he might do what he pleaſed. He raiſed therefore an Army, conſiſting of five and twenty thouſand Foot, two thouſand Horſe, and four and twenty Elephants; pretending War againſt *Antigonus*, and the giving liberty to thoſe Towns in *Peloponneſus*, which the ſame *Antigonus* held in ſubjection; though it was eaſily diſcovered, that ſuch great Preparations were made, for accompliſhment of ſome Deſign more important, than War againſt a Prince already vanquiſhed, and almoſt utterly dejected. Eſpecially the *Lacedæmonians* feared this Expedition, as made againſt their State. For *Cleonymus*, one of their Kings, being expelled out of his Countrey, had betaken himſelf to *Pyrrhus*: who readily

readily entertained him, and promiſed to reſtore him to his Kingdom. This promiſe was made in ſecret; neither would *Pyrrhus* make ſhew of any diſpleaſure, that he bare unto *Sparta*; but contrariwiſe profeſſed, that it was his intent, to have two of his own younger Sons trained up in that City, as in a place of noble diſcipline. With ſuch colours he deluded men, even till he entred upon *Laconia*; where preſently he demeaned himſelf as an open Enemy: excuſing himſelf, and his former diſſembling words, with a jeſt; *That he followed herein the* Lacedæmonian *cuſtom, of concealing what was truly purpoſed.* It had been, indeed, the manner of the *Lacedæmonians*, to deal in like ſort with others, whom, in the time of their greatneſs, they ſought to oppreſs: but now they complained of that, as falſhood, in *Pyrrhus*, which they always practiſed as wiſdom, till it made them diſtruſted, forſaken, and almoſt contemptible. Nevertheleſs, they were not wanting to themſelves, in this dangerous extremity. For the old Men and Women laboured in fortifying the Town; cauſing ſuch as could bear Arms, to reſerve themſelves freſh againſt the Aſſault: which *Pyrrhus* had unwiſely deferred, upon aſſurance of prevailing.

Sparta was never fortified, before this time, otherwiſe than with armed Citizens: ſoon after this (it being built upon uneven ground, and for the moſt part hard to approach) the lower and more acceſſible Places, were fenced with Walls; at the preſent, only Trenches were caſt, and *Barricadoes* made with Carts, where the entrance ſeemed moſt eaſie. Three days together it was aſſailed by *Pyrrhus*, exceeding fiercely; and no leſs ſtoutly defended. The deſperate courage of the Citizens preſerved the Town the firſt day; whereinto the violence of *Pyrrhus* had forced entrance the ſecond day, but that his wounded Horſe threw him to the ground, which made his Souldiers more mindful of ſaving the Perſon of their King, than of breaking into the City, though already they had torn aſunder the *Barricadoes*. Preſently after this, one of *Antigonus* his Captains got into *Sparta*, with a good ſtrength of men; and *Areus* the King returned out of *Crete* (where he had been helping his Friends in War) with two thouſand men, little knowing the danger, in which his own Countrey ſtood, until he was almoſt at home. Theſe Succours did not more animate the *Spartans*, than kindle in *Pyrrhus* a deſire to prevail againſt all Impediments. But the third days work ſhewed, how great his error had been, in forbearing to aſſault the Town at his firſt coming. For he was ſo manfully repelled, that he ſaw no likelihood of getting the Place, otherwiſe than by a long Siege: in which tedious courſe, he had no deſire to ſpend his time.

Antigonus had now raiſed an Army, though not ſtrong enough to meet the Enemy in plain Field, yet able to hinder all his Purpoſes. This made *Pyrrhus* doubtful what way to take; being diverſly affected, by the difficulty of his Enterprize in hand, and the ſhame of taking a repulſe in his firſt Attempt. Whilſt he was thus perplexed, Letters came from *Argos*, inviting him thither; with promiſe, to deliver that City into his hands.

Civil Diſſention raging then hotly in *Argos*, cauſed the Heads of ſeveral Factions, to call in *Pyrrhus* and *Antigonus*; but the coming of theſe two Princes, taught the Citizens wit, and made them deſirous, to rid their hands of ſuch powerful Aſſiſtants, as each of the two Kings pretended himſelf to be. *Antigonus* told the *Argives*, that he came to ſave them from the tyranny of *Pyrrhus*; and that he would be gone if they needed not his help. On the other ſide, *Pyrrhus* would needs perſwade them, that he had none other errand, than to make them ſafe from *Antigonus*; offering in like manner, to depart, if they ſo deſired.

The *Argives* took ſmall pleaſure, in hearing the Fox and Kite at ſtrife, which of them ſhould keep the Chickens from his Enemy: and therefore prayed them both, to divert their Powers ſome other way. Hereunto *Antigonus* readily condeſcended, and gave Hoſtages to aſſure his word: for he was the weaker, and ſtood in need of goodwill. But *Pyrrhus* thought it enough to promiſe: Hoſtages he would give none, to his inferiors; eſpecially, meaning deceit. This made them ſuſpect his purpoſe to be ſuch, as, indeed, it was. Yet he leſs regarded their opinions, than to hold them worthy of aſſurance, by giving ſuch a Bond, as he intended to break ere the next morning.

It was concluded, that a Gate of the City ſhould be opened by night unto *Pyrrhus*, by his Complices within *Argos:* which was accordingly performed. So his Army, without any tumult, entred the City: till the Elephants, with Towers on their backs, cloyed the way, being too high to paſs the Gate. The taking off, and ſetting on again, of thoſe Towers, with the trouble thereto belonging, did both give alarm to the City, and ſome leiſure to take order for defence, before ſo many were entred, as could fully maſter it. *Argos* was full of Ditches, which greatly hindred the *Gauls* (that had the *Vantgard*) being ignorant of the ways, in the dark night. The Citizens, on the other ſide, had much advantage, by their knowledge of every by-paſſage: and ſetting upon the Enemies on all ſides, did put them to great loſs, and more trouble.

Pyrrhus therefore, underſtanding by the confuſed noiſe, and unequal ſhoutings of his own men, that they were in diſtreſs, entred the City in perſon, to take order for their relief, and aſſurance of the Place. But the darkneſs, the throng, and many other impediments, kept him from doing any thing of moment, until break of day. Then began he to make his paſſage by force, and ſo far prevailed, that he got into the Market-place. It is ſaid, that ſeeing in that Place, the Image of a Wolf and a Bull, in ſuch poſture as if they had been combatant, he called to mind an Oracle, which threatned him with death, when he ſhould behold a Bull fighting with a Wolf: and that hereupon he made retreat.

Indeed, the coming of *Antigonus* to the reſcue, the diſorder and confuſion of his own men; with divers ill accidents, gave him reaſonable cauſe to have retired out of the City, though the Wolf and Bull had been away. The tumult was ſuch, that no directions could be heard; but as ſome gave back, ſo did others thruſt forward, and the *Argives* preſſing hard upon him, forced *Pyrrhus* to make good his retreat, with his own Sword. The tops of the Houſes were covered with Women, that ſtood looking on the Fight. Among theſe was one, that ſaw her own Son in dangerous caſe, fighting with *Pyrrhus*. Wherefore, ſhe took a Tile-ſtone, or Slate, and threw it ſo violently down on the Head of *Pyrrhus*, that he fell to ground aſtoniſhed with the Blow; and lying in that caſe, had his Head cut off.

Thus ended the reſtleſs Ambition of *Pyrrhus*, together with his Life: and thus returned the Kingdom of *Macedon* to *Antigonus*; who forthwith poſſeſſed the Army, the Body, and the Children of his Enemy. The Body of *Pyrrhus*, had honoura-

ble Funeral, and was given by *Antigonus* unto *Helenus* his Son; which young Prince he graciously sent home, into his Fathers Kingdom of *Epirus*. From this time forwards, the Race of *Antigonus*, held the Kingdom of *Macedon*; the Posterity of *Seleucus*, raigned over *Asia* and *Syria*; and the House of *Ptolomy* had quiet possession of *Ægypt*: until such time, as the City of *Rome*, swallowing all up, digested these, among other Countreys, into the body of her own Empire.

Finis Libri Quarti.

THE

THE

FIRST PART

OF THE

HISTORY

OF THE

WORLD.

Intreating of the Times from the ſettled Rule of ALEXANDER'S *Succeſſors in the Eaſt, untill the* ROMANS, *prevailing over all, made Conqueſt of* ASIA *and* MACEDON.

The FIFTH BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of the firſt Punick *War.*

§. I.

A diſcuſſion of that Problem of Livie; Whether the *Romans* could have reſiſted the great *Alexander? That neither the* Macedonian *nor the* Roman *Souldier, was of equal Valour to the* Engliſh.

THAT Queſtion handled by *Livie*; *Whether the great* Alexander *could have prevailed againſt the* Romans, *if after his Eaſtern Conqueſt, he had bent all his Forces againſt them*, hath been, and is, the ſubject of much diſpute; which (as it ſeems to me) the Arguments on both ſides do not ſo well explain, as doth the experience that *Pyrrhus* hath given, of the *Roman* Power, in his days. For if he, a Commander (in *Hannibal*'s judgment) inferiour to *Alexander*, though to none elſe, could with ſmall ſtrength of Men, and little ſtore of Money, or of other needful helps in War, vanquiſh them in two Battels, and endanger their Eſtate, when it was well ſettled, and held the beſt part of *Italy* under a confirmed Obedience: what would *Alexander* have done, that was abundantly provided of all which is needful to a Conquerour, wanting only matter of Employment, coming upon them before their Dominion was half ſo well ſettled. It is eaſie to ſay, that *Alexander* had no more than thirty thouſand Foot, and four thouſand Horſe (as indeed, at his firſt paſſage into *Aſia*, he

he carried over not many more) and that the reſt of his followers were no better than baſe effeminate *Aſiatiques*. But he that conſiders the Armies of *Perdiccas*, *Antipater*, *Craterus*, *Eumenes*, *Ptolomy*, *Antigonus*, and *Lyſimachus*, with the actions by them performed, every one of which (to omit others) commanded only ſome fragment of this dead Emperours power; ſhall eaſily find, that ſuch a reckoning is far ſhort of the truth.

It were needleſs to ſpeak of Treaſure, Horſes, Elephants, Engines of Battery, and the like: of all which, the *Macedonian* had abundance; the *Roman* having nought, ſave Men and Arms. As for Sea-forces; he that ſhall conſider after what ſort the *Romans*, in their firſt *Punick* War, were trained, in the rudiments of Navigation, ſitting upon the ſhoar, and beating the Sand with Poles, to practice the ſtroke of the Oar, as not daring to lanch their ill-built Veſſels into the Sea; will eaſily conceive, how far too weak they would have proved in ſuch Services.

Now for helpers in War; I do not ſee, why all *Greece* and *Macedon*, being abſolutely commanded by *Alexander*, might not well deſerve to be laid in Balance againſt thoſe parts of *Italy*, which the *Romans* held in ill-aſſured ſubjection. To omit therefore all benefit, that the Eaſtern World, more wealthy, indeed, than valiant, could have afforded unto the *Macedonian*: let us only conjecture, how the States of *Sicil* and *Carthage*, neareſt Neighbours to ſuch a Quarrel (had it happened) would have ſtood affected. The *Sicilians* were, for the moſt part, *Græcians*; neither is it to be doubted, that they would readily have ſubmitted themſelves unto him, that ruled all *Greece* beſides them. In what terms they commonly ſtood, and how ill they were able to defend themſelves, it ſhall appear anon. Sure it is, that *Alexander*'s coming into thoſe parts, would have brought exceſſive joy to them that were fain to get the help of *Pyrrhus*, by offering to become his Subjects. As for the *Carthaginians*, if *Agathocles*, the Tyrant of *Syracuſe*, hated of his People, and ill able to defend his own beſieged City, could, by adventuring to ſail into *Africk*, put their Dominion, yea, and *Carthage* it ſelf, in extream hazard; ſhall we think that they would have been able to withſtand *Alexander*? But, why do I queſtion their ability, ſeeing that they ſent Embaſſadors, with their ſubmiſſion, as far as *Babylon*, ere the War drew near them? Wherefore it is manifeſt, that the *Romans* muſt, without other ſuccour, than perhaps of ſome few *Italian* Friends (of which yet there were none that forſook them not, at ſome time, both before and after this) have oppoſed their Valour, and good Military Diſcipline, againſt the power of all Countries, to them known, if they would have made reſiſtance. How they could have ſped well, in undertaking ſuch a match, it is uneaſie to find in diſcourſe of humane reaſon. It is true, that vertue and fortune work wonders; but it is againſt cowardly Fools, and the unfortunate: for whoſoever contends with one too mighty for him, either muſt excell in theſe, as much as his Enemy goes beyond him in power; or elſe muſt look, both to be overcome, and to be caſt down ſo much the lower, by how much the opinion of his Fortune and Vertue renders him ſuſpected, as likely to make head another time againſt the Vanquiſher. Whether the *Roman*, or the *Macedonian*, were in thoſe days the better Souldier, I will not take upon me to determine: though I might, without partiality, deliver mine own Opinion, and prefer that Army, which followed not only *Philip* and *Alexander*, but alſo *Alexander*'s Princes after him, in the greateſt dangers of all ſorts of War; before any, that *Rome* either had, or in long time after did ſend forth. Concerning Fortune, who can give a rule that ſhall always hold? *Alexander* was victorious in every Battel that he fought; and the *Romans* in the iſſue of every War. But foraſmuch as *Livie* hath judged this a matter worthy of conſideration; I think it a great part of *Romes* good fortune, that *Alexander* came not into *Italy*: where in three years after his death, the two *Roman* Conſuls, together with all the power of that State, were ſurpriſed by the *Samnites*, and enforced to yield up their Arms. We may therefore permit *Livie* to admire his own *Romans*, and to compare with *Alexander* thoſe Captains of theirs, which were honoured ſufficiently, in being thought equal to his followers: that the ſame conceit ſhould blind our judgment, we cannot permit without much vanity.

Now in deciding ſuch a controverſie, methinks it were not amiſs, for an *Engliſh-man*, to give ſuch a ſentence between the *Macedonians* and *Romans*, as the *Romans* once did (being choſen Arbitrators) between the *Ardeates* and *Aricini*, that ſtrove about a piece of Land; ſaying, that it belonged unto neither of them, but unto the *Romans* themſelves. *Liv. Dec. 1. l. 3.*

If therefore it be demanded, whether the *Macedonian*, or the *Roman*, were the beſt Warriour? I will anſwer, The *Engliſh-men*. For it will ſoon appear, to any that ſhall examine the noble acts of our Nation in War, that they were performed by no advantage of Weapon; againſt no ſavage or unmanly People; the Enemy being far ſuperiour unto us in numbers, and all needful Proviſions, yea, as well trained as we, or commonly better, in the exerciſe of War.

In what ſort *Philip* wan his Dominion in *Greece*, what manner of men the *Perſians* and *Indians* were, whom *Alexander* vanquiſhed; as likewiſe of what force the *Macedonian Phalanx* was, and how well appointed, againſt ſuch Arms as it commonly encountred; any man, that hath taken pains to read the fore-going ſtory of them, doth ſufficiently underſtand. Yet was this *Phalanx* never, or very ſeldom, able to ſtand againſt the *Roman* Armies; which were embattelled in ſo excellent a form, as I know not, whether any Nation beſides them have uſed, either before or ſince. The *Romans* Weapons likewiſe, both offenſive and defenſive, were of greater uſe, than thoſe with which any other Nation hath ſerved, before the fiery inſtruments of Gun-powder were known. As for the Enemies, with which *Rome* had to do, we find, that they, which did over-match her in numbers, were as far over-matched by her, in weapons; and that they, of whom ſhe had little advantage in Arms, had as little advantage of her in multitude. This alſo (as *Plutarch* well obſerveth) was a part of her happineſs; that ſhe was never over-lay'd with too great Wars at once.

Hereby it came to paſs, that having at firſt increaſed her ſtrength, by acceſſion of the *Sabines*; having won the State of *Alba*, againſt which ſhe adventured her own ſelf, as it were in wager, upon the Heads of three Champions: and having thereby made her ſelf Princeſs of *Latium*; ſhe did afterwards, by long War, in many Ages, extend her Dominion over all *Italy*. The *Carthaginians* had well-near oppreſſed her, but their Souldiers were Mercenary; ſo that for want of proper ſtrength, they were eaſily beaten at their own doors. The *Ætolians*, and with them all, or the moſt of *Greece*, aſſiſted her againſt *Philip* the *Macedonian*: he being beaten, did lend her his help to beat

beat the same *Ætolians*. The Wars against *Antiochus*, and other *Asiatiques*, were such as gave to *Rome* small cause of boast, though much of joy: for those opposites were as base of courage, as the Lands which they held were abundant of riches. *Sicil*, *Spain*, and all *Greece*, fell into her hands by using her aid, to protect them against the *Carthaginians* and *Macedonians*.

I shall not need to speak of her other Conquests; it was easie to get more when she had gotten all this. It is not my purpose to disgrace the *Roman* Valour (which was very noble) or to blemish the reputation of so many famous Victories; I am not so idle. This I say, that among all their Wars, I find not any, wherein their Valour hath appeared, comparable to the *English*. If my judgment seem over-partial, our Wars in *France* may help to make it good.

First therefore it is well known, that *Rome* (or perhaps all the World besides) had never any so brave a Commander in War, as *Julius Cæsar*: and that no *Roman* Army was comparable unto that which served under the same *Cæsar*. Likewise, it is apparent, that this gallant Army, which had given fair proof of the *Roman* courage, in good performance of the *Helvetian* War, when it first entred into *Gaul*, was nevertheless utterly disheartened, when *Cæsar* led it against the *Germans*. So that we may justly impute all that was extraordinary in the valour of *Cæsar*'s men, to their long exercise under so good a Leader, in so great a War. Now let us in general, compare with the deeds done by these best of *Roman* Souldiers, in their principal Service; the things performed in the same Country, by our common *English* Souldier, levied in haste, from following the Cart, or sitting on the Shop-stall; so shall we see the difference. Herein will we deal fairly, and believe *Cæsar*, in relating the Acts of the *Romans*: but will call the *French* Historians to witness, what actions were performed by the *English*. In *Cæsar*'s time, *France* was inhabited by the *Gauls*, a stout People, but inferiour to the *French*, by whom they were subdued, even when the *Romans* gave them assistance. The Country of *Gaul* was rent in sunder (as *Cæsar* witnesseth) into many Lordships: some of which were governed by petty Kings, others by the multitude; none ordered in such sort as might make it appliable to the nearest Neighbour. The Factions were many, and violent; not only in general through the whole Country, but between the petty States; yea, in every City, and almost in every House. What greater advantage could a Conquerour desire? Yet there was a greater; *Ariovistus*, with his *Germans*, had over-run the Country, and held much part of it in a subjection, little different from meer slavery: yea, so often had the *Germans* prevailed in War upon the *Gauls*, that the *Gauls* (who had sometimes been the better Souldiers) did hold themselves no way equal to those daily invaders. Had *France* been so prepared unto our *English* Kings, *Rome* it self, by this time, and long ere this time, would have been ours. But when King *Edward* the Third began his War upon *France*, he found the whole Country settled in obedience to one mighty King; a King whose Reputation abroad, was no less than his Puissance at home; under whose Ensign the King of *Bohemia* did serve in Person; at whose call, the *Genoways*, and other Neighbour States, were ready to take Arms: Finally, a King unto whom one [a] Prince gave away his Dominion for love; [b] another sold away a goodly City and Territory for Money. The Country lying so open to the *Roman*, and being so well fenced against the *English*; it is

[a] The Dolphin of Vienois.
[b] The King of Majorca.

note-worthy, not who prevailed most therein (for it were meer vanity, to match the *English* purchases with the *Roman* Conquest) but whether of the two gave the greater proof of military vertue therein. *Cæsar* himself doth witness, that the *Gauls* complained of their own ignorance in the Art of War, and that their own hardiness was over-mastered by the skill of their Enemies. Poor men, they admired the *Roman* Towers, and Engines of battery, raised and planted against their Walls, as more than humane works. What greater wonder is it, that such a People was beaten by the *Roman*; than that the *Caribes*, a naked People, but valiant as any under the Skie, are commonly put to the worse, by small numbers of *Spaniards*? Besides all this, we are to have regard, of the great difficulty that was found, in drawing all the *Gauls*, or any great part of them, to one head, that with joynt Forces they might oppose their assailants: as also the much more difficulty of holding them long together. For hereby it came to pass, that they were never able to make use of Opportunity; but sometimes compelled to stay for their fellows, and sometimes driven to give or take Battel, upon extream disadvantages, for fear, lest their Companies should fall asunder: as indeed, upon any little disaster, they were ready to break, and return every one to the defence of his own. All this, and (which was little less than all this) great odds in Weapon, gave to the *Romans* the honour of many gallant Victories. What such help? or what other worldly help, than the golden metal of their Souldiers, had our *English* Kings against the *French*? Were not the *French* as well experienced in feats of War? Yea, did they not think themselves therein our superiours? Were they not in Arms, in Horse, and in all Provision, exceedingly beyond us? Let us hear what a *French* Writer saith, of the inequality that was between the *French* and *English*, when their King *John* was ready to give the on-set upon the *Black Prince*, at the Battel of *Poitiers*. John *had all advantages over* Edward, *both of number, force, shew, Country, and conceit (the which is commonly a consideration of no small importance in worldly affairs) and withall, the choice of all his Horse-men (esteemed then the best in* Europe*) with the greatest and wisest Captains of his whole Realm.* And what could he wish more?

John de Serres.

Jean *avoit tout l'avantage par dessus* Edouard, *le numbre, la force, le lustre, le pays, le prejuge (qui n'est pas communement une consideration de peu d'importance aux affaires du monde) & avec soi l'elite de sa Cavallerie, lors estimee la meilleure de tout son Royaume.*

I think, it would trouble a *Roman* Antiquary, to find the like example in their Histories; the example, I say, of a King, brought Prisoner to *Rome*, by an Army of eight thousand, which he had surrounded with forty thousand, better appointed, and no less expert Warriours. This I am sure of, that neither *Syphax* the *Numidian*, followed by a rabble of half Scullions, as *Livie* rightly terms them; nor those cowardly Kings *Perseus* and *Gentius*, are worthy patterns. All that have read of *Cressy* and *Agincourt*, will bear me witness, that I do not alledge the Battel of *Poitiers*, for lack of other, as good examples of the *English* vertue; the proof whereof hath left many a hundred better marks, in all quarters of *France*, than ever did the Valour of the *Romans*. If any man impute these Victories of ours to the long Bow, as carrying farther, piercing more strongly, and quicker of discharge than the *French* Cross-bow: my answer is ready; that in all these respects, it is also (being drawn with a strong Arm) superiour to the Musket; yet is the Musket a Weapon of more use. The Gun, and the Cross-bow are of like force, when discharged by a Boy or Woman, as when by a strong Man: weakness, or sickness, or a sore finger, makes the long Bow unserviceable. More particularly, I say, that it was the custom of our

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Anceſtors, to ſhoot, for the moſt part, *point blanck*: and ſo ſhall he perceive that will note the circumſtances of almoſt any one Battel. This takes away all objection, for when two Armies are within the diſtance of a Butts length, one Flight of Arrows, or two at the moſt, can be delivered before they cloſe. Neither is it in general true, that the long Bow reacheth farther, or that it pierceth more ſtrongly than the Croſs-Bow; but this is the rare effect of an extraordinary Arm; whereupon can be grounded no common Rule. If any man ſhall ask, How then came it to paſs that the *Engliſh* wan ſo many great Battels, having no advantage to help him? I may, with beſt commendation of Modeſty, refer him to the *French* Hiſtorian: who relating the Victory of our Men at *Crevant*, where they paſſed a Bridge in face of the Enemy, uſeth theſe words; *The* Engliſh *comes with a conquering Bravery, as he that was accuſtomed to gain every where, without any ſtay: he forceth our Guard placed upon the Bridge to keep the Paſſage.* Or I may cite another place of the ſame Author, where he tells how the *Britons* being invaded by *Charles* the Eighth, King of *France*, thought it good policy to apparel a thouſand and two hundred of their own Men in *Engliſh* Caſſacks; hoping that the very ſight of the *Engliſh* red Croſs, would be enough to terrifie the *French*. But I will not ſtand to borrow of the *French* Hiſtorians (all which, excepting *De Serres*, and *Paulus Æmylius*, report Wonders of our Nation) the Propoſition which firſt I undertook to maintain; *That the Military Vertue of the* Engliſh, *prevailing againſt all manner of difficulties, ought to be preferred before that of the* Romans, *which was aſſiſted with all advantages that could be deſired.* If it be demanded; Why then did not our Kings finiſh the Conqueſt, as *Cæſar* had done? my anſwer may be (I hope without offence) that our Kings were like to the Race of the *Æacidæ*, of whom the old Poet *Ennius* gave this Note; *Belli potentes ſunt magè quam ſapienti potentes*; *They were more warlike than politick.* Who ſo notes their proceedings, may find, that none of them went to work like a Conqueror: ſave only King *Henry* the Fifth, the courſe of whoſe Victories, it pleaſed God to interrupt by his Death. But this Queſtion is the more eaſily anſwered, if another be firſt made. Why did not the *Romans* attempt the Conqueſt of *Gaul*, before the time of *Cæſar*? Why not after the *Macedonian* War? Why not after the third *Punick*, or after the *Numantian*? At all theſe times they had good leiſure: and then eſpecially had they both leiſure, and fit opportunity, when under the Conduct of *Marius*, they had newly vanquiſhed the *Cimbri*, and *Tutones*, by whom the Country of *Gaul* had been piteouſly waſted. Surely, the words of *Tully* were true; that with other Nations, the *Romans* fought for Dominion; with the *Gauls* for preſervation of their own ſafety.

John de Cewes.

Therefore they attempted not the Conqueſt of *Gaul*, until they were Lords of all other Countries to them known. We on the other ſide, held only the one half of our own Iſland; the other half being inhabited by a Nation (unleſs perhaps in wealth and numbers of men ſomewhat inferiour) every way equal to our ſelves; a Nation, anciently and ſtrongly allied to our Enemies the *French*, and in that regard, Enemies to us. So that our danger lay both before and behind us: and the greater danger at our backs; where commonly we felt, always we feared, a ſtronger invaſion by Land, than we could make upon *France*, tranſporting our Forces over Sea.

It is uſual with men that have pleaſed themſelves, in admiring the matters which they find in ancient Hiſtories; to hold it a great injury done to their Judgment, if any take upon him, by way of compariſon, to extol the things of later Ages. But I am well perſwaded, that as the divided Vertue of this our Iſland, hath given more noble proof of it ſelf; than under ſo worthy a Leader, that *Roman* Army could do, which afterwards could win *Rome*, and all her Empire, making *Cæſar* a *Monarch*; ſo hereafter, by Gods bleſſing, who hath converted our greateſt hindrance into our greateſt help, the Enemy that ſhall dare to try our Forces, will find cauſe to wiſh, that avoiding us, he had rather encountred as great a puiſſance, as was that of the *Roman* Empire. But it is now high time, that laying aſide compariſons, we return to the rehearſal of deeds done: wherein we ſhall find how *Rome* began, after *Pyrrhus* had left *Italy*, to ſtrive with *Carthage* for Dominion, in the firſt *Punick* War.

§. II.

The Eſtate of Carthage, *before it entred into War with* Rome.

THe City of *Carthage* had ſtood above ſix hundred years, when firſt it began to contend with *Rome* for the Maſtery of *Sicil*. It forewent *Rome* one hundred and fifty years in antiquity of Foundation; but in the Honour of great Atchievments, it excelled far beyond this advantage of time. For *Carthage* had extended her Dominion in *Africa* it ſelf, from the weſt part of *Cyrene*, to the Streights of *Hercules*, about one thouſand and five hundred miles in length, wherein ſtood three hundred Cities. It had ubjected all *Spain*, even to the *Pyrenæan* Mountains, together with all the *Iſlands* in the *Mediterranian Sea*, to the weſt of *Scicil*, and of *Scicil* the better part. It flouriſhed about ſeven hundred and thirty years, before the deſtruction thereof by *Scipio*: who beſides other Spoils, and all that the Souldiers reſerved, carried thence four hundred and ſeventy thouſand weight of Silver, which make of our Money (if our Pounds differ not) fourteen hundred and ten thouſand pound Sterling. So as this glorious City ran the ſame Fortune, which many other great ones have done, both before and ſince. The Ruine of the goodlieſt pieces of the World, fore-ſhews the diſſolution of the whole.

About one hundred years after ſuch time as it was caſt down, the Senate of *Rome* cauſed it to be rebuilt, and by *Gracchus* it was called *Junonia*: it was again and again abandoned and re-peopled, taken and re-taken; by *Genſericus* the *Vandal*, by *Belliſarius* under *Juſtinian*, by the *Perſians*, by the *Ægyptians*, and by the *Mahometans*. It is now nothing. The Seat thereof was exceeding ſtrong: and, while the *Carthaginians* commanded the Sea, invincible. For the Sea compaſſed it about, ſaving that it was tyed to the Main by a neck of Land, which paſſage had two mile and more of breadth (*Appian* ſaith three mile, and one furlong) by which we may be induced to believe the common report, that the City it ſelf was above twenty mile in compaſs; if not that of *Strabo*, affirming the Circuit to have been twice as great.

It had three Walls without the Wall of the City, and between each of thoſe, three or four Streets with Vaults under ground of thirty foot deep, in which they had place for three hundred Elephants and all their Food. Over theſe they had Stables for four thouſand Horſe, and Granaries

rles for all their Provender. They had also Lodging in these Streets between these out-walls for four thousand Horse-men, and twenty thousand Foot-men, which (according to the Discipline used now by those of *China*) never pestered the City. It had towards the South part, the Castle of *Byrsa*; to which *Sirvius* gives two and twenty furlongs in compass, that make two mile and a half. This was the same piece of ground which *Dido* obtained of the *Lybians*, when she got leave to buy only so much Land of them, as she could compass with an Ox Hide. On the West side it had also the Salt Sea, but in the nature of a standing Pool; for a certain Arm of Land fastned to the ground on which the City stood, stretched it self toward the west Continent, and left but seventy foot open for the Sea to enter. Over this standing Sea was built a most sumptuous *Arsenal*, having their Ships and Gallies riding under it.

The Form of their common-wealth resembled that of *Sparta*; for they had titulary Kings, and the *Aristocratical* Power of Senators. But (as *Regius* well observeth) the People in latter times usurped too great authority in their Councels. This confusion in Government, together with the trust that they reposed in hired Souldiers, were helping causes of their destruction in the end. Two other more forceable causes of their Ruine, were their Avarice and their Cruelty. Their Avarice was shewed both in exacting from their Vassals (besides ordinary Tributes) the one [b] half of the Fruits of the Earth; and in conferring of great Offices, not upon gentle and merciful persons, but upon those who could best tyrannize over the People, to augment their Treasures. Their cruelty appeared in putting them to death without mercy, that had offended through ignorance. The one of these rendred them odious to their Vassals, whom it made ready, upon all occasions, to revolt from them: the other did break the Spirits of their Generals, by presenting, in the heat of their actions abroad, the fear of a cruel Death at home. Hereby it came to pass, that many good Commanders of the *Carthaginian* Forces, after some great loss received, have desperately cast themselves, with all that remained under their Charge, into the throat of destruction; holding it necessary, either to repair their losses quickly, or to ruine all together: and few of them have dared to manage their own best Projects after that good form, wherein they first conceived them, for fear, lest the manner of their proceeding should be misinterpreted: It being the *Carthaginian* rule, to crucifie, not only the unhappy Captain, but even him whose bad Counsel had prosperous event. The Faults, wherewith in general, they of *Carthage* are taxed, by *Roman* Historians I find to be these; Lust, Cruelty, Avarice, Craft, Unfaithfulness, and Perjury.

[a] *In Pol. Arist. l. 2. c. 9.*

[b] The *Turks* at this day, do also take the one half of the poor mans Corn, that labours the Earth; yea, they take Tribute both of the Bodies and of the Souls of the *Christians* their Vassals, by bereaving them of their ablest Children, and bringing them up in the *Mahometan* Religion. The *Irish* take the fourth Sheaf; and were wont to eat up with their Horse-men, Foot-men, and Dogs, what they pleased of the other three parts remaining. The Husbandman and the Yeoman of *England* are the freest of all the World: And reason good; for of them have the Bodies of our victorious Armies been compounded. And it is the Freeman, and not the Slave that hath Courage, and the sense of shame deserved by Cowardise.

How free the *English* Yeomen have been, in times not long since past, *Fortescue* hath shewed in his Praise of our Country Laws. But I may say, that they are more free now than ever, and our Nobility and Gentry more servile. For since the excessive Bravery, and vain Expence of our *Grandees*, hath taught them to raise their Rents, since by Inclosures, and dismembring of Mannors, the Court Baron, and the Court Leet, the Principalities of the Gentry of *England* have been dissolved, the Tenants having paid unto their Lords their Rack-Rent, owe them now no service at all, and (perchance) as little Love.

Whether the *Romans* themselves were free from the same Crimes, let the tryal be referred unto their actions. The first League between *Carthage* and *Rome* was very ancient: having been made the year following the Expulsion of *Tarquin*. In that League, the *Carthaginians* had the superiority, as imposing upon the *Romans* the more strict conditions. For it was agreed, that the *Romans* should not so much as have Trade in some part of *Africk*, nor suffer any Ship of theirs to pass beyond the Head-land, or Cape, then called the *fair Promontory*, unless it were by force of Tempest: whereas on the other side, no Haven in *Italy* was forbidden to the *Carthaginians*. A second League was made long after, which (howsoever it hath pleased * *Livie* to say, that the *Romans* granted it at the *Carthaginians* intreaty) was more strict than the former: prohibiting the *Romans* to have Trade in any part of *Africa*, or in the Island of *Sardinia*.

* *Liv. Dec. 1. l. 7.*

By these two Treaties it may appear, that the *Carthaginians* had an intent, not only to keep the *Romans* (as perhaps they did other People) from getting any knowledge of the State of *Africk*; but to countenance and uphold them in their troubling all *Italy*, whereby they themselves might have the better means to occupy all *Sicil*, whilst that Island should be destitute of *Italian* Succours. Hereupon we find good cause of the Joy that was in *Carthage*, and the Crown of Gold weighing twenty and five pound, sent from thence to *Rome*, when the *Samnites* were overthrown. But the little state of *Rome* prevailed faster in *Italy*, than the great Power of *Carthage* did in *Sicil*. For that mighty Army of three hundred thousand men, which *Hannibal* conducted out of *Africk* into *Sicil*, was consumed by Pestilence; many great Fleets were devoured by Tempests; and howsoever the *Carthaginians* prevailed at one time, the *Sicilians*, either by their own Valour, or by assistance of their good Friends out of *Greece*, did at some other time repair their own losses, and take revenge upon these Invadors. But never were the People of *Carthage* in better hope of getting all *Sicil*, than when the Death of *Agathocles* the Tyrant had left the whole Island in combustion; the Estate of *Greece* being such at the same time, that it seemed impossible for any succour to be sent from thence. But whilest the *Carthaginians* were busie in making their advantage of this good opportunity; *Pyrrhus*, invited by the *Tarentines* and their Fellows, came into *Italy*, where he made sharp War upon the *Romans*. These News were unpleasing to the *Carthaginians*, who, being a subtil Nation, easily foresaw, that the same busie disposition, which had brought this Prince out of *Greece* into *Italy*, would as easily transport him over into *Sicil*, as soon as he could finish his *Roman* War. To prevent this danger, they sent *Mago* Embassador to *Rome*, who declared in their Name, that they were sorry to hear what misadventure had befallen the *Romans*, their good Friends in this War, with *Pyrrhus*; and that the People of *Carthage* were very willing to assist the State of *Rome*, by sending an Army into *Italy*; if their help were thought needful against the *Epirots*.

It was indeed, the main desire of the *Carthaginians*, to hold *Pyrrhus* so hardly to his Work in *Italy*, that they might, at good leisure, pursue their business in *Sicil*, which caused them to make such a goodly offer. But the *Romans* were too high minded, and refused to accept any such aid of their Friends, lest it should blemish their Reputation, and make them seem unable to stand by

their own ſtrength. Yet the Meſſage was taken lovingly, as it ought, and the former League between *Rome* and *Carthage* renewed, with Covenants added, concerning the preſent buſineſs; That if either of the two Cities made Peace with *Pyrrhus*, it ſhould be, with reſervation of Liberty to aſſiſt the other, in caſe that *Pyrrhus* ſhould invade either of their Dominions. All this notwithſtanding, and notwithſtanding that the ſame *Mago* went and treated with *Pyrrhus*, uſing all means to ſound his intentions (a matter very difficult where one upon every new occaſion changeth his own purpoſes) yet *Pyrrhus* found leiſure to make a ſtep into *Sicil*, where, though in fine, he was neither getter nor ſaver, yet he clean defeated the purpoſes of *Carthage*, leaving them at his departure thence, as far from any end, as when they firſt began.

So many diſaſters in an enterpriſe, that from the firſt undertaking, had been ſo ſtrongly purſued through the length of many Generations might well have induced the *Carthaginians* to believe, that an higher providence reſiſted their intendment. But their deſire of winning that fruitful Iſland, was ſo inveterate, that with unwearied patience, they ſtill continued in hope of ſo much the greater Harveſt, by how much their coſt and pains therein buried had been the more. Wherefore they re-continued their former courſes; and by force or practiſe, recovered in few years all their old Poſſeſſions: making Peace with *Syracuſe*, the chief City of the Iſland, that ſo they might the better enable themſelves to deal with the reſt.

Somewhat before this time, a Troop of *Campanian* Souldiers, that had ſerved under *Agathocles*, being entertained within *Meſſena* as Friends, and finding themſelves too ſtrong for the Citizens, took advantage of the Power that they had to do wrong, and with perfidious cruelty, ſlew thoſe that truſted them, which done, they occupied the City, Lands, Goods, and Wives of thoſe whom they had murdered. Theſe Mercenaries called themſelves *Mamertines*. Good Souldiers they were, and like enough it is, that meer deſperation of finding any that would approve their barbarous Treachery, added Rage unto their Stoutneſs. Having therefore none other colour of their proceedings, than *the Law of the Stronger*, they over-ran the Countrey round about them.

In this courſe, at firſt they ſped ſo well, that they did not only defend *Meſſena* againſt the Cities of *Sicil* Confederate; to wit, againſt the *Syracuſians*, and others, but they rather wan upon them, yea, and upon the *Carthaginians*, exacting Tribute from many neighbour places. But it was not long ere Fortune turning her Back to theſe *Mamertines*, the *Syracuſians* wan faſt upon them, and finally confining them within the Walls of *Meſſena*, they alſo with a powerful Army beſieged the City. It hapned ill, that about the ſame time a contention began, between the *Syracuſian* Souldiers, then lying at *Megara*, and the Citizens of *Syracuſe*, and Governours of the Common-wealth; which proceeded ſo far, that the Army elected two Governours among themſelves; to wit, *Artemidorus* and *Hieron*, that was afterward King. *Hieron*, being for his years excellently adorned with many Vertues, although it was contrary to the Policy of that State, to approve any Election made by the Souldiers, yet for the great Clemency he uſed at his firſt entrance, was by general conſent, eſtabliſhed and made Governour. This Office he rather uſed as a Scale, thereby to climb to ſome higher degree, than reſted content with his preſent Preferment.

In brief, there was ſomewhat wanting, whereby to ſtrengthen himſelf within the City, and ſomewhat without it, that gave impediment to his obtaining, and ſafe keeping of the Place he ſought; to wit, a powerful Party within the Town, and certain mutinous Troops of Souldiers without, often and eaſily moved to Sedition and Tumult. For the firſt, whereby to ſtrengthen himſelf, he took to Wife the Daughter of *Leptines*, a man of the greateſt Eſtimation and Authority among the *Syracuſians*. For the ſecond, leading out the Army to beſiege *Meſſena*, he quartered all thoſe Companies which he held ſuſpected, on the one ſide of the City, and leading the reſt of his Horſe and Foot unto the other ſide, as if he would have aſſaulted it in two ſeveral parts, he marched away under the covert of the Town Walls, and left the Mutiniers to be cut in pieces by the Aſſieged: So returning home, and levying an Army of his own Citizens, well trained and obedient, he haſted again towards *Meſſena*, and was by the *Mamertines* (grown proud by their former Victory over the Mutiniers) incountred in the Plains of *Mylæum*, where he obtained a moſt ſignal Victory, and leading with him their Commander Captive into *Syracuſe*, himſelf by common conſent was elected and ſaluted King. Hereupon the *Mamertines* finding themſelves utterly infeebled, ſome of them reſolved to give themſelves to the *Carthaginians*, others to crave aſſiſtance of the *Romans*: to each of whom, the ſeveral Factions, diſpatched Embaſſadors for the ſame purpoſe.

The *Carthaginians* were ſoon ready to lay hold upon the good Offer: ſo that a Captain of theirs got into the Caſtle of *Meſſena*, whereof they that had ſent for him gave him poſſeſſion. But within a little while, they that were more inclineable to the *Romans*, had brought their Companions to ſo good agreement, that this Captain, either by force or by cunning, was turned out of doors, and the Town reſerved for other Maſters.

Theſe News did much offend the People of *Carthage*; who crucified their Captain, as both a Traitor and Coward; and ſent a Fleet and Army to beſiege *Meſſena*, as a Town that rebelled, having once been theirs. *Hieron*, the new made King of *Syracuſe* (to gratifie his People, incenſed with the ſmart of Injuries lately received) added his Forces to the *Carthaginians*, with whom he entred into a League, for exterminating the *Mamertines* out of *Sicil*. So the *Mamertines* on all ſides were cloſed up within *Meſſena*, the *Carthagians* lying with a Navy at Sea, and with an Army on the one ſide of the Town, whileſt *Hieron* with his *Syracuſians*, lay before it on the other ſide.

In this their great danger, came *Appius Claudius*, the *Roman* Conſul, with an Army to the Streights of *Sicil*: which paſſing by night with notable audacity, he put himſelf into the Town, and ſending Meſſengers to the *Carthaginians*, and to *Hiero*, required them to depart; ſignifying unto them, that the *Mamertines* were now become confederate with the People of *Rome*, and that therefore he was come to give them protection, even by force of War, if reaſon would not prevail.

This Meſſage was utterly neglected; And ſo began the War between *Rome* and *Carthage*; wherein it will then be time to ſhew, on which part was the juſtice of the Quarrel, when ſome actions

actions of the *Romans*, lately foregoing this, have been first considered.

§. III.

The beginning of the first Punick *War. That it was unjustly undertaken by the* Romans.

WHen *Pyrrhus* began his Wars in *Italy*, the City of *Rhegium*, being well affected to *Rome*, and not only fearing to be taken by the *Epirot*, but much more distrusting the *Carthaginians*, as likely to seize upon it in that busie time, sought aid from the *Romans*, and obtained from them a Legion, consisting of four thousand Souldiers, under the conduct of *Decius Campanus*, a *Roman* Prefect, by whom they were defended and assured for the present. But after a while, this *Roman* Garrison, considering at good leisure, the Fact of the *Mamertines*, committed in *Messana* (a City in *Sicil*, situate almost opposite to *Rhegium*, and no otherwise divided than by a narrow Sea, which severeth it from *Italy*) and rather weighing the greatness of the Booty, than the odiousness of the Villainy by which it was gotten; resolved finally, to make the like Purchace, by taking the like wicked Course. Confederating therefore themselves with the *Mamertines*, they entertained their Hosts of *Rhegium*, after the same manner; dividing the spoil, and all which that State had, among themselves.

When complaint was made to the Senate and People of *Rome*, of this Outrage, they finding their Honour thereby greatly stained (for no Nation in the World made a more severe Profession of Justice than they did, during all the time of their growing Greatness) resolved, after a while, to take revenge upon the Offenders. And this they performed shortly after, when they had quenched the Fires kindled in *Italy* by *Pyrrhus*. For, notwithstanding that those *Romans* in *Rhegium* (as men for the foulness of their Fact, hopeless of Pardon) defended themselves with an obstinate resolution, yet in the end, the Assailants forced them, and those which escaped the present Fury, were brought bound to *Rome*, where after the usual Torments by whipping inflicted, according to the custom of the Country, they had their Heads stricken from their Shoulders; and the People of *Rhegium* were again restored to their former Liberties and Estates.

This Execution of Justice being newly performed, and the Fame thereof sounding honourably through all quarters of *Italy*: Messengers came to *Rome* from *Messana*, desiring help against the *Carthaginians* and *Syracusians*, that were in a readiness to inflict the like Punishment upon the *Mamertines*, for the like Offence. An impudent Request it was, which they made: who having both given example of that Villainy to the *Roman* Souldiers, and holpen them with joynt Forces to make it good; intreat the Judges to give them that assistance, which they were wont to receive from their Fellow Thieves.

The *Romans* could not suddenly resolve whether the way of Honesty or of Profit were to be followed; they evermore pretended the one, but they many times walked in the other. They considered how contrary the course of succouring the *Mamertines* was, to their former Counsels and Actions, seeing for the same Offences they had lately put to Torment and to the Sword their own Souldiers, and restored the Oppressed to their Liberty. Yet when they beheld the description of the *Carthaginian* Dominion, and that they were already Lords of the best parts of *Africa*, of the Mediterranean Islands, of a great part of *Spain*, and some part of *Sicil* it self; whilest also they feared, that *Syracuse* therein seated (a City in Beauty and Riches, little, at that time, inferiour to *Carthage*, and far superiour to *Rome* it self) might become theirs; the safety of their own Estate spake for these *Mamertines*: who, if they (driven to despair by the *Romans*) should deliver up *Messana*, with those other holds, that they had, into the hands of the *Carthaginians*, then would nothing stand between *Carthage*, and the Lordship of all *Sicil*: for *Syracuse* it self could not, for want of succour, any long time subsist, if once the *Carthaginians*, that were Masters of the Sea, did fasten upon that Passage from the main Land. It was further considered, that the opportunity of *Messana* was such, as would not only debar all succours out of the Continent, from arrival in *Sicil*; but would serve as a Bridge, whereby the *Carthaginians* might have entrance into *Italy* at their own pleasure.

These considerations of profit at hand, and of preventing dangers that threatned from afar, did so prevail, above all regard of Honesty, that the *Mamertines* were admitted into confederacy with the *Romans*, and *Ap. Claudius* the Consul, presently dispatcht away for *Messana*: into which he entred, and undertook the protection of it, as is shewed before. The Besiegers were little troubled with his arrival; and less moved with his requiring them to desist from their attempt. For they did far exceed him in number of men; the whole Island was ready to relieve them in their Wants; and they were strong enough at Sea, to hinder any supply from getting into the Town. All this *Appius* himself well understood: and against all this, he thought the stiff metal of his *Roman* Souldiers a sufficient remedy. Therefore he resolved to issue out into the Field, and to let the Enemies know, that his coming was to send them away from the Town; not to be besieged by them within it.

In executing this determination, it was very beneficial to him, that the Enemy lay incamped in such sort, as one quarter was not well able to relieve another in distress. *Hieron* was now exposed to the same danger, whereinto he had wilfully cast his own mutinous Followers, not long before: only he was strong enough (or thought so) to make good his own Quarter, without help of others. Against him *Appius Claudius* issued forth, and (not attempting, by unexpected sally, to surprize his Trenches) arranged his men in order of battel, wherewith he presented him. The *Syracusian* wanted not courage to fight; but surely, he wanted good advice: else would he not have hazarded all his Power against an Enemy, of whom he had made no tryal; when it had been easie, and as much as was requisite, to defend his own Camp. It may be, that he thought to get Honour, wherewith to adorn the beginning of his Raign. But he was well beaten, and driven to save himself within his Trenches: by which loss he learned a point of Wisdom, that stood him and his Kingdom in good stead all the days of his Life. It was a foolish desire of revenge, that had made the *Syracusians* so busie in helping those of *Carthage* against the *Mamertines*.

Had *Messana* been taken by the *Carthaginians*, *Syracuse* it self must have sought help from *Rome*, against those Friends which it now so diligently assisted. *Hieron* had (in respect of those two

mighty Cities) but a ſmall ſtock, which it behooved him to govern well: ſuch another loſs would have made him almoſt bankrupt. Therefore he quietly brake up his Camp, and retired home: intending to let them ſtand to their adventures, that had hope to be gainers by the bargain. The next day, *Claudius* perceiving the *Sicilian* Army gone, did with great courage, and with much alacrity of his Souldiers, give charge upon the *Carthaginians*: wherein he ſped ſo well, that the Enemy forſook both Field and Camp, leaving all the Country open to the *Romans*; who having ſpoiled all round, without reſiſtance, intended to lay ſiege unto the great City of *Syracuſe*.

Theſe proſperous beginnings, howſoever they animated the *Romans*, and filled them with hopes of attaining to greater matters, than at firſt they had expected. Yet did they not imprint any form of terror in the City of *Carthage*, that had well enough repaired greater loſſes than this; in which no more was loſt, than what had been prepared againſt the *Mamertines* alone, without any ſuſpicion of War from *Rome*.

Now in this place I hold it ſeaſonable to conſider of thoſe grounds whereupon the *Romans* entred into this War; not how profitable they were, nor how agreeable to rules of honeſty (for queſtionleſs the enterpriſe was much to their benefit, though as much to their ſhame) but how allowable in ſtrict terms of lawfulneſs, whereupon they built all their allegations in maintenance thereof. That the *Mamertines* did yield themſelves, and all that they had, into the *Romans* hands (as the *Campanes*, diſtreſſed by the *Samnites*, had done) I cannot find, neither can I find how the meſſengers of thoſe Folk, whereof one part had already admitted the *Carthaginians*, could be enabled to make any ſuch ſurrendry, in the publick Name of all their Company.

If therefore the *Mamertines*, by no lawful ſurrendry of themſelves and their Poſſeſſions, were become ſubject unto *Rome*, by what better Title could the *Romans* aſſiſt the *Mamertines* againſt their moſt ancient Friends the *Carthaginians*, than they might have aided the *Campanes* againſt the *Samnites*, without the ſame condition? which was (as they themſelves confeſſed) by none at all. But let it be ſuppoſed, that ſome point ſerving to clear this doubt, is loſt in all Hiſtories. Doubtleſs it is, that no company of Pirates, Thieves, Out-laws, Murtherers, or ſuch other Malefactors, can, by any good ſucceſs of their Villany, obtain the priviledge of civil Societies, to make League or Truce, yea, or to require fair War: but are by all means, as moſt pernicious Vermine, to be rooted out of the World. I will not take upon me to maintain that Opinion of ſome *Civilians*, that a Prince is not bound to hold his Faith with one of theſe; it were a Poſition of ill conſequence: This I hold, that no one Prince or State can give protection to ſuch as theſe, as long as any other is uſing the Sword of Vengeance againſt them, without becoming acceſſary to their Crimes. Wherefore we may eſteem this action of the *Romans*, ſo far from being juſtifiable, by any pretence of Confederacy made with them; as that contrariwiſe, by admitting this Neſt of Murtherers and Thieves into their Protection, they juſtly deſerved to be warred upon themſelves by the People of *Sicil*; yea, although *Meſſana* had been taken, and the *Mamertines* all ſlain, ere any News of this Confederacy had been brought unto the Beſiegers. The great *Alexander* was ſo far perſwaded herein; that he did put to Sword all the *Branchiadæ* (a People in *Sogdiana*) and razed their City, notwithſtanding that they joyfully entertained him as their Lord and King; becauſe they were deſcended from a Company of *Mileſians*, who to gratifie King *Xerxes*, had robbed a Temple, and were by him rewarded with the Town and Country, which theſe of their Poſterity enjoyed. Nevertheleſs, in courſe of humane Juſtice, long and peaceable poſſeſſion gives *jus acquiſitum*, a kind of Right by preſcription, unto that which was at firſt obtained by wicked means: and doth free the Deſcendants from the Crime of their Anceſtors, whoſe Villanies they do not exerciſe. But that the ſame Generation of Thieves, which by a deteſtable Fact hath purchaſed a rich Town, ſhould be acknowledged a lawful Company of Citizens, there is no ſhew of Right. For even the Conqueror, that by open War obtaineth a Kingdom, doth not confirm his Title by thoſe Victories which gave him firſt poſſeſſion; but length of time is requiſite to eſtabliſh him, unleſs by ſome alliance with the Ancient Inheritors, he can better the violence of his Claim, as did our King *Henry* the firſt, by his Marriage with *Maud*, that was Daughter of *Malcolme*, King of the *Scots*, by *Margaret*, the Niece of *Edmond Ironſide*. Wherefore I conclude, that the *Romans* had no better ground (if they had ſo good) of Juſtice in this quarrel, than had the *Goths*, *Hunns*, *Vandals*, and other Nations of the Wars that they made upon the *Roman* Empire, wherein *Rome* her ſelf, in the time of her Viſitation, was burnt to the ground.

§. IV.

Of the Iſland of Sicil.

† I.

The Quality of the Iſland: and the firſt Inhabitants thereof.

THe defence of the *Mamertines*, or the poſſeſſion of *Meſſana*, being now no longer, ſince the firſt Victories of *Appius Claudius*, the objects of the *Roman* hopes; but the Dominion of all *Sicil* being the prize for which *Rome* and *Carthage* are about to contend: it will be agreeable unto the order, which in the like caſes we have obſerved, to make a brief Collection of things concerning that noble Iſland, which hath been the Stage of many great acts, performed, as well before and after, as in this preſent War.

That *Sicil* was ſometimes a *Peninſula*, or *Demy Iſle*, adjoyned to *Italy*, as a part of *Brutium* in *Calabria* near unto *Rhegium*, and afterward by violence of tempeſt ſevered from the ſame: it is a general opinion of all antiquity. But at what certain time this diviſion happened, there is no memorial remaining in any ancient Writer. *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and *Dionyſius* affirm, that it was cauſed by an Earth-quake; *Silius*, and *Caſſiodorus*, do think it to have been done by the rage and violence of the Tide and Surges of the Sea. Either of theſe Opinions may be true; for ſo was *Eubœa* ſevered from *Bœotia*; *Atalante* and *Macris* from *Eubœa*; *Sillie* here in *England*, from the Cape of *Cornwall*; and *Britain* it ſelf (as may ſeem by *Verſtegans* arguments) from the oppoſite Continent of *Gaul*. But for *Sicil*, they which lend their ears to Fables, do attribute the cauſe of it to *Neptune* (as *Euſtathius* witneſſeth) who with his three forked Mace, in favour of *Focaſtus*, the Son of *Æolus*, divided it from the main land, and ſo made it an Iſland

Strab. *Plin. l. 2. c. 91.* *Sil. l. 4.*

Island, which before was but a *Demy Isle*, that by that means he might the more safely inhabit and possess the same. *Diodorus Siculus*, moved by the authority of *Hesiodus*, ascribeth the labour of sundring it from *Italy*, to *Orion*: who, that he might be compared to *Hercules* (cutting through the Rocks and Mountains) first opened the *Sicilian* Streights, as *Hercules* did those of *Gibralter*.

Orion. l. 4. c. 14. Diod. l. 6. Ovid. de Fast. 4.

They which value the Islands of the mid-land Sea, according to their quantity and content, do make this the greatest, as *Eustathius* and *Strabo*, who affirm this, not only to excel the rest for bigness, but also for goodness of Soil. As concerning the form of this Island, *Pomponius Mela*, saith, it is like that Capital Letter of the *Greeks* which they call *Delta*, namely, that it hath the Figure of a Triangle; which is generally known to be true. That the whole Island was consecrated to *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, all old Writers with one consent affirm. To *Ceres* it was dedicated, because it first taught the rules of setting and sowing of Corn: to *Proserpina*, not so much, for that she was from hence violently taken by *Pluto*, as because (which *Plutarch* and *Diodorus* do report for truth) that *Pluto*, as soon as she, uncovering her self, first shewed her self to be seen of him, gave her the Dominion thereof.

Of the Fertility and Riches of this Country, there is a famous Testimony written by *Cicero*, in his second Oration against *Verres*, where he saith, that *Marcus Cato* did call it the *Granary*, and *Store-house of the Common-wealth, and the Nurse of the vulgar sort*. The same *Cicero* doth add in that place; that it was not only the Store-house of the People of *Rome*: but also that it was accounted for a well furnished Treasury. For without any cost or charge of ours (saith he) it hath usually cloathed, maintained, and furnished our greatest Armies with Leather, Apparel, and Corn. *Strabo* reporteth almost the same thing of it. Whatsoever *Sicily* doth yield (saith *Solinus*) whether by the Sun and temperature of the Air, or by the industry and labour of Man, it is accounted next unto those things that are of best estimation: were it not, that such things, as the Earth first putteth forth, are extreamly overgrown with Saffron. *Diodorus Siculus* saith, that in the Fields near unto *Leontium*, and in divers other places of this Island, Wheat doth grow of it self, without any labour or looking to of the Husbandman. *Martianus* sheweth, that there were in it six Colonies, and sixty Cities: there are that reckon more, whereof the Names are found scatteringly in many good Authors.

Strab. l. 6.

Now besides many famous acts done by the People of this Island, as well in Peace as War; there be many other things which have made it very renowned, as the Birth of *Ceres*; the ravishing of *Proserpina*; the Giant *Enceladus*; the Mount *Ætna*, *Scylla* and *Charibdis*, with other Antiquities and Rarities; besides those learned men, the noble *Mathematician Archimedes*; the famous *Geometrician Euclides*; the painful Historian *Diodorus*, and *Epidocles* the deep Philosopher.

That *Sicil* was at first possessed and inhabited by Giants *Læstrigones*, and *Cyclopes*, barbarous People, and uncivil; all Histories and Fables do joyntly with one consent aver. Yet *Thucydides* saith, that these savage People dwelt only in one part of the Island. Afterward the *Sicani*, a People of *Spain* possessed it. That these *Sicani* were not bred in the Isle (although some do so think) *Thucydides* and *Diodorus* do constantly avouch.

Of these it was named *Sicania*. These *Sicani* were invaded by the *Siculi*; who, inhabiting that part of *Latium*, whereon *Rome* was afterwards built, were driven by the *Pelasgi* from their own Seats, and finding no place upon the Continent, which they were able to master and inhabit, passed over into this Island three hundred years before the *Greeks* sent any Colonies thither: and (saith *Philistus*) eighty years before the Fall of *Troy*. These *Siculi* gave the name of *Sicilia*, to the Island; and making War upon the *Sicani*, drave them from the East and Northern part thereof into the West and South. At their landing, they first built the City *Zancle*, afterward called *Messena*; and after that *Catana*, *Leontium*, and *Syracuse* it self, beating from thence the *Ætolians*, who long before had set up a Town in that place. As for the name of *Syracuse*, it was not known, till such time as *Archias* of *Corinth* (long after) won that part of the Island from the *Siculi*; Neither did the *Siculi* at their first arrival dispossess the *Ætolians* thereof, but some hundred years after their descent, and after such time as they had founded the Cities before named, with *Neæ*, *Hybla*, *Trinacia*, and divers others.

After these *Siculi* came another Nation out of *Italy*, called *Morgetes*; who were thence driven by the *Oenotrians*. These sate down in that part of *Sicil*, where they afterward raised the Cities of *Morgentum*, and *Leontium*. For at this time the *Siculi* were divided, and by a Civil War greatly infeebled. Among these ancient stories, we find the last Voyage, and the death of *Minos*, King of *Creet*. *Thucydides*, an Historian of unquestionable sincerity, reports of *Minos*, that he made conquest of many Islands: and some such business, perhaps, drew him into *Sicil*. But the common report is, that he came thither in pursuit of *Dædalus*. The Tale goes thus: *Dædalus* fleeing the revenge of *Minos*, came into *Sicil* to *Cocalus*, King of the *Sicani*, and during his abode there, he built a place of great strength, near unto *Megara*, for *Cocalus* to lay up his Treasure in; together with many notable Works, for which he was greatly admired and honoured.

Among the rest, he cast a Ram in Gold, that was set up in the Temple of *Venus Eurysina*; which he did with so great art, as those that beheld it, thought it rather to be living, than counterfeit.

Now *Minos* hearing that *Cocalus* had entertained *Dædalus*, prepares to invade the Territory of *Cocalus*; but when he was arrived, *Cocalus* doubting his own strength, promiseth to deliver *Dædalus*. This he performs not, but in the mean while kills *Minos* by Treason, and perswades the *Cretans*, *Minos* his Followers, to inhabit a part of *Sicil*; the better (as it seems) to strengthen himself against the *Siculi*. Hereunto the *Cretans* (their King being dead) gave their consent, and builded for themselves the City of *Minoa*, after the Name of their King *Minos*. After, they likewise built the Town of *Engyum*, now called *Gange*: and these were the first Cities, built by the *Greeks* in *Sicil*, about two Ages before the War of *Troy*; for the Grand-children of *Minos* served with the *Greeks* at the siege thereof.

But after such time as the *Cretans* understood, that their King had by Treason been made away; they gathered together a great Army to invade *Cocalus*: and landing near unto *Camicus*, they besieged the same five years, but in vain. In the end (being forced to return without any revenge taken) they were wrackt on the Coast of *Italy*; and having no means to repair their Ships, nor the Honour they had lost, they made good the Place whereon they fell, and built *Hyria*, or *Hyrium*, between

tween the two famous Ports of *Brundusium* and *Tarentum*. Of these *Cretans* came those nations, afterward called *Iapyges*, and *Messapij*.

After the taking of *Troy*, *Ægestus* and *Elymus* brought with them certain Troops into *Sicil*, and seated themselves among the *Sicani*; where they built the Cities of *Ægesta* and *Elyma*.

It is said that *Æneas* visited these places in his passage into *Italy*: and that some of the *Trojans*, his Followers, were left behind him in these Towns of *Sicil*: whereof there want not good Authors, that make *Æneas* himself the Founder.

About the same time, the *Phœnicians* seized upon the Promontories of *Pachinus* and *Lilybæum*, and upon certain small Isles adjoyning to the main Island: which they fortified, to secure the Trades that they had with the *Sicilians*; like as the *Portugals* have done in the *East-India*, at *Goa*, *Ormus*, *Mosambique*, and other places. But the *Phœnicians* stayed not there; for after they had once assured their descents, they built the goodly City of *Panormus*, now called *Palerma*.

These we find were the Nations that inhabited the Isle of *Sicil*, before the War of *Troy*, and ere the *Greeks* in any numbers began to straggle in those parts.

It may perchance seem strange to the Reader, that in all ancient Stories he finds one and the same beginning of Nations after the Flood; and that the first Planters of all parts of the World, were said to be mighty and Giant-like men; and that, as *Phœnicia*, *Ægypt*, *Lybia*, and *Greece*, had *Hercules*, *Oreſtes*, *Antæus*, *Typhon*, and the like; as *Denmark* had *Starchaterus*, remembred by *Saxo Grammaticus*; as *Scythia*, *Britanie*, and other Regions had Giants for their first Inhabitants; so this Isle of *Sicil* had her *Lestrigones* and *Cyclopes*. This discourse I could also reject for fained and fabulous, did not *Moses* make us know, that the *Zamzummims*, *Emims*, *Anakims*, and *Og* of *Basan*, with others, which sometime inhabited the Mountains and Desarts of *Moab*, *Ammon*, and *Mount Seir*, were men of exceeding strength and stature, and of the Races of Giants: and were it not that *Tertullian*, St. *Augustine*, *Nicephorus*, *Procopius*, *Isidore*, *Pliny*, *Diodore*, *Herodotus*, *Solinus*, *Plutarch*, and many other Authors have confirmed the Opinion. Yea, *Vesputius*, in his second Navigation into *America*, hath reported, that himself hath seen the like men in those parts. Again, whereas the self same is written of all Nations, that is written of any one; as touching their simplicity of Life, their mean Fare, their feeding on Acorns and Roots, their poor Cottages, the covering of their Bodies with the Skins of Beasts, their Hunting, their Arms and Weapons, and their Warfare, their first passages over great Rivers and Arms of the Sea upon Rafts of Trees tied together; and afterward, their making Boats, first, of Twigs and Leather, then of Wood; first, with Oars, and then with Sail; that they esteemed as Gods the first finders out of Arts; as of Husbandry, of Laws, and of Policy: it is a matter that makes me neither to wonder at, nor to doubt of it. For they all lived in the same newness of time, which we call *Old time*, and had all the same want of his instruction, which (after the Creator of all things) hath by degrees taught all Mankind. For other teaching had they none, that were removed far off from the *Hebrews*, who inherited the knowledge of the first Patriarchs, than that from variable effects they began, by time and degrees to find out the causes: from whence came Philosophy natural; as the Moral did from disorder and confusion; and the Law from cruelty and oppression.

Saxo G. in præfat. hist.

Tertul. de Resurr. Aug. de civit. Dei, l. 15. c. Et quæst. in Gen. Niceph. l. 2. c. 37. Procop. l. 2. de Bello Goth. Plin. l. 7. c. 2.

But it is certain, that the Age of *Time* hath brought forth strange and more incredible things than the Infancy. For we have now greater Giants for Vice and injustice than the World had in those days for bodily strength; for Cottages and Houses of Clay and Timber, we have raised Palaces of Stone; we carve them, we paint them, and adorn them with Gold; insomuch, as men are rather known by their Houses, than their Houses by them; we are fallen from two dishes to two hundred; from Water, to Wine and Drunkenness; from the covering of our Bodies with the Skins of Beasts, not only to Silk and Gold, but to the very Skins of men. But to conclude this digression, *Time* will also take revenge of the excess which it hath brought forth; *Quam longa dies peperit, longiorque auxit, longissima subruet*; *Long time brought forth, longer time increased it, and a time longer than the rest shall overthrow it.*

†. II.

The Plantation of the Greeks *in* Sicil.

WHen the first Inhabitants had contended long enough about the Dominion of all *Sicil*: it happened that one *Theocles*, a *Greek*, being driven upon that Coast by an Easterly Wind; and finding true the commendations thereof, which had been thought fabulous, being delivered only by Poets; gave information to the *Athenians* of this his discovery, and proposed unto them the benefit of this easie Conquest, offering to become their Guide. But *Theocles* was as little regarded by the *Athenians*, as *Columbus*, in our Grand-fathers times, was by the *English*. Wherefore he took the same course that *Columbus* afterwards did. He over-laboured not himself in perswading the noble *Athenians* (who thought themselves to be well enough already) to their own profit; but went to the *Chalcidians*, that were needy and industrious, by whom his Project was gladly entertained. By these was built the City of *Naxus*, and a Colony planted of *Eubœans*.

But the rest of the *Greeks* were wiser than our Western Princes of *Europe*: for they had no Pope, that should forbid them to occupy the void places of the World. *Archias* of *Corinth* followed the *Eubœans*, and landed in *Sicil*, near unto that City, called afterward * *Syracuse*: of which, that part only was then compassed with a Wall, which the *Ætolians* called *Homothermon*; the *Greeks*, *Nasos*; the *Latines*, *Insula*. He with his *Corinthians* having overcome the *Siculi*, drave them up into the Country; and after a few years, their Multitudes increasing, they added unto the City of the Island, that of *Acradina*, *Tycha*, and *Neapolis*. So as well by the commodity of the double Port, capable of as many Ships as any Haven of that part of *Europe*, as by the fertility of the Soil; *Syracuse* grew up in great haste to be one of the goodliest Towns of the World. In short time the *Greeks* did possess the better part of all the Sea-coast; forcing the *Sicilians* to withdraw themselves into the fast and mountainous parts of the Island, making their Royal Residence in *Trinacia*.

* *Syracuse* as *Cicero* relates, was the greatest and most goodly City of all that the *Greeks* possest. For the situation is both strong and of an excellent prospect, from every entrance by Land or Sea. The Port was (for the most part) environed with beautiful building: and that part which was without the City, was on both sides bankt up, and sustained with beautiful Walls of Marble. The City it self was one of the greatest of the World: for it had in compass (as *Strabo* reporteth) without the treble Wall thereof, 180 Furlongs; which made of our Miles about 18. It was compounded of four Cities (*Strabo* saith of five) to wit, *Insula*, *Acradina*, *Tycha*, and *Neapolis*: of which greatness, the Ruines and Foundations of the Walls do yet witness.

Some

After such time as the Dores of Peloponnesus had driven out the Sicilians, this goodly City, for a long time became the Seat of Tyrants. The first whereof was *Gelo*; The second, *Hiero*, the elder; The third, *Thrasybulus*; The fourth and fifth, *Dionysius* the elder and younger; The sixth, *Dion*; The seventh, *Agathocles*; The eighth *Pyrrhus*; The ninth, *Hiero* the younger; The tenth and last, *Hieronimus*: who being slain at *Leontium*, at length the Romans conquered it under the conduct of *Marcellus*.

Some seven years after the arrival of *Archias*; the *Chalcidians*, encouraged by the success of the *Corinthians*, did assail and obtain the City of *Leontium*, built and possessed by the *Siculi*. In brief, the *Greeks* win from the *Siculi*, and their Associates, the Cities of *Catana* and *Hybla*, which, in honour of the *Megarians* that forc'd it, they called *Megara*.

About five and forty years after *Archias* had taken *Syracuse*; *Antiphemus* and *Entimus*, the one from *Rhodes*, the other from *Crete*, brought an Army into *Sicil*, and built *Gela*; whose Citizens, one hundred and eight years after, did erect that magnificent and renowned City of *Agrigentum*, governed according to the Laws of the *Dorians*.

The *Syracusians* also, in the seventieth year after their Plantation, did set up the City of *Acra*, in the Mountains; and in the ninetieth year *Casmena*, in the Plains adjoyning; and again, in the hundred and thirtieth year of their dwelling in *Syracuse*, they built *Camerina*; and soon after that, *Enna*, in the very Center of the Island. So did the *Cumani*, about the same time, recover from the *Siculi* the City of *Zancle*, which they had founded in the Streight between *Sicil* and *Italy*. They of *Zancle* had been Founders of *Himera*.

Not long after this, *Dorieus* the *Lacedæmonian* built *Heraclia*; which the *Phœnicians* and *Carthaginians*, fearing the Neighbourhood of the *Spartans*, soon after invaded and ruined, though the same were again ere long re-edified.

Selirius also was built by a Colony of *Megara*: and *Zancle* was taken by the *Messenians*; who having lost their own Country, gave the Name thereof unto this their new Purchase. Such were the beginnings of the greatest Cities in this Island.

†. II.

Of the Government and Affairs of Sicil, *before* Dionysius *his Tyranny.*

THe most part of the Cities in *Sicil*, were governed by the Rule of the People, till such time as *Phalaris* began to usurp the State of *Agrigentum*, and to exercise all manner of Tyranny therein.

This was that *Phalaris*, to whom *Perillus*, the cunning Artificer of a detestable Engine, gave an hollow Bull of Brass, wherein to enclose men, and scorch them to death: praising the Device with this Commendation; That the Noise of one tormented therein, should be like unto the bellowing of a Bull. The Tyrant gave a due reward to the Inventor, by causing the first tryal to be made upon himself. He raigned one and thirty years, saith *Eusebius*; others give him but sixteen: However it were, one *Telemachus*, in the end, fell upon him with the whole multitude of *Agrigentum*, and stoned him to death; being thereto animated by *Zeno*, even whilest the Tyrant was tormenting the same *Zeno* to make him confess some matter of conspiracy.

After the death of *Phalaris*, the Citizens recovered their Liberty, and enjoyed it long, till *Thero* usurped the Government of the Common-weal: at which time also *Panætius* made himself Lord of *Leontium*; and *Cleander*, of *Gela*: but *Cleander*, having ruled seven years, was slain by one of the Citizens. *Cleander* being dead, his Brother *Hippocrates* succeeded in his room, and greatly afflicted the People of *Naxos*, of *Zancle* or *Messena*, and of *Leontium*; whom with divers other of the ancient Inhabitants, he forced to acknowledge him their Lord. He also made War with the *Syracusians*, and in the end, got from them, by composition, the City of *Camerina*. But when he had raigned seven years, he was slain in a Battel against the *Siculi*, before *Hybla*.

At this time did the *Syracusians* change their form of Government, from *Popular* to *Aristocratical*; a preparation towards a Principality, whereinto it was soon after changed. After the Death of *Hippocrates*, *Gelon* (descended from the *Rhodians*, which together with the *Cretans* had long before, among other of the *Greeks*, seated themselves in *Sicil*) that had commanded the Forces of *Hippocrates*, in the former War, with notable success, became Lord of *Gela*. He, after his Masters Death, breaking the Trust committed unto him by *Hippocrates* over his Children, and being in possession of *Gela*, took the occasion and advantage of a contention in *Syracuse*, between the Magistrates and the People. For coming with a strong Army to the succour of the Governours, driven out by the Multitude, they elected him their Prince, being the first, and (indeed) the most famous, that ever governed the *Syracusians*. This change happened in the second year of the threescore and twelfth *Olimpiad*; wherein the better to establish himself, he took to Wife the Daughter of *Thero*, who had also usurped the State of *Agrigentum*. *Pausan. l. 6.*

Now this *Gelon*, the Son of *Dinomenes*, had three Brethren; *Hiero*, *Polyzelus*, and *Thrasybulus*: to the first of which he gave up the City of *Gela*, when he had obtained the Principality of *Syracuse*. For, after that time, all his thoughts travelled in the strengthening, beautifying, and amplifying of *Syracuse*. He defaced *Camerina*, that a little before was fallen from the obedience of the *Syracusians*, who built it, and brought the Citizens to *Syracuse*. The *Megarians* that had moved a War against him, he overcame; the richer sort he brought to *Syracuse*; and the People he sold for Slaves. In like manner dealt he with other places upon like occasion. Not long after this, *Thero*, a Prince of the *Agrigentines*, having dispossest *Terillus* of his City *Himera*; the *Carthaginians* were drawn into the quarrel by *Anaxilus*, Lord of *Messena*, Father-in-law to *Terillus*: and *Gelon* also was solicited by his Father-in-law, *Thero*. *Gelon* was content, and in fine, after divers conflicts, the *Carthaginians*, and other *Africans*, led by *Amilcar*, were overthrown by *Gelon*: and an hundred and fifty thousand of them left their bodies in *Sicil*. *Herod. & Diod.*

This *Gelon* it was, to whom the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* sent for succour, when *Xerxes* with his huge Army past the *Hellespont*. He, for their relief having armed thirty thousand Souldiers, and two hundred Ships, refused nevertheless to send them into *Greece*, because they refused him the Commandment of one of their Armies, either by Sea or by Land. So he used to their Embassadors only this saying, *That their Spring was withered*; accounting the Army, by him prepared, to be the flower of the *Greek* Nations.

The *Carthaginians*, after this great loss received, fearing the invasion of their own Countrey, sent to *Gelon* by their Embassadors, to desire peace: who grants it them on these conditions; That from thenceforth they should not sacrifice their Children to *Saturn*; That they should pay him two thousand Talents of Silver; and present him with two armed Ships, in sign of amity. These conditions the *Carthaginians*, not only willingly accepted, but with the two thousand Talents, and the Ships for War,

War, they ſent unto *Demarata*, *Gelon*'s Wife, a Crown, valued at an hundred Talents of Gold, with other Preſents. Whereby we ſee that ſome Nations and ſome Natures are much the better for being well beaten. The Wars ended, and *Sicil* in Peace, *Gelon* beautified the Temples of the Gods, and erected others in honour of them. So being exceedingly beloved and honoured of his Subjects, he left the World, and left for his Succeſſor his Brother *Hiero*. *Philiſtus* and *Pliny* report, That when his Body was burnt, according to the cuſtom of that Age, a Dog of his, which always waited on him, ran into the Fire, and ſuffered himſelf to be burnt with him.

To *Gelon*, *Hiero* his Brother ſucceeded; a man rude, cruel, covetous, and ſo ſuſpicious of his Brethren *Polyzelus* and *Thraſybulus*, as he ſought by all means to deſtroy them. Notwithſtanding all this; by the converſation which he had with *Simonides*, he became of better condition, and greatly delighted with the ſtudy of good Arts. Divers quarrels he had, as well with *Theron* of *Agrigentum*, as with other Cities: all which he ſhortly after compounded, and gave a notable overthrow to the *Carthaginians*, whom *Xerxes* had incited to invade *Sicil*, fearing the Succours which *Gelon* had prepared, to aid the *Græcians* againſt him. He alſo overthrew in Battel, *Thraſydæus* the Son of *Theron*, and thereby reſtored the *Agrigentines* to their former Liberty. But in the end he loſt the Love of the *Syracuſians*; and after he had raigned eleven years, he left the Kingdom to his Brother *Thraſybulus*, who became a moſt unjuſt and bloody Tyrant. *Thraſybulus* enjoyed his Principality no longer than ten months. For notwithſtanding the force of mercenary Souldiers, which he entertained for his Guards, he was beaten out of *Syracuſe* by the Citizens; to whom, being beſieged in *Acradina*, he reſtored the Government, and was baniſhed the Iſland. From thence he ſailed into *Greece*, where he died a private man, among the *Locrians*.

And now had the *Syracuſians* recovered again their former Liberty, as all the reſt of the Cities did, after which they had never ſought, had the Succeſſors of *Gelon* inherited his Vertue, as they did the Principality of *Syracuſe*. For in all changes of Eſtates, the preſervation ought to anſwer the acquiſition. Where a liberal, valiant, and adviſed Prince, hath obtained any new Signiory, and added it to that of his own, or exalted himſelf from being a private man, to the Dignity of a Prince; it behoveth the Succeſſor to maintain it by the ſame way and art by which it was gotten.

To conclude, *Syracuſe* (though not without blows, ere ſhe could cleanſe her ſelf of the Creatures and Lovers of *Gelon*) was now again become Miſtreſs of her ſelf, and held her ſelf free well near threeſcore years, to the time of *Dionyſius*; though ſhe were in the mean while greatly indangered by a Citizen of her own called *Tyndario*.

Now, to prevent the greatneſs of any one among them, for the future, they deviſed a kind of baniſhment of ſuch among them as were ſuſpected; taking pattern from the *Athenian Oſtraciſm*. They called this their new deviſed Judgment of exile, *Petaliſmus*, wherein every one wrote upon an Olive Leaf (as at *Athens* they wrote upon Shells) the name of him, whom he would have expelled the City. He that had moſt ſuffrages againſt him, was baniſhed for five years. Hereby, in a ſhort time it came to paſs, that thoſe of Judgment, and beſt able to govern the Common-wealth, were by the worſt able, either ſuppreſt or thruſt out of the City. Yea, ſuch as feared this Law, though they had not yet felt it, withdrew themſelves as ſecretly as they could; ſeeking ſome place of more ſecurity, wherein to maintain themſelves. And good reaſon they had ſo to do; ſeeing there is nothing ſo terrible in any State, as a powerful and authorized Ignorance. But this Law laſted not long. For their neceſſity taught them to aboliſh it, and reſtore again the wiſer ſort to the Government; from which, the Nobility having practiſed to baniſh one another, the State became altogether Popular. But after a while, being invaded by *Ducetius*, King of the *Sicilians*, that inhabited the inner part of the Iſland (who had already taken *Enna*, and ſome other of the *Græcian* Cities, and overthrown the Army of the *Agregentines*) the *Syracuſians* ſent Forces againſt him, commanded by an unworthy Citizen of theirs, called *Bolcon*. This their Captain made nothing ſo much haſte to find *Ducetius*, againſt whom he was imployed, as he did to flee from the Army he led, as ſoon as *Ducetius* preſented him Battel. So, for want of conduct, the greateſt number of the *Syracuſians* periſhed.

But making better choice among thoſe whom they had baniſhed, they levy other Troops: by whom, in concluſion, *Ducetius* being beaten, ſubmitteth himſelf, and is conſtrained to leave the Iſland for a time. Yet it was not long ere he returned again, and built the City *Collatina* on the Sea-ſide.

Ducetius being dead; all the *Greek* Cities did in a ſort acknowledge *Syracuſe*: *Trinacia* excepted; which alſo by force of Arms, in the fourſcore and fifth *Olympiad*, they brought to reaſon.

But they do not long enjoy this their ſuperintendency. For the Citizens of *Leontium*, being oppreſt by them, ſeek aid from the *Athenians*, about the ſixth year of the *Peloponneſian* War. In this Suit they prevailed by the Eloquence of *Gorgias* their Orator, and got an hundred *Athenian* Gallies to ſuccour them, under the leading of *Laches*, and *Charœades*. To this Fleet the *Leontines* and their Partners added one hundred more; with which Forces, and with ſome Supplies brought by *Sophocles*, *Pythodorus*, *Eurymedon*, and other *Athenian* Captains, they invaded the Territories of the *Syracuſians*, and their Partiſans; wan and loſt divers places; took *Meſſena*; and in the ſeventh year of the *Peloponneſian* War, loſt it again. They alſo, at the ſame time, attempted *Himera*, but in vain. The Fire of this Quarrel took hold upon many Cities, which invaded each others Territory with great violence. But when they had wearied themſelves on all hands, and yet could ſee no iſſue of the War; the *Leontines*, without the advice of the *Athenians*, came to an accord with the *Syracuſians*, and were admitted into their Society with equal freedom. So the *Athenians*, who hoped to have greatned themſelves in *Sicil*, by the diviſion and civil War, were diſappointed of their Expectation, by the good agreement of the *Sicilians*, and fain to be gone with the broken remainder of their Fleet. This they knew not how to amend; but (according to the cuſtom of popular Eſtates) by taking revenge upon their own Commanders. So they baniſhed *Pythodorus*, and *Sophocles*, and laid an heavy Fine upon *Eurymedon*. Shortly after this, followed the moſt memorable War that ever was made by the *Greeks* in *Sicil*: which was that of the *Athenians* againſt the *Selinuntines* and *Syracuſians*, in favour of the Cities of *Egeſta*, *Leontium*, and *Catana*. They of *Selinus* had oppreſt the *Egeſtans*; and they of *Syracuſe* the

Leontines,

Leontines, and the *Catanians*: which was the ground of the War. For the *Athenians* undertook the protection of their old Friends: And in hatred of the *Athenians*, Aid from *Lacedæmon* was sent to the *Syracusians*. The *Lacedæmonians* dealt plainly, having none other end than that which they pretended, namely, to help a People of their own Tribe, that craved their succour, being in distress. The *Athenians* scarce knew what to pretend: for their preparations were so great, as discovered their intent to be none other than the Conquest of the whole Island. Yet they which had called them in, were so blinded with their own passions, that they would not believe their own eyes, which presented unto them a Fleet and Army far greater than the terrible report of Fame had made it.

In this Expedition, the City of *Athens* had ingaged all her Power; as regarding, not only the greatness of the Enterprise, but the necessity of finishing it in a short space of time. For the *Lacedæmonians* (as hath already been shewed in due place) stood at that time in such broken terms of Peace with *Athens*, as differed not much from open War. Wherefore it was thought necessary, either to spare no cost in this great expedition, or altogether to forbear it, which was likely to be hindred by Wars at Home, if their proceedings were slack abroad. And surely, had not the desire of the *Athenians* been over-passionate, the Arguments of *Nicias* had caused them to abstain from so chargeable a business, and to reserve their Forces for a more needful use. But young Counsels prevailed against the Authority of ancient men, that were more regardful of Safety than of Honour.

Of this business, mention hath been already made, in that which we have written of the *Peloponnesian* War. But what was there delivered in general terms, as not concerning the Affairs of *Greece*, otherwise than by consequence; doth in this place require a more perfect relation, as a matter wherein the whole State of *Sicil* was like to have felt a great conversion.

Though *Alcibiades* had prevailed against *Nicias*, in exhorting the People to this great Voyage; yet *Nicias*, together with *Alcibiades* and *Lamachus*, was appointed to be one of the chief Commanders therein.

These had commission and direction, as well to succor the *Segestans*, and to re-establish the *Leontines*, cast out of their places by the *Syracusians*, as also by force of Arms, to subject the *Syracusians*, and all their adherents in *Sicil*, and compel them by Tribute, to acknowledge the *Athenians* for their supream Lords. To effect which, the fore-named Captains were sent off, with an hundred and thirty Gallies, and five thousand one hundred Souldiers, besides the thirty Ships of Burden, which transported their Victuals, Engines, and other Munitions for the War: and these were *Athenians*, *Mantinæans*, *Rhodians*, and *Candians*: there were besides these, six thousand *Megarians* light armed, with thirty Horse-men.

Thucyd. l. 6. c. 9.

With these Troops and Fleets they arrive at *Rhegium*, where the *Rhegians* refuse to give them entry; but sell them Victuals for their Money. From thence they sent to the *Egestans*, to know what Treasure they would contribute towards the War, seeing, for their sakes, they had entred thereinto. But they found by their Answers, that these *Egestans* were poor, and that they had abused the *Athenian* Embassadors with false shews of Gold, having in all but thirty Talents. The *Athenians* further were discouraged, when they found that the *Rhegians*, their ancient Friends, and allied unto the *Leontines*, refused to trust them within their Walls. Hereupon *Nicias* adviseth to depart towards the *Selinuntines*, and to force them, or perswade them to an agreement with the *Egestans*; as likewise to see what Disbursments the *Egestans* could make; and so to return again into *Greece*, and not to waste *Athens* in a needless War. *Alcibiades* on the other side, would sollicite the Cities of *Sicil* to Confederacy against the *Syracusians*, and *Selinuntines*, whereby to force them unto restitution of all that they had taken from the *Leontines*. *Lamachus*, he perswades them to assail *Syracuse* it self, before it were prepared against them. But in the end (being excluded out of divers Cities) they surprize *Catana*: and there they take new Counsel how to proceed. Thence they imployed *Nicias* to those of *Egesta*, who received from them thirty Talents towards his Charges; and one hundred and twenty Talents more there were of the Spoils they had gotten in the Island. Thus, the Summer being spent in idle consultations and vain attempts, the *Athenians* prepare to to assail *Syracuse*. But *Alcibiades* having been accused at home in his absence, was sent for back by the *Athenians* to make his answer, and the Army was left to the Conduct of *Nicias* and *Lamachus*. These Commanders obtain a landing place very near unto *Syracuse*, by this device.

They imploy to *Syracuse* an Inhabitant of *Catana*, whom they trust; and instruct him to promise unto the *Syracusians*, that he would deliver into their hands all the *Athenians* within *Catana*. Hereupon the *Syracusians* draw thitherward with their best Forces. But in the mean while, the *Athenians* setting sail for *Catana*, arrive at *Syracuse*, where they land at fair ease, and fortifie themselves against the Town. Shortly after this they fight, and the *Syracusians* had the Loss; but the *Athenians* wanting Horse, could not pursue their Victory to any great effect. They then retire themselves with a resolution to refresh their Army at *Catana*, for the Winter-season. From thence they made an attempt upon *Messena*, hoping to have taken it by an intelligence, but in vain. For *Alcibiades* had discovered such as were Traitors within the City to the *Messenians*. This he now did, in despight of his own Citizens the *Athenians*, because they had recalled him from his Command, with a purpose either to have put him to death, or to have banished him: whereof being assured by his Friends, he took his way towards the *Lacedæmonians*, and to them he gave mischievous Counsel against his Country. While this Winter yet lasted, the *Syracusians* sent Embassadors to *Lacedæmon* and *Corinth* for aid: as likewise the *Athenian* Captains in *Sicil*, send to *Athens* for supplies. Which both the one and the other obtained.

In the Spring following (which was the beginning of the eighteenth year of the *Peloponnesian* War) the *Athenians* in *Sicil*, sail from the Port of *Catana* to *Megara*, forsaken of the Inhabitants; from whence forraging the Country, they obtain some small Victories over the straggling *Syracusians*: and at their return to *Catana*, they receive a supply of two hundred men at arms, but without Horse, which they hoped to furnish in the Island, from the *Segestans*, and other their Adherents: they were also strengthened with a Company of Archers, and with three hundred Talents in Money.

Hereupon they took courage, and incamp near *Syracuse*, upon the Banks of the great Port, repelling the *Syracusians* that sallied to impeach their Intrenchments. They also received from their Confederates four hundred Horse-men, with two

hundred other Horſe, to mount their men at Arms. *Syracuſe* was now in effect blockt up, ſo as hardly any ſuccours could enter, but ſuch as were able to force their Paſſage: yet the *Athenians* receive divers loſſes; among which it was not the leaſt, that *Lamachus*, one of their beſt Cammanders was ſlain.

In the mean while, *Gylippus* and *Python*, with the *Lacedæmonian* and *Corinthian* forces arrive, and take land at *Himera*. The Citizens of *Himera*, and of *Gela*, together with the *Selinuntines*, joyn with them, ſo that with theſe and his own Troops, *Gylippus* adventured to march over land towards *Syracuſe*. The *Syracuſians* ſend a part of their Forces to meet him and conduct him. The *Athenians* prepare to encounter them, expecting his arrival near unto the City, upon a place of advantage. At the firſt encounter they had the better of their Enemies, by reaſon that the *Syracuſian* Horſe-men could not come to fight in thoſe Streights: but ſoon after, *Gylippus* charging them again, brake them, and conſtrained *Nicias* to fortifie himſelf within his Camp. Whereupon *Nicias*, made the ſtate of his Affairs known by his Letters to the *Athenians*; ſhewing, that without great Supplies by Sea and Land, the enterpriſe would be loſt, together with the ſmall Army remaining. Theſe Letters received, the *Athenians* appoint two other Generals, *Eurymedon*, and *Demoſthenes*, to joyn with *Nicias*: the one they diſpatch preſently with ſome ſupply; the other they ſend after him in the Spring following.

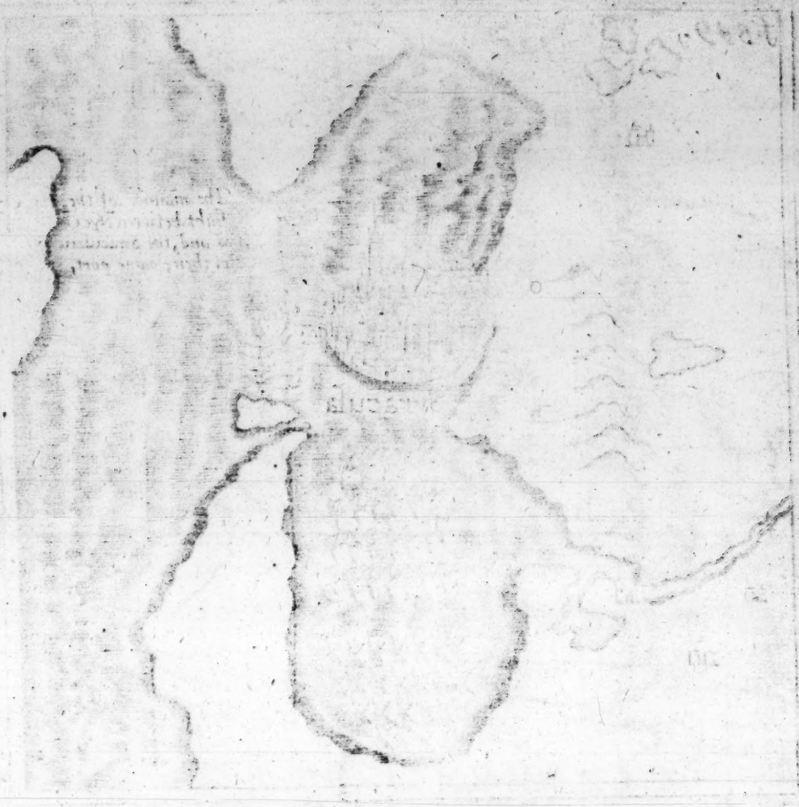
In the mean while *Gylippus* at *Syracuſe* fights with the *Athenians*, both by Sea and Land, ſometimes with ill, and at other times with good ſucceſs: but in concluſion, he took from them their Fort near unto *Syracuſe*, at the *Promontory* called *Plymmyrium*; wherein the *Athenians* loſt their Treaſure, and a great part of all their Proviſions. Notwithſtanding which loſs, and that the *Athenians* themſelves, in *Greece*, were (in effect) beſieged within *Athens*, by the *Lacedæmonians*; yet were they moſt obſtinate in proſecuting the War in *Sicil*, and diſpatched away *Demoſthenes* with new Succours. *Demoſthenes*, in his way towards *Sicil*, encountred with *Polyanthes* the *Corinthian* with his Fleet: both the Captains being bound for *Sicil*; the one to ſuccour *Nicias*, the other *Gylippus*. The loſs between them was in effect equal; and neither ſo broken, but that each of them proſecuted the Enterpriſe they had in hand. But before the Succours arrived to either, *Gylippus* and *Ariſton* had aſſailed the *Athenians* in the great Port of *Syracuſe*, and in a Sea-fight put them to the worſt, to the great diſcouragement of the *Athenians*. On the neck of this, *Demoſthenes* arrived with threeſcore and thirteen Gallies, charged with Foot-men; and (blaming the ſloath of *Nicias*) he invaded the *Syracuſians* the ſame day that he arrived. But he made more haſte than he had good ſpeed, being ſhamefully beaten and repulſed with great loſs. Hereupon *Demoſthenes* and *Eurymedon*, determine to riſe up from before *Syracuſe*, and return to the ſuccour of *Athens*: but *Nicias* diſputed to the contrary, pretending that he had good Intelligence within *Syracuſe*, whereby he learned, that the Town could not long hold out.

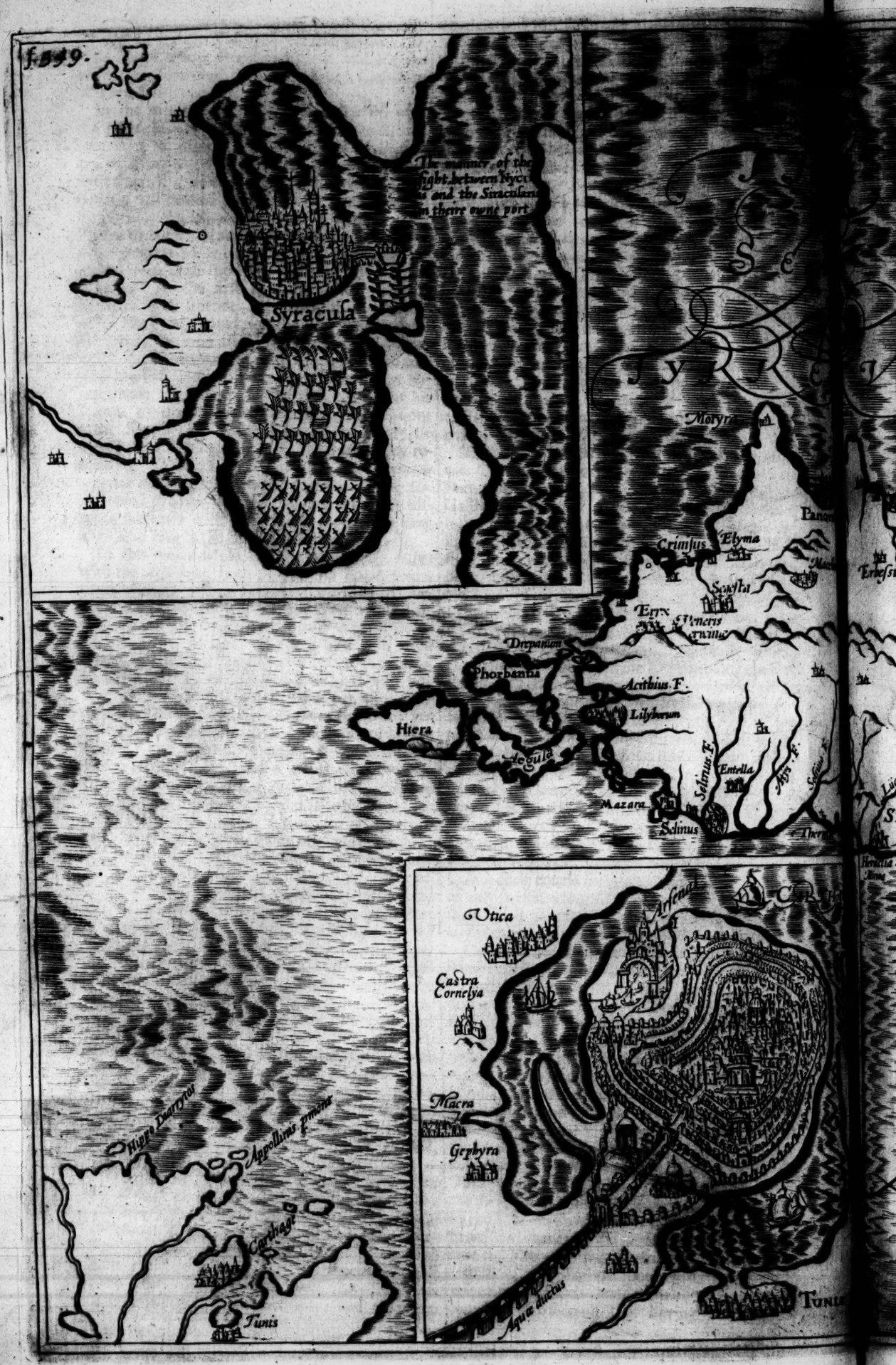
Whatſoever *Nicias* his Intelligence was, upon the arrival of a new ſupply into the Town, the *Athenians* had all conſented to depart, and to lodg at *Catana*: had not an Eclipſe of the Moon, boding (as was thought) ill ſucceſs, cauſed them to defer their departure. But this ſuperſtition coſt them dear. For the *Syracuſians*, *Lacedæmonians*, and *Corinthians*, with threeſcore and ſeventeen ſail of Gallies entred the great Port of *Syracuſe*, wherein the *Athenians* kept their Fleet, and whereon they had fortified themſelves. The *Athenians*, in the ſame Port, encountred them with fourſcore and ſix Gallies, commanded by *Eurymedon*; in which the *Athenian* Fleet was beaten by the leſſer number, and *Eurymedon* ſlain. Now, though it were ſo, that the *Syracuſians* received the more loſs by Land (for the Fight was general) yet when the *Athenians* were beaten by Sea, in which kind they thought themſelves invincible, they were wonderfully caſt down. For it was well ſaid of *Gylippus*, to the *Syracuſians*; *When any People do find themſelves vanquiſhed in that manner of fight, and with thoſe Weapons in which they perſwade themſelves that they exceed all others, they not only loſe their Reputation, but their Courage.* The *Athenians*, beſides the Gallies ſunk and wrackt, had ſeventeen taken and poſſeſt by the Enemy: and with great labour and loſs they defended the reſt from being fired, having drawn them within a *Paliſado*, in one corner of the Port, unadviſedly: for it is as contrary to a Sea-war, to thruſt Ships into a ſtreight room and corner, as it is to ſcatter Foot in a plain Field againſt Horſe; the one ſubſiſting, by being at large; the other, by cloſe imbattailing.

The *Syracuſians* having now weakned the *Athenian* Fleet, reſolve to impriſon them within the Port. And to that purpoſe they range all their Gallies in the mouth of the Haven, being about a mile over, and there they came to Anchor; filling the Out-let with all manner of Veſſels, which they man moſt ſtrongly, becauſe the *Athenians*, being now made deſperate, ſhould not with double ranks of Gallies break through the *Syracuſian* Fleet; which lay but ſingle, becauſe they were forc'd to range themſelves over all the Out-let of the Port. They therefore, not only mored themſelves ſtrongly by their Anchors, but chained the ſides of their Gallies together, and laid behind them again certain Ships, which ſerved in the former War for Victuallers: to the end, that if any of their Gallies were ſunk, or the Chain which joyned them to their Fellows broken, the *Athenians* might yet find themſelves a ſecond time intangled and arreſted. To diſorder alſo thoſe *Athenian* Gallies which came on in form of a Wedge, to break through and force a paſſage, the *Syracuſians* had left within theſe Gallies and Ships inchained together, a certain number of looſe ones, to ſtop their courſe and fury. For where the way of any Veſſel uſing Oar or Sails is broken, and their ſpeed fore-ſlowed, they cannot force with any weight and violence the reſiſtance oppoſing.

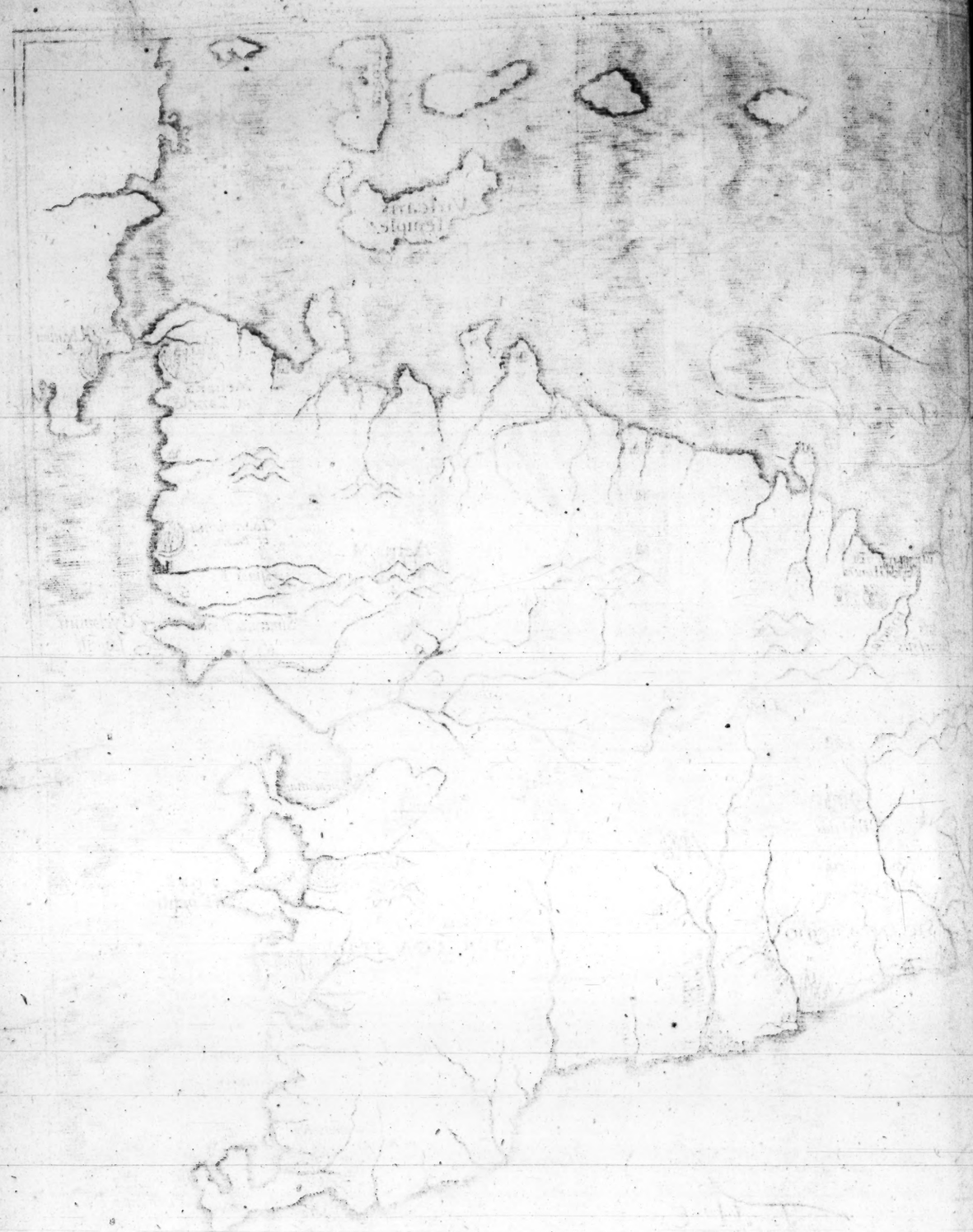
On the other ſide, the *Athenians* knew that they were utterly loſt, except with an invincible reſolution, they could make their way, and break down this great Bridge of Boats; or (at leaſt) force a paſſage through them in ſome part or other: which they reſolve to hazard, with all their Shipping (to the number of one hundred and ten of all ſorts) and with all the ſtrength of their Land-army, in them imbarqued. But the Gallies, which were within the Bridge of Boats, did ſo diſorder the *Athenian* Fleet, ere they came to force the Bridge, as, albeit ſome few of them had broken through the Chains, yet being ſtopt by the Ships without, and aſſailed by other looſe Gallies of the *Syracuſians*, which were purpoſely left at large in the Sea, they were either taken or ſunk. Three great diſadvantages the *Athenians* had: the firſt, that fighting within a Haven, and (as it were) in a ſtreight, they had no room to turn themſelves, nor to free themſelves one from another, being intangled; the ſecond, that having over-peſtered

their




The manner of the fight between Nyc and the Siraculans in their owne port
Syracusa
Maryra
Crimisus
Etyma
Scyphi
Eryx
Veneris Turris
Drepanum
Phorbantia
Acithius F.
Lilybæum
Hiera
Aegulæ
Selinus F.
Entella
Mazara
Selinus
Utica
Arsenal
Castra Cornelya
Macra
Gephyra
Hippo Diarrytus
Apollinis Promon.
Carthago
Tunis
Aquæ ductus
Tunis

Vulcans Temple
Rhegium
Messana or Zancle
Taurominia or Naxos
Actna M.
Asines F.
Simethus F.
Cyclopum Scopuli
Catana
Enna
Terias F.
Trotilum
Leontium
Herbesus
Mactorium
Megara or Hybla
Thapsus
Trinacia
SYRACUSII
Anapus F.
Syracusæ
Lepas
Cyparis F.
Erineus
Camerina
Pachynus P.
Callipolis
Agrigentum
Sicanus F.
Hypsa F.
Lucus F.
SICANA REGIO
CYCLOPES
AFRICA



their Gallies with Souldiers, who uſed offenſive Arms of Darts and Slings, they had not place upon the Decks to ſtretch their arms; the third was, the diſcomfortable end for which they fought, namely, to force a paſſage, by which they might ſave themſelves by running away. To be ſhort, the Fight was no leſs terrible than the Confuſion; the Slaughter great on all ſides; and the Noiſe and the Cries ſo loud and lamentable, as that no direction could be heard. But in the end, the *Athenians*, as many as ſurvived, were beaten back to the Land, with loſs of threeſcore of their Gallies, broken, ſunk, or abandoned. The *Syracuſians* did alſo loſe twenty of theirs, with *Python*, Commander of the *Corinthians*. The reſt of the *Athenian* Gallies running themſelves into the bottom of the Port, ſaved themſelves by the help and contenance of the Land-army, there fortified. In this deſperate eſtate, the *Athenian* Commanders go to Counſel. *Demoſthenes* perſwades them to furniſh with freſh Souldiers thoſe few Gallies which remained; and while the *Syracuſians* were triumphing, and made ſecure by their preſent Victory, to ſet upon them, and forcing their way out of the Port, to return to *Athens*. This was no ill Counſel. For, as we have heard of many great Captains (yea, the greateſt number of all that have been victorious) that have neglected the ſpeedy proſecution of a beaten Enemy; ſo might we produce many examples of thoſe, who, having ſlept ſecurely in the boſome of good ſucceſs, have been ſuddenly awaked by the re-allied Companies of a broken Army, and have thereby loſt again all the Honour and Advantage formerly gotten. But *Nicias* oppoſeth the advice of *Demoſthenes*: Others ſay, that the Sea-men were againſt it. Whereupon abandonning their Gallies, they all reſolve to march over land to the Cities of their Confederates, till ſome more favourable Fortune ſhould call them thence. On the other ſide, *Gylippus*, and other the *Lacedæmonian* and *Corinthian* Captains, with *Hermocrates*, exhort the *Syracuſians* to put themſelves preſently into the Field, and to ſtop all the paſſages leading to thoſe Cities of their Enemies, to which the *Athenians* might make retreat. But many were weary, and many were wounded, and many of them thought that they had done enough for the preſent. Which humour in ſome of our Commanders at *Cadez*, loſt us both the *Indian* Fleet, and the ſpoils of many other Neighbour-places. *Hermocrates* the *Syracuſian*, finding it a loſt labour, to perſwade his Country-men to any haſty proſecution, deviſed this good ſtratagem, thereby to gain time; not doubting, but that after a day or two, he ſhould draw them willingly out. He ſent two or three Horſe-men out of *Syracuſe* by night, willing them to find *Nicias*, and (after they had aſſured him, that they were of the *Athenians* Faction) to give him advice not to march away over haſtily from the place wherein he was fortified; alledging that the *Syracuſians* had lodged their Army, which could not long ſtay there upon the paſſages and places of advantage, leading towards the Cities of their Allies. Theſe Tidings *Nicias* eaſily believed, and put off his Journey to the third day. For men newly beaten, are (for the moſt part) more fearful than wiſe, and to them, every Thiſtle in the Field, appears by night, a man at arms.

The third day (leaving all their Gallies, and all their Baggage) they remove; being pierced and purſued with the lamentable out-cries of thoſe that were ſick and hurt: whom they abandon to the cure of their Enemies Swords. The reſt march away, to the number of forty thouſand; and make their firſt paſſage by force, over the River of *Anapus*, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of their Enemies. But being every day charged in their marches, and by the *Syracuſian* Horſe-men, beaten in from forraging and proviſion of Food, they grow weak and heartleſs. The *Syracuſians* alſo poſſeſs the Mountain *Lepas*, by which they were to paſs towards *Camerina*, and thereby force them to fall back again towards the Sea-coaſt, and to take what way they could: being unable to proceed in their Journey intended. Many hard ſhifts they made in difficult paſſages and blind marches by night; which they were fain to endure, as having none other means to eſcape from the Enemy that purſued them, and held them waking with continual skirmiſhing. To keep all in order, *Nicias* undertook the leading of the Vantguard; and *Demoſthenes* conducted the Rear. At the River *Erineus*, *Nicias* takes the ſtart of a whole nights march, leaving *Demoſthenes* to make the Retreat: who being incompaſſed, and over-preſt with numbers, in the end renders himſelf. The conditions he obtained, were far better than he could have hoped for; and the Faith of his Enemies far worſe than he ſuſpected. For he was afterward, with *Nicias*, murthered in Priſon. The Army of *Demoſthenes* being diſſolved, they purſue *Nicias* with the greater courage: who being utterly broken upon the paſſage of the River *Aſſinarus*, rendred himſelf to *Gylippus* upon honeſt conditions. *Gylippus* ſought to preſerve him, and to have had the honour to have brought theſe two to *Sparta*; *Nicias*, as a noble Enemy to the *Lacedæmonians*, and who, at the Overthrow which they received at *Pylus* by the *Athenians*, had ſaved the Lives of the vanquiſhed; *Demoſthenes*, as one that had done to *Lacedæmon* the greateſt hurt. *Hermocrates* alſo, the Commander of the *Syracuſian* Army, diſſwaded the reſt, by all the art he had, from uſing any barbarous Violence, after ſo noble a Victory. But the cruel and cowardly ſort, (Cowardiſe and Cruelty being inſeparable Paſſions) prevailed, and cauſed theſe brave Captains to be miſerably murthered; one part of their Souldiers to be ſtarved in loathſome Priſons, and the reſt ſold for Slaves. This was the ſucceſs of the *Sicilian* War, which took end at the River *Aſſinarus*, the four and twentieth day of *May*, in the fourſcore and eleventh *Olympiad*.

The *Athenians* being beaten out of *Sicil*, the *Egeſtans* (for whoſe defence againſt the *Selinuntines*, this late War had been taken in hand) fearing the victorious *Syracuſians*, ſought help from the *Carthaginians*, to whom they offered themſelves and their City as their Vaſſals. The *Carthaginians*, though ambitious enough of enlarging their Dominion in *Sicil*, yet conſidering the proſperity of the *Syracuſians*, and their late Victories over the *Athenians*, they ſtaied a while to diſpute of the matter, whether they ſhould refuſe or accept the offer made unto them: for the *Selinuntines* were ſtreightly allied to the *Syracuſians*, as may appear by what is paſt. In the end, the Senators of *Carthage* reſolve upon the Enterpriſe; and (by a trick of their *Punick* Wit) to ſeparate the *Syracuſians* from the *Selinuntines*, they ſend Embaſſadors to *Syracuſe*: praying that City, as in the behalf of the *Egeſtans*, to compel the *Selinuntines* to take reaſon, and to reſt content with ſo much of the Lands in queſtion, as they of *Syracuſe* ſhould think meet to allow them. The *Syracuſians* approved the motion, for it tended to their own Honour. But the *Selinuntines* would make no ſuch appointment: rather they took it ill, that the *Syracuſians*, with whom they had run one courſe of fortune in the

Athenian War, ſhould offer to trouble them, by interpoſing as Arbitrators, in a buſineſs, that themſelves could end by force. This was right as the *Carthaginians* would have it. For now could they of *Selinus* with an ill grace crave aid of *Syracuſe*, and the *Syracuſians* as ill grant it unto thoſe, that had refuſed to ſtand to the Arbitrament, which the *Carthaginians* would have put into their hands. Hereupon an Army of three hundred thouſand men is ſet out from *Carthage*, under the conduct of *Hannibal*, Nephew to that *Amilcar*, who (as you have heard before) was overthrown with the great *Carthaginian* Army at *Himera* by *Gelon*. *Hannibal* was exceeding greedy of this Employment, that he might take revenge, as well of his Uncles, as of his Fathers Death, the one of them having been ſlain by the *Himerans*; the other by thoſe of *Selinus*. Both theſe Cities, *Hannibal*, in this War, won by force of Arms, ſackt them and burnt them, and having taken three thouſand of the *Himerans* Priſoners, he cauſed them to be led unto the place where *Amilcar* was ſlain, and buried them there.

After this, followed ſome trouble at *Syracuſe*, occaſioned by the Baniſhment of *Hermocrates*, who had lately been General of the *Syracuſian* Forces againſt the *Athenians*. The malice of his Enemies had ſo far prevailed with the ingrateful Multitude, that he was condemned to exile for his meer Vertue, at ſuch time as he was aiding the *Lacedæmonians* in their War againſt *Athens*, wherein he did great ſervice. All the honeſter ſort within *Syracuſe* were ſorry for the injury done unto him, and ſought to have him repealed. *Hermocrates* himſelf returning into *Sicil*, gathered an Army of ſix thouſand, with which he began to repair *Selinus*, and by many noble actions, laboured to win the love of his Citizens. But the Faction that oppoſed him was the ſtronger. Wherefore he was adviſed to ſeize upon a Gate of *Syracuſe*, with ſome ſtrength of men; whereby his Friends within the Town, might have the better means to riſe againſt the adverſe Party. This he did: but preſently the Multitude fell to Arms, and ſet upon him, in which Conflict he was ſlain. But his Son-in-law *Dionyſius*, ſhall make them wiſh *Hermocrates* alive again.

†. IV.

Of Dionyſius *the Tyrant: and others, following him in* Syracuſe.

THe *Syracuſians* had enjoyed their Liberty about threeſcore years, from the Death of *Thraſybulus*, to the Death of *Hermocrates*: at which time *Dionyſius* was raiſed up by God to take revenge, as well of their Cruelty towards Strangers, as of their Ingratitude towards their own beſt Citizens. For before the time of *Dionyſius*, they had made it their Paſtime to reward the Vertue of their worthieſt Commanders with Death or Diſgrace: which Cuſtom they muſt now be taught to amend.

Dionyſius obtained the Principality of *Syracuſe*, by the ſame degrees that many others before him had made themſelves Maſters of other Cities, and of *Syracuſe* it ſelf. For being made *Prætor*, and commanding their Armies againſt the *Carthaginians* and other their Enemies, he behaved himſelf ſo well, that he got a general Love among the People and Men of War. Then began he to follow the Example of *Piſiſtratus*, that made himſelf Lord of *Athens*; obtaining a Band of ſix hundred men to defend his Perſon: under pretence, that his private Enemies, being traiterouſly affected to the State of *Syracuſe*, had laid Plots how to murther him, becauſe of his good ſervices. He doubled the Pay of the Souldiers, alledging that it would encourage them to fight manfully: but intending thereby to aſſure them to himſelf. He perſwaded the Citizens to call home out of exile, thoſe that had been baniſhed, which were the beſt men of *Syracuſe*; and theſe were afterwards at his devotion, as obliged unto him by ſo great a benefit. His firſt favour among the *Syracuſians*, grew from his accuſation of the principal men. It is the delight of baſe People to raign over their betters: wherefore, gladly did he help them to break down, as Fetters impriſoning their Liberty, the bars that held it under ſafe cuſtody. Long it was not, ere the chief Citizens had found whereat he aimed. But what they ſaw, the People would not ſee: and ſome that were needy, and knew not how to get Offices without his help, were willing to help him, though they knew his purpoſes to be ſuch, as would make all the City to ſmart. He began early to hunt after the Tyranny, being but five and twenty years of age when he obtained it; belike, it was his deſire to raign long. His firſt work of making himſelf abſolute Lord in *Syracuſe*, was the poſſeſſion of the *Cittadel*; wherein was much good proviſion, and under it the Gallies were mored. This he obtained by allowance of the People; and having obtained this, he cared for no more, but declared himſelf without all ſhame or fear: The Army, the chief Citizens reſtored by him from baniſhment; all the needy ſort within *Syracuſe* that could not thrive by honeſt courſes; and ſome neighbour-Towns bound unto him, either for his help in War, or for his eſtabliſhing the Faction, raigning at that preſent; were wholly affected to his aſſiſtance. Having therefore gotten the *Cittadel* into his hands, he needed no more, ſave to aſſure what he had already. He ſtrengthened himſelf by divers Marriages; taking firſt to Wife the Daughter of *Hermocrates*, and after her, two at once; the one a *Locrian*, *Doris*, by whom he had *Dionyſius* his Succeſſor; the other, *Ariſtomache*, the Daughter of *Hipparinus*, and Siſter to *Dion*, honourable men in *Syracuſe*, which bare unto him many Children, that ſerved to fortifie him with new Alliances.

Yet it was not long ere ſome of the *Syracuſians* (envying his proſperity) incited the Multitude, and took Arms againſt him, even in the novelty of his Rule. But their Enterpriſe was more paſſionately than wiſely governed. He had ſhamefully been beaten by the *Carthaginians* at *Gela*: which as it vexed the *Sicilian* men at arms, making them ſuſpect that it was his purpoſe to let the *Carthaginians* waſte all, that he might afterwards take poſſeſſion of the deſolate places; ſo it inflamed them with a deſire to free themſelves from his Tyranny. They departed therefore from him, and marched haſtily to *Syracuſe*, where they found Friends to help them: there they forced his Palace, ranſacked his Treaſures, and ſo ſhamefully abuſed his Wife, that for the grief thereof ſhe poiſoned her ſelf. But he followed their heels apace, and firing a Gate of the City by night, entred ſoon enough to take revenge, by making a ſpeedy riddance of them. For he ſpared none of his known, no, not of his ſuſpected Enemies. After that, he grew ſo doubtful of his Life, as he never durſt truſt Barber to trim him, nor any perſon, no, not ſo much as his Brother, to enter into his Chamber unſtript and ſearched. He was the greateſt Robber of the People that ever raigned in any State;

State; and withal, the moſt unreſpectively cruel.

After this, he ſeparated with Fortification that part of the City, called the *Iſland*, from the reſt; like as the *Spaniard* did the *Citadel* of *Antwerp*: therein he lodged his Treaſures and his Guards.

He then began to make War upon the free Cities of *Sicil*: but while he lay before *Herbeſſe*, an in-land Town, the *Syracuſians* rebelled againſt him, ſo, as with great difficulty he recovered his *Citadel*: from whence, having allured the old Souldiers of the *Campanians*, who forced their paſſage through the City with one thouſand and two hundred Horſe, he again recovered the Maſtery over the *Syracuſians*. And when a multitude of them were buſied in gathering in their Harveſt, he diſarmed all the Townſ-men remaining, and new ſtrengthened the Fort of the Iſland with a double Wall. He incloſed that part alſo called *Epipoles*; which, with threeſcore thouſand Labourers, he finiſhed in three weeks, being two Leagues in compaſs. He then built two hundred new Gallies, and repaired one hundred and ten of the old; forged one hundred and forty thouſand Targets, with as many Swords and Head-peeces, with fourteen thouſand Corſlets, and all other ſuitable Arms. Which done, he ſent word to the *Carthaginians* (greatly enfeebled by the Plague) That except they would abandon the *Greek* Towns which they held in *Sicil*, he would make War upon them: and not ſtaying for anſwer, he took the Spoil of all the *Phœnician* Ships and Merchandiſe within his Ports; as King *Philip* the ſecond did of our *Engliſh* before the War in our late Queens time. He then goes to the Field with fourſcore thouſand Foot, and three thouſand Horſe, and ſends his Brother *Leptines* to Sea with two hundred Gallies, and five hundred Ships of Burthen. Moſt of the Towns which held for *Carthage* yielded unto him, ſaving *Panormus*, *Segeſta* or *Egeſta*, *Ancyræ*, *Motya*, and *Entella*. Of theſe he firſt won *Motya* by aſſault, and put all therein to the Sword; but before *Egeſta* he loſt a great part of his Army by a Sally of the Citizens. In the mean while *Himilco* arrives, but ere he took Land, he loſt in a Fight at Sea with *Leptines*, fifty Ships of War, and five thouſand Souldiers, beſides many Ships of Burthen. This notwithſtanding, he recovered again *Motya* upon his firſt deſcent. From thence marching towards *Meſſena*, he took *Lypara*, and (ſoon after) *Meſſena*, and raized it to the ground. Now began *Dionyſius* greatly to doubt his Eſtate. He therefore fortified all the places he could, in the Territory of the *Leontines*, by which he ſuppoſed that *Himilco* would paſs toward *Syracuſe*, and he himſelf took the Field again, with four and thirty thouſand Foot, and one thouſand Horſe. Now, hearing that *Himilco* had divided his Army into two parts, marching with the one half over land, and ſending *Mago* with the other by Sea: he ſent *Leptines* his Brother to encounter *Mago*. But *Leptines* was utterly beaten by the *Carthaginians*; twenty thouſand of his men were ſlain, and an hundred of his Gallies loſt. It is very ſtrange, and hardly credible, which yet good Authors tell us; that one City ſhould be able to furniſh five hundred ſail of Ships, and two hundred Gallies (for ſo many did *Syracuſe* arm in this War) and more ſtrange it is, that in a Battel at Sea, without any great Artillery, or Musquet-ſhot, twenty thouſand ſhould be ſlain in one Fight. In all our Fights againſt the *Turks*, of which that at *Lepanto* was the moſt notable, we hear of no ſuch number loſt; nor in any other Fight by Sea, that ever hapned in our Age, nor before us. When *Charles* the fifth went to beſiege *Algier*, he had in all his Fleet, Tranſporters and others, but two hundred and fifty ſail of Ships, and threeſcore and five Gallies: for the furniſhing of which Fleet, he ſought help from all the Cities and Ports of *Spain*, *Naples*, and the reſt of *Italy*. But in old times it was the manner to carry into the Field upon extremity, as many as were needful, of all that could bear Arms, giving them little wages, or other allowance: in our days it is not ſo, neither indeed is it often requiſite. Upon this overthrow *Dionyſius* poſts away to *Syracuſe*, to ſtrengthen it: *Himilco* follows him, and beſiegeth the Town by Land and Sea. But the Tyrant having received aid from the *Lacedæmonians*, under the conduct of *Pharacidas*, puts himſelf to Sea, to make proviſion for his Citizens: who, in his abſence, take twenty of the *Carthaginian* Gallies, and ſink four. Hereupon, finding their own ſucceſs proſperous, and that of the Tyrant exceeding ill, having alſo at the preſent Weapons in their hands; they conſult how to recover their Liberty. And this they had done, had not *Pharacidas* the *Lacedæmonian* reſiſted them. It alſo fell out, to his exceeding advantange, that the Plague was ſo increaſed, and ſo violent among the *Carthaginians*, as it is ſaid, that above an hundred thouſand of them died thereof. He therefore, with the Power that he could gather together, ſets upon them both by Sea and Land, and having ſlain great numbers of them, forceth *Himilco* to deſire Peace. This Peace *Dionyſius* ſold him for a great ſum of Money, on condition that he ſhould ſteal away with his *Carthaginians* only: which he baſely accepted, betraying the reſt of the *Africans* and *Spaniards*. Yet no Faith was kept with him, for he was purſued, and left many of his *Carthaginians* behind him. The reſt of the *Africans* fell under the Swords of their Enemies; only the *Spaniards*, after they had a while bravely defended themſelves, were (after their ſubmiſſion) entertained, and ſerved the Conquerour.

Many ſuch examples of perfidious dealing have I noted in other places, and can hardly forbear to deliver unto memory the like practiſes, when they meet with their matches: That which happened unto *Monſieur de Piles*, was very ſutable to this Treachery, wherewith *Dionyſius* purſued *Himilco*. I was preſent when *De Piles* related the injury done unto him. He had rendred St. *John d' Angelie*, to the *French* King *Charles* the ninth, who beſieged him therein. He rendred it upon promiſe made by the Faith of a King, that he ſhould be ſuffered to depart in ſafety, with all his Followers. Yet in preſence of the King himſelf, of the Duke of *Anjou* his Brother, General of his Army, of the Queen Mother, and of divers Dukes and Marſhals of *France*, he was ſet upon and broken in his March, ſpoiled of all that he had, and forced to ſave his Life by flight, leaving the moſt of his Souldiers dead upon the place: the Kings Hand and Faith, warranting him to march away with Enſigns diſplaid, and with all his Goods and Proviſions, no whit availing him. It needs not therefore ſeem ſtrange, that an Heathen Tyrant ſhould thus break his Faith, ſince Kings, profeſſing Chriſtianity, are bold to do the like, or command their Captains to do it for them.

Dionyſius, after this great Victory, took care to re-edifie *Meſſena*. *Mago*, who ſtaid in *Sicil*, to hold up the *Carthaginians* therein, is again beaten by *Dionyſius*, who is alſo beaten by the *Tauromenians*. A new ſupply of fourſcore thouſand Souldiers is ſent from *Carthage* to *Mago*; but they take

Eggs

Eggs for their Money, and make Peace with *Dionyſius*, leaving the *Sicilians* in *Tauromenium*, to ſhift for themſelves, whom *Dionyſius*, after a long Siege, overcame, and gave their City to his mercenary Souldiers.

He then paſt into *Italy*, obtained divers Victories there, brought the *Rhegians* on their knees, forced them to pay him one hundred and fourſcore thouſand Crowns, to furniſh him with threeſcore Gallies, and to put in an hundred Pledges, for aſſurance of their future obſervance of Covenants. This he did, not with any purpoſe to perform unto them the Peace that they had ſo dearly bought; but that having taken from them their Gallies, he might beſiege them, and ruine them utterly with the more eaſe. Now to the end he might not without ſome colour, falſifie the Faith that he had given to them; he pretended to want Victual for his Army, at ſuch time as he ſeemed ready to depart out of *Italy*, and ſent to them to furniſh him therewith, promiſing to return them the like quantity, at his coming home to *Syracuſe*.

His reſolution was, that if they refuſed to furniſh him, he would then make their refuſal the cauſe of his Quarrel: if they yielded to aid him with the proportion which he deſired, that then they ſhould not be able, for want of Food, to endure a Siege any long time againſt him. For to ruine them he had fully determined, at what price ſoever. And great reaſon he had to take revenge of them, if he had done it fairly, and without breach of Faith. For when, in the beginning of his Raign, he deſired them to beſtow a Daughter of ſome of their Nobility upon him for a Wife: they anſwered, That they had not any one fit for him, ſave the Hang-mans Daughter. Princes do rather pardon ill Deeds than villainous Words. *Alexander* the Great forgave many ſharp Swords, but never any ſharp Tongues; no, though they told him but truly of his errors. And certainly, it belongs to thoſe that have warrant from God, to reprehend Princes, and to none elſe, eſpecially in publique.

It is ſaid, that *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, had his heart more inflamed againſt the Duke of *Biron*, for his over-bold and biting Taunts that he uſed againſt him before *Amiens*, than for his Conſpiraracy with the *Spaniard*, or *Savoyan*: for he had pardoned ten thouſand of ſuch as had gone farther, and drawn their Swords againſt him. The contemptuous words that Sir *John Parret* uſed of our late Queen *Elizabeth*, were his ruine, and not the counterfeit Letter of the Romiſh Prieſt, produced againſt him. So fared it with ſome other, greater than he, that thereby ran the ſame, and a worſe Fortune ſoon after.

To be ſhort, he made them know new Bread from old. He aſſaulted their Town on all ſides, which he continued to do eleven months, till he won it by force. He uſed his Victory without mercy; eſpecially againſt *Phyton*, who had commanded within it.

Some other Wars he made with the *Carthaginians*, after the taking and raiſing of this City, and thoſe with variable ſucceſs. For as in one Encounter he ſlew *Mago*, with ten thouſand *Africans*: ſo the Son of *Mago* beat him, and ſlew his Brother *Leptines*, with fourteen thouſand of his Souldiers. After which he bought his Peace of the *Carthaginians*, as they had formerly done of him; following therein the advice of Proſperity and Adverſity, as all Kings and States do.

When he had raigned eight and thirty years, he died: ſome ſay in his bed peaceably, which is the moſt likely, though others report it otherwiſe. A cruel man he was, and a faithleſs; a great Poet, but a fooliſh one. He entertained *Plato* a while, but afterward, for ſpeaking againſt his Tyranny, he gave order to have him ſlain, or ſold for a Slave. For he could endure no man that flattered him not beyond meaſure. His Paraſites therefore ſtiled his Cruelty, *The hate of evil men*; and his lawleſs Slaughters, *The ornaments and effects of his Juſtice*. True it is, that Flatterers are a kind of Vermine, which poiſon all the Princes of the World, and yet they proſper better than the worthieſt and valianteſt men do: And I wonder not at it; for it is a World: and as our *Saviour Chriſt* hath told us, *The World will love her own*.

To this *Dionyſius*, his Son of the ſame name ſucceeded, and inherited both his Kingdom and his Vices. To win the Love of the People, he pardoned, and releaſed out of Priſon, a great number of Perſons, by his Father lockt up and condemned. Withal, he remitted unto his Citizens divers Payments, by his Father impoſed upon them. Which done, and thereby hoping that he had faſtened unto himſelf the Peoples affections; he caſt off the Sheeps Skin, and put on that of the Wolf. For, being jealous of his own Brethren, as men of more Vertue than himſelf, he cauſed them all to be ſlain, and all the Kindred that they had by their Mothers ſide. For *Dionyſius* his Father (as hath been ſaid) had two Wives; *Doris* of *Locris*, and *Ariſtomache* a *Syracuſian*, the Siſter of *Dion*, which Brother-in-law of his he greatly enriched.

By *Doris* he had this *Dionyſius*, who ſucceeded unto him: and by *Ariſtomache* he had two Sons and two Daughters; of which the elder, called *Sophroſyne*, he gave in Matriage to his eldeſt Son, and her half Brother *Dionyſius*; the younger, called *Areta*, he beſtowed on his Brother *Theorides*: after whoſe Death, *Dion* took her to Wife, being his Neece.

This *Dion*, a juſt and valiant man, finding that *Dionyſius* had abandoned all exerciſe of Vertue, and that he was wholly given over to ſenſuality, prevailed ſo much with *Plato*, whoſe Diſciple he had been, as he drew him into *Sicil* to inſtruct the young King. And having perſwaded the King to entertain him, he wrought ſo well with him, as *Dionyſius* began to change condition, to change Tyranny into Monarchy, and to hold the Principality that he had, rather by the Love of his People, and his National Laws, than by the violence of his Guards and Garriſons. But this goodneſs of his laſted not long. For *Philiſtus* the Hiſtorian, and other his Paraſites, that hated *Dions* ſeverity, wrought him out of the Tyrants Favour, and cauſed him ſoon after to be baniſhed out of *Sicil*, to the great grief of the whole Nation. For whereas *Dion* had made offer to the King, either to compound the quarrels between him and the *Carthaginians*, of whom *Dionyſius* ſtood in great fear, or (at leaſt) if they refuſed it, to furniſh him with fifty Gallies at his own charge, during the War againſt them: his Enemies found means, by ſiniſter interpretation, to convert his good Will into matter of Treaſon. They told *Dionyſius*, that all the great commendations given of *Plato*, had tended to none other end, than to ſoften his mind, and to make him neglect his own Affairs, by the ſtudy of Philoſophy; whileſt *Dion*, in the mean time, having furniſhed fifty Gallies, under colour of the Kings ſervice, had it in his own power, either to deliver to the *Syracuſians* their former Liberty, or to make himſelf Lord and Soveraign of their State.

It

It is likely, that the honeſt and liberal offer which he made, to ſerve the King with ſo great a preparation at his own charge, begot him many Enemies. For they that had ſerved the King for none other end, than to raiſe and enrich themſelves, and had already been raiſed and enriched, thought themſelves bound to make the ſame offer that *Dion* had made, if the King had had the grace to conceive it aright. But theſe covetous and ignorant Cowards, that had neither the knowledge, nor the daring that *Dion* had, were bold to ſtile his *Love* and *Liberality*, *Pride* and *Preſumption*, and heartned the young King in his oppreſſing and eating up his own People, of whoſe ſpoils they themſelves ſhared no ſmall portion. I have heard it, That when *Charles* the Fifth had the repulſe at *Algier* in *Africa*, *Ferdinando Corteſe*, one of the braveſt men that ever *Spain* brought forth, offered unto the Emperor to continue the Siege at his own charge. But he had never good day after it. For they that envied his Victories, and his Conqueſt of *Mexico* in the Weſt *Indies*, perſwaded the Emperor that *Corteſe* ſought to value himſelf above him, and to have it ſaid, That what the Emperour could not, *Corteſe* had effected, and was therefore more worthy of the Empire than he that had it.

When *Dion* was newly baniſhed, the Tyrant was contented at firſt to ſend him the Revenues of his Lands, and permit him to diſpoſe of his Moveables at his own pleaſure: not without giving hope to recall him in ſhort time. Had he continued in this good mood, like enough it is, that *Dion* would have been well pleaſed to live well, as he did at *Athens*. But after ſome time, *Dionyſius* made Port-ſail of this Noble-mans Goods, and thereby urged him to take another courſe, even to ſeek the reſtitution of his Countrey to liberty. The Vertues of *Dion*, eſpecially his great Liberality, had purchaſed much Love in *Greece*. This Love made him ſuſpected and hated of the Tyrant: but it ſtood him in good ſtead, when he ſought to raiſe men, with whoſe help he might return into *Sicil*. Yet he got not above eight hundred (for he carried the matter cloſely) to follow him in this adventure. But many of them were men of quality, and fit to be Leaders. Neither did he doubt of finding in *Syracuſe*, as many as ſhould be needful, that would readily aſſiſt him. Therefore he landed boldly in *Sicil*, marched to *Syracuſe*, entred the City without reſiſtance; armed the Multitude, and won all, ſave the *Citadel*.

Dionyſius was then abſent in *Italy*; but he quickly had advertiſement of this dangerous accident. Wherefore he returned haſtily to *Syracuſe*: whence, after many vain Treaties of Peace, and ſome forceable attempts to recover the Town, he was fain to depart; leaving yet the Caſtle to the cuſtody of *Apollocrates*, his eldeſt Son. Yet ere he went, his Minion *Philiſtus*, coming with a ſtrength of men to aſſiſt him, was beaten, taken, and put to death by torment. But *Dion*, for the recovery of his Countries Liberty, had the ſame reward that all worthy men have had from popular Eſtates. He was diſgraced, aſſaulted, and forced to abandon the City. He retireth himſelf to the *Leontines*, who receive him with great joy. Soon after his departure from *Syracuſe*, new Troops enter the Caſtle: they ſally out, aſſail, ſpoil and burn a great part of the City. *Dion* is ſent for, with humble requeſt: yet, ere he could arrive, *Dionyſius* his Souldiers were retired; and the Townſmen thinking themſelves ſecure, ſhut the Gates againſt *Dion*. But the next night, they of the Caſtle ſally again with greater fury than ever; and kill Man, Woman, and Child, and ſet fire in all parts of the Town. In this their extremity, *Dion* comes the ſecond time to their ſuccour; the love of his Country ſurmounting all the injuries that he had received. He ſets upon the Garriſon of the Caſtle with the one part of his Army; and quencheth the fire, every where kindled with the other part. In concluſion, after he had conquered both the Fire and the Sword, that had well near burnt to aſhes and depopulated *Syracuſe*, he recovered the Caſtle, with the Munition and Furniture thereof, and ſent *Apollocrates* after *Dionyſius* his Father into *Italy*. But their malice, of whom he had beſt deſerved, and whom he had loved moſt, gave an untimely end to his days. For he was ſoon after this his Victory, murthered by *Calippus*; who, after he had, with ill ſucceſs, a while governed *Syracuſe*, was ſlain with the ſame Dagger, with which he had murthered *Dion*.

Ten years after the death of *Dion*, *Dionyſius*, with the aſſiſtance of his Friends in *Italy*, recovers his Eſtate, and returns to *Syracuſe*, driving *Nyſæus* thence, whom he found Governour therein. The better ſort of the Citizens, fearing, more than ever, his cruelty, flee to *Icetes*, a *Syracuſian* born, and then ruling the *Leontines*. *Icetes* enters into confederacy with the *Carthaginians*, hoping by their aſſiſtance, not only to prevail againſt *Dionyſius*, but by the hatred of the *Syracuſians* towards *Dionyſius*, to make him alſo Lord of their City. The *Syracuſians* being deſervingly afflicted on all ſides, ſend to the *Corinthians* for ſuccour. *Icetes* alſo ſends thither, and diſſwades the *Corinthians*, as well as he can, from intermedling in the buſineſs. He tells them by his Meſſengers, that he had entred into League with the *Carthaginians*, who were ſo ſtrong by Sea, that it was not in the power of *Corinth* to land any Army in *Sicil*. But the *Corinthians*, being by this Treaſon of *Icetes*, more inraged than diſſwaded, ſent *Timoleon* with nineteen Gallies to deliver *Syracuſe* from tyranny. In the mean while, *Icetes* had entred *Syracuſe*, and with the help of the *Carthaginians*, driven *Dionyſius* into the Caſtle, wherein he beſieged him.

Icetes, being himſelf a Tyrant in *Leontium*, rather ſought how to enlarge his Power, than how to deliver his Country. Therefore, hearing that *Timoleon* was arrived at *Rhegium*, he ſent to perſwade him to return his Fleet, for that all things were (in effect) eſtabliſhed in *Sicil*. The *Carthaginian* Gallies were alſo in the ſame Port of *Rhegium*; whoſe Captains adviſed *Timoleon* to get him gone in peace. They had far more Gallies there than he had, and were like to compel him, if he would not be perſwaded. *Timoleon* finding himſelf over-maſtered, makes requeſt to the *Carthaginian* Captains, that they would be pleaſed to enter into *Rhegium*, and there, in an open aſſembly of the People, to deliver unto him thoſe arguments for his return, which they had uſed to him in private; that he might, by publique teſtimony, diſcharge himſelf to the Senate of *Corinth*.

The *Carthaginians* perſwading themſelves, that a Victory obtained by a few fair words, was without loſs, and far more eaſie than that of many blows and wounds, yielded to *Timoleons* deſire. But while the Orations were delivering, *Timoleon*, favoured by the *Rhegians*, ſtole out of the Preſs; and having ſet ſail before the Gates were opened to the *Carthaginians*, he recovered the Port of *Tauromenium*, where he was joyfully received by *Andromachus* the Governour. From thence he marched towards *Adranum*, where ſurpriſing

Icetes

Icetes his Army, he ſlew a part thereof, and put the reſt to run. It is the nature of Victory to beget friends. The *Adranitans* joyned with him, and ſo did *Mamercus* the Tyrant of *Catana*. *Dionyſius* alſo ſent to *Timoleon*, offering to ſurrender the Caſtle of *Syracuſe* into his hands: as thinking it better to yield up himſelf, and the places which he could not defend, unto the *Corinthians*, than either to *Icetes*, whom he diſdained, or to the *Carthaginians*, whom he hated. Now *Timoleon*, who within fifty days after his arrival, had recovered the Caſtle of *Syracuſe*, and ſent *Dionyſius* to *Corinth*, to live there a private man, was ſtill invaded by the Armies, and moleſted by the practiſes of *Icetes*. For he beſieged the *Corinthians* within the Caſtle of *Syracuſe*, and attempted (but in vain) the Murther of *Timoleon*.

The *Corinthians* ſend unto *Timoleon* a ſupply of two thouſand foot, and two hundred Horſe, which are ſtaid in *Italy* by foul weather. *Icetes* is ſtrengthened with threeſcore thouſand *Africans*, brought unto him by *Mago* (all which he lodgeth within *Syracuſe*) and with an hundred and fifty Gallies to keep the Port. This was the firſt time that ever the *Carthaginians* had dominion within the Walls of that City. With this great Army, *Icetes* aſſaulteth the Caſtle. *Timoleon* ſends them Victuals and ſuccour in ſmall Boats by night from *Catana*. *Mago* and *Icetes* do therefore reſolve to beſiege *Catana*; but they were no ſooner on their way towards it, with part of their forces, than *Leon*, Captain of the *Corinthians*, ſallied out of the Caſtle, and took that part of *Syracuſe*, called *Acradina*, which he fortified.

In the mean while, the two thouſand *Corinthians* arrive: with whom, and two thouſand other Souldiers, *Timoleon* marched towards *Syracuſe*. *Mago* abandoneth *Icetes*, being frighted out of *Sicil* (which he might eaſily have conquered) with an idle rumour of Treaſon. This made him return to *Carthage*, where the general exclamation againſt his Cowardize, did ſo much affright him, that for fear of farther puniſhment, he hanged himſelf. *Timoleon* enters the City, and beats down the Caſtle (which he called *the Neſt of Tyrants*) to the ground. But he found the City, when the Strangers were fled, in effect deſolate, ſo as their Horſes did feed on the Graſs growing in the Market-place. Therefore he writes to *Corinth* for People to re-inhabit it. Ten thouſand are ſent out of *Greece*; many come from *Italy*, others from other parts of the Iſland.

But a new ſtorm ariſeth. *Aſdrubal* and *Amilcar*, *Carthaginians*, arrive about *Lilybæum*, with threeſcore and ten thouſand Souldiers tranſported (with all their Proviſion) in a thouſand Ships of Burthen, and two hundred Gallies. *Timoleon* marcheth thither, and chargeth this great Army upon the paſſage of a River.

A Tempeſt of Rain, Hail, and Lightning, with boiſtrous Winds beating upon the Faces of the *Carthaginians*, they are utterly broken: ten thouſand ſlain, five thouſand taken, with all their Carriages and Proviſions: among which, there were found a thouſand Corſlets, guilt and graven. After this, *Timoleon* gave an overthrow to *Icetes*, and following his Victory, took him, with his Son *Eupolemus*, and the General of his Horſe, Priſoners, whom he cauſed all to be ſlain: and afterwards (which was imputed to him for great cruelty) he ſuffered *Icetes* his Wives and Daughters to be put to death. But this was the revenge of God upon *Icetes*, who (after the murther of *Dion*) had cauſed *Arete*, *Dions* Wife, and a young Child of his, with *Ariſtomache* his Siſter, to be caſt into the Sea.

Plut. in vit. Tim.

He again prevailed againſt *Mamercus*, Tyrant of *Catana*, and won *Catana* it ſelf. *Mamercus* fled to *Hippon*, Tyrant of *Meſſena*: but *Timoleon* purſuing him, won the Town, delivering *Hippon* to his Citizens, who tormented him to death. The ſame end had *Mamerchus*, and all other, the Tyrants in *Sicil*.

Finally, he made Peace with the *Carthaginians*; on condition, That they ſhould not paſs the River of *Lycus*. After this, he lived in great honour among the *Syracuſians*, till his Death, and was ſolemnly buried by them in the Market-place of their City: the day of his Funerals being for ever ordained to be kept holy among them.

After ſuch time as *Timoleon* had delivered *Syracuſe* from the Tyranny of *Dionyſius*, and brought Peace to the whole Iſland, the Inhabitants enjoyed their Liberty in peace about twenty years. The Cities and Temples were repaired, the Trade renewed, the Merchant ſailed in ſafety, and the labouring Man enjoyed the fruits of the Earth in quiet. But it was impoſſible that a Nation which neither knew how to govern, nor how to obey, which could neither endure Kings, nor men worthy to be Kings to govern them, ſhould any long time ſubſiſt.

Twenty years after the death of *Timoleon*, there ſtarted up an *Agathocles* among them, a man of baſe Birth, and of baſer Condition; who from a Beggar to a common Souldier, from a Souldier to a Captain, and ſo from degree to degree, riſing to be a *Prætor*; finally, became Lord and Soveraign of the *Syracuſians*. Many fortunes he ran, and underwent as many dangers ere he obtained the Principality. For he had more than once attempted it, and was therein both beaten and baniſh'd. A paſſing valiant man he was, and did notable ſervice, as well for thoſe by whom he was imployed, as alſo for the *Syracuſians*, and againſt them. For in their Wars againſt thoſe of *Enna* and the *Campanes*, he did them memorable ſervice: and on the contrary, as memorable ſervice for the *Murgantines*, againſt the *Syracuſians*. For being entertained by the People of *Murgantia*, and made General of their Forces, he ſackt *Leontium*; and beſieged *Syracuſe* ſo ſtreightly, that the Citizens were driven to crave aid, even from their ancient and natural Enemies, the *Carthaginians*. *Amilcar* was ſent by the *Carthaginians* to relieve *Syracuſe*. With him *Agathocles* wrought ſo well, that he got him to make Peace between himſelf and the *Syracuſians*, binding himſelf by Promiſe and Oath, to remain a Friend and Servant to the Eſtate of *Carthage* for ever after. *Amilcar* entertained the buſineſs, and compounded the quarrels between *Agathocles* and the *Syracuſians*. *Agathocles* is choſen *Prætor*, he entertains five thouſand *Africans*, and divers old Souldiers of the *Murgantines*, under colour of a purpoſe to beſiege *Herbita*. With theſe, and with the aſſiſtance of the poor and diſcontented *Syracuſians* (the City being alſo divided into many Factions) he aſſails the Senators, kills all his Enemies and Oppoſites, divides the ſpoil of the Rich among the Poor, and gives liberty to his Souldiers to Rob, to Raviſh, and to Murther, for two whole days and nights without controulment: the third day, when they had blunted their barbarous Appetites, and ſtrewed the Streets with ten thouſand dead Carkaſſes, beſides thoſe that had broken their Necks over the Walls, their Fury had no further ſubject to work on.

Agathocles, in an aſſembly of the People (being an eloquent Knave) perſwaded them, that for the violent Sickneſs, by which the Common-wealth was utterly conſumed, he found no better than the

the violent remedies which he had adminiſtred; and that he had affected no other thing, than the reducing of the State from an *Oligarchy*, or the Rule of a few tyrannous Magiſtrates, to the ancient and indifferent *Democracy*, by which it had been governed, from the firſt inſtitution, with ſo great glory and proſperity. This he did, to have the Crown clapt on his Head (as it were) perforce. For as he knew that he had left none living within the City fit nor able to exerciſe the Office of a Magiſtrate, ſo knew he right well, that all they which had aſſiſted in the Murther and Spoil of their fellow Citizens, had no other hope of defence, than the ſupport of a lawleſs Lord, who had been partaker with them in their Villanies and Cruelties committed. So as this Rabble, his Oration ended, proclaimed him King: again and again, ſaluting, and adoring him by that Name, as if it had been given to him by ſome lawful Election. Hence had our King *Richard* the Third a piece of his pattern; but the one was of baſe, the other of Kingly Parents; the one took liberty from a Common-wealth, the other ſought only to ſucceed in a Monarchy; the one continued his Cruelty to the end, the other, after he had obtained the Crown, ſought, by making of good Laws, to recover the Love of his People.

The Life of this Tyrant is briefly written by *Juſtin*; more largely and particularly by *Diodorus Siculus*: the ſum whereof is this. The ſame *Amilcar* that had brought him into *Syracuſe*, and that had lent him five thouſand men to help in the Maſſacre of the Citizens, was alſo content to wink at many wrongs that he did unto the Confederates of the *Carthaginians*. It was the purpoſe of *Amilcar*, to ſettle *Agathocles* in his Tyranny, and to let him vex and waſte the whole Iſland, becauſe it was thereby like to come to paſs, that he ſhould reduce all *Sicil* into ſuch terms, as would make it become an eaſie Prey to *Carthage*. But when the Cities confederate with the *Carthaginians* ſent their Embaſſadors with complaint of this ill dealing to *Carthage*; the *Punick* Faith (ſo much taunted by the *Romans*, as no better than meer falſhood) ſhewed it ſelf very honourable, in taking order for the redreſs. Embaſſadors were ſent to comfort the *Sicilians*, and to put *Agathocles* in mind of his Covenants; *Amilcar* was recalled home into *Africk*, and a new Captain appointed to ſucceed in his charge, with ſuch Forces, as might compel *Agathocles* to reaſon, if otherwiſe he would not hearken to it. All this tended to ſave their Confederates from ſuffering ſuch injuries in the future. For that which was paſt (ſince it could not be recalled) they took order to have it ſeverely puniſhed. *Amilcar* was accuſed ſecretly, and by way of ſcrutiny: the ſuffrages being given, but not calculated, and ſo reſerved until he ſhould return. This was not ſo cloſely handled, but that *Amilcar* had ſome notice of it. In managing his buſineſs with *Agathocles*, it is likely that he had an eye to his own profit, as well as to the publick benefit of his Country. For he had made ſuch a Compoſition with the *Syracuſian*, as gave him not only means to weaken others, but to ſtrengthen himſelf both in Power and Authority, even againſt the *Carthaginians*. Such is commonly the cuſtom of thoſe that hope to work their own ends by cunning practices; thinking to deal ſubtilly, and finally, they ſpin their Threads ſo ſmall, that they are broken with the very Wind. *Amilcar* ſaw that his *Carthaginians* had a purpoſe to deal ſubſtantially, and that therefore it would be hard for him to make them follow his crooked devices: which if he could not do, it was to be expected, that their anger would break out into ſo much the greater extremity, by how much the more they had concealed it. Therefore he followed the example which ſome of his foregoers had taught him; and for fear of ſuch a death as the Judges might award him, he ended his own life in what ſort he thought beſt. This deſperation of *Amilcar* ſerved to inform *Agathocles* of the *Carthaginians* intent. He ſaw they would not be deluded with words, and therefore reſolved to get the ſtart of them in action. He diſſembled no longer, but inſtead of Spoil and Robbery, made open War upon all their Adherents. He had made the better part of *Sicil* his own ere the *Carthaginian* Forces arrived: which thinking to have encountred an ill eſtabliſhed Tyrant, found him ready, as a King, to defend his own, and give them ſharp entertainment. They were beaten by him, and their Navy was ſo Tempeſt-beaten, that they could neither do good by Land nor Sea, but were glad to leave their buſineſs undone, and return into *Africk*.

The *Carthaginians* prepare a new Fleet: which being very gallantly manned and furniſhed, was broken by foul weather, and the beſt part of it caſt away, even whileſt it was yet kenning of their City. But *Amilcar*, the Son of *Giſco*, gathering together the remainders of this Ship-wrack, was bold to paſs over into *Sicil*, and landed not far from *Gela*: where *Agathocles* was ſoon ready to examine the cauſe of their coming. Many Skirmiſhes paſſed between them, in which (commonly) the *Syracuſian* had the better. But his good ſucceſs begat preſumption; whereby he loſt a Battel, more important than all the other Fights. One adverſe chance is enough to overthrow the State of a Tyrant, if it be not upheld by great circumſpection. The War was ſoon transferred to the Walls of *Syracuſe*, within which *Agathocles* was cloſed up, and driven to make his laſt defence by their help, who may be judged to have loved him not very greatly. But the Inhabitants of *Syracuſe*, after that great Maſſacre of the principal men, made in the beginning of this new Tyranny, were (for the moſt part) ſuch as had been either mercinary Souldiers, infranchiſed Slaves, or baſe and needy People; helpers in eſtabliſhing the preſent Government, and Executioners of the Murthers and Spoil committed in that change. If there were any other (as ſome there were) they were ſo well obſerved, and (withall) ſo fearful, that they durſt not ſtir. But it was not enough, that they all agreed in the common defence of themſelves and their City; Famine was likely to grow upon them, and enforce them to change their reſolution. In this neceſſity *Agathocles* adventured upon a ſtrange courſe, which the event commended as wiſe. He imbarqued as many as he thought meet in thoſe Veſſels that rode in the Haven; and committing the Government of the City to his Brother *Antander*, willed the People to be of good courage, for that (as he told them) he had bethought himſelf of a mean, both to raiſe the Siege, and to repair all other loſſes. A *Carthaginian* Fleet lay in the Mouth of the Haven, both to hinder the entrance of Victuallers, and to keep the beſieged from iſſuing forth.

Now at ſuch time as *Agathocles* was ready to depart, advertiſement came that many Ships of Burthen laden with Corn and other Proviſions, were drawing near unto *Syracuſe*. To intercept theſe, the *Carthaginians* hoiſe ſail, and launch forth into the deep. They were not far gone when they might behold *Agathocles* iſſuing forth of the Port, with purpoſe (as they thought) to give Convoy unto his Victuallers. Hereupon they wheel about, and make amain towards him, as thinking him

the better booty. He neither abode their coming, nor fled back into the City, but made all ſpeed towards *Africk*, and was purſued by the *Carthaginians*, as long as day would give them light. In the mean ſeaſon the Victuallers were gotten into *Syracuſe*, which was the more plentifully relieved by their coming, for that *Agathocles* had unburthened the place of no ſmall number. When the *Carthaginian* Admiral perceived; firſt, that by purſuing two Fleets at once, he had miſſed of them both; and ſecondly, that *Agathocles* returned not again, but was gone to ſeek his Fortune elſewhere; he thought it good to purſue thoſe that were fled, and to attend ſo well upon them, that they ſhould not have leiſure to do miſchief in ſome other part.

The *Carthaginian* Navy followed *Agathocles* (whether by chance, or by relation of ſuch as had met with him at Sea) directly towards *Africk*, and overtook him after ſix days. He had (at the firſt) a great ſtart of them, ſo that (belike) they rowed hard, and wearied themſelves in ſeeking their own misfortune. For he fought with them, and beat them, and having ſunk or taken many, drave the reſt to fly which way they could, laden with ſtrange tidings of his Voyage.

When *Agathocles* had landed his men in *Africk*, then did he diſcover unto them his project; letting them underſtand, that there was no better way to divert the *Carthaginians*, not only from *Syracuſe*, but from all the Iſle of *Sicil*, than by bringing the War to their own doors. For here (ſaid he) they have many that hate them, and that will readily take arms againſt them, as ſoon as they perceive that there is an Army on foot, which dares to look upon their Walls. Their Towns are ill fortified, their People untrained and unexperienced in dangers; the mercinary Forces that they levy in theſe parts, will rather follow us than them, if we offer greater Wages than they can give: which we may better promiſe and make good, by letting them have ſome ſhare with us in all the Wealth of the *Carthaginians*, than our Enemies can do, by making ſome addition to their Stipends. Thus he talked, as one already Maſter of all the riches in *Africk*, and with many brave words encouraged his men ſo well, that they were contented to ſet fire on all their Ships (reſerving one or two to uſe as Meſſengers) to the end that no hope ſhould remain, ſave only in Victory. In this heat of reſolution, they win by force two Cities, which after they had throughly ſacked, they burnt to the ground, as a mark of terrour to all that ſhould make reſiſtance. The *Carthaginians* hearing this, are amazed, thinking that *Amilcar* is broken, and his whole Army deſtroyed in *Sicil*. This impreſſion ſo diſmaies them, that when they know the truth of all, by ſuch as had ſcaped in the late Sea-fight, yet ſtill they fear, and know not what. They ſuſpect *Amilcars* Faith, who had ſuffered *Agathocles* to land in *Africk*: they ſuſpect their principal Citizens at home of a meaning to betray *Carthage* unto the Enemy; they raiſe a great Army, and know not unto whoſe charge they may ſafely commit it.

There were at that time two famous Captains in the City, *Hanno*, and *Bomilcar*; great Enemies, and therefore the more unlikely to conſpire againſt the Common-wealth. Theſe are made generals of the Army levied, which far exceeded the Forces of *Agathocles*. But it ſeldom happens, that diſſention between Commanders produceth any fortunate event. Neceſſity drave *Agathocles* to fight, and the courage of his men reſolved to deal with the whole Multitude of the *Carthaginians*, made eaſie the Victory againſt the one half of them. For *Bomilcar* would not ſtir: but ſuffered *Hanno* to be cut in pieces.

The reputation of this Victory brought over a King of the *Africans*, from the *Carthaginian* Society, to take part with *Agathocles*, who purſuing his Victory, wins many Towns, and ſends word to *Syracuſe* of his good ſucceſs. The *Carthaginians* alſo ſend into *Sicil*, willing *Amilcar* their General, to ſuccour the State of *Africk*, which was in danger to be loſt, whileſt he was travelling in the Conqueſt of *Sicil*. *Amilcar* ſends them five thouſand men; all his Forces he thought it not needful to tranſport, as hoping rather to draw *Agathocles* back into *Sicil*, than to be drawn home by one that could ſcarce retain his own Kingdom. But theſe good hopes had a bad iſſue. He ſpent ſome time in winning a few Towns that adhered unto the *Syracuſians*: and having brought his matters to ſome good order, he conceived a ſudden hope of taking *Syracuſe* by ſurpriſe. It was a pretty (though tragical) accident, if it were true, as *Tully* relates it. *Amilcar* had a Dream, which told him that he ſhould ſup the next day within *Syracuſe*. His Fancy begot this Dream, and he believed it. He made more haſte than good ſpeed toward the City: and coming upon it on the ſudden, had good hope to carry it. But his Enemies were prepared for him, and had laid an Ambuſh to intrap him, whereinto he fell. So he was carried Priſoner into the City, in which it was likely that he had no great Chear to his Supper: for they ſtruct of his Head, and ſent it into *Africk* (a welcome Preſent) to *Agathocles*.

This good ſucceſs of things at home, did put ſuch courage into the *Sicilian* Army, that *Agathocles* was bold to wear a Crown, and ſtile himſelf *King of Africk*. He had allured *Ophellas*, King of the *Cyrenians*, to take his part, by promiſes to deliver the Country into his hands: for that (as he ſaid) it was ſufficient unto himſelf to have diverted the *Carthaginians* from *Sicil*, wherein (after this War ended) he might raign quietly. *Ophellas* came with a great Army, and was friendly entertained. But the traiterous *Sicilian* taking an advantage, did murther this his Aſſiſtant: and afterwards, by good Words, and great Promiſes, drew all the *Cyrenian* Army to follow him in his Wars. Thus his Villainy found good ſucceſs, and he ſo prevailed in *Africk*, that he got leiſure to make a ſtep into *Sicil*. Many Towns in *Sicil* had imbraced a deſire of recovering their Liberty, thinking it high time to fight at length for their own Freedom, after that they had ſo long been expoſed (as a reward of Victory) either unto Aliens, or to Tyrants of their own Country. Theſe had prevailed far, and gotten many to take their parts, as in a common cauſe: when the coming of *Agathocles* abated their high Spirits, and his good ſucceſs in many Fights, compelled them to Obedience. Out of *Sicil* he returned into *Africk*, where his Affairs ſtood in very bad terms. *Archagathus* his Son had loſt a Battel, and (which was worſe) had ill means to help himſelf, his Army being in mutiny for lack of Pay. But *Agathocles* pacified the Tumult, by the accuſtomed Promiſes of great Booty and Spoil. It had now been time for him to offer Peace to the *Carthaginians*, which to obtain, they would (queſtionleſs) have given to him both Money enough to pay his Army, and all that they then held in *Sicil*. For their City had been diſtreſſed, not only by this his War, but by the Treaſon of *Bomilcar*, who failed not much of making himſelf Tyrant over them. But Ambition is blind. *Agathocles* had all his thoughts fixed upon the Conqueſt of *Carthage* it ſelf: out of which

which dream he was awaked, by the loſs of a Battel, not ſo memorable in regard of any accident therein, as of the ſtrange events following it. The *Carthaginians*, after their great misfortunes in this War, had renewed their old Sacrifices of Children to *Saturn*, from which they had abſtained ever ſince they made Peace with *Gelon*. And now they made choice of ſome, the goodlieſt of their Priſoners taken in the Battel, to offer unto the ſaid Idol, in way of thankfulneſs for their Victory. The Fire with which theſe unhappy men were conſumed, caught hold upon the Lodgings neareſt unto the Altar, and ſpreading it ſelf farther through the Camp, with the deſtruction of many men, cauſed ſuch a Tumult as is uſual in the like caſes. At the ſame time, the like accident of fire burnt up the Pavilion of *Agathocles*. Hereupon both the Armies fled away; each of them believing that the noiſe in the adverſe Camp, was a ſign of the Enemies coming to invade it. But the *Carthaginians* had a ſafe retreat: *Agathocles*, by a ſecond errour, fell into a new Calamity. In the beginning of this his Flight in the dark, he met with his own *African* Souldiers, and thinking them to be Enemies (as indeed the one half of them had revolted from him to the *Carthaginians*, in the laſt Battel) he began to aſſail them, and was ſo ſtoutly reſiſted, that he loſt in this blind Fight, above four thouſand of his men. This did ſo diſcourage his proud Heart, that being fallen from the near hope of taking the City of *Carthage*, unto ſome diſtruſt of his own ſafety, he knew no more how to moderate his preſent weak fears, than lately he had known how to govern his Ambition. Therefore he took the way that came next into his Head; which was, to ſteal cloſely aboard his Ships with his younger Son (the elder he ſuſpected of Inceſt, and of Ambition) and ſo to fly into *Sicil*; thinking it the beſt courſe to ſhift for himſelf, as wanting Veſſels wherein to tranſport his Army. His elder Son *Archagathus* perceiving his drift, arreſted him, and put him under cuſtody; but by means of a ſudden Tumult, he was let looſe, eſcaped, and fled alone, leaving both his Sons behind him, his Flight being noiſed through the Army, all was in uproar, and extremity of rage cauſed not only the common Souldiers, but even ſuch as had been Friends to the Tyrant, to lay hold upon his two Sons and kill them. That this Flight of *Agathocles* was extreamly baſe; I need not uſe words to prove: That his fear was truly, as all fear is ſaid to be, a paſſion, depriving him of the ſuccours which reaſon offered, the ſequel doth manifeſt. His forſaken Souldiers being now a headleſs Company, and no longer an Army to be feared, obtained nevertheleſs a reaſonable compoſition from the *Carthaginians*: to whom they ſold thoſe places whereof they had poſſeſſion, for nineteen Talents. Likewiſe *Agathocles* himſelf, having loſt his Army, did nevertheleſs, by the reputation of this late War, make Peace with *Carthage* upon equal terms.

After this, the Tyrant being delivered from forraign Enemies, diſcovered his bloody Nature in moſt abominable Cruelties among the *Sicilians*. His Wants and his Fears urged him ſo violently, that he was not ſatisfied with the Spoils of the Rich, or the death of thoſe whom he held ſuſpected: but in a beaſtly rage, depopulated whole Cities. He deviſed new Engines of Torment; wherein ſtriving to exceed the Bull of *Phalaris*, he made a Frame of Braſs, that ſhould ſerve to ſcorch mens Bodies, and withal, give him leave to behold them in their Miſery. So devilliſh is the nature of man, when reaſon, that ſhould be his guide, is become a Slave to his brutiſh Affections. In theſe miſchiefs he was ſo outragious, that he neither ſpared Sex nor Age; eſpecially when he was informed of the Slaughter of his Children in *Africk*. But this was not the way to preſerve his Eſtate: it threw him into new dangers. They whom he had chaſed out of their Country, took arms againſt him, and drave him into ſuch fear, that he was fain to ſeek the Love at *Carthage*, which, by ruling well, he might have had in *Sicil*. He freely delivered into the *Carthaginians* hands, all thoſe Towns of the *Phœnicians* in *Sicil*, belonging unto them, which were in his poſſeſſion. They requited him honourably with great ſtore of Corn, and with four hundred Talents of Gold and Silver. So (though not without much trouble and hazard) he prevailed againſt the Rebels, and ſetled his Eſtate. Having no further buſineſs left in *Sicil*, he made a Voyage into *Italy*. There he ſubdued the *Brutians*, rather by terrour of his Name, than by any force, for they yielded at his firſt coming. This done, he went to the Iſle of *Lipara*, and made the Inhabitants buy Peace with one hundred Talents of Gold. But when he had gotten this great Sum, he would needs exact a greater; and finding plainly that they had no more left, he was bold to ſpoil the Temples of their Gods. Herein (methinks) he did well enough. For how could he believe thoſe to be Gods, that had continually given deaf ears to his horrible Perjuries? Then he returned richly home, with eleven Ships loaden with Gold: all which, and all the reſt of his Fleet, were caſt away by foul weather at Sea; one Gally excepted, in which he himſelf eſcaped, to ſuffer a more miſerable end. A grievous Sickneſs fell upon him, that rotted his whole Body, ſpreading it ſelf through all his Veins and Sinews. Whileſt he lay in this caſe, all deſiring his end, ſave only *Theogenia* (a Wife that he had taken out of *Ægypt*) and her ſmall Children: his Nephew, the Son of *Archagathus*, before mentioned, and a younger Son of his own, began to contend about the Kingdom. Neither did they ſeek to end the Controverſie by the old Tyrants deciſion; they regarded him not ſo much. But each of them laid wait for the others Life, wherein the Nephew ſped ſo well, that he ſlew his Uncle, and got his Grand-fathers Kingdom without asking any leave. Theſe Tidings wounded the Heart of *Agathocles* with fear and ſorrow. He ſaw himſelf without help like to become a Prey to his ungracious Nephew, from whom he knew that no favour was to be expected, either by himſelf, or by thoſe whom only he now held dear, which were *Theogenia* and her Children. Therefore he adviſed her and them to fly before they were ſurpriſed: for that otherwiſe they could by no means avoid, either Death, or ſomewhat that would be worſe. He gave them all his Treaſures and Goods, wherewith he even compelled them (weeping to leave him deſolate in ſo wretched a caſe) to imbark themſelves haſtily, and make ſpeed into *Ægypt*. After their departure, whether he threw himſelf into the fire, or whether his Diſeaſe conſumed him, there was none left that cared to attend him; but he ended his Life as baſely, as obſcurely, and in as much want as he firſt began it.

After the death of *Agathocles* it was, that the *Mamertines* his Souldiers traiterouſly occupied *Meſſana*, and infeſted a great part of the Iſland. Then alſo did the *Carthaginians* begin to renew their attempts of conquering all *Sicil*. What the Nephew of *Agathocles* did, I cannot find. Likely it is, that he quickly periſhed. For the *Sicilians* were driven

to send for *Pyrrhus* to help them, who had married with a Daughter of *Agathocles*. But *Pyrrhus* was soon weary of the Country (as hath been shewed before) and therefore left it; prophecying that it would become a goodly Champain Field, wherein *Rome* and *Carthage* should fight for superiority. In which business, how these two great Cities did speed, the order of our Story will declare.

§. V.

A re-continuation of the Roman *War in* Sicil.. *How* Hieron, *King of* Syracuse, *forsook the* Carthaginians, *and made his Peace with* Rome.

WHen *Appius Claudius*, following the advantage of his Victory gotten at *Messana*, brought the War unto the Gates of *Syracuse*, and besieged that great City; *Hieron* found it high time for him to seek Peace: knowing that the *Carthaginians* had neither any reason to be offended with him, for helping himself by what means he could, when they were not in case to give him assistance; and foreseeing withall, that when once he had purchased his quiet from the *Romans*, it would be free for him to sit still, without fear of molestation, whilest *Rome* and *Carthage* were fighting for the Mastery. In this good mood, the new *Roman* Consuls, *M. Valerius*, and *C. Octacilius*, found him, and readily embraced the offer of his Friendship. Yet they made use of their present advantage, and sold him Peace for an hundred (some say two hundred) Talents.

These Consuls had brought a great Army into *Sicil*; yet did they nothing else in effect, than bring over *Hiero* to their side. If the *Syracusian* held them busied (which I find not, otherwise than by circumstances, as, by the sum of Money imposed upon him, and by their performing none other piece of Service) all the whole time of their abode in the Island; then was his departure from the Friendship of *Carthage*, no less to his Honour, than it was to his Commodity. For by no reason could they require, that he should suffer his own Kingdom to run into manifest peril of subversion for their sakes, that should have received all the profit of the Victory: seeing they did expose him to the whole danger, without straining themselves to give him relief. But the *Carthaginians* had lately made good proof of the strength of *Syracuse* in the days of *Agathocles*: and therefore knew that it was able to bear out a very strong Siege. And hereupon it is like that they were the more slack in sending help: if (perhaps) it were not some part of their desire, that both *Rome* and *Syracuse* should weaken one the other, whereby their own work might be the easier against them both. Yet indeed, the case of the Besieged City was not the same, when the *Romans* lay before it, as it had been when the *Carthaginians* attempted it. For there was great reason to try the utermost hazard of War against the *Carthaginians*, who sought no other thing than to bring it into Slavery: not so against the *Romans*, who thought it sufficient, if they could withdraw it from the Party of their Enemies. Besides, it was not all one to be governed by *Agathocles*, or by *Hiero*. The former of these cared not what the Citizens endured, so long as he might preserve his own Tyranny: the latter, as a just and good Prince, had no greater desire than to win the Love of his People, by seeking their Commodity; but including his own Felicity within the publique, laboured to uphold both, by honest and faithful dealing. Hereby it came to pass that he enjoyed a long and happy Raign; living dear to his own Subjects, beloved of the *Romans*, and not greatly molested by the *Carthaginians*; whom, either the consideration, *That they had left him to himself ere he left their Society*, made unwilling to seek his Ruine; or their more earnest business with the *Romans*, made unable to compass it.

§. VI.

How the Romans *besiege and win* Agrigentum. *Their beginning to maintain a Fleet. Their first loss, and first Victory by Sea. Of Sea-fight in general.*

HIeron having sided himself with the *Romans*, aided them with Victuals and other Necessaries: so that they presuming upon his assistance, recall some part of their Forces. The *Carthaginians* find it high time to bestir them; they send to the *Ligurians*, and to the Troops they had in *Spain*, to come to their aid; who being arrived, they made the City of *Agrigentum*, the Seat of the War against the *Romans*, filling it with all manner of Munition.

The *Roman* Consuls having made Peace with *Hieron*, return into *Italy*; and in their places, *Lucius Posthumius*, and *Quintus Mamilius*, arrive. They go on towards * *Agrigentum*: and finding no Enemy in the Field, they besiege it, though it were stuffed with fifty thousand Souldiers. After a while, the time of Harvest being come, a part of the *Roman* Army range the Country to gather Corn, and those at the Siege grow negligent; the *Carthaginians* sally furiously, and indanger the *Roman* Army, but are in the end repelled into the Town with great loss; but by the smart felt on both sides, the Assailants redoubled their Guards, and the Besieged kept within their Covert. Yet the *Romans*, the better to assure themselves, cut a deep Trench between the Walls of the City and their Camp, and another on the out-side thereof; that neither the *Carthaginians* might force any quarter suddenly, by a sally, nor those of the Country without, break upon them unawares: which double defence kept the Besieged also from the receiving any relief of Victuals and Munitions, whilest the *Syracusian* supplies the Assailants with what they want. The besieged send for succour to *Carthage*: after they had been in this sort pent up five months. The *Carthaginians* imbark an Army, with certain Elephants, under the Command of *Hanno*; who arrives with it at

* *Agrigentum* was a goodly City built by the *Geloi*, under conduct of *Ariston* and *Pystilus*. The compass was ten miles about the Walls; and it had sometimes in it eight hundred thousand Inhabitants. This City by reason of the fertility of the Soil, and the Neighbourhood of *Carthage*, grew in a short space, from small beginnings to great Glory and Riches. The Plenty and Luxury thereof was so great, as it caused *Empedocles* to say, That the *Agrigentines* built Palaces of such sumptuosity, as if they meant to live for ever; and made such Feasts, as if they meant to die the next day. But their greatest Pomp and Magnificence, was in their goodly Temples and Theaters, Water-conduits and Fish-ponds, the Ruines whereof at this day are sufficient argument, that *Rome* it self could never boast of the like. In the Porch of the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius* (by which we may judge of the Temple it self) there was set out on one side the full proportion of the Giants fighting with the Gods, all cut out in polished Marble of divers colours; a Work, the most magnificent and rare that ever hath been seen: on the other side, the War of *Troy*, and the Encounters which happned at that Siege, with the Personages of the Heroes that were doers in that War, all of the like beautiful Stone, and of equal stature to the Bodies of men in those ancient times: In comparison of which, the latter works of that kind are but petty things, and meer trifles. It would require a Volume, to express the magnificence of the Temples of *Hercules*, *Æsculapius*, *Concord*, *Juno Lacinia*, *Chastitie*, *Proserpina*, *Castor* and *Pollux*; wherein the Master-pieces of those exquisite Painters and Carvers, *Phidias*, *Zeuxis*, *Myron*, and *Polycletus* were to be seen. But in process of time it ran the same fortune that all other great Cities have done, and was ruined by divers calamities of war; whereof this War present brought unto it not the least.

Heraclea,

Heraclea, to the Weſt of *Agrigentum*. *Hanno* puts himſelf into the Field, and ſurpriſeth *Erbeſus*, a City wherein the *Romans* had beſtowed all their Proviſion. By means hereof, the Famine without grew to be as great as it was within *Agrigentum*; and the *Roman* Camp no leſs ſtreightly aſſieged by *Hanno*, than the City was by the *Romans*: inſomuch, as if *Hieron* had not ſupplied them, they had been forced to abandon the Siege. But ſeeing that this diſtreſs was not enough to make them riſe; *Hanno* determined to give them Battel. To which end departing from *Heraclea*, he makes approach unto the *Roman* Camp. The *Romans* reſolve to ſuſtain him, and put themſelves in order. *Hanno* directs the *Numidian* Horſe-men to charge their Vantguard, to the end to draw them further on; which done, he commands them to return as broken, till they came to the body of the Army, that lay ſhadowed behind ſome riſing ground. The *Numidians* perform it accordingly; and while the *Romans* purſued the *Numidians*, *Hanno* gives upon them, and having ſlaughtered many, beats the reſt into their Trenches.

After this Encounter, the *Carthaginians* made no other attempt for two months, but lay ſtrongly incamped, waiting until ſome opportunity ſhould invite them. But *Annibal*, that was beſieged in *Agrigentum*, as well by Signs as Meſſengers, made *Hanno* know, how ill the extremity which he indured, was able to brook ſuch dilatory courſes. *Hanno* thereupon, a ſecond time, provoked the Conſuls to fight. But his Elephants being diſordered by his own Vantguard, which was broken by the *Romans*, he loſt the day: and with ſuch as eſcaped, he recovered *Heraclea*. *Annibal* perceiving this, and remaining hopeleſs of ſuccour, reſolved to make his own way. Finding therefore that the *Romans*, after this days Victory, wearied with labour, and ſecured by their good fortune, kept negligent Watch in the night; he ruſht out of the Town, with all the remainder of his Army, and paſt by the *Roman* Camp without reſiſtance. The Conſuls purſue him in the morning, but in vain: ſure they were, that he could not carry the City with him, which with little ado the *Romans* entred, and pitifully ſpoiled. The *Romans*, proud of this Victory, purpoſe henceforth rather to follow the direction of their preſent good fortunes, than their firſt determinations. They had reſolved in the beginning of this War, only to ſuccour the *Mamertines*, and to keep the *Carthaginians* from their own Coaſts: but now they determine to make themſelves Lords of all *Sicil*; and from thence, being favoured with the wind of good ſucceſs, to ſail over into *Africk*. It is the diſeaſe of Kings, of States, and of private Men, to covet the greateſt things, but not to enjoy the leaſt; the deſire of that which we neither have nor need, taking from us the true uſe and fruition of what we have already. This curſe upon mortal men, was never taken from them ſince the beginning of the World to this day.

To proſecute this War, *Lucius Valerius*, and *Titus Otacilius*, two new Conſuls, are ſent into *Sicil*. Whereupon the *Romans* being Maſters of the Field, many inland Towns gave themſelves unto them. On the contrary, the *Carthaginians* keeping ſtill the Lordſhip of the Sea, many maritimate places became theirs. The *Romans* therefore, as well to ſecure their own Coaſts, often invaded by the *African* Fleets, as alſo to equal themſelves in every kind of Warfare with their Enemies, determine to make a Fleet. And herein Fortune favoured them with this accident, that being altogether ignorant in Shipwrights craft, a ſtorm of wind thruſt one of the *Carthaginian* Gallies, of five banks to the ſhore.

Now had the *Romans* a pattern, and by it they began to ſet up an hundred *Quinqueremes*, which were Gallies rowed by five on every bank, and twenty, of three on a bank: and while theſe were in preparing, they exerciſed their men in the Feat of Rowing. This they did after a ſtrange faſhion. They placed upon the Sea-ſands many Seats, in order of the Banks in Gallies, whereon they placed their Water-men, and taught them to beat the Sand with long Poles, orderly, and as they were directed by the Maſter, that ſo they might learn the ſtroke of the Gally, and how to mount and draw their Oares.

When their Fleet was finiſhed, ſome rigging and other implements excepted, *C. Cornelius*, one of the new Conſuls (for they changed every year) was made Admiral: who being more in love with this new kind of Warfare, than well adviſed, paſt over to *Meſſena* with ſeventeen Gallies, leaving the reſt to follow him. There he ſtaid not, but would needs row alongſt the Coaſt to *Lipara*, hoping to do ſome piece of ſervice. *Hannibal*, a *Carthaginian*, was at the ſame time Governour in *Panormus*; who being advertiſed of this new Sea-mans arrival, ſent forth one *Boodes*, a Senator of *Carthage*, with twenty Gallies, to entertain him. *Boodes* falling upon the Conſul unawares, took both him and the Fleet he commanded. When *Hannibal* received this good news, together with the *Roman* Gallies and their Conſul; he grew no leſs fooliſh hardy than *Cornelius* had been. For he, fancying to himſelf to ſurpriſe the reſt of the *Roman* Fleet, on their own Coaſt, ere they were yet in all points provided; ſought them out with a Fleet of fifty Sail: wherewith falling among them, he was well beaten, and leaving the greater number of his own behind him, made an hard eſcape with the reſt: for of one hundred and twenty Gallies, the *Romans* under *Cornelius* had loſt but ſeventeen, ſo as one hundred and three remained, which were not eaſily beaten by fifty.

The *Romans* being advertiſed of *Cornelius* his overthrow, make haſte to redeem him, but give the Charge of their Fleet to his Colleague, *Duilius*. *Duilius*, conſidering that the *Roman* Veſſels were heavy and ſlow, the *African* Gallies having the ſpeed of them, deviſed a certain Engine in the Prow of his Gallies, whereby they might faſten or grapple themſelves with their Enemies, when they were (as we call it) boord and boord, that is, when they brought the Gallies ſides together. This done, the weightier Ships had gotten the advantage, and the *Africans* loſt it. For neither did their ſwiftneſs ſerve them, nor their Mariners craft; the Veſſels wherein both Nations fought, being open, ſo that all was to be carried by the advantage of Weapon, and Valour of the Men. Beſides this, as the heavier Gallies were likely to cruſh and crack the ſides of the lighter and weaker, ſo were they, by reaſon of their breadth, more ſteddy; and thoſe that beſt kept their feet, could alſo beſt uſe their hands. The example may be given between one of the long Boats of his Majeſties great Ships, and a *London Barge*.

Certainly, he that will happily perform a Fight at Sea, muſt be skilful in making choice of Veſſels to fight in: he muſt believe that there is more belonging to a good man of War upon the Waters, than great during; and muſt know, that there is a great deal of difference between fighting looſe or at large, and grapling. The Guns of a ſlow Ship pierce as well, and make as great holes as thoſe in a ſwift. To clap Ships together without conſi-

consideration, belongs rather to a mad man, than to a man of War: for by such an ignorant bravery was *Peter Stroſie* lost at the *Azores*, when he fought against the *Marquess of Santa Cruz*. In like sort had the Lord *Charles Howard*, Admiral of *England*, been lost in the year 1588. if he had not been better advised, than a great many malignant Fools were, that found fault with his Demeanour. The *Spaniards* had an Army aboard them; and he had none: they had more Ships than he had, and of higher building and charging; so that had he intangled himself with those great and powerful Vessels, he had greatly endangered this Kingdom of *England*. For twenty men upon the defences, are equal to an hundred that board and enter; whereas then, contrariwise, the *Spaniards* had an hundred for twenty of ours, to defend themselves withal. But our Admiral knew his advantage, and held it: which had he not done, he had not been worthy to have held his Head. Here to speak in general of Sea-fight (for particulars are fitter for private hands than for the Press) I say, That a Fleet of twenty Ships, all good Sailers and good Ships, have the advantage, on the open Sea, of an hundred as good Ships, and of slower sailing. For if the Fleet of an hundred sail keep themselves near together in a gross squadron, the twenty Ships charging them upon any angle, shall force them to give ground, and to fall back upon their next Fellows: of which, so many as intangle, are made unserviceable or lost. Force them they may easily, because the twenty Ships which give themselves scope, after they have given one broad side of Artillery, by clapping into the Wind, and staying, they may give them the other: and so the twenty Ships batter them in pieces with a perpetual Volly, whereas those that fight in a Troup have no room to turn, and can always use but one and the same beaten side. If the Fleet of an hundred sail give themselves any distance, then shall the lesser Fleet prevail, either against those that are a-rear and hindmost, or against those, that by advantage of over-sailing their Fellows keep the wind: and if upon a Lee-shore, the Ships next the wind be constrained to fall back into their own Squadron, then it is all to nothing, that the whole Fleet must suffer Shipwrack, or render it self. That such advantage may be taken upon a Fleet of unequal speed, it hath been well enough conceived in old time; as by that Oration of Hermocrates, in *Thucydides*, which he made to the *Syracusians*, when the *Athenians* invaded them, it may easily be observed.

Thuſyd. l. 6.

Of the Art of War by Sea, I had written a Treatise, for the Lord *Henry*, Prince of *Wales*; a Subject, to my knowledge, never handled by any man, ancient or modern: but God hath spared me the labour of finishing it, by his loss; by the loss of that brave Prince; of which, like an Eclipse of the Sun, we shall find the effects hereafter. Impossible it is to equal words and sorrows; I will therefore leave him in the hands of God that hath him. *Curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent.*

But it is now time to return to the beaten *Carthaginians*, who by losing their advantage of swift Boats, and boarding the *Romans*, have lost fifty sail of their Gallies: as on the other side, their Enemies, by commanding the Seas, have gotten liberty to sail about the West part of *Sicil*; where they raised the Siege laid unto *Segesta* by the *Carthaginians*, and won the Town of *Macella*, with some other places.

§. VII.

Divers Enterfeits of War, between the Romans *and* Carthaginians, *with variable success. The* Romans *prepare to invade* Africk: *and obtain a great Victory at Sea.*

THe Victory of *Duilius*, as it was honoured at *Rome*, with the first Naval Triumph that was ever seen in that City; so gave it unto the *Romans* a great incouragement to proceed in their Wars by Sea; whereby they hoped, not only to get *Sicil*, but all the other Isles between *Italy* and *Africk*, beginning with *Sardinia*, whither soon after they sent a Fleet for that purpose. On the contrary side, *Amilcar* the *Carthaginian*, lying in *Panormus*, carefully waited for all occasions that might help to recompence the late misfortune: and being advertised that some quarrel was grown between the *Roman* Souldiers and their Auxiliaries, being such as caused them to incamp a-part, he sent forth *Hanno* to set upon them, who taking them unawares, buried four thousand of them in the place. Now during the continuance of the Land-war in *Sicil*, *Hannibal*, who had lately been beaten by Sea, but escaped unto *Carthage*, meaning to make amends for his former error, obtained the trust of a new Fleet, wherewith he arrived at *Sardinia*: the Conquest of which Island, the *Romans* had entertained for their next Enterprise. Now it so fell out, that the *Romans* crossing the Seas from *Sicil*, arrived in the Port where *Hannibal* with his new Fleet anchored. They set upon him unawares, and took the better part of the Fleet which he conducted, himself hardly escaping their danger. But it little availed him to have escaped from the *Romans*. His good-friends the *Carthaginians*, were so ill pleased with this his second unfortunate Voyage, that they hanged him up for his diligence: for (as it hath been said of old) *Non est bis in Bello peccare*; *In War it is too much to offend twice.*

After this, it was long ere any thing of importance was done by the Consuls, till * *Panormus* was besieged: where, when the *Romans* had sought in vain to draw the *Carthaginians* into the Field; being unable to force that great City, because of the strong Garrison therein bestowed: they departed thence, and took certain in-land Towns, as *Mytistratum*, *Ennà*, *Camerina*, *Hippana*, and others, between *Panormus* and *Messana*. The year following, *C. Atilius* the Consul, who commanded the *Roman* Fleet, discovered a Company of the *Carthaginian*

* If we may give credit to Antiquities, which *Fazellus*, a diligent writer, hath left us in his History of *Sicil*; *Panormus*, now called *Palermo*, is one of the first Cities that hath been built in all *Europe*. For whereas *Thucydides* seems to make it a Colony of the *Phœnicians*, *Romans*, in *libello de Panorm. lib. 6.* affirms, that it was first, and long before the time which *Thucydides* sets down, founded by the *Chaldeans* and *Damascenes*. To prove which, he tells us of two Inscriptions upon Marble, in the *Hebrew* Character, found at *Panormus* in the time of *William* the second, King of *Sicil*, that were then beheld of all the Citizens and other Strangers, which being translated into *Latine*, say as followeth. *Vivens Isaac filio Abrahæ, & regnante in Idumea, atque in Valle Damascena, Esau filio Isaac; ingens Hebræorum manus, quibus adjuncti sunt multi Damasceni, atque Phœnices, profecti in hanc triangularem Insulam, sedes perpetuas locaverunt in hoc amœnissimo loco, quem Panormum nominaverunt.* In the other Marble Table are found these words. *Non est alius Deus præter unum Deum; non est alius Potens, præter eundem Deum, &c. Hujus Turris Præfectus est Saphu, filius Eliphar filii Esau, fratris Jacob filii Isaac, filii Abrahami: & Turri quidem ipsi nomen est Bayeh; sed Turri huic proxima mœnia est Pharah.* And this Inscription (saith *Fazellus*) was found intire in the Castle *Bayeh*, in the year 1534. Now whether these Inscriptions were truly as ancient as these men believe they were, I leave every man to his own faith. But that the City was of aged times, it appears by *Thucydides*, who affirmeth, when the *Greeks* past first into *Sicil*, that then the *Phœnicians* inhabited *Panormus*: which certain it is that they did in the first *Punick* War; to wit, the *Carthaginians*, who were *Phœnicians*, from whom the *Romans* (*A. Aquilius*, and *C. Cornelius* commanding this Army) took it. And when *Marcellus* besieged *Syracuse*, it sent him in aid three thousand Souldiers. But it was rather confederate than subject to the *Romans*. For *Cicero* against *Verres*, names it among the free Cities of *Sicil*. After *Syracuse* destroyed, it became the first City and Regal Seat, as well of the *Goths* and *Saracens* in that Island, as of the Emperors of *Constantinople*; of the *Normans*, *French*, and *Aragonians*: which honour it holds to this day, and is much frequented, for the excellent Wine which grows about it.

Gallies,

Gallies, ranging the Coast, and not staying for his whole number, pursued them with ten of his. But he was well beaten for the haste he made, and lost all, save the Gally which transported him: wherein himself escaped with great labour. But ere all was done, the rest of *Atilius* his Fleet was gotten up: who renewing the Fight, recovered from the *Carthaginians* a double number of theirs; by which, the Victory remaining doubtful, both challenge it. Now to try at once which of these two Nations should command the Seas, they both prepare all they can. The *Romans* make a Fleet of three hundred and thirty Gallies, the *Carthaginians*, of three hundred and fifty, ** *Triremes*, *Quadriremes*, and *Quinqueremes*.

** The *Quinqueremes* are Gallies, wherein every Oar hath five men to draw it; the *Quadriremes* had four to an Oar; and the *Triremes* three. Some have thought that the *Quinqueremes* had five ranks of Oars one over another; and the other Gallies (rateably) fewer. But had this been so, they must then have had five Decks, each over other: which hath seldom been seen in Ships of a thousand Tuns; neither could the third, fourth, and fifth ranks, have reached unto the Water with their Oars.

The *Romans* resolve to transport the War into *Africk*; the *Carthaginians*, to arrest them on the Coast of *Sicil*. The numbers, with which each of them filled their Fleet, was (perhaps) the greatest that ever fought on the Waters. By *Polybius* his estimation, there were in the *Roman* Gallies an hundred and forty thousand men; and in those of *Carthage*, an hundred and fifty thousand: reckoning one hundred and twenty Souldiers, and three hundred Rowers to every Gally, one with the other. The *Roman* Fleet was divided into four parts, of which the three first made the form of a Wedge or Triangle; the two first Squadrons making the Flancks, and the third Squadron, the Base: the point thereof (wherein were the two Consuls as Admirals) looking toward the Enemy, and the middle space lying empty. Their Vessels of carriage were towed by the third Squadron. After all came up, the fourth, in form of a *Crescent*, very well manned, but exceeding thin: so that the Horns of it inclosed all the third Squadron, together with the corners of the first and second. The order of the *Carthaginian* Fleet, I cannot conceive by the relation; but, by the manner of the Fight afterwards, I conjecture that the Front of their Fleet was thin, and stretched in a great length, much like to that which the *French* call *Combat en bais*; a long Front of Horse, and thin, which form, since the Pistol prevailed over the Lance, they have changed. Behind this first out-stretched Front, their Battalions were more sollid. For *Amilcar*, Admiral of the *Carthaginians*, had thus ordered them of purpose (his Gallies having the speed of the *Romans*) that when the first Fleet of the *Romans* hasted to break through the first Gallies, they should all turn tail, and the *Romans* pursuing them (as after a Victory) disorder themselves, and for eagerness of taking the Run-aways, leave their other three Squadrons far behind them. For so must it needs fall out, seeing that the third Squadron towed their Horse-boats, and Victuallers; and the fourth had the Rearward of all. According to *Amilcars* direction it succeeded. For when the *Romans* had charged, and broken the thin Front of the *Carthaginian* first Fleet, which ran away, they forthwith gave after them with all speed possible, not so much as looking behind them for the second Squadron. Hereby the *Romans* were drawn near unto the Body of the *Carthaginian* Fleet, led by *Amilcar*, and by him (at the first) received great loss, till their second Squadron came up, which forced *Amilcar* to betake him to his Oars. *Hanno* also, who commanded the right Wing of the *Carthaginian* Fleet invaded the *Roman* Rearward, and prevailed against them. But *Amilcar* being beaten off, *Marcus Atilius* fell back to their succour, and put the *Carthaginians* to their Heels, as not able to sustain both Squadrons. The Rear being relieved, the Consuls came to the aid of their third Battalion, which towed their Victuallers, which was also in great danger of being beaten by the *Africans*: but the Consuls joyning their Squadrons to it, put the *Carthaginians* on that part also to running. This Victory fell to the *Romans*, partly by the hardiness of their Souldiers, but principally, for that *Amilcar*, being first beaten, could never after joyn himself to any of his other Squadrons, that remained as yet in fair likelihood of prevailing, so long as they fought upon even terms, and but Squadron to Squadron. But *Amilcar* forsaking the Fight, thereby left a full fourth part of the *Roman* Fleet uningaged, and ready to give succour to any of the other parts that were oppress. So as in conclusion, the *Romans* got the honour of the day: for they lost but four and twenty of theirs; whereas the *Africans* lost thirty that were sunk, and threescore and three that were taken.

Now, if *Amilcar*, who had more Gallies than the *Romans*, had also divided his Fleet into four Squadrons (besides those that he ranged in the Front, to draw on the Enemies, and to ingage them) and that, while he himself fought with one Squadron that charged him, all the rest of the Enemies Fleet had been at the same time entertained, he had prevailed: But the second Squadron, being free, came to the rescue of the first, by which *Amilcar* was oppress: and *Amilcar* being oppress and scattered, the Consuls had good leisure to relieve both their third and fourth Squadron, and got the Victory.

Charles the Fifth, among other his Precepts to *Philip* the Second his Son, where he adviseth him concerning War against the *Turks*, tells him, that in all Battels between them and the *Christians*, he should never fail to charge the *Janisars* in the beginning of the Fight, and to ingage them at once with the rest. For (saith he) the *Janisars*, who are always reserved intire, in the Rear of the Battel, and in whom the *Turk* reposeth his greatest confidence; come up in a gross Body, when all the Troups on both sides are disbanded and in confusion; whereby they carry the Victory before them without resistance. By the same order of fight and reservation, did the *Romans* also prevail against other Nations. For they kept their *Triarii* in store (who were the choice of their Army) for the up-shot and last blow. A great and a victorious advantage it hath ever been found, to keep some one or two good Troups to look on, when all else are disbanded and ingaged.

§. VIII.

The Romans *prevail in* Africk. Atilius *the Consul propoundeth intolerable Conditions of Peace to the* Carthaginians. *He is utterly beaten, and made Prisoner.*

NOw the *Romans*, according to their former resolution, after they had repaired and revictualled their Fleet, set sail for *Africa*, and arrived at the *Promontory* of *Hercules*, a great Head-land, somewhat to the East of the Port of *Carthage*, and some forty leagues from *Heraclea* in *Sicil*, where *Amilcar* himself as yet staid. From this Head-

Head-land (leaving the entrance into *Carthage*) they coasted the East side of the *Promontory*, till they came to *Clypea*, a Town about fifty *English* mile from it. There they disimbarked, and prepared to besiege *Clypea*; which to ease them of labour, was yielded unto them. Now had they a Port of their own on *Africa* side; without which, all Invasions are foolish. By this time were the *Africans* also arrived at their own *Carthage*, fearing that the *Roman* Fleet and Army had directed themselves thither; but being advertised that they had taken *Clypea*, they made provisions of all sorts both by Sea and Land for their defence. The *Romans* send to *Rome* for directions, and in the mean while waste all round about them. The order given from the Senate, was, that one of the Consuls should remain with the Army, and that the other should return with the Fleet into *Italy*. According to this direction, *Manlius* the Consul is sent home to *Rome*, whither he carried with him twenty thousand *African* Captives, with all the *Roman* Fleet and Army; except forty Ships, fifteen thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse that were left with *Atilius*.

With these Forces, *Regulus* easily wan some Towns and Places that were unwalled, and laid siege to others. But he performed no great matter before he came unto *Adis*. Yet I hold it worthy of relation, that near unto the River of *Bagrada*, he encountred with a Serpent of one hundred and twenty foot long, which he slew, not without loss of many Souldiers, being driven to use against it such Engines of War as served properly for the assaulting of Towns. At *Adis* he met with the *Carthaginian* Army, whereof the Captains were *Hanno* and *Bostar*, together with *Amilcar*, who had brought over out of *Sicil* five thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse to succour his Country. These (belike) had an intent, rather to weary him out of *Africa*, by weary protraction of time, than to undergo the hazard of a main Fight. They were careful to hold themselves free from necessity of coming to blows: yet had they a great desire to save the Town of *Adis* out of his hands. Intending therefore to follow their general purpose, and yet to disturb him in the Siege of *Adis*, they incamp near unto him, and strongly (as they think) on the top of an Hill; but thereby they lose the services, both of their Elephants, and of their Horsemen. This disadvantage of theirs *Regulus* discovers, and makes use of it. He assails them in their strength, which they defend a while; but in fine, the *Romans* prevail, and force them from the place, taking the spoil of their Camp. Following this their good Fortune at the heels, they proceed to * *Tunis*, a City within sixteen miles of *Carthage*, which they assault and take.

* This City was taken from the *Turks* by *Charles* the Fifth, in the year 1536. and was one of the three Keys which he gave in charge to *Philip* the second his Son to keep safe; to wit, this *Tunis*, the Key of *Africk*: *Flushing*, the Key of the *Netherlands*, and *Cadiz*, the Key of *Spain*. But two of these *Philip* so lost, that he never found them again; the third, our *English* were bold, in the time of the renowned Queen *Elizabeth*, to wring out of his hands: where we staid not to pick any Lock, but break open the Doors, and having rifled all, threw it into the Fire.

By the loss of this Battel at *Adis*, and more especially by the loss of *Tunis*, the *Carthaginians* were greatly dismaid. The *Numidians*, their next Neighbours towards the West, insult upon their Misfortunes; invade and spoil their Territory, and force those that inhabit abroad to forsake their Villages and Fields, and to hide themselves within the Walls of *Carthage*. By reason hereof a great Famine at hand threatens the Citizens. *Atilius* finds his own advantage, and assures himself that the City could not long hold out: yet he feared lest it might defend it self until his time of Office, that was near expired, should be quite run out, whereby the new Consuls were like to reap the Honour of obtaining it. Ambition therefore, that hath no respect but to it self, perswades him to treat of Peace with the *Carthaginians*. But he propounded unto them so unworthy and base conditions, as thereby their hearts, formerly possessed with fear, became now so couragious and disdainful, that they resolved, either to defend their Liberty, or to die to the last man. To strengthen this their resolution, there arrived at the same time a great Troop of *Greeks*, whom they had formerly sent to entertain. Among these was a very expert Souldier, named *Xantippus*, a *Spartan*: who being informed of what had passed, and of the overthrow which the *Carthaginians* received near unto *Adis*, gave it out publickly, that the same was occasioned by default of the Commanders, and not of the Nation. This bruit ran till it came to the Senate; *Xantippus* is sent for, gives the reason of his Opinion, and in conclusion, being made General of the *African* Forces, he puts himself into the Field. The Army which he led, consisted of no more than twelve thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse, with an hundred Elephants. No greater were the Forces wherewith the *Carthaginians* fought for all that they had, Liberty, Lives, Goods, Wives and Children: which might well make it suspected, that the Armies by Sea, before spoken of, were mis-numbred; the one consisting of an hundred and forty thousand, the other of an hundred and fifty thousand: were it not commonly found, that they which use the service of mercinary Souldiers, are stronger abroad, than at their own Doors.

Xantippus, taking the Field with this Army, marched directly towards the *Romans*; and ranging his Troops upon fair and level ground, fittest both for his Elephants and Horse, presented them Battel. The *Romans* wondred whence this new Courage of their Enemies might grow: but confident they were that it should be soon abated. Their chief care was, how to resist the violence of the Elephants. Against them they placed the *Velites*, or light-armed Souldiers, as *a forlorn Hope*; that these might, either with Darts and other casting Weapons, drive back the Beasts upon the Enemies, or at least break their Violence, and hinder them from rushing freely upon the Legions. To the same end they made their Battels deeper in file than they had been accustomed to do. By which means, as they were the less subject unto the impression of the Elephants; so were they the more exposed unto the violence of Horse, wherein the Enemy did far exceed them. The Elephants were placed by *Xantippus*, all in one rank, before his Army, which followed them at a reasonable distance: his Horse-men, and some light-armed Foot of the *Carthaginian Auxiliaries*, were in the Wings. The first Onset was given by the Elephants, against which the *Velites* were so unable to make resistance, that they break into the Battalions following, and put them into some disorder. In this case, the depth of the *Roman* battel was helpful. For when the Beasts had spent their force in piercing through a few of the first Ranks, the Squadrons nevertheless persisted in their order, without opening. But the *Carthaginian* Horse, having at the first Encounter, by reason of their advantage in number, driven those of *Atilius* out of the Field, began to charge the *Roman* Battalions in Flank, and put them in great distress;

distress; who being forced to turn face every way, could neither pass forward, nor yet retire; but had much ado to make good the ground whereon they stood. In the mean while, such of the *Romans* as had escaped the fury of the Elephants, and left them at their backs, fell upon the *Carthaginian* Army, that met them in very good array. It was no even match. The one were a disordered company, wearied with labour, and hurt; the other, fresh, and well prepared to have dealt with the Enemy upon equal terms. Here was therefore a great slaughter with little fight; the *Romans* hastily recoiling to the body of their Army, which being surrounded with the Enemy, and spent with travel, fell all to rout, upon the defeat of these Troops, that open the way to a general Overthrow. So the *Carthaginians* obtained a full Victory, destroying the whole *Roman* Army, save two thousand, and taking five hundred Prisoners, together with *Atilius* the Consul. Of their own they lost no more than eight hundred Mercinaries, which were slain when the Fight began, by two thousand of the *Romans*, that wheeling about, to avoid the Elephants, bare down all before them, and made way even to the *Carthaginian* Trenches. These were the two thousand that escaped, when the whole Army behind them was routed. All the rest were either taken or slain. Hereby Fortune made the *Romans* know, that they were no less her Vassalls, than were the *Carthaginians*: how insolent soever they had been in their proposition of Peace, as if they had purchased from her the inheritance of their prosperity, which she never gave nor sold to any mortal man. With what joy these News were welcommed, when they came to *Carthage*, we may easily conjecture; and what great things the Vertue of one man hath often brought to pass in the World, there are many examples to prove, no less than this of *Xantippus*: all of them confirming that Sentence of *Eurypides*, *Mens una sapiens, plurium vincit manus*; *Many mens hands equal not one wise mind.*

After this great service done to the *Carthaginians*, *Xantippus* returned into *Greece*; whether for that he was more envied than honoured, or for what other cause it is unknown.

The death of *Atilius Regulus* the Consul, was very memorable. He was sent from *Carthage* to *Rome*, about the exchange and ransome of Prisoners on both sides: giving his Faith to return, if the business were not effected. When he came to *Rome*, and plainly saw that his Country should lose by the bargain: so far was he from urging the Senate unto compassion of his own misery, that he earnestly perswaded to have the Prisoners in *Africk* left to their ill destinies. This done, he returned to *Carthage*: where, for his pains taken, he was rewarded with an horrible Death. For this his Constancy and Faith, all Writers highly extol him. But the *Carthaginians* seem to have judged him an obstinate and malicious Enemy; that neither in his Prosperity would hearken to reason, nor yet in his Calamity would have the natural care to preserve himself and others, by yielding to such an office of humanity, as is common in all Wars (not grounded upon deadly hatred) only in regard of some small advantage. Whatsoever the *Carthaginians* thought of him, sure it is, that his faithful observance of his word given, cannot be too much commended. But that grave Speech which he made in the Senate, against the exchange of Prisoners, appears in all reason, to have proceeded from a vain-glorious frowardness, rather than from any necessity of State. For the exchange was made soon after his Death; wherein the *Romans* had the worst bargain, by so much as *Regulus* himself was worth. As for the Authority of all Historians that magnifie him in this point, we are to consider that they lived under the *Roman* Empire: *Philinus* the *Carthaginian*, perhaps did censure it otherwise. Yet the death which he suffered with extream torments, could not be more grievous to him, than it was dishonourable to *Carthage*. Neither do I think that the *Carthaginians* could excuse themselves herein, otherwise than by recrimination: saying, That the *Romans* deserved to be no better intreated, for as much as it was their ordinary practice to use others in the like sort. Cruelty doth not become more warrantable, but rather more odious, by being customary. It was the *Roman* fashion to whip almost to death, and then to behead the Captains of their Enemies whom they took, yea, although they were such as had always made fair Wars with them. Wherefore it seems not meet, in reason, that they should cry out against the like tyrannical insolence in others, as if it were lawful only in themselves.

The consideration, both of this misfortune, that rewarded the Pride of *Atilius* his intolerable Demands, and of the sudden Valour whereinto the *Carthaginians* fear was changed by meer desperation; calls to remembrance the like Insolency of others in prosperity, that hath bred the like resolution in those, to whom all reasonable grace hath been denied. In such cases I never hold it impertinent, to add unto one, more testimonies; approving the true rules, from which our passions carry us away.

In the year 1378. the *Genowaies* won so fast upon the *Venetians*, as they not only drave their Gallies out of the Sea, but they brought their own Fleet within two miles of *Venice* it self. This bred such an amazement in the Citizens of *Venice*, that they offered unto the *Genowaies* (their State reserved) whatsoever they would demand. But *Peter Doria*, blown up with many former Victories, would hearken to no composition, save the yielding of their City and State to his discretion. Hereupon the *Venetians* being filled with disdain, thrust out to Sea with all their remaining Power, and assail *Doria* with such desperate fury, that they break his Fleet, kill *Doria* himself, take nineteen of his Gallies, fourscore Boats of *Padoa*, and four thousand Prisoners; recover *Chiczza*, and all the places taken from them; and following their Victory, enter the Port of *Genoa*, enforceing the *Genowaies* basely to beg Peace, to their extream dishonour and disadvantage, being beaten; which being victorious, they might have commanded, to their greatest honour and advantage. The like hapned to the Earl of *Flanders*, in the year 1380. when having taken a notable, and withal an over-cruel revenge upon the *Gantois*, he refused mercy to the rest, who in all humility, submitting themselves to his obedience, offered their City, Goods, and Estates to be disposed at his pleasure. This when he had unadvisedly refused, and was resolved to extinguish them utterly; they issue out of their City with five thousand chosen men, and armed with a desperate resolution, they charge the Earl, break his Army, enter *Bruges (pell-mell)* with his vanquished Followers, and enforce him to hide himself under an heap of Straw in a poor Cottage, out of which, with great difficulty he escaped, and saved himself. Such are the fruits of insolency.

§. IX.

How the Affairs of Carthage *proſpered after the Victory againſt* Atilius: *How the* Romans *having loſt their Fleet by Tempeſt, reſolve to forſake the Seas: The great advantages of a good Fleet in War, between Nations divided by the Sea.*

BY the reputation of this late Victory, all places that had been loſt in *Africk*, return to the obedience of *Carthage*. Only *Clypea* ſtands out; before which the *Carthaginians* ſit down, and aſſail it, but in vain: For the *Romans* hearing of the loſs of *Atilius* with their Forces in *Africk*, and withall, that *Clypea* was beſieged, make ready a groſs Army, and tranſport it in a Fleet of three hundred and fifty Gallies, commanded by *M. Æmilius*, and *Ser. Fulvius* their Conſuls. At the *Promontory* of *Mercury*, two hundred *Carthaginian* Gallies ſet out on purpoſe, upon the bruit of their coming, encounter them: but greatly to their coſt. For the *Romans* took by force an hundred and fourteen of their Fleet, and drew them after them to *Clypea*; where they ſtaid no longer than to take in their own men that had been beſieged: and this done, they made amain toward *Sicil*, in hope to recover all that the *Carthaginians* held therein. In this haſty Voyage they deſpiſe the advice of the Pilots, who pray them to find Harbour in time, for that the Seaſon threatned ſome violent Storms; which ever hapned between the riſing of *Orion*, and of the * *Dog-ſtar*. Now although the Pilots of the *Roman* Fleet had thus forewarned them of the Weather at hand, and certified them withal, that the South Coaſt of *Sicil* had no good Ports, wherein to ſave themſelves upon ſuch an accident, yet this victorious Nation was perſwaded that the Wind and Seas feared them no leſs than did the *Africans*; and that they were able to conquer the Elements themſelves. So refuſing to ſtay within ſome Port, as they were adviſed, they would needs put out to Sea; thinking it a matter much helping their Reputation, after this Victory againſt the *Carthaginian* Fleet; to take a few worthleſs Towns upon the Coaſt. The mercileſs Winds in the mean while overtake them, and near unto *Camerina*, overturn and thruſt headlong on the Rocks, all but fourſcore of three hundred and forty Ships: ſo as their former great Victory was devoured by the Seas, before the Fame thereof recovered *Rome*.

* There is no part of the World which hath not ſome certain times of outragious weather, beſides their accidental ſtorms. We have upon our Coaſt a Michaelmas Flaw, that ſeldom or never fails. In the Weſt *Indies*, in the months of *Auguſt* and *September*, thoſe moſt forcible Winds which the *Spaniards* call the *Nortes*, or North Winds, are very fearful: and therefore they that Navigate in thoſe parts, take harbour till thoſe months take end. *Charles* the Fifth being as ill adviſed in paſſing the Seas toward *Algire*, in the Winter quarter, contrary to the Counſel of *A. Doria*, as he was in like unſeaſonable times to continue his Siege before *Metz* in *Lorain*, loſt an hundred and forty Ships by Tempeſt, and fifteen Gallies, with all in effect in them, of men, Victuals, Horſes, and Munition: a loſs no leſs great, than his retreat, both from before the one and the other, was extream diſhonourable.

The *Carthaginians* hearing what had hapned, repair all their warlike Veſſels, hoping once again to command the Seas: they are alſo as confident of their Land-forces ſince the Overthrow of *Atilius*. They ſend *Aſdrubal* into *Sicil* with all their old Souldiers, and an hundred and forty Elephants, imbarked in two hundred Gallies. With this Army and Fleet he arrives at *Lilybæum*; where he begins to vex the *Partiſans* of *Rome*. But adverſity doth not diſcourage the *Romans*; They build in three months (a matter of great note) one hundred and twenty Ships; with which, and the remainder of their late Shipwrack, they row to *Panormus*, or *Palerma*, the chief City of the *Africans* in *Sicil*, and ſurround it by Land and Water: after a while they take it, and leaving a Garriſon therein, return to *Rome*.

Very deſirous the *Romans* were to be doing in *Africk*: to which purpoſe they imployed *C. Servilius*, and *C. Sempronius*, their Conſuls. But theſe wrought no wonders. Some ſpoil they made upon the Coaſts of *Africa*: but Fortune robbed them of all their gettings. For in their return, they were firſt ſet upon the Sands, and like to have periſhed near unto the leſſer *Syrtes*, where they were fain to heave all over board, that ſo they might get off: then, having with much ado doubled the Cape of *Lilybæum*, in their paſſage from *Panormus* towards *Italy*, they loſt an hundred and fifty of their Ships by foul weather. A greater diſcouragement never Nation had; the God of the Wars favoured them no more, than the God of the Waters afflicted them. Of all that *Mars* enricht them with upon the Land, *Neptune* robbed them upon the Seas. For they had now loſt, beſides what they loſt in fight, four hundred and ſix Ships and Gallies, with all the Munition and Souldiers tranſported in them.

The exceeding damage hereby received, perſwaded them to give over their Navigation, and their Fight by Sea, and to ſend only a Land-army into *Sicil*, under *L. Cæcilius*, and *C. Furius*, their Conſuls. Theſe they tranſported in ſome three-ſcore ordinary Paſſage-boats, by the Straights of *Meſſana*, that are not above a mile and a half broad from land to land. In like ſort the Overthrow which *Atilius* received in *Africa*, occaſioned chiefly by the Elephants, made them leſs cholerick againſt the *Carthaginians* than before; ſo that for two years after they kept the high and woody grounds, not daring to fight in the fair and champian Countries. But this late reſolution of forſaking the Seas laſted not long. For it was impoſſible for them to ſuccour thoſe places which they held in *Sicil*, without a Navy, much leſs to maintain the War in *Africa*. For whereas the *Romans* were to ſend Forces from *Meſſana* to *Egeſta*, to *Lilybæum*, and to other places in the extream Weſt parts of *Sicil*, making ſometimes a march of above an hundred and forty *Engliſh* mile by land, which could not be performed with an Army, and the proviſions that follow it, in leſs than fourteen days, the *Carthaginians* would paſs it with their Gallies, in eight and forty hours.

An old example we have of that great advantage of tranſporting Armies by water, between *Canutus* and *Edmond Ironſide*. For *Canutus*, when he had entred the *Thames* with his Navy and Army, and could not prevail againſt *London*, ſuddenly imbarked; and ſailing to the Weſt, landed in *Dorſetſhire*, ſo drawing *Edmond* and his Army thither. There finding ill entertainment, he again ſhipt his men, and entred the *Severn*, making *Edmond* to march after him to the ſuccour of *Worceſterſhire*, by him greatly ſpoiled. But when he had *Edmond* there, he ſailed back again to *London*: by means whereof, he both wearied the King, and ſpoiled where he pleaſed, ere ſuccour could arrive. And this was not the leaſt help, which the *Netherlands* have had againſt the *Spaniards*, in the defence of their Liberty, that being Maſters of the Sea, they could paſs their Army from place to place unwearied and entire, with all the Munition and Artillery belonging unto it, in the tenth part of the time, wherein their Enemies have been able to do it. Of this, an inſtance or two. The Count *Maurice* of *Naſſau*, now living, one of the greateſt Captains, and of the worthieſt Princes,

Princes, that either the preſent or proceeding Ages have brought forth, in the year 1590. carried his Army by Sea, with forty Cannons, to *Breda*: making countenance either to beſiege *Boſſleduc*, or *Gertreuiden-Berg*; which the Enemy (in prevention) filled with Souldiers and Victuals. But as ſoon as the Wind ſerved, he ſuddenly ſet ſail, and arriving in the mouth of the *Meuze*, turned up the *Rhine*, and thence to *Yſſel*, and ſate down before *Zutphen*. So before the *Spaniards* could march over land round about *Holland*, above fourſcore mile, and over many great Rivers with their Cannon and Carriage, *Zutphen* was taken. Again, when the *Spaniſh* Army had overcome this wearieſome March, and were now far from home, the Prince *Maurice* making countenance to ſail up the *Rhine*, changed his courſe in the night; and ſailing down the Stream, he was ſet down before *Hulſt* in *Brabant*, ere the *Spaniards* had knowledge what was become of him. So this Town he alſo took, before the *Spaniſh* Army could return. Laſtly, the *Spaniſh* Army was no ſooner arrived in *Brabant*, than the Prince *Maurice*, well attended by his good Fleet, having fortified *Hulſt*, ſet ſail again, and preſented himſelf before *Nymegen* in *Gelders*, a City of notable importance, and maſtred it.

And to ſay the truth, it is impoſſible for any maritime Country, not having the Coaſts admirably fortified, to defend it ſelf againſt a powerful Enemy that is maſter of the Sea. Hereof I had rather, that *Spain* than *England* ſhould be an example. Let it therefore be ſuppoſed, that King *Philip* the ſecond, had fully reſolved to hinder Sir *John Norris* in the year 1589. from preſenting *Don Antonio*, King of *Portugal*, before the Gates of *Lisborn*; and that he would have kept off the *Engliſh*, by power of his Land-forces, as being too weak at Sea, through the great overthrow of his mighty *Armada*, by the Fleet of Queen *Elizabeth*, in the year foregoing. Surely, it had not been hard for him to prepare an Army, that ſhould be able to reſiſt our eleven thouſand. But where ſhould this his Army have been beſtowed? If about *Lysborn*, then would it have been eaſie unto the *Engliſh*, to take, ranſack, and burn the Town of *Groin*, and to waſte the Country round about it. For the great and threatning preparations, of the Earl of *Altemira*, the Marqueſs of *Saralba*, and others, did not hinder them from performing all this. Neither did the haſty levy of eight thouſand, under the Earl of *Andrada*, ſerve to more effect, than the increaſe of honour to Sir *John Norris* and his Aſſociates: conſidering that the *Engliſh* charged theſe at *Puente de Burgos*, and paſſing the great Bridge, behind which they lay, that was flancked with Shot, and barricadoed at the further end, routed them, took their Camp, took their Generals Standard with the Kings Arms, and purſued them over all the Country, which they fired. If a Royal Army, and not (as this was) a Company of private adventurers, had thus begun the War in *Galicia*; I think it would have made the *Spaniards* to quit the Guard of *Portugal*, and make haſte to the defence of their St. *Jago*, whoſe Temple was not far from the danger. But had they held their firſt reſolution, as knowing that Sir *John Norris* his main intent was to bring *Don Antonio* with an Army into his Kingdom, whither coming ſtrong, he expected to be readily and joyfully welcomed, could they have hindred his landing in *Portugal*? Did not he land at *Penicha*, and march over the Country to *Lysborn*, ſix days journey? Did not he (when all *Don Antonio* his promiſes failed) paſs along by the River of *Lysborn* to *Caſcaliz*, and there, having won the Fort, quietly imbarque his men, and depart? But theſe, though no more than an handful, yet were they *Engliſh* men. Let us conſider of the matter it ſelf, what another Nation might do, even againſt *England*, in landing an Army, by advantage of a Fleet, if we had none. This queſtion, *Whether an invading Army may be reſiſted at their landing upon the Coaſt of* England, *were there no Fleet of ours at the Sea to impeach it*; is already handled by a learned Gentleman of our Nation, in his Obſervations upon *Cæſars* Commentaries, that maintains the affirmative. This he holds only upon ſuppoſition; *in abſence of our Shipping*: and comparatively, as that it is a more ſafe and eaſie courſe to defend all the Coaſt of *England*, than to ſuffer an Enemy to land, and afterwards to fight with him. Surely I hold with him, that it is the beſt way to keep our Enemy from treading upon our Ground: wherein if we fail, then muſt we ſeek to make him wiſh that he had ſtaid at his own Home. In ſuch a caſe, if it ſhould happen, our Judgments are to weigh many particular circumſtances that belong not unto this Diſcourſe. But making the Queſtion general and poſitive, *Whether* England, *without help of her Fleet, be able to debar an Enemy from landing?* I hold that it is unable ſo to do, and therefore I think it moſt dangerous to make the adventure. For the incouragement of a firſt Victory to an Enemy, and the diſcouragement of being beaten to the Invaded, may draw after it a moſt perilous conſequence.

It is true, that the Marſhal *Monluc*, in his Commentaries, doth greatly complain, that by his wanting Forces, wherewith to have kept the Frontier of *Guienne*, they of the *Proteſtant* Religion, after the Battel of *Moncounter*, entred that Country, and gathered great ſtrength and relief thence; for if the King (ſaith he) would have given me but reaſonable means, *j euſe bien garde a Monſieur l' Admiral, de faire boire ſes Cheuaux en la Garonne*; *I would have kept the Admiral from watering his Horſes in the River of* Garonne. *Monſieur de Langey*, on the contrary ſide, prefers the not fighting upon a Frontier with an invading Enemy, and commends the delay; which courſe the Conſtable of *France* held againſt the Emperour *Charles*, when he invaded *Provence*. Great difference I know there is, and a diverſe conſideration to be had, between ſuch a Country as *France* is, ſtrengthened with many fortified places; and this of ours, where our Rampars are but of the bodies of men. And it was of Invaſions upon firm land, that theſe great Captains ſpeak, whoſe entrances cannot be uncertain. But our queſtion is, of an Army to be tranſported over Sea, and to be landed again in an Enemies Country, and the place left to the choice of the Invader. Hereunto I ſay, That ſuch an Army cannot be reſiſted on the Coaſt of *England*, without a Fleet to impeach it; no, nor on the Coaſt of *France*, or any other Country; except every Creek, Port, or ſandy Bay, had a powerful Army in each of them to make oppoſition. For let his whole ſuppoſition be granted; That *Kent* is able to furniſh twelve thouſand Foot; and that thoſe twelve thouſand be laid in the three beſt landing places within that Country, to wit, three thouſand at *Margat*, three thouſand at the *Neſſe*, and ſix thouſand at *Foulkſton*, that is ſomewhat equally diſtant from them both; as alſo that two of theſe Troops (unleſs ſome other order be thought more fit) be directed to ſtrengthen the third, when they ſhall ſee the Enemies Fleet to bend towards it: I ſay, that notwithſtanding this proviſion, if the Enemy, ſetting ſail from the Iſle

of *Wight*, in the first watch of the night, and towing their long Boats at their Sterns, shall arrive by dawn of day at the *Nesse*, and thrust their Army on shore there; it will be hard for those three thousand that are at *Margat* (twenty and four long miles from thence) to come time enough to re-enforce their fellows at the *Nesse*. Nay, how shall they at *Foulkston* be able to do it, who are nearer by more than half the way? seeing that the Enemy, at his first arrival, will either make his entrance by force, with three or four hundred shot of great Artillery, and quickly put the first three thousand, that were intrenched at the *Nesse*, to run; or else give them so much to do, that they shall be glad to send for help to *Foulkston*, and perhaps to *Margat*; whereby those places will be left bare. Now let us suppose that all the twelve thousand *Kentish* Souldiers arrive at the *Nesse*, ere the Enemy can be ready to disimbarque his Army, so that he shall find it unsafe to land in the face of so many prepared to withstand him; yet must we believe that he will play the best of his own game; and (having liberty to go which way he list) under covert of the night, set sail towards the East, where what shall hinder him to take ground, either at *Margat*, the *Downs*, or elsewhere, before they at the *Nesse* can be well aware of his departure? Certainly, there is nothing more easie than to do it. Yea, the like may be said of *Weymouth*, *Purbeck*, *Pool*, and of all landing places on the South Coast. For there is no man ignorant, that Ships, without putting themselves out of breath, will easily outrun the Souldiers that coast them. *Les Armees ne volent point en poste*; *Armies neither fly, nor run post*, saith a Marshal of *France*. And I know it to be true, that a Fleet of Ships may be seen at Sun set, and after it, at the *Lisard*; yet by the next morning they may recover *Portland*, , whereas an Army of Foot shall not be able to march it in six days. Again, when those Troops lodged on the Sea-shores, shall be forced to run from place to place in vain, after a Fleet of Ships, they will at length sit down in the mid-way, and leave all at adventure. But say it were otherwise; That the invading Enemy will offer to land in some such place, where there shall be an Army of ours ready to receive him: yet it cannot be doubted but that when the choice of all our trained Bands, and the choice of our Commanders and Captains, shall be drawn together (as they were at *Tilbury*, in the year 1588.) to attend the Person of the Prince, and for the defence of the City of *London*: they that remain to guard the Coast, can be of no such force, as to encounter an Army like unto that, wherewith it was intended that the Prince of *Parma* should have landed in *England*.

The Isle of *Tercera* hath taught us by experience, what to think in such a case. There are not many Islands in the World, better fenced by nature, and strengthened by art: it being every where hard of access; having no good Harbour wherein to shelter a Navy of Friends; and upon every cove or watering place a Fort erected, to forbid the approach of an Enemies Boat. Yet when *Emanuel de Salvia*, and *Monsieur de Chattes*, that held it to the use of *Don Antonio*, with five or six thousand men, thought to have kept the *Marquess of Santa Cruz*, from setting foot on ground therein; the Marquess having shewed himself in the Road of *Angra*, did set sail ere any was aware of it, and arrived at the *Port des Moles*, far distant from thence, where he wan a Fort, and landed, ere *Monsieur de Chattes*, running thither in vain, could come to hinder him. The example of *Philip Strosse*, slain the year before, without all regard of his worth, and of three hundred *French* Prisoners murthered in cold Blood, had instructed *de Chattes* and his followers, what they might expect at that Marquess his hands: Therefore it is not like that they were slow in carrying relief to *Port des Moles*. Whether our *English* would be perswaded to make such diligent haste from *Margat* to the *Nesse*, and back again, it may be doubted. Sure I am, that it were a greater march than all the length of *Tercera*; whereof the *French-men* had not measured the one half, when they found themselves prevented by the more nimble Ships of *Spain*.

This may suffice to prove, that a strong Army, in a good Fleet, which neither Foot nor Horse is able to follow, cannot be denied to land where it list, in *England*, *France*, or elsewhere, unless it be hindred, encountred, and shuffled together, by a Fleet of equal or answerable strength.

The difficult landing of our *English* at *Fayal*, in the year 1597. is alleadged against this: which example moves me no way to think that a large Coast may be defended against a strong Fleet. I landed those *English* in *Fayal* my self, and therefore ought to take notice of this instance. For whereas I find an action of mine cited, with omission of my name; I may, by a civil interpretation, think, that there was no purpose to defraud me of any Honour; but rather an opinion, that the Enterprise was such, or so ill managed, as that no Honour could be due unto it. There were indeed some which were in that Voyage, who advised me not to undertake it: and I hearkned unto them somewhat longer than was requisite, especially, whilest they desired me to reserve the Title of such an Exploit (though it were not great) for a greater person. But when they began to tell me of difficulty: I gave them to understand the same which I now maintain, that it was more difficult to defend a Coast, than to invade it. The truth is, that I could have landed my men with more ease than I did, yea, without finding any resistance, if I would have rowed to another place; yea, even there where I landed, if I would have taken more company to help me. But without fearing any imputation of rashness, I may say, that I had more regard of reputation, in that business, than of safety. For I thought it to belong unto the Honour of our Prince and Nation, that a few Islanders should not think any advantage great enough, against a Fleet set forth by *Queen Elizabeth*: and further, I was unwilling that some *Low-Country* Captains, and others, not of mine own Squadron, whose assistance I had refused, should please themselves with a sweet conceipt (though it would have been short, when I had landed in some other place) *That for want of their help I was driven to turn tail.* Therefore I took with me none but men assured, Commanders of mine own Squadron, with some of their followers, and a few other Gentlemen, Voluntiers, whom I could not refuse; as, Sir *William Brooke*, Sir *William Harvey*, Sir *Arthur Gorges*, Sir *John Scot*, Sir *Thomas Ridgeway*, Sir *Henry Thinne*, Sir *Charles Morgan*, Sir *Walter Chute*, *Marcellus Throckmorton*, Captain *Laurence Kemis*, Captain *William Morgan*, and others, such as well understood themselves and the Enemy: by whose help, with Gods favour, I made good the Enterprise I undertook. As for the *working of the Sea, the steepness of the Cliffs*, and other troubles, that were not new to us, we overcame them well enough. And these (notwithstanding) made five or six Companies of the Enemies, that sought to impeach our landing, abandon the Wall, whereon their Musquetiers lay

lay on the reſt for us, and won the place of them without any great loſs. This I could have done with leſs danger, ſo that it ſhould not have ſerved for example of a rule, that failed even in this example: but the reaſons before alledged (together with other reaſons well known to ſome of the Gentlemen above named, though more private than to be here laid down) made me rather follow the way of bravery, and take the ſhorter courſe, having it ſtill in mine own power to fall off when I ſhould think it meet. It is eaſily ſaid, that *the Enemy was more than a Coward* (which yet was more than we knew) neither will I magnifie ſuch a ſmall piece of ſervice, by ſeeking to prove him better, whom had I thought equal to mine own Followers, I would otherwiſe have dealt with. But for ſo much as concerns the Propoſition in hand; he that beheld this, may well remember, that the ſame Enemy troubled us more in our march towards *Fayal*, than in our taking the ſhore; that he ſought how to ſtop us in place of his advantage; that many of our men were ſlain or hurt by him, among whom Sir *Arthur Gorges* was ſhot in that march; and that ſuch, as (thinking all danger to be paſt, when we had won good footing) would needs follow us to the Town, were driven by him, to forſake the pace of a Man of War, and betake themſelves to an haſty trot.

For end of this digreſſion, I hope that this queſtion ſhall never come to tryal; his Majeſties many moveable Forts will forbid the experience. And although the *Engliſh* will no leſs diſdain, than any Nation under Heaven can do, to be beaten upon their own ground, or elſewhere, by a forraign Enemy, yet to entertain thoſe that ſhall aſſail us, with their own Beef in their Bellies, and before they eat of our *Kentiſh* Capons, I take it to be the wiſeſt way. To do which, his Majeſty, after God, will imploy his good Ships on the Sea, and not truſt to any intrenchment upon the Shore.

§. X.

How the Romans *attempt again to get the maſtery of the Seas. The Victory of* Cæcilius *the* Roman *Conſul at* Panormus. *The Siege of* Lilybæum. *How a* Rhodian *Gally entred* Lilybæum *at pleaſure, in deſpight of the* Roman *Fleet. That it is a matter of great difficulty to ſtop the paſſage of good Ships. The* Romans, *by reaſon of grievous loſſes received under* Claudius *and* Junius *their Conſuls, abandon the Seas again.*

WHen without a ſtrong Navy, the *Romans* found it altogether impoſſible, either to keep what they had already gotten in *Sicil*, or to enlarge their Dominions in *Africa*, or elſewhere: they reſolved once again, notwithſtanding their late miſadventures, to ſtrengthen their Fleet and ſhips of War. So cauſing fifty new Gallies to be built, and the old to be repaired, they gave them in charge (together with certain Legions of Souldiers) to the new Conſuls, *C. Atilius*, and *L. Manlius*. On the other ſide, *Aſdrubal* perceiving that the *Romans*, partly by reaſon of the Shipwrack which they had lately ſuffered, partly by reaſon of the Overthrow which they received by *Xantippus* in *Africa*, were leſs daring than they had been in the beginning of the War; and withal, that one of the Conſuls was returned into *Italy*, with the one half of the Army; and that *Cæcilius*, with only the other half, remained at *Panormus*: he removed with the *Carthaginian* Forces from *Lilybæum* towards it, hoping to provoke *Cæcilius* to fight. But the Conſul was better adviſed. For when *Aſdrubal* had made his approaches ſomewhat near the Town, *Cæcilius* cauſed a deep Trench to be cut a good diſtance without the Ditch of the City: between which and his Trench he left ground ſufficient to embattel a Legion of his Souldiers. To theſe he gave order that they ſhould advance themſelves, and paſs over the new Trench, till ſuch time as the *African* Elephants were thruſt upon them. From thoſe Beaſts he commanded them to retire, by ſlow degrees, till they had drawn on the Elephants to the brink of the new Trench, which they could by no means paſs. This they performed accordingly. For when the Elephants were at a ſtand, they were ſo gawled and beaten, both by thoſe Souldiers that were on the inſide of the Trench, and by thoſe that lay in the Trench it ſelf, that being inraged by their many Wounds, they brake back furiouſly upon their own Foot-men, and utterly diſordered them. *Cæcilius* eſpying this advantage, ſallyed with all the Force he had, and charging the other Troops, that ſtood embattelled, he utterly brake them, and put them to their heels; making a great ſlaughter of them, and taking all their Elephants.

The report of this Victory being brought to *Rome*, the whole State, filled with courage, prepared a new Fleet of two hundred Sail, which they ſent into *Sicil*, to give end to that War, that had now laſted fourteen years. With this Fleet and Army the *Romans* reſolve to attempt *Lilybæum*, the only place of importance which the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicil*; and all (indeed) ſave *Drepanum*, that was near adjoyning. They ſit down before it, and poſſeſs themſelves of all the places of advantage near unto it, eſpecially of ſuch as command the Haven, which had a very difficult entrance. They alſo beat to the ground ſix Towers of defence, and by forceable Engines weaken ſo many other parts of the City, as the defendants begin to deſpair. Yet *Himilco*, Commander of the Place, faileth not in all that belongs to a Man of War. All that is broken, he repaireth with admirable diligence; he maketh many furious ſallies, and giveth to the *Romans* all the affronts that poſſibly could be made. He hath in Garriſon (beſides the Citizens) ten thouſand Souldiers; among which there are certain Lieutenants, and other petty Officers, that conſpire to render and betray the Town. But the matter is revealed by an *Achæan*, called *Alexon*, who had formerly, in danger of the like Treaſon, ſaved *Agrigentum*. *Himilco* uſeth the help of *Alexon*, to aſſure the hired Souldiers; and imployeth *Hannibal* to appeaſe the Troops of the *Gauls*, which did waver, and had ſent their Agents to the Enemy. All promiſe conſtancy and truth; ſo that the Traitors being unable to perform what they had undertaken, are fain to live in the *Roman* Camp as Fugitives, that had wrought no good whereby to deſerve their Bread. In the mean while, a ſupply of ten thouſand Souldiers is ſent from *Carthage* to their relief, having *Hannibal*, the Son of *Amilcar*, for their Conductor: who, in deſpight of all reſiſtance, entred the Port and City, to the incredible joy of the beſieged. The old Souldiers, together with the new Companies (thereto perſwaded by *Himilco* with hope of great reward) reſolve to ſet upon the *Romans* in their Trenches, and either force them to abandon the Siege, or (at leaſt) to take from them, or ſet on fire, their Engines of battery. The attempt is preſently made, and purſued

sued to the uttermost, with great slaughter on both sides. But the *Romans* being more in number, and having the advantage of the ground, hold still their places, and with extream difficulty defend their Engines.

They of *Carthage* desire greatly to understand the State of things at *Lilybæum*; but know not how to send into the Town. A certain *Rhodian* undertakes the service, and having received his dispatch, sails with one Gally to *Ægusa*, a little Island near *Lilybæum*. Thence, taking his time, he steered directly with the Port; and having a passing swift Gally, he past through the best of the Channel, and recovered the Water-gate, ere any of those, which the *Romans* had to guard the Port, could thrust from the Shores on either side.

The next day, neither attending the covert of the dark night, nor dreading to be boarded by the *Roman* Gallies, who waited his return, he set sail, and shipping his Oars (his Gally being exceeding quick of steerage, and himself expert in all parts of the Channel) recovered the Havens mouth, and the Sea, in despight of all the pursuit made after him. Then finding himself out of danger of being incompassed by many, he turned again towards the mouth of the Haven, challenging any one, if any one durst come forth, to undertake him. This enterprise, and the well performing of it, was very remarkable, and much wondred at in those days: and yet, where there was no great Artillery, nor any other Weapons of fire to kill a far off, the adventure which this *Rhodian* made, was not greatly hazardous. For in this Age, a valiant and judicious Man of War will not fear to pass by the best appointed Fort of *Europe*, with the help of a good Tide, and a leading gale of Wind, no, though forty pieces of great Artillery open their mouths against him, and threaten to tear him in pieces.

In the beginning of our late Queens time, when *Denmark* and *Sweden* were at War; our *East-land* Fleet, bound for *Leif-land*, was forbidden by the King of *Denmark* to trade with the Subjects of his Enemies, and he threatned to sink their Ships if they came through the Streights of *Elsenour*. Notwithstanding this, our Merchants (having a Ship of her *Majesties*, called the *Minion*, to defend them) made the adventure; and sustaining some Vollies of shot, kept on their course. The King made all the provision he could to stop them or sink them at their return. But the *Minion*, commanded (as I take it) by *William Burrough*, leading the way, did not only pass out with little loss, but did beat down with Artillery, a great part of the Fort of *Elsenour*, which at that time was not so well rampard, as now perhaps it is: and the Fleet of Merchants that followed him, went through without any Wound received. Neither was it long since, that the Duke of *Parma*, besieging *Antwerp*, and finding no possibility to master it, otherwise than by Famine, laid his Cannon on the bank of the River, so well to purpose, and so even with the face of the Water, that he thought it impossible for the least Boat to pass by. Yet the *Hollanders* and *Zelanders*, not blown up by any wind of glory, but coming to find a good Market for their Butter and Cheese, even the poor men, attending their profit when all things were extream dear in *Antwerp*, passed in Boats of ten or twelve Tun, by the mouth of the Dukes Cannon, in despight of it, when a strong Westerly Wind, and a Tide of flood favoured them; as also with a contrary Wind, and an ebbing Water, they turned back again: so as he was forced, in the end, to build his *Stockado* overthwart the River, to his marvelous trouble and charge.

The Fort St. *Philip* terrified not us in the year 1596. when we entred the Port of *Caliz*; neither did the Fort at *Puntal*, when we were entred, beat us from our anchoring by it; though it plaid upon us with four Demi-cannons within point blanck, from six in the morning till twelve at noon. The siege of *Ostend*, and of many other places, may be given for proof, how hard a matter it is to stop the passage of a good Ship, without another as good to encounter it. Yet this is true, that where a Fort is so set, as that of *Angra* in *Tercera*, that there is no passage along beside it, or that the Ships are driven to turn upon a bow line towards it, wanting all help of Wind and Tide; there, and in such places is it of great use, and fearful: otherwise not.

But to return to our adventurous *Rhodian*: He arrives in safety at *Carthage*, and makes them know the Estate of *Lilybæum*. Others also, after this, take upon them to do the like, and perform it with the same success. The *Romans* therefore labour to choak the Channel, and for that purpose, fill many Merchants Ships with great stones, and sink them therein. The force of the Tides clears it again in part: but they grounded so many of those great bellied Boats in the best of the entrance, as at last it made a manifest rising and heap, like a ragged Island, in the passage. Hereby it came to pass, that a *Carthaginian* Gally taking her course by night, and not suspecting any such impediment, ran her self a ground thereon, and was taken. Now comes the brave *Rhodian*, thinking to enter as he had done before: but this *Carthaginian* Gally, a little before taken, gave him chase, and gathered upon him; he findes what she is, both by her form, and by her swiftness: and being not able to run from her, resolved to fight with her: But she is too well manned for him, so that he is beaten and taken.

Lilybæum, after this, is greatly distressed; the Souldiers being worn with labour and watching. But in this despair there rose so violent a Tempest, as some of the *Romans* woodden Towers, by which they overtop the Walls of *Lilybæum*, were over-turned. A *Greek* Souldier undertakes to fire those that were fallen, and performs it: for the fire was no sooner kindled, but being blown unto by the bellows of a Tempest, it increased so fast, as it became resistless, and in the end burned all to ashes, and melted the brasen Heads of the battering Rams. Hereupon, despair and weariness hinder the *Romans* from repairing their Engines: so that they resolve, by a long Siege, to starve the Defendants.

Upon relation of what had past, a supply of ten thousand Souldiers is sent from *Rome*, under *M. Claudius*, the Consul. He arrives at *Messana*, and marcheth over land to *Lilybæum*: where having re-inforced the Army, and supplied the Gallies with new Rowers, he propounds the surprise of *Drepanum*, a City on the other side of the Bay of *Lilybæum*. This service the Captains and Souldiers willingly embrace. So the Consul imbarks his Troops, and arrives on the sudden in the mouth of the Port. *Adherbal* is Governour of the Town, a valiant and prudent Man of War, who being ignorant of the new supply arrived at *Lilybæum*, was at first amazed at their sudden approach; but having recovered his spirits, he perswades the Souldiers, rather to fight abroad than to be inclosed. Herewithal he promiseth great rewards to such, as by their Valour shall deserve them; offering to lead them himself, and to fight in the head

head of his Fleet. Having ſufficiently encouraged his men, he thruſts into the Sea towards the *Romans*. The Conſul, deceived of his expectation, calls back the foremoſt Gallies, that he might now marſhall them for defence. Hereupon ſome row backward, ſome forward, in great confuſion. *Adherbal* finds and follows his advantage, and forceth the Conſul into a Bay at hand, wherein he rangeth himſelf, having the land on his back: hoping thereby to keep himſelf from being incompaſſed. But he was thereby, and for want of Sea-room, ſo ſtreighened, as he could not turn himſelf any way from his Enemies, nor range himſelf in any order. Therefore when he found no hope of reſiſtance, keeping the Shore on his left hand, he thruſt out of the Bay with thirty Gallies beſides his own, and ſo fled away: all the reſt of his Fleet, to the number of ninety and four Ships, were taken or ſunk by the *Carthaginians*. *Adherbal* for this ſervice is greatly honoured at *Carthage*; and *Claudius*, for his indiſcretion and flight, as much diſgraced at *Rome*.

The *Romans*, notwithſtanding this great loſs, armed threeſcore Gallies, with which they ſend away *L. Junius*, their Conſul, to take charge of their buſineſs in *Sicil*. *Junius* arrives at *Meſſana*, where he meets with the whole remainder of the *Roman* Fleet, thoſe excepted which rode in the Port of *Lilybæum*. One hundred and twenty Gallies he had; and beſides theſe, he had gotten together almoſt eight hundred Ships of burthen, which were laden with all neceſſary proviſions for the Army. With this great Fleet he arrives at *Syracuſe*, where he ſtaies a while; partly to take in Corn; partly, to wait for ſome that were too ſlow of ſail, to keep company with him along from *Meſſana*. In the mean time, he diſpatcheth away towards *Lilybæum*, his *Quæſtors* or Treaſurers; to whom he commits the one half of his Victuallers, with ſome Gallies for their convoy.

Adherbal was not careleſs, after his late Victory: but ſtudied how to uſe it to the beſt advantage. The Ships and Priſoners that he had taken, he ſent to *Carthage*. Of his own Gallies he delivered thirty to *Carthalo*, who had threeſcore and ten more under his own charge, and ſent him to try what good might be done againſt the *Roman* Fleet, in the Haven of *Lilybæum*. According to this direction, *Carthalo* ſuddenly enters the mouth of that Haven, where he finds the *Romans* more attentive to the keeping of in the beſieged *Carthaginians*, than to the defence of their own againſt another Fleet. So he chargeth them, boards and takes ſome, and fires the reſt. The *Roman* Camp takes alarm, and haſtens to the reſcue. But *Himilco*, Governour of the Town, is not behind hand; who ſallies out at the ſame time, and putting the *Romans* in great diſtreſs, gives *Carthalo* good leiſure to go through with his Enterpriſe.

After this exploit, *Carthalo* ran all along the South Coaſt of *Sicil*, deviſing how to work miſchief to the Enemy: wherein Fortune preſented him with a fair occaſion, which he wiſely managed. He was advertiſed by his Scouts, that they had deſcried near at hand, a great Fleet, conſiſting of all manner of Veſſels. Theſe were the Victuallers, which the Conſul *Junius*, more haſtily than providently, had ſent before him towards *Lilybæum*. *Carthalo* was glad to hear of their coming, for he and his men were full of courage, by reaſon of their late Victories. Accounting therefore the great multitude of *Roman* Hulks approaching, to be rather a prey, than a Fleet, likely to make ſtrong oppoſition, he haſtens to encounter them. It fell out according to his expectation. The *Romans* had no mind to fight, but were glad to ſeek ſhelter in an open Road, full of Rocks, under covert of a poor Town, belonging to their Party; that could help to ſave them only from the preſent danger, by lending them Engines and other aid, wherewith to beat off the *Carthaginians* that aſſailed them: *Carthalo* therefore having taken a few of them, lay waiting for the reſt, that could not long ride under thoſe Rocks, but would be forced, by any great change of Wind, either to put out into the deep, or to ſave their men how they could, by taking land, with the loſs of all their Shipping. Whileſt he was buſied in this care, the Conſul *Junius* drew near, and was diſcovered. Againſt him *Carthalo* makes out, and finds him altogether unprepared to fight, as being wholly ignorant of that which had hapned. The Conſul had neither means to fly, nor ability to fight. Therefore he likewiſe ran into a very dangerous Creek, thinking no danger ſo great as that of the Enemy. The *Carthaginian* ſeeing this, betakes himſelf to a ſtation between the two *Roman* Fleets, where he watcheth to ſee which of them would firſt ſtir, with a reſolution to aſſault that, which ſhould firſt dare to put it ſelf into the Sea. So as now all the three Fleets were on the South Coaſt of *Sicil*, between the *Promontory* of *Pachinus* and *Lilybæum*; a Tract exceeding dangerous, when the Wind ſtormed at South. The *Carthaginians*, who knew the times of Tempeſt, and their ſigns, finding belike ſome ſwelling Billow (for ſo we do in the Weſt of *England*, before a Southerly Storm) haſted to double the Cape of *Pachinus*, thereby to cover themſelves from the rage at hand. But the *Romans*, who knew better how to fight, than how to Navigate, and never found any foul weather in the entrails of their Beaſts, their Sooth-ſayers being all Land-prophets, were ſuddenly overtaken with a boiſterous South Wind, and all their Gallies forced againſt the Rocks, and utterly wrackt.

This Calamity ſo diſcouraged the *Romans*, that they reſolved again to forſake the Seas, and truſt only to the ſervice of their Legions upon firm ground. But ſuch a reſolution cannot long hold. Either they muſt be ſtrong at Sea, or elſe they muſt not make War in an Iſland, againſt thoſe that have a mighty Fleet. Yet are they to be excuſed, in regard of the many great Calamities which they had ſuffered through their want of skill. Here I cannot forbear to commend the patient Vertue of the *Spaniards*. We ſeldom or never find that any Nation hath endured ſo many miſadventures and miſeries as the *Spaniards* have done in their *Indian Diſcoveries*. Yet perſiſting in their Enterpriſes, with an invincible conſtancy, they have annexed to their Kingdom ſo many goodly Provinces, as bury the remembrance of all dangers paſt. Tempeſts and Shipwracks, Famine, Overthrows, Mutinies, Heat and Cold, Peſtilence, and all manner of Diſeaſes, both old and new, together with extream Poverty, and want of all things needful, have been the Enemies, wherewith every one of their moſt noble Diſcoverers, at one time or other, hath encountred. Many years have paſſed over ſome of their heads, in the ſearch of not ſo many leagues: yea, more than one or two, have ſpent their Labour, their Wealth, and their Lives, in ſearch of a golden Kingdom, without getting further notice of it, than what they had at their firſt ſetting forth. All which notwithſtanding, the third, fourth, and fifth Undertakers have not been diſheartned. Surely, they are worthily rewarded with thoſe

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Treasuries, and Paradises, which they enjoy; and well they deserve to hold them quietly, if they hinder not the like vertue in others, which (perhaps) will not be found.

§. XI.

The City of Eryx *is surprized by the* Romans, *and recovered by* Amilcar; *who stoutly holds War with them five years. The* Romans *having emptied their common Treasury, build a new Fleet, at the charges of private men. The great Victory at Sea of* Luctatius *the Consul; whereby the* Carthaginians *are forced to crave Peace. The Conditions of the Peace between* Rome *and* Carthage.

THE *Romans* were careful, to supply with all industry, by Land, the want of strength at Sea. Therefore they continue the Siege of *Lilybæum*, and seek to make sure to themselves all Places, whither the Enemies Ships could not bring Relief. The Consul *Junius*, to cure the wound of Dishonour, which he had received, bethought him what Enterprize to undertake. In the end he resolved to attempt the Mountain and City of *Eryx*, with the Temple of *Venus Erycina*, which was the faireſt and richeſt of all the Island; and of these, by Cunning or Treason, he got possession. *Eryx* was commodiously seated between *Drepanum* and *Panormus*; so that it seemed a fit Place for a Garrison, that should restrain the *Carthaginians* from making Roads into the Countrey. Wherefore *Junius* fortified both the top of the Mountain, and the first entrance of the passage from the bottom, (both which Places were very defensible) with a good strength of men. But shortly after, in the 18*th*. year of this War, the *Carthaginians* sent forth *Amilcar*, sirnamed *Barcas*, Father of the great *Hannibal*, with a Fleet and Army, who sailing to the Coasts of *Italy*, did throughly repay the Spoils which the *Romans* made in *Africa*. For he first of all wasted and destoyed the Territories of the *Locrines*, and of the *Brutians*, that were dependants of *Rome*. Then entred he into *Sicil*, and finding there no walled City in the *Carthaginians* power, that served fitly to infest the *Romans*, he occupied a piece of Ground of great advantage, and lodged his Army thereon; to confront as well the *Romans*, that were in *Panormus*, as those that kept about *Eryx*, putting himself between both Armies with admirable resolution.

The Place that *Amilcar* had seized upon, was not only very strong by Scituation, but had the command of a Port: whereby it gave him opportunity, to scour all the Coast of *Italy* with his Fleet, wasting all along as far as to *Cuma*. In the Isle of *Sicil* he held the *Romans* to hard work, lying near unto *Panormus*, where in three years abode he did many notable Acts, though not of much consequence, for that the Enemy could never be drawn to hazard the main chance. Having wearied himself and the *Romans* long enough about *Panormus*, he undertook a strange piece of work at *Eryx*. The *Roman* Garrisons, placed there by *Junius*, on the top, and at the bottom of the Mountain, were very strongly lodged. Nevertheless *Amilcar* found a way, lying towards the Sea-side, by which he conveyed his men into the City of *Eryx*, that was about the midst of the ascent, ere the Enemy knew of it. By this it came to pass, that the *Romans* which kept the top of the Mountain, were straightly held (as it were) besieged. And no less was *Amilcar* himself restrained, by both of these Garisons, and such as came to relieve them. There he found them pastime about two years nigre; hoping still to weary out those that lay over his head, as they on the contrary did their best, to thrust him out of those Quarters.

At this time, all the care, both of the *Romans* and of the *Carthaginians*, was bent unto the prosecuting of this business at *Eryx*. Wherein it seems true (as *Hannibal*, in *Livie*, spake unto *Scipio*) that the Affairs of *Carthage* never stood in better terms, since the beginning of the War, than now they did. For whereas the *Romans* had utterly forsaken the Seas, partly by reason of their great losses, partly upon confidence of their Land-forces, which they held resistless; *Amilcar*, with a small Army, had so well acquitted himself, to the honour of his Countrey, that by the tryal of five years War, the *Carthaginian* Souldier was judged equal, if not superior, to the *Roman*. Finally, when all, that might be, had been devised and done, for the dislodging of this obstinate Warrior, no way seemed better to the Senate of *Rome*, than once again to build a Fleet; whereby, if the mastery of the Sea could once be gotten, it was likely that *Amilcar*, for lack of supply, should not long be able to hold out. But in performing this, extream difficulty was found. The common Treasury was exhausted, and the cost was not little, that was requisite unto such an Enterprize. Wherefore there was no other way left, than to lay the burden upon private Purses. Divers of the principal Citizens undertook to build (each at his own charges) one *Quinquereme*; which example wrought so well, that they, whose ability would not serve to do the like, joyned with some others, and laying their money together, concurred two or three of them, in building of another, with condition to be repaid, when the War was finished. By this voluntary Contribution, they made and furnished 200 new *Quinqueremes*, taking for their pattern, that excellent swift rowing Galley which they had gotten from the *Rhodian*, in the Port of *Lilybæum*, as was shewed before. The charge of this Fleet was committed to *C. Luctatius Catulus*, who pass'd with the same into *Sicil*, the Spring following, and entred the Port of *Drepanum*, endeavouring by all means to have forced the City. But being advertised that the *Carthaginian* Fleet was at hand, and being mindful of the late losses which his Predecessors had received, he was careful to put himself in order, against their arrival.

Liv. Dec. 3. l. 10.

Hanno was Admiral of the *Carthaginian* Fleet; a man (as his actions declare him) wise in Picture, exceedingly formal, and skilful in the Art of seeming reverend. How his Reputation was first bred, I do not find, but it was upheld by a factious contradiction, of things undertaken by men more worthy than himself. This quality procured unto him (as it hath done to many others) both good liking among the ancient sort, whose cold temper is averse from new Enterprizes, and therewithal an opinion of great foresight, confirmed by every loss received. More particularly, he was gracious among the People, for that he was one of the most grievous oppressors of their subject Provinces; whereby he procured unto the *Carthaginians* much wealth, but therewithal such hatred, as turned it all to their great loss. He had ere this been employed against the *Numidians*, and wild *Africans*, that were more like to Rovers, than to Souldiers, in making War. Of those fugitive Nations, he learned to neglect more manly Enemies, to his own great dishonour, and to the great hurt of *Carthage*; which lost not more by his bad conduct,

duct, than by his malicious counſel, when, having ſhewed himſelf an unworthy Captain, he betook himſelf to the long Robe. Yet is he much commended in *Roman* Hiſtories, as a temperate man, and one that ſtudied how to preſerve the League between *Carthage* and *Rome*. In which regard, how well he deſerved of his own Countrey, it will appear hereafter: how beneficial he was to the *Romans*, it will appear, both hereafter, and in his preſent Voyage; wherein he reduced the *Carthaginians* to a miſerable neceſſity of accepting, upon hard conditions, that Peace which he thenceforth commended.

Hanno had very well furniſhed his Navy, with all needful Proviſions for the Souldiers at *Eryx*: (for dexterity in making preparation was the beſt of his qualities) but he had neither been careful in training his Mariners, to the practice of Sea-fight, nor in manning his Galleys with ſtout Fellows. He thought, that the fame of a *Carthaginian* Fleet was enough, to make the unexpert *Romans* give way: forgetting, that rather the reſiſtleſs force of tempeſts, than any other ſtrength of oppoſition, had made them to forſake the Seas. Yet in one thing he had either conceived aright, or elſe was ſent forth well inſtructed. It was his purpoſe, firſt of all to ſail to *Eryx*, and there to diſcharge his Ships of their lading: and having thus lightned himſelf, he meant to take aboard ſome part of the Land-army, together with *Amilcar* himſelf, by whoſe help he doubted not, but that he ſhould be able to make the Enemy repent of his new Adventure to Sea. This was a good courſe, if it could have been performed. But *Catulus* uſed all poſſible diligence, to prevent the execution of this deſign: not becauſe he was informed of the Enemies purpoſe, but for that he knew it to be the beſt for them, and for that he feared no danger ſo greatly, as to encounter with *Amilcar*. Wherefore although the weather was very rough, and the Seas went high, when the *Carthaginian* Fleet was deſcried; yet he rather choſe to fight with the Enemy, that had the wind of him, than to ſuffer this Convoy to paſs along to *Eryx*, upon unlikely hope of better opportunity in the future. All that *Hanno* ſhould have done, *Catulus* had performed. He had carefully exerciſed his men in Rowing; he had lightned his Galleys of all unneceſſary burthen; and he had taken aboard the choice men of the *Roman* Land-ſouldiers. The *Carthaginians* therefore, at the firſt Encounter, were utterly broken and defeated; having 50 of their Galleys ſtemmed and ſunk, and 70 taken, wherein were few leſs than 10000 men, that were all made Priſoners: the reſt, by a ſudden change of wind, eſcaping to the Iſle of *Hieroneſus*.

The ſtate of *Carthage*, utterly diſcouraged by this change of Fortune, knew not whereon to reſolve. Means to repair their Fleet in any time there were none left; their beſt men of War by Sea were conſumed; and *Amilcar*, upon whoſe valour and judgment the honour and ſafety of the Common-wealth reſted, was now ſurrounded by his Enemies in *Sicil*, where he could not be relieved. In this extremity, they make a diſpatch unto *Amilcar* himſelf, and authorize him to take what courſe ſhould ſeem beſt unto his excellent wiſdom; leaving all concluſions to his election and ſole counſel.

Amilcar, whom no Adverſity, accompanied with the leaſt hope or poſſibility of recovery, had ever vanquiſhed, looking over every promiſe, true or falſe, that the preſent time could make him, (for to attend any thing from the future he was not able) reſolved to make tryal, whether his neceſſity might be compounded upon any reaſonable terms. He therefore ſent to *Lutatius* the Conſul an Overture of Peace: who conſidering it well, gathered ſo many Arguments from the preſent Poverty of the *Roman* State, waſted beyond expectation in the former War, that he willingly hearkned unto it. So, in concluſion, an accord was made, but with proviſion, That it ſhould hold none otherwiſe, than if the Senate and People of *Rome* would ratifie it with their allowance.

The Conditions were: Firſt, That the *Carthaginians* ſhould clearly abandon the Iſle of *Sicil*. Secondly, That they ſhould never undertake upon *Hieron* King of *Syracuſe*, nor invade any part of his Territories, nor the Territories of any of his Friends and Allies. Thirdly, That they ſhould ſet at liberty, and ſend back into *Italy*, all the *Romans*, whom they held Priſoners, without ranſom. Laſtly, That they ſhould pay unto the *Romans* two thouſand and two hundred Talents; which make, after 600 *French* Crowns to the Talent, thirteen hundred and twenty thouſand Crowns: the ſame to be delivered within 20 years next following.

Theſe Articles were ſent to *Rome*, where they were not throughly approved: but ten Commiſſioners were ſent into *Sicil*, to make perfect the Agreement. Theſe Commiſſioners added a thouſand Talents to the former Sum; and required a ſhorter time of payment. Further alſo, they took order, that the *Carthaginians* ſhould not only depart out of *Sicil* it ſelf, but ſhould alſo withdraw their Companies out of all the other Iſlands between it and *Italy*, renouncing their whole Intereſt therein.

Such was the end of the firſt *Punick War*, that had laſted about twenty four years without interminſion; in which time the *Romans* had loſt, by Fight or Shipwrack, about ſeven hundred *Quinqueremes*, and the *Carthaginians*, about five hundred: the greatneſs of which loſſes, doth ſerve to prove the greatneſs both of theſe two Cities, and of the War it ſelf; wherein I hold good the judgement of *Polybius*, That the *Romans*, in general, did ſhew themſelves the braver Nation; and *Amilcar*, the moſt worthy Captain.

Chap. II.

Of divers Actions passing between the first and second Punick *Wars.*

§. I.

Of the cruel War begun between the Carthaginians *and their own Mercinaries.*

THE *Romans*, having partly by Force, and partly by Compoſition, thruſt the *Carthaginians* out of *Sicil*, and all the little Iſlands thereunto adjacent, gave them rather means and leiſure to help themſelves in a following War, than cauſe to hold themſelves contented with the preſent Peace. It is a true Rule, *Quòd leges à victoribus dicuntur, accipiuntur à victis*; *That Laws are given by the Conquerors, and received of the conquered.* But the *Romans* had either forgotten the Anſwer that was made unto them, by one of the *Privernates*; or elſe had forgotten to follow it, in this weighty buſineſs. For when one of *Privernum*, after a Rebellion, defending in the Senate the Cauſe of his City, was demanded by a Senator, *What Peace the* Romans *might hope for, or aſſure themſelves of, if they quitted their preſent advantage over them*; he anſwered in theſe words, *Si bonam dederitis, & fidam & perpetuam*; *ſi malam, haud diuturnam*; *if the Peace be good and faithful that you give us, it will be perpetual*; *if it be ill, then of little continuance.* To this Anſwer, the Senate, at that time, gave ſuch approbation, that it was ſaid, *Viri & liberi vocem auditam*; *an credi poſſe, ullum populum, aut hominem denique in ea conditione, cujus eum pœniteat, diutius quàm neceſſe ſit manſurum? That it was the ſpeech of a manly, and a free man*; *for who could believe, that any people, or indeed any one man, would continue longer in an overburdened eſtate, than meer neceſſity did enforce?* Now if the *Romans* themſelves could make this judgement, of thoſe Nations, who had little elſe, beſides their manly reſolution, to defend their liberty; ſurely, they groſly flattered themſelves, in preſuming, that the *Carthaginians*, who neither in power nor in pride, were any way inferior unto themſelves, would ſit down any longer by the loſs and diſhonour received, than until they could recover their Legs, and the ſtrength, which had a while failed them, to take revenge. But Occaſion, by whom (while well entertained) not only private men, but Kings and publick States, have more prevailed, than by any proper proweſs or vertue; with-held the Tempeſt from the *Romans* for a time, and turned it moſt fearfully upon *Africa*, and the *Carthaginians* themſelves.

Q. Curt. l. 4.

For after that the firſt *Punick War* was ended; *Amilcar*, leaving *Eryx*, went to *Lilybæum*, from whence moſt conveniently the Army might be tranſported into *Africk*: the care of which buſineſs he committed unto *Geſco*, to whom, as to a man of approved ſufficiency, he delivered over his charge. *Geſco* had an eſpecial conſideration of the great Sums, wherein *Carthage* was indebted unto theſe Mercinaries; and, withal, of the great diſability to make payment. Therefore he thought it the wiſeſt way, to ſend them over (as it were) by handfuls, a few at a time; that ſo the firſt might have their diſpatch, and be gone, ere the ſecond or third Companies arrived. Herein he dealt providently. For it had not been hard to perſwade any ſmall number, lodged within ſo great a City as *Carthage*, unto ſome ſuch reaſonable compoſition, as the preſent emptineſs of the common Treaſury did require: ſo that the firſt might have been friendly diſcharged, and a good preſident left unto the ſecond and third, whilſt their dis-junction had made them unable to recover their whole due by force. But the *Carthaginians* were of a contrary opinion. They thought to find, in the whole Army, ſome that would be contented to gratifie the publick State, by remitting a great part of their own due: and hoped by ſuch an example, to draw all the multitude to the like Agreement and Capitulation. So they detained the firſt and ſecond comers; telling them, that they would make an even reckoning with all together. Thus every day the number increaſed, and many diſorders (a thing incident among Souldiers) were committed; which much diſquieted the City, not accuſtomed unto the like. In this regard it was thought fit, to remove them all to ſome other Place where they might be leſs troubleſom. This muſt be done by ſome colourable words of perſwaſion: for their number was already ſo great, that it was not ſafe to offend them too far. Wherefore it is deviſed, that they ſhould all attend the coming of their fellows, at *Sicca*: receiving every one a piece of Gold, to bear his charges in the mean while. This motion is accepted, and the Souldiers begin to diſlodge; leaving behind them their Wives, their Children, and all their Baggage, as meaning ſhortly to fetch away all, when they came back for their Pay. But the *Carthaginians* have no fancy to their returning into the Town; and therefore compel them to truſs up their Fardels, that they might have no occaſion left, to make any errands thither. So to *Sicca* they removed, with all their Goods; and there lay waiting for news of their fellows arrival, and their own Pay. Buſineſs they had none to do, and therefore might eaſily be drawn to mutiny: the whole argument of their Diſcourſe inclining them to nothing elſe. Their daily talk was, how rich they ſhould be, when all their money came in; how much would fall to every ſingle ſhare; and for how long time the City was behind hand with them in reckoning. They were all grown *Arithmeticians*; and he was thought a man of worth, that could find moſt reaſon to increaſe

creaſe their demands, to the very higheſt, even beyond their due. No part of their long ſervice was forgotten; but the comfortable words and promiſes of their Captains, leading them forth to any dangerous Fight, were called to mind, as ſo many Obligations, not to be cancelled, without ſatisfying their expectation by ſome unordinary largeſs.

Thus the time paſſeth away, until the whole Army being arrived and lodged in *Sicca*, *Hanno* comes thither to clear the accompt. Now is the day come wherein they ſhall all be made rich; eſpecially if they can hold together in maintaining ſtoutly the common Cauſe. So think they all; and aſſemble themſelves to hear what good news this Meſſenger had brought: with a full reſolution to help his Memory, in caſe he ſhould happen to forget any part of the many Promiſes made unto them; all which were to be conſidered in their Donative. *Hanno* begins a very formal Oration; wherein he bewails the Poverty of *Carthage*; tells them how great a ſum of Money is to be paid unto the *Romans*; reckons up the exceſſive charges, whereat the Common-wealth had been in the late War; and finally, deſires them to hold themſelves contented with part of their Pay, and out of the Love which they bare unto the City, to remit the reſt. Few of them underſtood his diſcourſe: for the *Carthaginian* Army was compoſed of ſundry Nations, as *Greeks*, *Africans*, *Gauls*, *Ligurians*, *Spaniards*, and others, all of different Languages. Yet they ſtared upon him, and were (as I think) little pleaſed with his very Geſture. But when ſuch as conceived the whole tenour of his Speech, had informed the reſt what cold comfort he brought; they were all inraged, and fared like mad men, ſo that nothing would ſerve to appeaſe them. *Hanno* would fain have aſſwaged their Fury, but he knew not how: for he leſs underſtood their diſſonant loud noiſes, than they did his Oration. An Army collected out of many Countries, that have no one Language common to all, or to the greater part of them, is neither eaſily ſtirred up to mutiny, nor eaſily pacified, when once it is broken into outrage. The beſt that *Hanno* can do, is to uſe the help of Interpreters and Meſſengers. But theſe Interpreters miſtake his meaning; ſome for want of skill; others of ſet purpoſe, and ſuch as deliver his Errands in the worſt ſenſe, are beſt believed. Finally, they think themſelves much abuſed by the *Carthaginians*, and reſolve to demand their own in peremptory terms at a nearer diſtance. In this mood they leave *Sicca*, and march as far as *Tunis*, that is within a little of *Carthage*, and there they incamp.

Now begin the *Carthaginians* to find their own error. It is a good rule:

Curandum inprimis, ne magna injuria fiat
Fortibus & miſeris:

Have ſpecial care, that valiant Poverty
Be not oppreſt with too great injury.

But this proud City having neglected the rule, hath alſo been careleſs in providing to ſecure her ſelf againſt the inconvenience that might follow. She had ſuffered the whole Multitude, whereunto ſhe was like to give cauſe of diſcontent, to joyn it ſelf into one body, when the ſeveral Troops might eaſily have been diſperſed: ſhe hath turned out of her Gates, the Wives, Children, and Goods of theſe poor men, which had ſhe retained in ſhew of kindneſs, ſhe might have uſed them as Hoſtages for her own ſafety; and by imploying a miſerable Penny-father in her Negotiation with Men of War; ſhe hath weakned the Reputation of her braveſt Captains, that might beſt have ſerved to free her from the threatning danger. Yet likely enough it is, that *Amilcar* had no deſire to be uſed as an inſtrument in defrauding his own Souldiers of their Wages: eſpecially, conſidering that as he beſt could bear witneſs of their Merits, ſo was he not ignorant, that means to content them were not wanting, if the Citizens had been willing thereunto. Hereunto may be added a probable conjecture, that *Hanno*, with his Complices, who at this very time was a bitter Enemy to *Amilcar*, had the boldneſs to impoſe the blame of his own wretched Counſel, upon the liberal promiſes made by the Captains. *Amilcar* therefore did wiſely, in ſuffering thoſe that maligned him to have the managing of their own Plot, and to deal the Cards which themſelves had ſhuffled. This they continued to do as fooliſhly as they had at firſt begun. They furniſh a Market at *Tunis* for the Souldiers, whom they ſuffered to buy what they liſt, and at what price they liſt. They ſend ever and anon ſome of their Senators into the Camp; who promiſe to ſatisfie all demands, as far forth as it ſhould be poſſible. And thus, by ſhifting from one extream to another, they make the Souldiers underſtand into what fear the City was driven; which cannot but add much inſolency to the paſſions already ſtirred up.

This ſudden change of Weather, and the true cauſe of it, is quickly found by the Army, which thereupon grows wiſe, and finding the Seaſon fit, labours to make a great Harveſt. Money muſt be had, and without any abatement. This is granted. Many have loſt their Horſes in the publick ſervice of the State. The State ſhall pay for them. They had lived ſome years, by making hard ſhift, without receiving their allowance of Victuals from *Carthage*. If they had lived, they wanted not Meat; therefore what was this to the *Carthaginians*? Was it not all one, whether the Ships did bring in Proviſion, or their Captain direct them where to fetch it? But this would not ſerve. They ſaid that they had been ſometimes driven to buy; and that (ſince they could not remember, how much, or at what rate they bought) they would be paid for their Proviſion, during the whole time, and according to the deareſt price that Wheat had born, whileſt the War laſted. Such are now the demands of theſe Mutiners; who might eaſily have been ſatisfied with far leſs Charges, and far more Honour, by receiving their due at the firſt. But now they make no end of craving. For whileſt the *Carthaginians* are perplexed about this Corn-Money, the Souldiers have deviſed many more tricks whereby to extort a greater ſum of money, without all regard of ſhame. Since therefore no good end could be found of theſe Controverſies, which daily did multiply, it was thought convenient, that one of the *Carthaginians*, which had commanded in *Sicil*, ſhould be choſen by the Souldiers to reconcile all differences. Hereunto the Army condeſcended, and made choice of *Geſco*: partly out of good liking to him, who had ſhewed himſelf at all times a friendly man to them, and careful of their good, eſpecially when they were to be tranſported into *Africk*: partly out of a diſlike which they had conceived of *Amilcar*, for that he had not viſited them in all this buſie time. So *Geſco* comes among them, and to pleaſe them the better, comes not without Money, which might give better countenance to his Proceedings, than barren Eloqence

had done to the Negotiation of *Hanno*. He calls unto him first of all, the Captains, and then the several Nations apart; rebuking them gently for that which had passed; advising them temperately concerning the present, and exhorting them to continue their love unto the State, which had long entertained them, and would always be mindful of their good services. After this he began to put hand to his Purse: offering to give them their whole Pay in hand, and then after to consider of other Reckonings, at a more convenient time. This had been well accepted, and might have served to bring all to a quiet pass, if two seditious Ringleaders of the Multitude had not stood against it.

There was in the Camp one *Spendius*, a sturdy Fellow, and audacious, but a Slave; that in the late War had fled from a *Roman* whom he served, and therefore stood in fear, lest he should be delivered back to his Master; at whose hands he could expect no less, than to be whipt and crucified. This Wretch could find no better way to prolong his own life, than by raising such Troubles as might serve to withdraw men from care of private matters, and make his own restitution impossible, were his Master never so importunate. With *Spendius* there associated himself one *Matho*, an hot-headed man, that had been so forward in stirring up the Tumult, as he could not choose but fear, lest his own Death should be made an example to deter others from the like seditious behaviour. This *Matho* deals with his Country-men the *Africans*, telling them, that they were in far worse condition than either the *Gauls*, the *Greeks*, the *Spaniards*, or any foreign Mercinaries. For (saith he) *these our Companions have no more to do, than to receive their Wages, and so get them gone: but we that are to stay behind in* Africa, *shall be called to another manner of account when we are left alone; so that we shall have cause to wish that we had returned home Beggers, rather than loaden with the Money, which (little though it be) shall break our backs. Yea are not ignorant how tyrannically these our haughty Masters of* Carthage *do raign over us. They think it reasonable that our Lives and Goods should be at their disposition; which they have at other times been accustomed to take away from us, even without apparent cause, as it were, to declare their Soveraignty: what will they now do, seeing that we have demeaned our selves as Free-men, and been bold to set a good face on the matter, demanding our own, as others have done? Ye all do know that it were a very shame for us, if having been as forward in every danger of War as any other men, we should now stand quaking like Slaves, and not dare to open our mouths, when others take liberty to require their due. This notwithstanding ye may assure your selves, that we are like to be taught better manners as soon as our Fellows are gone: in regard of whom, they are contented to shadow their indignation with a good, but a forced Countenance. Let us therefore be wise, and consider that they hate and fear us. Their Hatred will shew it self, when their Fear is once past, unless we now take our time, and whilest we are the stronger, enfeeble them so greatly, that their Hatred shall not be able to do us wrong. All their Strength consisteth in Money, wherewithall they have hired others against us, and us against others. At the present they have neither Money nor Friends. The best Army that ever served them, whereof we are no small part, lies at their Gates, ready to help us if we be men. A better opportunity cannot be expected, for were our Swords once drawn, all* Africk *would rise on our side. As for the* Carthaginians, *whether can they send for help? The case it self is plain, but we must quickly resolve. Either we must prevent the diligence of* Gesco, *by incensing these* Gauls *and* Spaniards, *and procuring them to draw blood; or else it behoveth us to please our good Masters, by joyning with them against our Fellows, yea, by offering to forgive unto them all our Wages, if so (peradventure) they may be won to forgive us, or not over-cruelly to punish our Faults already committed. He is worthily a wretched Slave, that neither hath care to win his Masters Love, nor courage to attempt his own Liberty.*

By such perswasions *Matho* wins the *African* Souldiers to his own purpose. They are not now so greedy of Money as of quarrel; which he that seeks will not miss to find. When *Gesco* therefore offered to pay them their whole Stipend presently, but referred their other demands for Horses and Victuals, to some other more convenient time; they break into great outrage, and say, that they will have all, even all at once, and that out of hand. In this Tumult, the whole Army flock together about *Matho* and *Spendius*; whose diligence is not wanting to add more Fuel to the Fire already blazing. *Matho* and *Spendius* are the only men to whom the Souldiers will hearken: if any other stand up to make a speech, a shower of Stones flying about his ears, puts him to silence, that he shall never afterwards speak word more. Neither stay they to consider what it is that any man would say: enough hath been said already by these good spokesmen; so that no other word (though perhaps to the same purpose) can be heard, save only *throw, throw*.

Now the Rebellion begins to take form. *Matho* and *Spendius* are chosen Captains; who, followed by a desperate crew of Ruffians, will suffer no man to make his own peace, but pursue their own ends, under fair pretence of the common Cause. All which notwithstanding, *Gesco* is not wanting to the good of his Country, but adventures himself upon their Fury. One while he deals with the Captains, and other principal men; taking them by the hand, and giving gentle words: another while he works with the several Nations; putting them all in hope of their own hearts desire, if any reason would content them. None of them are so sullen as the *Africans*, indeed none of them had so good cause. They require him peremptorily to give them their own, and not to feed them with words. The truth is, that they are not so covetous as they seem, but will be more glad of an ill Answer, than of a good Paiment. This is more than *Gesco* knows: he sees not that *Matho* hath any more than bare words to bestow upon them. Wherefore, as rebuking their inconsiderate heat, he tells them, That they may do well, if they stand in want of Money, to seek it of their Captain, *Matho*. This is enough. Shall he both defraud them and deride them? they stay no longer, but lay violent hands upon the Treasure that he had brought; yea, upon him also, and all that are with him: as intending to take this in part of payment, and for the rest to take another course. *Matho* and *Spendius* are glad of this. It had little pleased them to see their Fellows begin to grow calm, by his fair Language: wherefore they cast into Bonds both him and all the *Carthaginians* that they can find, that so the Army may be freed from danger of *good admonition*, which they call Treason. After this follows open War. *Matho* follicits all *Africk*, and his Embassadors are every where well entertained. Neither is it needful to use perswasion; the very fame of this rebellion sufficeth to draw the whole Country into it. Now must the *Carthaginians* be plagued for those oppressions with which they have plagued others. It is true, that adversity hath never been untold of her errors:

errors: and as ſhe is ever aſſured to hear her own, ſo commonly with her own ſhe undergoes thoſe of other men. The *Africans*, finding the *Carthaginians* hang under the Wheel, tell them boldly, that their Impoſitions were mercileſs; that they took from them the one half of their Corn, that they doubled their Tributes in all things elſe; and that they inflicted upon their Vaſſals the greateſt Puniſhments for the leaſt Offences. Theſe Cruelties the *Carthaginians* themſelves have forgotten: but the People that have ſuffered ſo much, retain all in perfect memory. Wherefore not only ſuch as can bear Arms, are ready to do ſervice in this great Commotion; but the very Women bring forth their Jewels and other Ornaments, offering all to ſail for maintenance of ſo juſt a Quarrel. By this great forwardneſs, and liberal contribution, *Matho* and *Spendius* are ſupplied with a ſtrong aid of threeſcore and ten thouſand *Africans*: and are moreover furniſhed with Money, not only to ſatisfie the preſent appetite of their men, but ſufficient to continue the War begun, though it ſhould be of long endurance.

§. II.

Diverſe Obſervations upon this War with the Mercinaries.

† I.

Of Tyranny, and how Tyrants are driven to uſe help of Mercinaries.

HEre let us reſt a while, as in a convenient breathing place: whence we may take proſpect of the ſubject, over which we travel. Behold a tyrannical City, perſecuted by her own Mercinaries with a deadly War. It is a common thing, as being almoſt neceſſary, that a Tyranny ſhould be upheld by mercinary Forces: it is common that Mercinaries ſhould be falſe: and it is common that all War made againſt Tyrants, ſhould be exceeding full of hate and cruelty. Yet we ſeldom hear that the ruine of a Tyranny is procured or ſought by thoſe that were hired to maintain the Power of it: and ſeldom or never do we read of any War that hath been proſecuted with ſuch inexpiable hatred, as this that is now in hand.

That which we properly call Tyranny, is *A violent Form of Government, not reſpecting the good of the Subject, but only the pleaſure of the Commander.* I purpoſely forbear to ſay, that it is the unjuſt rule of one over many: for very truly doth *Cleon* in *Thucydides* tell the *Athenians*, that their Dominion over their Subjects was none other than a meer Tyranny; though it were ſo, that they themſelves were a great City, and a Popular Eſtate. Neither is it peradventure greatly needful, that I ſhould call this form of commanding, *violent*; ſince it may well and eaſily be conceived, that no man willingly performs obedience, to one regardleſs of his Life and Welfare; unleſs himſelf be either a mad man, or (which is little better) wholly poſſeſſed with ſome extream Paſſion of Love. The practiſe of Tyranny is not always of a like extremity: for ſome Lords are more gentle than others to their very Slaves; and he that is moſt cruel to ſome, is mild enough towards others, though it be but for his own advantage. Nevertheleſs, in large Dominions, wherein the Rulers Diſcretion cannot extend it ſelf, unto notice of the difference which might be found between the worth of ſeveral men; it is commonly ſeen, that the taſte of ſweetneſs, drawn out of oppreſſion, hath ſo good a reliſh, as continually inflames the Tyrants Appetite, and will not ſuffer it to be reſtrained with any limits of reſpect. Why ſhould he ſeek out bounds to preſcribe unto his deſires, who cannot endure the face of one ſo honeſt, as may put him in remembrance of any moderation? It is much that he hath gotten, by extorting from ſome few: by ſparing none, he ſhould have riches in goodly abundance. He hath taken a great deal from every one: but every one could have ſpared more. He hath wrung all their Purſes, and now he hath enough: but (as Covetouſneſs is never ſatisfied) he thinks that all this is too little for a Stock, though it were indeed a good yearly Income. Therefore he deviſeth new tricks of Robbery, and is not better pleaſed with the Gains, than with the Art of getting. He is hated for this, and he knows it well: but he thinks by Cruelty to change Hatred into Fear. So he makes it his exerciſe to torment and murther all whom he ſuſpecteth: in which courſe, if he ſuſpect none unjuſtly, he may be ſaid to deal craftily: but if Innocency be not ſafe, how can all this make any Conſpirator to ſtand in fear, ſince the Traitor is no worſe rewarded than the quiet man? Wherefore he can think upon none other ſecurity, than to diſarm all his Subjects; to fortifie himſelf within ſome ſtrong place; and for defence of his Perſon and State, to hire as many luſty Souldiers as ſhall be thought ſufficient. Theſe muſt not be of his own Country: for if not every one, yet ſome one or other might chance to have a feeling of the publick miſery. This conſidered he allures unto him a deſperate Rabble of Strangers, the moſt unhoneſt that can be found; ſuch as have neither Wealth nor Credit at Home, and will therefore be careful to ſupport him, by whoſe only favour they are maintained. Now leſt any of theſe, either by deteſtation of his wickedneſs, or (which in wicked men is moſt likely) by promiſe of greater reward than he doth give, ſhould be drawn to turn his Sword againſt the Tyrant himſelf: they ſhall all be permitted to do as he doth; to Rob, to Raviſh, to Murther, and to ſatisfie their own Appetites in moſt outragious manner; being thought ſo much the more aſſured to their Maſter, by how much the more he ſees them grow hateful to all men elſe. Conſidering in what Age, and in what Language I write; I muſt be fain to ſay, that theſe are not Dreams: though ſome *Engliſh men* perhaps that were unacquainted with Hiſtory, lighting upon this Leaf, might ſuppoſe this Diſcourſe to be little better. This is to ſhew, both how Tyranny grows to ſtand in need of mercinary Souldiers, and how thoſe Mercinaries are, by mutual obligation, firmly aſſured unto the Tyrant.

Thuc. l. 6.

† II.

That the Tyranny of a City over her Subjects, is worſe than the Tyranny of one man: and that a Tyrannical City muſt likewiſe uſe mercinary Souldiers.

NOw concerning the Tyranny, wherewith a City or State oppreſſeth her Subjects; it may appear ſome ways to be more moderate, than that of one man: but in many things it is more intolerable. A City is jealous of her Dominion; but not (as is one man) fearful of her Life: the leſs need hath ſhe therefore, to ſecure her ſelf by cruelty

cruelty. A City is not luxurious in consuming her treasures, and therefore needs the less to pluck from her subjects. If War, or any other great occasion drive her to necessity of taking from her Subjects more than ordinary sums of Money: the same necessity makes either the contribution easie, or the taking excusable. Indeed no wrongs are so grievous and hateful, as those that are insolent. *Remember* (saith *Caligula* the Emperor to his Grandmother *Antonia*) *that I may do what I list, and to whom I list*: these words were accounted horrible, though he did her no harm. And *Juvenal* reckons it as the complement of all torments, inflicted by a cruel *Roman* Dame upon her Slaves; that whilest she was whipping them, she painted her Face, talked with her Gossips, and used all signs of neglecting what those wretches felt. Now seeing that the greatest grievances wherewith a domineering State offendeth her Subjects, are free from all sense of indignity: likely it is, that they will not extreamly hate her, although desire of liberty make them weary of her Empire. In these respects it is not needful, that she should keep a Guard of licentious Cut-throats, and maintain them in all Villainy, as a *Dionysius* or *Agathocles* must do: her own Citizens are able to terrifie, and to hold perforce in obedience, all Male-contents. These things, considered alone by themselves, may serve to prove, That a City is scarce able to deserve the Name of a Tyranness, in the proper signification.

All this notwithstanding, it shall appear, That the miseries, wherewith a Tyrant loadeth his People, are not so heavy, as the burthens imposed by a cruel City. Not without some appearance of truth, it may be said, that Lust, and many other private passions, are no way incident to a City or Corporation. But to make this good, we shall have need to use the help of such distinctions as the Argument in hand doth not require. Was not *Rome* lascivious, when *Cato* was fain to rise and leave the Theater, to the end, that the reverend regard of his Gravity might not hinder the People from calling for a shew of naked Courtisans, that were to be brought upon the open Stage? By common practise, and general approved custom, we are to censure the quality of a whole State; not by the private Vertue or Vice of any one man, nor by metaphysical abstraction of *the Universal* from *the Singular*; or of *the Corporation*, from *those of whom it is compounded*. I say therefore (as I have said elsewhere) that it were better to live under one pernicious Tyrant, than under many thousands. The reasons proving this, are too many to set down: but few may suffice. The desires of one man, how inordinate soever, if they cannot be satisfied, yet they may be wearied; he is not able to search all corners; his Humour may be found, and soothed; Age, or good Advice, yea, or some unexpected accident may reform him: all which failing, yet is there hope, that his Successour may prove better. Many Tyrants have been changed into worthy Kings: and many have ill used their ill-gotten Dominion, which becoming hereditary to their Posterity, hath grown into the most excellent form of Government, even a lawful Monarchy. But they that live under a tyrannical City, have no such hope: their Mistress is immortal, and will not slacken the reins, until they be pulled out of her hands; and her own mouth receive the bridle of a more mighty Chariotier. This is woful: yet their present sufferings make them less mindful of the future. New Flies, and hungry ones, fall upon the same sore, out of which, others had already sucked their fill. A new Governour comes yearly among them, attended by all his poor Kindred and Friends, who mean not to return home empty to their Hives, without a good lading of Wax and Honey. These fly into all quarters, and are quickly acquainted with every mans Wealth, or whatsoever else, in all the Province, is worthy to be desired. They know all a mans Enemies, and all his fears: becoming themselves within a little space, the Enemies that he feareth most. To grow into acquaintance with these masterful Guests, in hope to win their friendship, were an endless labour (yet it must be undergone) and such as every one hath not means to go about: but were this effected, what availeth it? The Love of one Governour is purchased with Gifts: the Successor of this man, he is more loving than could be wished, in respect of a fair Wife or Daughter: then comes the third, perhaps of the contrary Faction at home, a bitter Enemy to both his Fore-goers, who seeks the ruine of all that have been inward with them. So the miseries of this Tyranny are not simple; but interlaced (as it were) with the calamities of Civil War. The *Romans* had a Law *De Repetundis*, or *Of Recovery*, against extorting Magistrates: yet we find, that it served not wholly to restrain their Provincial Governours; who presuming on the favour of their own Citizens, and of their Kindred and Friends at home, were bold in their Provinces, to work all these Enormities rehearsed, though somewhat the more sparingly, for fear of judgment. If the Subjects of *Rome* groaned under such oppressions: what must we think of those that were Vassals unto *Carthage*? The *Romans* imposed no burthensome Tributes; they loved not to hear that their Empire was grievous; they condemned many noble Citizens, for having been ill Governours. At *Carthage* all went quite contrary: the Rapines newly devised by one Magistrate, served as Presidents to instruct another; every man resolved to do the like, when it should fall to his turn; and he was held a notable States-man, whose Robberies had been such, as might afford a good share to the common Treasure. Particular examples of this *Carthaginian* practise are not extant: the Government of *Verres* the *Roman* in *Sicil*, that is lively set out by *Tully*, may serve to inform us what was the demeanour of these *Punick Rulers*, who stood in fear of no such condemnation as *Verres* underwent. By prosecuting this discourse, I might infer a more general Proposition, That a City cannot govern her subject Provinces so mildly as a King: but it is enough to have shewed, That the Tyranny of a City is far more intolerable than that of any one most wicked man.

Suitable to the cruelty of such Lords, is the hatred of their Subjects: and again, suitable to the hatred of the Subjects, is the jealousie of their Lords. Hence it followed, that in Wars abroad, the *Carthaginians* durst use the service of *African* Souldiers; in *Africk* it self, they had rather be beholding to others that were farther fetcht. For the same purpose did *Hannibal*, in the second *Punick War*, shift his Mercinaries out of their own Countries; *Ut Afri in Hispaniâ, Hispania in Africâ, melior procul ab domo futurus uterque miles, velut mutuis pignoribus obligati stipendia facerent*; *That the* Africans *might serve in* Spain, *the* Spaniards *in* Africk, *being each of them like to prove the better Souldiers, the farther they were from Home, as if they were obliged by mutual pledges.* It is disputable, I confess, whether these *African* and *Spanish* Hirelings, could properly be termed *Mercinaries*: for they were subject unto *Carthage*, and carried into the Liv. Dec. 3. l. 1.

the Field, not only by Reward, but by Duty. Yet seeing their Duty was no better than enforced, and that it was not any love to the State, but meer desire of gain, that made them fight; I will not nicely stand upon propriety of a word, but hold them, as *Polybius* also doth, no better than Mercinaries.

†. III.

The Dangers growing from the use of mercinary Souldiers, and foreign Auxiliaries.

THE extream danger, growing from the Employment of such Souldiers, is well observed by *Machiavel*: who sheweth, that they are more terrible to those whom they serve, than to those against whom they serve. They are seditious, unfaithful, disobedient, devourers, and destroyers of all Places and Countreys, whereinto they are drawn; as being held by no other Bond, than their own Commodity. Yea, that which is most fearful among such Hirelings, is, that they have often, and in time of greatest Extremity, not only refused to fight, in their defence, who have entertained them, but revolted unto the contrary part; to the utter ruine of those Princes and States, that have trusted them. These Mercinaries (saith *Machiavel*) which filled all *Italy*, when *Charles* the eighth of *France* did pass the *Alpes*, were the cause that the said *French* King won the Realm of *Naples*, with his Buckler without a Sword. Notable was the example of *Sforza*, the Father of *Francis Sforza*, Duke of *Millan*; who being entertained by Queen *Joan* of *Naples*, abandoned her service on the sudden; and forced her to put her self into the hands of the King of *Arragon*. Like unto his Father was *Francis Sforza*, the first of that Race, Duke of *Millan*: who, being entertained by the *Millanois*, forced them to become his Slaves; even with the same Army which themselves had levied for their own defence. But *Lodovick Sforza*, the Son of this *Francis*, by the just judgement of God, was made a memorable example unto Posterity, in losing his whole Estate by the Treachery of such faithless Mercinaries, as his own Father had been. For, having waged an Army of *Switzers*, and committed his Dutchy, together with his Person, into their hands; he was by them delivered up unto his Enemy the *French* King, by whom he was incloſed in the Castle of *Loches* to his dying day.

The like Inconvenience is found, in using the help of foreign Auxiliaries. We see, that when the Emperor of *Constantinople* had hired 10000 *Turks*, against his neighbour Princes; he could never, either by perswasion or force, set them again over Sea upon *Asia* side: which gave beginning to the *Christian* Servitude, that soon after followed. *Alexander*, the Son of *Cassander*, sought Aid of the great *Demetrius*: but *Demetrius*, being entred into his Kingdom, slew the same *Alexander* who had invited him, and made himself King of *Macedon*. *Syracon* the *Turk* was called into *Ægypt* by *Sanar* the *Soldan*, against his Opposite: but this *Turk* did settle himself so surely in *Ægypt*, that *Saladine* his Successor became Lord thereof; and of all *the holy Land*, soon after. What need we look about for Examples of this kind? Every Kingdom, in effect, can furnish us. The *Britains* drew the *Saxons* into this our Countrey; and *Mac Murrough* drew the *English* into *Ireland*: but the one and the other soon became Lords of those two Kingdoms.

Against all this may be alledged, the good success of the united Provinces of the *Netherlands*, using none other than such kind of Souldiers, in their late War. Indeed these *Low-Countreys* have many goodly and strong Cities, filled with Inhabitants that are wealthy, industrious, and valiant in their kind. They are stout Sea-men, and therein is their excellency; neither are they bad, at the defence of a Place well fortified: but in open Field they have seldom been able to stand against the *Spaniard*. Necessity therefore compelled them to seek help abroad: and the like necessity made them forbear to arm any great numbers of their own. For, with money raised by their Trade, they maintained the War: and therefore could ill spare, unto the Pike and Musket, those hands, that were of more use in helping to fill the common Purse. Yet what of this? they sped well. Surely they sped as ill as might be, whilst they had none other than mercinary Souldiers. Many fruitless Attempts, made by the Prince of *Orange*, can witness it: and that brave Commander, Count *Lodowick* of *Nassau*, felt it to his grief, in his retreat from *Groeninghen*; when in the very instant, that required their service in Fight, his Mercinaries cried out aloud for money, and so ran away. This was not the only time, when the hired Souldiers of the *States*, have either sought to hide their Cowardize under a shew of greedines; or at least, by meer Covetousnes, have ruined in one hour the labour of many months. I will not stand to prove this by many Examples; for they themselves will not deny it. Neither would I touch the Honour of *Monsieur*, the Duke of *Anjou*, Brother to the *French* King; save that it is folly to conceal what all the World knows. He that would lay open the danger of foreign Auxiliaries, needeth no better pattern. It is commonly found, that such Aiders make themselves Lords over those, to whom they lend their Succour: but where shall we meet with such another as this *Monsieur*, who, for his protection promised, being rewarded with the Lordship of the Countrey, made it his first work, to thrust by violence a galling Yoke upon the peoples Necks? Well, he lived to repent it, with grief enough. Even whilst he was counterfeiting unto those about him, that were ignorant of his Plot, an imaginary sorrow for the poor Burghers of *Antwerp*, as verily believing the Town to be surprized and won; the Death of the Count St. *Aignan*, who fell over the Wall, and the Cannon of the City, discharged against his own Troops, informed him better what had hapned; shewing that they were his own *French*, who stood in need of pity. Then was his feigned passion changed, into a very bitter anguish of mind; wherein, smiting his breast, and wringing his hands, he exclaimed, *Helas, mon Dieu, que veulx tu faire de moy*; *Alas, my God, what wilt thou do with me?* So the Affairs of the *Netherlands* will not serve to prove, that there is little danger in using mercinary Souldiers, or the help of foreign Auxiliaries. This notwithstanding they were obedient unto necessity, and sought help of the *English*, *Scots*, and *French*: wherein they did wisely, and prospered. For when there was in *France* a King partaker with them in the same danger; when the Queen of *England* refused to accept the Sovereignty of their Countrey, which they offered, yet being provoked by the *Spaniard* their Enemy, pursued him with continual War; when the Heir of *England* reigned in *Scotland*, a King too just and wise (though not engaged in any Quarrel) either to make profit of his Neighbours Miseries, or to help those that had attempted the conquest of his own

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Inheritance: then might the *Netherlanders* very ſafely repoſe confidence, in the Forces of theſe their neighbour-Countreys. The Souldiers that came unto them from hence, were (to omit many other commendations) not only regardful of the Pay that they ſhould receive; but well affected unto the Cauſe that they took in hand: or if any were cold in his devotion, to the ſide whereon he fought; yet was he kept in order, by remembrance of his own home, where the *Engliſh* would have rewarded him with Death, if his faith had been corrupted by the *Spaniard*. They were therefore truſted with the cuſtody of Cities; they were held as Friends, and Patrons; the neceſſity of the poorer ſort was relieved, before the Pay-day came, with *lendings*, and other helps, as well as the ability of the States could permit. When three ſuch Princes, reigning at one time, ſhall agree ſo well, to maintain againſt the power of a fourth, injurious (or at leaſt ſo ſeeming) to them all, a neighbour-Countrey, of the ſame Religion, and to which they all are lovingly affected: then may ſuch a Countrey be ſecure of her Auxiliaries, and quietly intend her Trade, or other buſineſs, in hope of like ſucceſs. But theſe Circumſtances meet ſo ſeldom, as it may well hold true in general, *That mercinary, and foreign auxiliary Forces, are no leſs dangerous, than the Enemy, againſt whom they are entertained.*

†. IV.

That the moderate government of the Romans *gave them aſſurance to uſe the ſervice of their own Subjects in their Wars. That in man's nature there is an affection breeding Tyranny, which hindreth the uſe and benefit of the like moderation.*

HERE may it be demanded, Whether alſo the *Romans* were not compelled to uſe ſervice of other Souldiers in their many great Wars, but performed all by their own Citizens? for if it were their manner to arm their own Subjects; how happened it, that they feared no Rebellion? if Strangers; how then could they avoid the Inconveniences above rehearſed? The Anſwer is; That their Armies were compounded uſually of their own Citizens, and of the *Latines*, in equal number: to which they added, as occaſion required, ſome Companies of the *Campanes*, *Hetrurians*, *Samnites*, or other of their Subjects, as were either intereſſed in the Quarrel, or might beſt be truſted. They had, about theſe Times, (though ſeldom they did employ ſo many) ten *Roman* Legions; a good ſtrength, if all other help had been wanting: which ſerved to keep in good order their Subjects, that were always fewer in the Army than themſelves. As for the *Latines*, if Conſanguinity were not a ſufficient Obligation; yet many Priviledges and Immunities, which they enjoyed, made them aſſured unto the State of *Rome*: under which they lived almoſt at liberty, as being bound to little elſe, than to ſerve it in War. It is true, that a Yoke, how eaſie ſoever, ſeems troubleſom to the Neck that hath been acuſtomed to Freedom. Therefore many People of *Italy* have taken occaſion of ſeveral Advantages, to deliver themſelves from the *Roman* Subjection. But ſtill they have been reclaimed by War; the Authors of Rebellion have been ſharply puniſhed; and the People, by degrees, have obtained ſuch liberty, as made them eſteem none otherwiſe of *Rome*, than as the common City of all *Italy*. Yea, in proceſs of time it was granted unto many Cities, and thoſe far off removed, even to *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, where St. *Paul* was born, That all the Burgeſſes ſhould be free of *Rome* it ſelf. This Favour was conferred abſolutely upon ſome; upon ſome, with reſtraint of giving voice in election of Magiſtrates, or with other ſuch limitation, as was thought fit. Hereunto may be added, that it was their manner, after a great Conqueſt, to releaſe unto their new Subjects half of their Tribute which they had been wont to pay unto their former Lords, which was a ready way, to bring the multitude into good liking of their preſent condition; when the review of harder Times paſt, ſhould rather teach them to fear a Relapſe, than to hope for better in the future, by ſeeking Innovation. Neither would it be forgotten, as a ſpecial note of the *Romans* good Government, That when ſome, for their well-deſerving, have had the offer to be made Citizens of *Rome*; they have refuſed it, and held themſelves better contented with their own preſent eſtate. Wherefore it is no marvel, that *Petellia*, a City of the *Brutians* in *Italy*, choſe rather to endure all extremity of War, than, upon any condition, to forſake the *Romans*; even when the *Romans* themſelves had confeſſed, that they were unable to help theſe their Subjects, and therefore willed them to look to their own good, as having been faithful to the utmoſt. Such love purchaſed theſe mild Governors, without impairing their Majeſty thereby. The ſum of all is: They had, of their own, a ſtrong Army; they doubled it, by adjoyning thereunto the *Latines*; and they further increaſed it, as need required, with other help of their own Subjects: all, or the moſt of their followers, accounting the proſperity of *Rome* to be the common good. *Liv. Dec. 3. l. 3.* *Liv. ibid.*

The moderate uſe of ſovereign Power being ſo effectual, in aſſuring the People unto their Lords, and conſequently, in the eſtabliſhment or enlargement of Dominion: it may ſeem ſtrange, that the practice of Tyranny, whoſe effects are contrary, hath been ſo common in all Ages. The like, I know, may be ſaid, of all Vice, and Irregularity whatſoever. For it is leſs difficult (whoſoever think otherwiſe) and more ſafe, to keep the way of Juſtice and Honeſty, than to turn aſide from it; yet commonly our Paſſions lead us into by-paths. But where Luſt, Anger, Fear, or any the like Affection, ſeduceth our Reaſon; the ſame unruly appetite either bringeth with it an excuſe, or at leaſtwiſe taketh away all cauſe of wonder. In Tyranny it is not ſo: foraſmuch as we can hardly deſcry the paſſion, that is of force to inſinuate it ſelf into the whole tenor of a Government. It muſt be confeſſed, that lawleſs deſires have bred many Tyrants: yet ſo, that theſe deſires have ſeldom been hereditary, or long-laſting; but have ended commonly with the Tyrants life, ſometimes before his death; by which means the Government hath been reduced to a better form. In ſuch caſes, the ſaying of *Ariſtotle* holds, *That Tyrannies are of ſhort continuance.* But this doth not ſatisfie the Queſtion in hand. Why did the *Carthaginians* exerciſe Tyranny? why did the *Athenians*? why have many other Cities done the like? If in reſpect of their general good; how could they be ignorant, that this was an ill courſe for the ſafety of the Weal publick? If they were led hereunto by any affection; what was that affection, wherein ſo many thouſand Citizens, divided and ſubdivided within themſelves by Factions, did all concur, notwithſtanding the much diverſity of temper, and the vehemency of private hatred among them? Doubtleſs, we muſt be fain to ſay, That Tyranny is, by *Arſt. Pol. lib. 5. cap.*

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it self, a Vice distinct from others. A Man, we know, is *Animal politicum*, apt, even by nature, to command, or to obey; every one in his proper degree. Other desires of Mankind, are common likewise unto bruit Beasts; and some of them, to bodies wanting sense: but the desire of Rule belongeth unto the nobler part of Reason; whereunto is also answerable an aptness to yield obedience. Now as Hunger and Thirst are given by nature, not only to Man and Beast, but unto all sorts of Vegetables, for the sustentation of their Life: as Fear, Anger, Lust, and other Affections are likewise natural, in convenient measure, both unto Mankind, and to all Creatures that have sense, for the shunning or repelling of harm, and seeking after that which is requisite: even so is this desire of ruling or obeying, engrafted by nature in the race of Man, and in Man only as a reasonable Creature, for the ordering of his Life, in a civil form of Justice. All these in-bred Qualities are good and useful. Nevertheless, Hunger and Thirst are the Parents of Gluttony and Drunkenness, which, in reproach, are called beastly, by an unproper term: since they grow from Appetites, found in less worthy Creatures than Beasts, and are yet not so common in Beasts, as in Men. The effects of Anger, and of such other Passions as descend no lower than unto bruit Beasts, are held less vile; and perhaps not without good reason: yet are they more horrible, and punished more grievously, by sharper Laws, as being in general more pernicious. But as no Corruption is worse, than of that which is best; there is not any Passion, that nourisheth a Vice more hurtful unto Mankind, than that which issueth from the most noble Root, even the depraved Affection of Ruling. Hence arise those two great Mischiefs, of which hath been an old Question in dispute, whether be the worse; That all things, or that nothing, should be lawful. Of these, a dull Spirit, and over-loaden by fortune, with Power, whereof it is not capable, occasioneth the one; the other proceedeth from a contrary Distemper, whose vehemency the bounds of Reason cannot limit. Under the extremity of either, no Countrey is able to subsist: yet the defective dulness, that permitteth any thing, will also permit the execution of Law, to which, meer necessity doth enforce the ordinary Magistrate; whereas Tyranny is more active, and pleaseth it self in the excess, with a false colour of Justice. Examples of Stupidity, and unaptness to rule, are not very frequent, though such Natures are every where found: for this quality troubles not it self in seeking Empire; or if by some error of Fortune, it encounter therewithal, (as when *Claudius*, hiding himself in a corner, found the Empire of *Rome*) some Friend, or else a Wife, is not wanting to supply the defect, which also Cruelty doth help to shadow. Therefore this Vice, as a thing unknown, is without a Name. Tyranny is more bold, and feareth not to be known, but would be reputed honourable: for it is *prosperum & fœlix scelus, a fortunate mischief*, as long as it can subsist. *There is no Reward or Honour* (saith *Peter Charron*) *assigned to those, that know how to increase, or to preserve humane Nature: all Honours, Greatness, Riches, Dignities, Empires, Triumphs, Trophies, are appointed for those, that know how to afflict, trouble, or destroy it.* *Cæsar*, and *Alexander*, have un-made and slain each of them, more than a million of men: but they made none, nor left none behind them. Such is the error of man's Judgement, in valuing things according to common Opinion. But the true Name of Tyranny, when it grows to ripeness, is none other, than *Ferity*: the same that *Aristotle* saith to be worse than any Vice. It exceedeth indeed all other Vices, issuing from the Passions incident both to Man, and Beast; no less than Perjury, Murder, Treason, and the like horrible Crimes, exceed in Villany, the faults of Gluttony and Drunkenness, that grow from more ignoble Appetites. Hereof *Sciron*, *Procrustes*, and *Pityocamptes*, that used their bodily force to the destruction of Mankind, are not better Examples, than *Phalaris*, *Dionysius* and *Agathocles*, whose mischievous Heads were assisted by the Hands of detestable Ruffians. The same barbarous desire of Lordship, transported those old Examples of *Ferity*, and these latter Tyrants, beyond the bounds of Reason: neither of them knew the use of Rule, nor the difference between Free-men, and Slaves.

The Rule of the Husband over the Wife, and of Parents over their Children, is natural, and appointed by God himself; so that it is always, and simply, allowable and good. The former of these, is, as the dominion of Reason over Appetite; the latter is the whole Authority, which one Free-man can have over another. The Rule of a King is no more, nor none other, than of a common Father over his whole Countrey: which he that knows what the power of a Father is, or ought to be, knows to be enough. But there is a greater, and more masterly Rule, which God gave unto *Adam*, when he said; *Have dominion over the fish of the Sea, and over the fowl of the Air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the Earth:* which also he confirmed unto *Noah* and his Children, saying, *The fear of you, and the dread of you, shall be upon every beast of the Earth, and upon every fowl of the Air, upon all that moveth upon the Earth, and upon all the fishes of the Sea; into your hands are they delivered.* He who gave this Dominion to Man, gave also an aptitude to use it. The execution of this Power hath since extended it self, over a great part of Mankind. There are indeed no small numbers of men, whose disability to govern themselves, proves them, according unto *Aristotles* Doctrine, to be naturally Slaves.

Gen. 1. 28.

Gen. 9. 2.

Yet find I not in Scripture any warrant, to oppress men with Bondage: unless the lawfulness thereof be sufficiently intimated, where it is said, That a Man shall not be punished for the death of a Servant, whom he hath slain by correction, if the Servant live a day or two, because *he is his money*; or else by the Captivity of the *Midianitish* Girls, which were made Bond-slaves, and the Sanctuary had a part of them for *the Lords tribute.* Doubtless the custom hath been very ancient: for *Noah* laid this Curse upon *Canaan*, that he should be *a servant of servants*; and *Abraham* had of *Pharaoh*, among other gifts, *men-servants, and maid-servants*, which were none other than Slaves. Christian Religion is said to have abrogated this old kind of Servility: but surely, they are deceived, that think so. St. *Paul* desired the liberty of *Onesimus*, whom he had won unto *Christ*: yet wrote he for this unto *Philemon*, by way of request, craving it as a *benefit*, not urging it as a duty. Agreeable hereto is the direction, which the same St. *Paul* giveth unto Servants: *Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called: art thou called, being a servant? care not for it, but if thou maist be made free, use it rather.* It is true, that Christian Religion hath procured Liberty unto many; not only in regard of Piety, but for that the Christian Masters stood in fear, of being discovered by their Slaves, unto the Persecuters of Religion. *Mahomet* likewise by giving Liberty to his Followers, drew many unto his Impiety: but whether he forbad it, as unlawful, unto his Sectators, to hold one another

Arist. Pol. l. 1. *c.* 3.

Exod. 21. 21. *Num.* 30. 40.

Gen. 9. 25.

Gen. 12. 16.

Epist. to Philem. v. 14.

1 *Cor.* 7. 20, 21.

of them in Bondage, I cannot tell; ſave that by the practice of the *Turks* and *Moors*, it ſeems he did not. In *England* we had many Bond-ſervants, until the Times of our laſt Civil Wars: and I think that the Laws concerning *Villanage* are ſtill in force, of which the lateſt are the ſharpeſt. And now, ſince Slaves were made free, which were of great uſe and ſervice, there are grown up a Rabble of Rogues, Cut-purſes, and other the like Trades; Slaves in Nature, though not in Law.

But whether this kind of Dominion be lawful, or not; *Ariſtotle* hath well proved, that it is natural. And certainly we find not ſuch a latitude of difference, in any Creature, as in the Nature of Man: wherein (to omit the infinite diſtance in eſtate, of the Elect and Reprobate) the wiſeſt excel the moſt fooliſh, by far greater degree, than the moſt fooliſh of Men doth ſurpaſs the wiſeſt of Beaſts. Therefore when Commiſeration hath given way to Reaſon, we ſhall find, that Nature is the ground even of maſterly Power, and of ſervile Obedience, which is thereto correſpondent. But it may be truly ſaid, that ſome Countreys have ſubſiſted long, without the uſe of any Servility: as alſo it is true, that ſome Countreys have not the uſe of any tame Cattel. Indeed the Affections which uphold civil Rule, are (though more noble) not ſo ſimply needful, unto the ſuſtentation either of our kind, as are Luſt, and the like; or of every one, as are Hunger and Thirſt; which notwithſtanding are the loweſt in degree. But where moſt vile, and ſervile Diſpoſitions, have liberty to ſhew themſelves begging in the Streets, there may we more juſtly wonder, how the dangerous toil of Sea-faring men can find enough to undertake them, than how the ſwarm of idle Vagabonds ſhould increaſe, by acceſs of thoſe, that are weary of their own more painful condition. This may ſuffice to prove, that in Mankind there is found, ingrafted even by Nature, a deſire of abſolute Dominion: whereunto the general cuſtom of Nations doth ſubſcribe; together with the pleaſure which moſt men take in Flatterers, that are the baſeſt of Slaves.

This being ſo, we find no cauſe to marvel, how Tyranny hath been ſo riſe in all Ages, and practiſed, not only in the ſingle Rule of ſome vicious Prince, but ever by conſent of whole Cities and Eſtates: ſince, other Vices have likewiſe gotten head, and born a general ſway; notwithſtanding that the way of Vertue be more honourable, and commodious. Few there are that have uſed well the inferior Paſſions: how then can we expect, that the moſt noble Affections ſhould not be diſordered? In the government of Wife and Children, ſome are utterly careleſs, and corrupt all by their dull connivency: others, by maſterly Rigor, hold their own blood under condition of Slavery. To be a good Governor is a rare commendation; and to prefer the Weal publick above all reſpects whatſoever, is the Vertue juſtly termed *Heroical*. Of this Vertue, many Ages afford not many Examples. *Hector* is named by *Ariſtotle*, as one of them; and deſervedly, if this praiſe be due to extraordinary heighth of Fortitude, uſed in defence of a man's own Countrey. But if we conſider, that a love of the general Good cannot be perfect, without reference unto *the Fountain of all Goodneſs*, we ſhall find, that no moral Vertue, how great ſoever, can, by it ſelf, deſerve the commendation of *more than Vertue*, as the *Heroical* doth. Wherefore we muſt ſearch the Scriptures, for patterns hereof; ſuch, as *David*, *Joſaphat*, and *Joſias* were. Of Chriſtian Kings, if there were many ſuch, the World would ſoon be happy. It is not my purpoſe to wrong the worth of any, by denying the praiſe where it is due; or by preferring a leſs excellent. But he that can find a King, religious, and zealous in God's Cauſe, without enforcement either of Adverſity, or of ſome regard of State; a procurer of the general Peace and Quiet; who not only uſeth his Authority, but adds the travel of his Eloquence, in admoniſhing his Judges to do Juſtice; by the vigorous Influence of whoſe Government, Civility is infuſed, even into thoſe Places, that have been the Dens of ſavage Robbers and Cut-throats; one that hath quite aboliſhed a ſlaviſh *Brehon* Law, by which an whole Nation of his Subjects were held in Bondage; and one, whoſe higher Vertue and Wiſdom doth make the praiſe, not only of Nobility, and other Ornaments, but of abſtinence from the Blood, the Wives, and the Goods, of thoſe that are under his Power, together with a World of chief Commendations belonging unto ſome good Princes, to appear leſs regardable: he, I ſay, that can find ſuch a King, findeth an Example, worthy to add unto Vertue an honourable Title, if it were formerly wanting. Under ſuch a King, it is likely by God's bleſſing, that a Land ſhall flouriſh, with increaſe of Trade, in Countreys before unknown; that Civility and Religion ſhall be propagated, into barbarous and heathen Countreys; and that the happineſs of his Subjects, ſhall cauſe the Nations far off removed, to wiſh him their Sovereign. I need not add hereunto, that all the Actions of ſuch a King, even his bodily Exerciſes, do partake of Vertue: ſince all things tending to the preſervation of his Life and Health, or to the mollifying of his Cares, (who, fixing his Contemplation upon God, ſeeketh how to imitate the unſpeakable Goodneſs, rather than the inacceſſible Majeſty, with both of which himſelf is endued, as far as humane Nature is capable) do alſo belong to the furtherance of that common Good, which he procureth. Leſt any man ſhould think me tranſported with Admiration, or other Affection, beyond the bounds of Reaſon, I add hereunto, that ſuch a King nevertheleſs as a man muſt die, and may err: yet Wiſdom and Fame ſhall ſet him free, from *Error*, and from *Death*, both with and without the help of *Time*. One thing I may not omit, as a ſingular Benefit (though there be many other beſides) redounding unto this King, as the fruit of his Goodneſs. The People that live under a pleaſant yoke, are not only loving to their Soveraign Lord, but free of Courage, and no greater in Muſter of Men, than of ſtout Fighters, if need require: whereas on the contrary, he that ruleth as over Slaves, ſhall be attended, in time of neceſſity, by ſlaviſh Minds, neither loving his Perſon, nor regarding his or their own Honour. Cowards may be furious, and Slaves outragious, for a time: but among Spirits that have once yielded unto Slavery, univerſally it is found true, that *Homer* ſaith, *God bereaveth a man of half his Vertue, that day when he caſteth him into bondage.*

Of theſe things, I might perhaps more ſeaſonably have ſpoken, in the general Diſcourſe of Government: but where ſo lively an Example, of the Calamity following a tyrannical Rule, and the uſe of Mercinaries, thereupon depending, did offer it ſelf, as is this preſent buſineſs of the *Carthaginians*, I thought that the Note would be more effectual, than being barely delivered, as out of a common Place. *Hom. Odyſſ. l. 17.*

§. III.

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How the War againſt the Mercinaries was diverſly managed by Hanno *and* Amilcar, *with variable ſucceſs. The bloody Counſels of the Mercinaries, and their final deſtruction.*

BEing now to return unto thoſe Mercinaries, from whom I have thus far digreſſed, I cannot readily find, by what name henceforth I ſhould call them. They are no longer in pay with the *Carthaginians*; neither care they to pretend, that they ſeek their Wages already due, ſo that they are neither Mercinaries nor Mutiners. Had they all been ſubjects unto *Carthage*, then might they juſtly have been termed Rebels: but *Spendius*, and others, that were the principal part of them, ought none Allegiance to that State, which they endeavoured to ſubvert. Wherefore I will borrow the Name of their late Occupation, and ſtill call them Mercinaries, as *Polybius* alſo doth.

Theſe uſing the advantage of their preſent ſtrength, beſieged * *Utica* and *Hippagreta*, Cities of great importance, as being ſeated upon the weſtern Haven of *Carthage*, where it is divided by a neck of land; *Hippagreta* ſtanding inwards upon the great Lake; *Utica* farther out upon the Sea. Neither was the Camp at *Tunis* abandoned, which lay filthy to hinder the *Carthaginians* from paſſing up into the Countrey: for *Matho* and *Spendius* wanted not men to follow the War in all parts at once.

* *Utica* is ſeated in the great Bay, that enters towards *Carthage*, not far within the Promontory of *Apollo*. At this time it is called *Porto Farina*, or *Biſerta*; and by the *Africans* themſelvs, *Garel Melba*. *Niger* ſaith, that the Town it ſelf is ruined, and the place whereon it ſtood, ſo called *Mazachares*. It was very ancient, and built before *Carthage*, ſaith *Silius*. As it flouriſhed before *Carthage* was ſet up, ſo did it after *Carthage* was thrown down by the *Romans* in the third *Punick* War. Famous it was by the Death of *Cato* the Younger, who held it againſt *Ceſar*. *Victor*, that worthy Divine was Biſhop thereof, in the time of *Genſeric* the *Arian*, who lived all the time of that Tyrant, and hath written the Story of his Cruelties.

How the *Carthaginians* were amazed with this unexpected peril, any man may conceive. But the buſineſs it ſelf awakes them haſtily. They are hardly preſt on all ſides; and therefore travelled their brains to the uttermoſt, how to ſhake off theſe furious Dogs from their Shoulders, who ſometimes by night, ſometimes by day, came unto the very Walls of their City. In this exigent, *Hanno* was made their General: who failed not in his accuſtomed diligence of making all good preparation: but had gotten together whatſoever was needful, as well to relieve a Town beſieged, as to batter and aſſail any place defended againſt him. With theſe proviſions, and with an hundred Elephants, he came to *Utica* ſo ſuddenly, that the Enemies, as men ſurpriſed, forſook their Trenches, and retired themſelves unto a riſing piece of woody ground, where they might be ſafe againſt the violence of his Beaſts. *Hanno*, thinking that he had to do with *Numidians*, whoſe cuſtom was, after any loſs, to fly two or three whole days journey off; preſently entred the Town, to ſhew himſelf after this his Victory. But theſe good Fellows, againſt whom he was to war, had learned of *Amilcar*, to retire and to fight again, many times in one day, as need required. Therefore as ſoon as they perceived that he knew not how to uſe a Victory; they aſſailed their own Camp, and with great ſlaughter, drave the *Carthaginians* out of it, forcing them to hide themſelves within *Utica*, and got poſſeſſion of all the ſtore, that *Hanno* had brought for the relief of the Town. This bad beginning *Hanno* followed with ſutable indiſcretion: loſing the benefit of many fair opportunities, and ſuffering the Enemies to take poſſeſſion of all the entrance from *Carthage* to the firm land.

The *Carthaginians* perceiving this, were exceedingly troubled, and did therefore let fall their Sheet-anchor; ſending to the Field their great Captain, *Amilcar*, whom they furniſhed with ten thouſand Foot of ſupply, and ſeventy Elephants. *Amilcar* had work enough to do before he ſhould be able to meet with the Enemy upon equal ground. For beſides other places of advantage that the Mercenaries had occupied, *Hanno* had ſuffered them to win the only Bridge, by which the River *Macra*, or *Bagradas*, was paſſable unto theſe that were to travel into the Continent. This River had not many foords, nor thoſe eaſie for a ſingle man to get over: but upon them all was kept ſuch guard, as gave to *Amilcar* little hope of prevailing in ſeeking way by force. As for the Bridge it ſelf, *Matho* and his Followers were there lodged: and had there built a Town, wherein to lie commodiouſly, intentive only to the cuſtody thereof. But *Amilcar* had obſerved, that the very mouth of *Bagradas* uſed to be ſometimes cloyed with Sand and Gravel, that was driven in by certain cuſtomary Winds, and could not be driven out again by force of that ſlow River, till the wind falling, or changing, ſuffered the weight of the Waters to disburden their Channel. Hereof he made uſe, and taking his opportunity, paſſed the River, contrary to all expectation, either of the Enemy, or of his own Citizens.

There was no need to bid *Spendius* look about him, when once it was heard that *Amilcar* was come over *Bagradas*: all the Mercenaries were troubled with the news, knowing that they were no longer to deal with the improvident gravity of *Hanno*, but with an able ſpirit, even with their own Maſter in the Art of War, whom they admired, though they hated him. But this fear was ſoon changed into preſumption; when more than fifteen thouſand of their own Society were come from *Utica*, and other ten thouſand from the guard of the Bridge. Their Army was far greater than that of *Amilcar*, and they were in their own judgment, the better men, upon which confidence, they reſolved to charge him on all ſides, and beat him down, in deſpight of his Worth and Reputation. With this reſolution they attended upon him; watching for ſome advantage, and ſtill exhorting one another to play the men, and give the Onſet. Eſpecially they that followed him in the Rere, had a great mind to begin the Fight; whereunto their promptneſs was ſuch, as took from them their former circumſpection. *Amilcar* held his way towards the Bridge, keeping himſelf on plain grounds, that were fitteſt for the ſervice of his Elephants, which he placed in front of his Army. Neither made he ſhew of any deſire to fight, but ſuffered the raſhneſs of his Enemies to increaſe, till it ſhould break into ſome diſorder. At length, perceiving that with more boldneſs than good heed, they followed him ſo near, as would be little for their good, if he ſhould turn upon them, he haſtned his march, even to ſuch a pace, as made a ſhew little differing from plain flight. The Mercinaries preſently fell upon his skirts; believing, that for fear of them he was ready to run away. But whileſt they confuſedly, as in ſudden opinion of Victory, were driving at the heels of thoſe that had the Rere, *Amilcar* wheeled about and met them in the face, charging them

hotly, but in very good order, ſo that amazed with the apprehenſion of inexpected danger, they fled without making any reſiſtance. In this Overthrow, there were ſix thouſand of the Mercinaries ſlain, and about two thouſand taken; the reſt fled; ſome to the Camp at *Utica*, others to the Town at the Bridge, whither *Amilcar* followed them ſo faſt, that he wan the place eaſily: the Enemies being thence alſo fled unto *Tunis*, as not having recollected their ſpirits to make it good.

The Fame of this Victory, together with the diligence of *Amilcar* in purſuing it, cauſed many Towns revolted, partly by fear, partly by force, to return to their former obedience. Yet was not *Matho* wanting to himſelf, in this dangerous time. He ſent about *Numidia* and *Africk* for new ſupplies; admoniſhing the People, now or never to do their beſt, for the recovery of their freedom; he perſwaded *Spendius* and *Autaritus* that was Captain of the *Gauls*, to wait upon *Amilcar*, and always to keep the higher grounds, or at leaſt the foot of ſome Hill, where they might be ſafe from the Elephants; and he himſelf continued to preſs the Town of *Hippagreta* with an hard Siege. It was neceſſary for *Amilcar*, in paſſing from place to place, as his buſineſs required, to take ſuch ways as there were: for all the Country lay not level. Therefore *Spendius*, who ſtill coaſted him, had once gotten a notable advantage of ground: the *Carthaginians* lying in a Plain ſurrounded with hills, that were occupied by the Mercinaries, with their *Numidian* and *African* ſuccours. In this difficulty, the fame of *Amilcar* his perſonal worth did greatly benefit his Country. For *Naravaſus*, a young Gentleman commanding over the *Numidians*, was glad of this occaſion ſerving to get the acquaintance and love of ſo brave a man, which he much deſired: and therefore came unto *Amilcar*, ſignifying his good affection to him, with offer to do him all ſervice. *Amilcar* joyfully entertained this friend; promiſed unto him his own Daughter in Marriage; and ſo wan from the Enemies two thouſand Horſe, that following *Naravaſus*, turned unto the *Carthaginians* ſide. With this help he gave battel unto *Spendius*, wherein the *Numidian* laboured to approve his own Valour, to his new Friend. So the Victory was great: for there were ſlain ten thouſand of *Spendius* his Fellows, and four thouſand taken Priſoners, but *Spendius* himſelf, with *Autaritus* the *Gaul*, eſcaped to do more miſchief. *Amilcar* dealt very gently with his Priſoners: pardoning all Offences paſt, and diſmiſſing as many as were unwilling to become his Followers; yet with condition, that they ſhould never more bear Arms againſt the *Carthaginians*; threatning to take ſharp revenge upon all that ſhould break this Covenant.

This Humanity was vehemently ſuſpected by *Matho*, *Spendius*, and *Autaritus*, as tending to win from them the Hearts of their Souldiers. Wherefore they reſolved to take ſuch order, that not a man among them ſhould dare to truſt in the good nature of *Amilcar*, nor to hope for any ſafety, whileſt *Carthage* was able to do him hurt. They counterfeited Letters of advertiſement, wherein was contained, that ſome of their Company, reſpective only of their private benefit, and careleſs of the general good, had a purpoſe to betray them all unto the *Carthaginians*, with whom they held intelligence; and that it was needful to look well unto *Geſco* and his Companions, whom theſe Traitors had a purpoſe to enlarge. Upon this Theme *Spendius* makes an Oration to the Souldiers, exhorting them to Fidelity; and ſhewing with many words, that the ſeeming humanity of *Amilcar* toward ſome, was none other than a Bait, wherewith to entrap them all at once together; as alſo telling them what a dangerous Enemy *Geſco* would prove, if he might eſcape their hands. While he is yet in the midſt of his Tale; were Letters come to the ſame purpoſe. Then ſteps forth *Autaritus*, and ſpeaks his mind plainly: ſaying, that it were the beſt, yea, the only way, for the common ſafety, to cut off all hope of reconciliation with *Carthage*; that if ſome were deviſing to make their own Peace, it would go hard with thoſe that had a care of the War; that it were better to make an end of *Geſco* his Life, than to trouble themſelves with looking to his Cuſtody; that by ſuch a courſe every one ſhould be ingaged in the preſent Action, as having none other hope left, than in Victory alone; finally, that ſuch as would ſpeak hereagainſt, were worthy to be reputed Traitors. This *Autaritus* was in great credit with the Souldiers, and could ſpeak ſundry Languages, in ſuch ſort, that he was underſtood by all. According to his motion therefore it was agreed, that *Geſco*, and all the other Priſoners, ſhould forthwith be put to horrible Death, by Torments. Nevertheleſs there were ſome, that for love of *Geſco*, ſought to alter this intended Cruelty, but they were forthwith ſtoned to death, as a Document unto others; and ſo the Decree was put in execution. Neither were they herewithal contented; but further ordained, that all *Carthaginian* Priſoners which they took, ſhould be ſerved in like ſort: and that the Subjects or Friends of *Carthage* ſhould loſe their hands, and ſo be ſent home: which Rule they obſerved ever afterwards.

Of this Cruelty I need ſay no more, than that it was moſt execrable ferity. As for the Counſel of uſing it, it was like unto the Counſel of *Achitophel*; *All* Iſrael *ſhall hear that thou art abhorred of thy Father; then ſhall the hands of all that are with thee, be ſtrong.* Such are the fruits of deſparation. He that is paſt all hope of Pardon, is afraid of his own Fellows, if they be more innocent; and to avoid the puniſhment of leſs Offences, committeth greater. The Cowardize of Offenders, and the revengeful Spirits of thoſe that have been wronged, are breeders of this deſperation: to which may be added, ſome deficiency of Laws, in diſtinguiſhing the Puniſhments of Malefactors according to the degree of their ſeveral Crimes. A Coward thinks all proviſion too little for his own ſecurity. *If* Phocas *be a Coward* (ſaid the Emperour *Mauritius*) *then is he murtherous.* To be ſtedfaſt and ſure in taking revenge, is thought a point of honour, and a defenſative againſt new Injuries. But wrongfully: for it is oppoſite to the rule of *Chriſtianity*; and ſuch a quality diſcovered, makes them deadly Enemies, who otherwiſe would have repented, and ſought to make amends for the wrong done in paſſion. This was it which wrought ſo much woe to the *Carthaginians*; teaching *Matho* and his *Africans* to ſuſpect even their gentleneſs, as the introduction to extream rigour. Like unto the Errours of Princes and Governours, are the Errors of Laws. Where one and the ſame puniſhment is awarded unto the leſs offence, and unto the greater, he that hath adventured to rob a man, is eaſily tempted to kill him, for his own ſecurity.

Againſt theſe inconveniences, Mercy and Severity, uſed with due reſpect, are the beſt remedies. In neither of which *Amilcar* failed. For as long as theſe his own Souldiers were any way likely to be reclaimed by gentle courſes, his humanity was ready to invite them: But when they were tranſ-

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ported with beaſtly outrage, beyond all regard of honeſty and ſhame, he rewarded their Villainy with anſwerable vengeance, caſting them unto wild beaſts to be devoured.

Until this time, *Hanno*, with the Army under his command, had kept himſelf apart from *Amilcar*, and done little, as may ſeem, for that nothing is remembred of him, ſince his late loſſes. Neither was *Amilcar* ſorry to want his help; as being able to do better without him. But when the War grew to ſuch extremity, as threatned utter ruine to the one or the other ſide: then was *Hanno* ſent for, and came to *Amilcar*, with whom he joyned his Forces. By this acceſs of ſtrength *Amilcar* was not enabled to do more than in former times: rather he could now perform nothing; ſuch was the hatred between him and his unworthy Colleague. The Towns of *Utica* and *Hippagretu*, that had ſtood always firm on the *Carthaginian* Party, did now revolt unto the Enemy, murthering all the Souldiers that they had in Garriſon, and caſting their bodies forth, without ſuffering them to be buried. The Proviſions brought by Sea, for maintenance of the Army, were loſt in ſoul weather: and *Carthage* it ſelf ſtood in danger of being beſieged, about which *Matho* and *Spendius* conſulted, whileſt one of the *Carthaginian* Generals did (as it were) bind the others hands.

It hath in all Ages been uſed as the ſafeſt courſe, to ſend forth in great Expeditions, two Generals of one Army. This was the common practiſe of thoſe two mighty Cities, *Athens* and *Rome*; which other States and Princes have often imitated; perſwading themſelves, that great Armies are not ſo well conducted by one as by two: who out of emulation to excel each other, will uſe the greater diligence. They have alſo joyned two chief Commanders in equal Commiſſion, upon this further conſideration; the better to reſtrain the ambition of any one that ſhould be truſted with ſo great a ſtrength. For hereof all Common-weals have been jealous, having been taught by their examples, that have made themſelves Tyrants over thoſe Cities and States that have imployed them. In this point the *Venetians* have been ſo circumſpect, as they have, for the moſt part, truſted ſtrangers, and not their own, in all the Wars which they have made. It is true, that the equal authority of two commanding in chief, ſerveth well to bridle the ambition of one or both, from turning upon the Prince or State that hath given them truſt: but in managing the War it ſelf, it is commonly the cauſe of ill ſucceſs. In Wars made near unto *Rome* it ſelf, when two good Friends were Conſuls, or ſuch two at leaſt as concurred in one deſire of *Triumph*; which Honour (the greateſt of any that *Rome* could give) was to be obtained by that one years ſervice; it is no marvel, though each of the Conſuls did his beſt, and referred all his thoughts unto none other end than Victory. Yet in all dangerous caſes, when the Conſuls proceeded otherwiſe than was deſired, one *Dictator* was appointed, whoſe Power was neither hindered by any Partner, nor by any great limitation. Neither was it indeed the manner, to ſend forth both the Conſuls to one War; but each went, whither his lot called him, to his own Province; unleſs one buſineſs ſeemed to require them both, and they alſo ſeemed fit to be joyned in the adminiſtration. Now although it was ſo, that the *Romans* did many times prevail with their joynt Generals: yet was this never or ſeldom, without as much concord as any other vertue of the Commanders. For their modeſty hath often been ſuch, that the leſs able Captain, though of equal authority, hath willingly ſubmitted himſelf to the other, and obeyed his directions. This notwithſtanding, they have many times, by ordaining two Commanders of one Army, received great and moſt dangerous overthrows; whereof in the ſecond Punick War we ſhall find examples. On the contrary ſide, in their Wars moſt remote, that were always managed by one, they ſeldom failed to win exceeding Honour, as hereafter ſhall appear. Now of thoſe ten Generals which ſerved the *Athenians* at the Battel of *Marathon*, it may truly be ſaid, that had not their temper been better than the judgment of the People that ſent them forth, and had not they ſubmitted themſelves to the conduction of *Miltiades*; their affairs had found the ſame ſucceſs which they found at other times, when they coupled *Nicias* and *Alcibiades* together in *Sicil*: the one being ſo over-wary, and the other ſo haſty, as all came to nought that they undertook; whereas *Cimon* alone, as alſo *Ariſtides*, and others, having ſole charge of all, did their Country and Common-weal moſt remarkable ſervice. For it is hard to find two great Captains of equal diſcretion and Valour; but that the one hath more of Fury than of Judgment, and ſo the contrary, by which the beſt occaſions are as often over-ſlipt, as at other times many actions are unſeaſonably undertaken. I remember it well, that when the Prince of *Condy* was ſlain after the Battel of *Iarnac* (which Prince, together with the Admiral *Chaſtillon*, had the Conduct of the Proteſtant Army) the Proteſtants did greatly bewail the loſs of the ſaid Prince, in reſpect of his Religion, Perſon, and Birth; yet comforting themſelves, they thought it rather an advancement, than an hindrance to their Affairs. For ſo much did the Valour of the one out-reach the adviſedneſs of the other, as whatſoever the Admiral intended to win by attending the advantage, the Prince adventured to loſe, by being over-confident in his own Courage.

But we need no better example, than of the *Carthaginians* in this preſent buſineſs: who, though they were ſtill ſick of their ill grounded Love to *Hanno*, and were unwilling to diſgrace him; yet ſeeing that all ran towards ruine, through the diſcord of the Generals, commited the deciſion of their Controverſies unto the Army that ſerved under them. The judgment of the Army was, that *Hanno* ſhould depart the Camp: which he did; and *Hannibal* was ſent in his ſtead, one that would be directed by *Amilcar*; and that was enough.

After this, the Affairs of *Carthage* began to proſper ſomewhat better. *Matho* and *Spendius* had brought their Army near unto the City; and lay before it, as in a Siege. They might well be bold, to hope and adventure much; having in their Camp above fifty thouſand, beſides thoſe that lay abroad in Garriſons. Nevertheleſs, the City was too ſtrong for them to win by aſſault: and the entrance of Victuals they could not hinder, if any ſhould be ſent in by Friends from abroad.

Hieron, King of *Syracuſe*, though during the Wars in *Sicil* he aſſiſted the *Romans*, and ſtill continued in their Alliance, yet now ſent ſuccours to the *Carthaginians*, fearing their fall, and conſequently his own; becauſe if no other State gave the *Romans* ſomewhat to trouble their diſgeſtion, the Principality of *Syracuſe* would ſoon be devoured by them. The *Romans* alſo gave them ſome ſlender aſſiſtance, and for the preſent, refuſed good offers made unto them by the Mercinaries. This they did, to ſhew a kind of noble diſpoſition;

on; which was indeed but counterfeit, as the ſequel manifeſtly proved.

Whileſt *Matho* and his Followers were buſily preſſing the City, *Amilcar* was as diligent in waiting at their backs, and cutting off all that came to their ſupply: ſo that finding themſelves more ſtraightly beſieged by him, than *Carthage* was by them, they purpoſed to deſiſt from their vain attempt, and try ſome other courſe. Hereupon they iſſue into the Field: where *Spendius*, and one *Zarcas* an *African* Captain aſſiſting the Rebellion, take upon them to find *Amilcar* work; leaving *Matho* in *Tunis*, to negotiate with their Friends, and take a general care of the buſineſs. The Elephants of *Carthage*, and Horſe of *Naravaſus*, made *Spendius* fearful to deſcend into the Plains. Wherefore he betook himſelf to his former method of War, keeping the Mountains and rough Grounds, or occupying the ſtraighteſt Paſſages, wherein the deſperate courage of his men might ſhew it ſelf with little diſadvantage. But *Amilcar* had more skill in this Art than could be matched by the labour of *Spendius*. He drew the Enemy to many Skirmiſhes; in all which, the Succeſs was ſuch, as added courage to his own men, and abated the ſtrength and ſpirit of the Rebels. Thus he continued, provoking them night and day: ſtill intrapping ſome of them, and ſometimes giving them the Overthrow in plain Battel, until at length he got them into a Straight, whence ere they ſhould get out, he meant to take of them a good account. Their judgment was enough to perceive their own diſadvantage: and therefore they had the leſs ſtomach to fight; but awaited for help from *Tunis*. *Amilcar* prudently foreſeeing, that neceſſity might teach them to dare impoſſibilities, uſed the benefit of their preſent fear, and ſhut them cloſe up with Trench and Rampart. There they waited miſerably for ſuccour that came not: and having ſpent all their Victuals, were ſo pinched with Hunger, that they fed upon the Bodies of their Priſoners. This they ſuffered patiently, as knowing that they had not deſerved any favour from *Carthage*; and hoping that their Friends at *Tunis* would not be unmindful of them. But when they were driven to ſuch extremity, that they were fain to devour their own Companions, and yet ſaw none appearance or likelihood of relief: their obſtinacy was broken, and they threatned their Captains with what they had deſerved, unleſs they would go forth to *Amilcar*, and ſeek ſuch Peace as might be gotten. So *Spendius*, *Zarxas*, and *Autaritus*, fell to conſultation, wherein it was reſolved to obey the Multitude, and yield themſelves, if it were ſo required, unto the Death, rather than to periſh by the hands of their own Companions. Hereupon they ſend to crave Parley, which is granted; and theſe three come forth to talk with *Amilcar* in Perſon. What they could ſay unto him, it is hard to conjecture: yet by the Conditions which *Amilcar* granted, it ſeems that they took the blame upon themſelves, and craved pardon for the Multitude. The Conditions were, that the *Carthaginians* ſhould chuſe out of the whole number of theſe Enemies, any ten whom they pleaſed, to remain at their diſcretion; and that the reſt ſhould all be diſmiſſed, each in his Shirt, or in one ſingle Coat. When the Peace was thus concluded, *Amilcar* told theſe Ringleaders, that he choſe them preſently, as part of the ten, and ſo commanded to lay hands on them: the reſt he forthwith went to fetch, with his whole Army in order. The Rebels, who knew not that Peace was concluded upon ſo gentle Articles, thought themſelves betrayed: and therefore amazedly ran to Arms. But they wanted Captains to order them, and the ſame aſtoniſhment that made them break the Covenants of Peace, whereof they were ignorant, gave unto *Amilcar* both colour of juſtice in accompliſhing revenge, and eaſe in doing the execution. They were all ſlain: being forty thouſand, or more in number.

This was a famous exploit, and the news thereof exceeding welcome to *Carthage*, and terrible to the revolted Cities of *Africk*. Henceforward, *Amilcar*, with his *Naravaſus* and *Hannibal*, carried the War from Town to Town, and found all places ready to yield: *Utica* and *Hippagreta* only ſtanding out, upon fear of deſerved vengeance; and *Tunis* being held by *Matho*, with the remainder of his Army. It was thought fit to begin with *Tunis*, wherein lay the chief ſtrength of the Enemy. Coming before this Town, they brought forth *Spendius*, with his Fellows, in view of the defendants, and crucified them under the Walls; to terrifie thoſe of his old Companions, that were ſtill in Arms. With this rigour the Siege began, as if ſpeedy Victory had been aſſured. *Hannibal* quartered on that part of *Tunis* which lay towards *Carthage*; *Amilcar* on the oppoſite ſide: too far aſunder to help one another in ſudden accidents; and therefore it behoved each to be the more circumſpect.

Matho from the Walls beheld his own deſtiny, in the miſery of his Companion, and knew not how to avoid it otherwiſe, than by a caſt at Dice with Fortune. So he brake out upon that part of the *Carthaginian* Army that lay ſecure, as if all danger were paſt, under the command of *Hannibal*: and with ſo great and unexpected fury he ſallyed, that after an exceeding ſlaughter, he took *Hannibal* Priſoner; on whom, and thirty the moſt noble of the *Carthaginian* Priſoners, he preſently revenged the Death of *Spendius* by the ſame Torture. Of this *Amilcar* knew nothing till it was too late; neither had he ſtrength enough remaining, after this great loſs, to continue the Siege, but was fain to break it up, and remove unto the mouth of the River *Bagradas*, where he incamped.

The Terrour was no leſs within *Carthage*, upon the fame of this loſs, than had been the joy of the late great Victory. All that could bear Arms, were ſent into the Field under *Hanno*, whom, it ſeems, they thought the moſt able of their Captains ſurviving the late accidents of War. If there were any Law among them, forbidding the imployment of one ſole General, near unto their City (for they are known to have truſted one man abroad) the time did not permit, in this haſty exigent, to deviſe about repealing it. But thirty principal men are choſen by the Senate, to bring *Hanno* to *Amilcars* Camp, and by all good perſwaſions to reconcile them. This could not be effected in one day. It nearly touched *Amilcar* in his Honour, that the careleſneſs of *Hannibal* ſeemed to be imputed unto him, by ſending his Enemy to moderate his Proceedings. Nevertheleſs after many Conferences, the Authority of the Senators prevailed; *Amilcar* and *Hanno* were made Friends; and thenceforth, whileſt this War laſted, *Hanno* took warning by *Hannibals* Calamities, to follow good directions, though afterwards he returned to his old and deadly hatred.

In the mean ſeaſon *Matho* was come abroad; as meaning to uſe the reputation of his late ſucceſs, whileſt it gave ſome life unto his buſineſs. He had reaſon to do as he did: but he wanted skill to deal with *Amilcar*. The Skirmiſhes, and light exerciſes of War, wherein *Amilcar* trained his *Carthaginians*, did ſo far abate the ſtrength, and with-

all

diminish the credit of *Matho*, that he resolved to try the fortune of one Battel: wherein either his desires should be accomplished, or his cares ended. To this conclusion the *Carthaginians* were no less prone, than *Matho*: as being weary of these long Troubles, and insupportable Expences; confident in the valour of their own men, which had approved it self in many tryals; and well assured of *Amilcar* his great worth, whereunto the Enemy had not what to oppose. According to this determination, each part was diligent in making provision: inviting their Friends to help, and drawing forth into the Field, all that lay in Garrison.

The issue of this Battel might have been foretold, without help of Witchcraft. *Matho*, and his Followers, had nothing whereon to presume, save their daring Spirits, which had been well cooled by the many late Skirmishes, wherein they had learned how to run away. The *Carthaginians* had reason to dare, as having often been victorious: and in all points else they had the better of their Enemies; especially (which is worth all the rest) they had such a Commander, as was not easily to be matched in that Age. Neither was it likely, that the desire of Liberty should work so much, in men accustomed to Servitude; as the honour of their State would in Citizens, whose future and present good lay all at once engaged in that Adventure. So the *Carthaginians* wan a great Victory, wherein most of the *Africans* their Enemies were slain; the rest fled into a Town, which was not to be defended, and therefore they all yielded; and *Matho* himself was taken alive. Immediately upon this Victory, all the *Africans* that had rebelled, made submission to their old Masters: *Utica* only, and *Hippagreta* stood out, as knowing how little they deserved of Favour. But they were soon forced, to take what Conditions best pleased the Victors. *Matho* and his Fellows were led to *Carthage* in Triumph; where they suffered all Torments that could be devised, in recompence of the Mischiefs which they had wrought in this War. The War had lasted three years, and about four months, when it came to this good end: which the *Carthaginians*, whose Subjects did not love them, should with less expence, by contenting their Mercenaries, have prevented in the beginning.

§. IV.

How the Mercenaries of the Carthaginians, *that were in* Sardinia, *rebelled: and were afterwards driven out by the* Islanders. *The faithless dealing of the* Romans *with the* Carthaginians, *in taking from them* Sardinia, *contrary to the Peace.*

WHilst *Matho* and *Spendius* were making this terrible Combustion in *Africk*, other Mercenaries of the *Carthaginians* had kindled the like fire in *Sardinia*: where murdering *Bostar* the Governour, and other *Carthaginians*, they were in hope to get, and hold that Island to their own use. Against these one *Hanno* was sent with a small Army, (such as could be spared in that busie time) consisting likewise of Mercenaries, levied on the sudden. But these Companions that followed *Hanno*, finding it more for their safety, and present profit, to joyn themselves with those that were already revolted, than to endanger themselves by Battel, for the good of that Common-weal, of which they had no care, began to enter into practice with the *Sardinian* Rebels; offering to run one course of Fortune with them in their Enterprize. This their offer was kindly taken; but their Faith was suspected. Wherefore, to take away all Jealousie and Distrust, they resolved to hang up their Commander *Hanno*, and performed it. A common practice it hath been in all Ages, with those that have undertaken the quarrel of an unjust War, to enjoyn the performance of some notorious and villanous act, to those that come into them as seconds, with offer to partake, and to assist the impious purposes which they have in hand. It is indeed the best pawn, that desperate men can deliver to each other, to perform some such Actions, as are equally unpardonable to all.

By such a kind of Cruelty did the ungrateful *Mantinæans* murder a Garrison of *Achaians*, sent unto them for their defence against the *Lacedæmonians*, by *Aratus*; who, when he had formerly possest himself of their City, by right of War, did not only spare the sack and spoil thereof, but gave them equal freedom with the rest of the Cities united. These *Revolts* are also common in our Court-wars; where, in the Conquests of new Fortunes, and making of new Parties, and Factions, without the depression or destruction of old Friends, we cannot be received and trusted by old Enemies. *Ce sont les coups de vieille escrime. These*, (say the *French*) *be the Blows of the old Art of Fencing.*

These Mercenaries in *Sardinia* were no whit less violent in their purpose, than were *Spendius*, and his Associates: only they wanted a *Matho* among them, to negotiate with the Inhabitants of the Province. The Islanders were no less glad, than the Souldiers, that the *Carthaginians* were expelled the Countrey: but they could not agree about the profit of the Victory. The *Sardinians* thought that it was enough, if they rewarded the Souldiers for their pains taken. Contrariwise, the Souldiers were of opinion, that the Title of the *Carthaginians* to that Isle, was devolved unto themselves, by right of Conquest. The same Quarrel would (in likelihood) have risen, between *Spendius* with his Mercenaries, and their *African* Friends, if the common desire of both had once taken effect: unless the Riches of *Carthage*, had served to content them all. But in *Sardinia*, where there was none other valuable reward, than possession and rule of the Countrey, the matter was not easily taken up. So they fell to Blows; which how they were dealt I know not; but finally, the Mercenaries were driven out, and compelled to save themselves in *Italy*. Before their departure out of *Sardinia*, they had invited the *Romans* into it, with as good right, as the *Mamertines* had called them into *Sicil.* Yet this offer was refused, upon Reasons that follow.

Some *Italian* Merchants had relieved *Matho* and *Spendius* with Corn; of whom the *Carthaginians* took almost five hundred, and held them in Prison. Hereof was made a great complaint: so that the *Romans* sent Ambassadors to *Carthage*, requiring satisfaction. It was no time for the *Carthaginians* to dispute: they quietly yielded to release them all. This was so kindly taken, that they forbad all their Merchants, to trade thenceforth with the Rebels; admonishing them to carry all Provisions to *Carthage*. And upon the same Reason, did they forbear to meddle with *Sardinia*, or to accept the City of *Utica*, offering it self unto their subjection. This might have served, as a notable example of the *Roman* Faith, to all posterity: had not the issue proved, that it was meer regard of greater profit,

fit, which kept them ſo temperate, no longer than the hope laſted of thriving better thereby, than they ſhould have done by open breach of Faith. The whole eſtate of *Carthage* depended, at that time, upon the Vertue of *Amilcar:* who had he been overthrown by *Spendius* or *Matho*, in one main Battel, that mighty City muſt either have fallen into the barbarous hands of mercileſs Villains, or have humbled her ſelf under protection of the *Romans*, with whom ſhe had lately ſtriven for Superiority. That extream neceſſity, whereinto *Matho* reduced the City, by the fortune of one Sally made out of *Tunis*, is enough to prove, that *Carthage* was not far from ſuch a miſerable choice. Wherefore it was not unwiſely done of the *Romans*, to make ſuch demonſtration of kindneſs, and honourable dealing, as might invite a rich, but ſinking Ship, to run her ſelf aground upon their ſhore. But when all was well ended in *Africk*, and the *Carthaginians* began to prepare for the recovery of *Sardinia*, then did Ambition put off her goodly vizor. The *Romans* perceiving that *Carthage*, beyond their hope, had recovered her feet again, began to ſtrike at her head. They entertained the proffer of thoſe Mercenaries, that were fled out of *Sardinia*; and they denounced War againſt this enfeebled and impoveriſhed City, under a ſhameleſs pretence, *That the Preparations made for* Sardinia, *were made indeed againſt* Rome *it ſelf.* The *Carthaginians* knew themſelves unable to reſiſt; and therefore yielded to the *Romans* demand; renouncing unto them all their right in *Sardinia.* But this was not enough. They would have twelve hundred Talents, in recompence belike (for I ſee not what Reaſon they could alledg) of the great fear which they had endured, of an Invaſion from *Carthage.* It is indeed plain, that they impudently ſought occaſion of War. But neceſſity taught the *Carthaginians* patience; and the money was paid, how hardly ſoever it was raiſed. From this time forward, let not *Rome* complain of the *Punick* faith, in breach of Covenants: ſhe her ſelf hath broken the Peace already, which *Amilcar* purpoſeth to make her dearly repent; but what *Amilcar* lives not to perform, ſhall be accompliſhed by *Hannibal* his renowned Son.

§. V.

How the Affairs of Carthage *went between the* African *Rebellion, and the ſecond* Punick *War.*

THE injurious dealing of the *Romans*, expreſſing their deſire to pick a quarrel, ſerved to inſtruct the *Carthaginians* in a neceſſary leſſon. That either they muſt make themſelves the ſtronger, or elſe reſolve to be obedient unto thoſe that were more mighty. In a City long accuſtomed to rule, the braver determination eaſily took place: and the beſt means were thought upon, for the increaſe of Puiſſance and Empire. The ſtrength, and the jealouſie of the *Romans*, forbad all Attempts upon the Mediterranean Seas; but the Riches of *Spain*, that lay upon the *Ocean*, were unknown to *Rome:* wherefore that Province might ſerve, both to exerciſe the *Carthaginians* in War, and to repair their decayed Forces, with all needful Supplies. Of this *Spaniſh* Expedition, the charge and ſoveraign truſt was committed unto *Amilcar:* upon whom his Countrey did wholly repoſe it ſelf; in hope to recover ſtrength by his means, that had ſaved it from ruine.

Hanno, with ſome other envious men, that were of his Faction, took little pleaſure in the general love and honour, which daily increaſed towards *Amilcar* and his Friends. Yet could they not deny him to be the moſt worthy of Command in all the City: only they commended peace and quietneſs; adviſing men to beware of provoking the *Romans*, in whoſe amity they ſaid, that the felicity of *Carthage* did conſiſt. By ſuch Diſcourſes, harſh to the ears of good Citizens, who had feeling of the wrong done to their Common-weal, they got none other reputation, than of ſingularity: which the ignorant ſort ſuſpected to be wiſdom.

But the glory of *Amilcar* was continually upheld and enlarged, by many notable Services that he did, to the ſingular benefit of his Countrey. He paſſed the Streights of *Hercules*, (now called the Streights of *Gibraltar*) and landed on the Weſtern Coaſt of *Spain*; in which Countrey, during nine years that he lived there, he ſubjected unto the State of *Carthage* the better part of all thoſe Provinces. But finally, in a Battel that he fought with a Nation in *Portugal*, called the *Vettones*, (defending himſelf a long time with an admirable reſolution) he was invironed and ſlain: carrying with him to the Grave the ſame great Honour and Fame, by which in many ſignal Victories, he had acquired the Name of a ſecond *Mars.*

After the death of *Amilcar*, *Aſdrubal* his Son-in-law was made General of the *Carthaginian* Forces in *Spain.* This was a good man of War; but far better in practice and cunning, than in deeds of Arms. By his notable dexterity in matter of Negotiation, he greatly enlarged the Dominion of *Carthage:* adding ſo many Subjects and Confederates thereunto, that the *Romans* began to grow jealous again of this haſty increaſe. He built a goodly City, upon a commodious Haven, in the Kingdom of *Granado*, oppoſite to that of *Oran* in *Africa*, and gave it the Name of *New Carthage*, which to this day it nearly retaineth, being called now * *Carthagena.* With this ſucceſs of the *Carthaginians* in *Spain*, the *Romans* were not a little troubled, but begin to cauſe their own negligence. For whereas they had formerly taken ſo much pains to beat them out of the Iſle of *Sicil*, as ſuſpecting their Neighbourhood there; they had now, by cumbring themſelves in a War of far leſs importance, (whereof I ſhall ſpeak anon) given them leiſure, without interruption, to recover upon their own Continent, a Dominion by far exceeding, both in the bodies of men and in revenue, that which the *Romans* had taken from them. But how to help this, at the preſent they knew not; for they daily expected to be invaded by the *Gaules*, their ancient Enemies, and neareſt Neighbours to the Weſt. But he needeth little help of force, that knoweth himſelf to be feared: it is enough if he requeſt, ſince his requeſt ſhall have the vertue of a Command.

* The *Spaniards* have ſince built a City of the ſame Name in the *Weſt-Indies*: which being peopled by them in the year 1532. was ſacked by the *Engliſh* in the year 1586.

Yet were the *Romans* utterly deſtitute of all good colour, that might help them to intermeddle in *Spain.* The *Spaniards* were then unacquainted with *Rome*, whereof (in probability) they ſcarce had heard the Name: ſo that there were no *Mamertines*, nor other ſuch Rebels, to call in *Roman* Succours. But in the Enterprize of *Sardinia*, the *Romans* had learned an impudent pretence, that might alſo ſerve their turn in *Spain.* For though it were apparent, that the *Spaniſh* Affairs had no relation to the Peace between theſe two Cities; and though it were nothing likely, that *Aſdrubal* had any purpoſe, to extend his Victories unto the Gates of *Rome*, or to any of the *Roman* Frontiers: yet (as if ſome ſuch matter had been ſuſpected) they

they sent unto him, requiring that he should forbear to proceed any further, than to the River of *Iberus*. In addressing their Messengers, rather to *Asdrubal*, than to the City of *Carthage*; they seem to have hoped, that howsoever the generality of the *Carthaginians* had sweetly swallowed many bitter Pills, to avoid all occasion of War with *Rome*: yet the Bravery of one man might prove more fastidious, and, resenting the Injury, return such Answer, as would entangle his whole Countrey in the Quarrel, that they so much desired; and might embrace at leisure, when once they had found apparent cause. But *Asdrubal* finely deluded their expectation. He pretended no manner of dislike at all: and whereas they would have this insolent Covenant inserted into the Articles of Peace, he took upon him to do it, of his own power, with such appearance of conformity to their will, that they went their ways contented, and sought no further.

If it had been so, that the State of *Carthage*, thereunto pressed by the *Romans*, for fear of present War, had ratified this new Composition made by *Asdrubal*, yet should it not have stood bound in honour, to observe the same carefully, unless an Oath had also been extorted, to make all sure. But since all passed quietly, under the bare Authority of *Asdrubal*, this Capitulation was none other in effect, than a second breach of Peace; whereof the *Romans* might be accused more justly, than they could accuse the *Carthaginians* of Perjury, (as they after did) for refusing to stand to it.

By this Treaty with *Asdrubal*, the *Romans* wan some Reputation in *Spain*. For when it was once conceived by the *Spaniards*, that the City which would needs be Mistress over them, stood in fear her self, of receiving Blows from a stouter Dame, there were soon found some, that by offering themselves to the protection of *Rome*, became (as they thought) fellow-servants with *Carthage*. But the *Carthaginians* will shortly teach them another lesson. The *Saguntines*, a People on the South-side of *Iberus*, entred into Confederacy with the *Romans*, and were gladly accepted. Surely it was lawful unto the *Romans*, to admit the *Saguntines*, or any other People (neither Subject, nor open Enemy in War to the *Carthaginians*) into their society: and unlawful it was unto the *Carthaginians*, to use violence towards any that should thus once become confederate with *Rome*. Nevertheless, if we consider the late Agreement made with *Asdrubal*, we shall find that the *Romans* could have none other honest colour of requiring it, than an implicit Covenant of making the River *Iberus* a Bound, over which they themselves would not pass, in any Discovery or Conquest by them intended to be made upon *Spain*: in which regard, they might have some honest pretence to require the like of the *Carthaginians*; though *Rome* as yet had no foot, on the one side of *Iberus*, whereas *Carthage*, on the other side of that River, held almost all the Countrey. Howsoever it were, this Indignity was not so easily digested, as former Injuries had been. For it was a matter of ill consequence, that the Nations which had heard of no greater Power than the *Carthaginian*, should behold *Saguntum* resting securely among them, upon confidence of help from a more mighty City. Wherefore either in this respect; or for that the sense is most feeling of the latest injuries; or rather for that now the *Carthaginians* were of power to do themselves right, War against *Saguntum* was generally thought upon, let the *Romans* take it how they list. In such terms were the *Carthaginians*, when *Asdrubal* died, after he had commanded in *Spain* eight years: (being slain by a Slave, whose Master he had put to death) and the Great *Hannibal*, Son of the Great *Amilcar*, was chosen General in his stead.

§. VI.

The Estate of Greece *from the Death of* Pyrrhus, *to the Reign of* Philip *the Son of* Demetrius *in* Macedon.

IN the long term of the first *Punick* War, and the vacation following, between it and the second, the Estate of *Greece*, after the death of *Pyrrhus*, was grown somewhat like unto that, wherein *Philip* of *Macedon* had found it; though far weaker, as in an After-spring. The whole Countrey had recovered, by degrees, a form of Liberty: the petty Tyrannies (bred of those inferior Captains, which in the Times of general Combustion, had seized each upon such Towns as he could get) were, by force or accident, extirpated and reformed; and some States were risen to such greatness, as not only served to defend themselves, but to give protection to others. This conversion to the better, proceeded from the like Dissensions and Tumults in *Macedon*, as had been in *Greece*, when *Philip* first began to incroach upon it. For after many Quarrels and great Wars, about the Kingdom of *Macedon*, between *Antigonus* the elder, *Cassander*, *Demetrius*, *Lysimachus*, *Seleucus*, *Pyrrhus*, and the *Gaules*, *Antigonus*, the Son of *Demetrius*, finally got and held it, reigning six and thirty years; yet so, that he was divers times thence expelled, not only by the *Gaules*, and by *Pyrrhus*, as hath been already shewed, but by *Alexander* the Son of *Pyrrhus* the *Epirot*, from whose Father he had hardly won it. This happened unto him by the revolt of his Souldiers, even at such time, as having overthrown with great slaughter an Army of the *Gaules*, he was converting his Forces against the *Athenians*, whom he compelled to receive his Garisons. But his young Son *Demetrius* raised an Army, wherewith he chaced *Alexander*, not only out of *Macedon*, but out of his own *Epirus*, and restored his Father to the Kingdom.

By the help of this young Prince *Demetrius*, (though in another kind) *Antigonus* got into his possession the Citadel of *Corinth*; which was justly termed *the Fetter of Greece*. This Citadel called *Acrocorinthus*, stood upon a steep rocky Hill on the North-side of the Town; and was by Nature and Art so strong, that it seemed impregnable. It commanded the Town; which was of much importance, as occupying the whole breadth of the *Isthmus*, that running between the *Ægean* and *Ionique* Seas, joyneth *Peloponnesus* to the Main of *Greece*. Wherefore he that held possession of this Castle, was able to cut off all passage by Land from one half of *Greece* unto the other; besides the commodity of the two Seas, upon both of which this rich and goodly City had commodious Havens. *Alexander*, the Son of *Polysperchon*; and after his death, *Cratesipolis* his Wife, had gotten *Corinth* in the great shuffling of Provinces and Towns, that was made between *Alexander*'s Princes. Afterwards it passed from hand to hand, until it came, I know not how, to one *Alexander*; of whom I find nothing else, than that he was thought to be poisoned by this *Antigonus*, who deceived his Wife *Nicæa* thereof, and got it from her by a Trick. The device was this. *Antigonus* sent his young *Demetrius* to *Corinth*, willing him to court *Nicæa*, and seek her Marriage. The foolish old Widow perceived not how unfit a Match she

to requite the benefit with ſome great miſchief. They ſaw that the *Achæans* were deſirous to bring all *Peloponneſus* into their Alliance and Corporation: of which intent, the *Lacedæmonians* were very jealous. Wherefore theſe *Ætolians* laboured earneſtly to ſet the *Lacedæmonians* and *Achæans* together by the ears: hoping that if this might come to paſs, they themſelves ſhould be called into help (it skilled not on what ſide) and ſo get no ſmall ſhare, both in booty and Territory. Neither did they forbear to communicate this their device unto *Antigonus*; offering to make him partaker of their Gain, whom they knew to be offended with the many loſſes that his Kingdom had ſuſtained by the *Achæans*. Of this Plot *Aratus* was aware: who therefore determined to ſuffer many indignities, rather than to give the *Lacedæmonians* cauſe to take Arms. But this reſolution was taken ſomewhat too late, and not altogether in his own power to hold. He had been medling with the *Arcadians*, that were dependants of *Lacedæmon*, and thereby had provoked the *Lacedæmonians* to look about them; ſeeing that all *Peloponneſus*, excepting themſelves, the *Eleans*, and a few *Arcadians* their Friends (who alſo were attempted) was already become *Achæan*.

The City of *Sparta* was in ill caſe about theſe times; and ſubject to the injuries of any ſtronger Neighbour. *Pyrrhus* had greatly weakned it; The *Ætolians* entring *Laconia* with an Army, had carried away fifty thouſand Slaves; and, which was worſe, their Diſcipline was corrupted, Avarice and Luxury raigned among them, the poor was oppreſſed by the rich, and the generoſity of ſpirit, that had ſometime been their general Vertue, was hardly now to be found among the beſt of them. There were left in *Sparta* no more than ſeven hundred natural Citizens, of whom not above one hundred had Lands, all the reſt were needy People, and deſirous of innovation. Hereupon followed inteſtine ſedition, which endangered the City moſt of all. *Agis* a good King, who ſought to reform the diſorders of the State, exhorted the People to a ſtrict obſervation of *Lycurgus* his Laws. To which purpoſe he cauſed them to paſs an Act for the aboliſhing of all Debts, and equal diviſion of Lands. All the younger and the poorer ſort were glad of this: but the rich men oppoſed it. Theſe had recourſe unto *Leonidas* the other King (for in *Sparta* were two Kings) who took their part, being himſelf a diſſolute man, as one trained up in the Court of *Syria*, whence alſo he had his Wife. In this contention *Leonidas* was expelled the City, and a new King choſen in his ſtead. But *Agis* his Friends and Counſellors in this enterpriſe, abuſed his good meaning to their own private Commodity. They were haſty to take away all Debts, and cancel Bonds, for they themſelves were deeply indebted: but the diviſion of Lands they afterwards hindred, becauſe their own Poſſeſſions were great. Hence aroſe a Tumult in *Sparta*, which theſe men increaſed, by their foul oppreſſion of the poorer Citizens. So that in fine *Leonidas* was brought home, and reſtored to his Kingdom, and the two adverſe Kings driven to take Sanctuary; out of which, *Cleombrotus*, the late made King was diſmiſed into exile: but *Agis* was trained forth, drawn into Priſon, and there by his Enemies condemned and ſtrangled, together with his Mother, and his old Grand-Mother. The like to this was never known in *Sparta*: and (which is the more odious) this Cruelty proceeded from the *Ephori*, Magiſtrates that ſhould have given Patronage to the Laws, uſing their Power, and more Power than to them belonged, againſt a King that had proceeded orderly in reforming the City, as the Laws required.

The Death of *Agis* was much lamented by all good Citizens, and ſerved to eſtabliſh the impotent rule of a few tyrannical Oppreſſors. In which caſe *Aratus* might well hope to adjoyn *Lacedæmon* to the *Achæan* Common-wealth, though it were great injuſtice to take ſuch advantages, and attempt by force, that which would have redounded to the general good of *Peloponneſus*, and to the benefit of *Sparta* it ſelf, if it could have been wrought by perſwaſion.

But the ſame man who redreſſed the diſorders of *Sparta*, and revenged the death of *Agis*, did alſo requite the injuſt attempts of the *Achæans*, even in their own kind: obtruding upon them by force, an union of all *Peloponneſus*; though little to their good liking, for that the *Lacedæmonians* and their King, ſhould have been the principal; not they and their Prætor. *Leonidas* having thus cauſed *Agis* to be ſlain, took his Wife that was very rich and beautiful, and gave her in Marriage (perforce) to his own Son *Cleomenes*. This young Prince fell greatly enamourod on his Wife, and ſought to win her affection, as well as he had her perſon. He diſcourſed much with her about the purpoſe of her former Husband *Agis*, and by pitying his misfortune, began to entertain a deſire of accompliſhing that, wherein *Agis* had failed. So coming himſelf to be King, whilſt he was very young, he gladly embraced all occaſions of War: for that he hoped by ſtrong hand to effect that, which *Agis*, by proceeding formally, in ſo corrupt an Eſtate of the City, had attempted to his own ruine. Therefore when the *Ephori* gave him in charge to take and fortifie *Athenæum*, a Temple on the marches of *Laconia*, to which both they and the *Megalopolitans* pretended Title; he readily performed it. Hereof *Aratus* made no complaint, but ſought to take by ſurpriſe *Tegea* and *Orchomenus*, Cities then confederate with the *Lacedæmonians*: wherein his intelligence failing, he loſt the labour of a painful nights travel, and diſcovered his enmity to *Sparta*, of which *Cleomenes* was nothing ſorry. By theſe degrees the War began. In the entrance whereto *Aratus* had diſcovered the *Ætolian* practice, and therefore would have ſtaid the Quarrel from proceeding too far. But *Lyſiadas* and *Ariſtomachus* would needs fight, and he could do no other than be ruled by them; eſpecially ſeeing *Cleomenes* was ſo urgent. *Ariſtomachus* was at that time General of the *Achæans* (He and *Lyſiadas* being of great account, ſince they had abandoned their Tyranny) who ſent unto *Aratus*, lying then in *Athens*, and required his aſſiſtance in a Journey to be made into *Laconia*. No diſſwaſions of *Aratus* would ſerve, therefore he came in perſon, and took part of a buſineſs little pleaſing him in the preſent, and leſs in the future. When he met with *Cleomenes*, he durſt not fight, but oppoſed himſelf againſt *Ariſtomachus*, who deſired to give Battel. Yet had the *Achæans* twenty thouſand Foot, and one thouſand Horſe in their Army: whereas *Cleomenes* had no more than five thouſand in all. This gave reputation to the *Lacedæmonian*, and raiſed an ill report upon *Aratus*; which *Lyſiadas* helped to make worſe, by accuſing his Cowardize. Nevertheleſs the *Achæans* would not fall out with *Aratus* their Benefactor, but choſe him their General the year following, againſt *Lyſiadas* his Accuſer that ſued for the place. Being General himſelf, it behoved him to confute with deeds, the ſlanderous words of *Lyſiadas*. Therefore he purpoſed to ſet upon the

the *Eleans*: but was met withal on the way, near unto the Mount *Lycæus*, by *Cleomenes*, who vanquiſhed him in a great Battel, and drave him to hide himſelf all night for fear, ſo that he was thought to have been ſlain. This miſadventure *Aratus* recompenced by a trick of his own more natural occupation: performing with his broken Army, that which could hardly have been expected, had he been victorious. For whileſt there was no ſuſpition of any great matter that he could undertake; he ſecretly wrought with ſome of the *Mantinæans*, who did let him into their City. The *Mantinæans* had once before joyned themſelves with the *Achaians*; but ſhortly upon fear, or ſome other paſſion, they gave themſelves to the *Ætolians*, and from the *Ætolians*, preſently after this Victory, to *Cleomenes*, from whom immediately they were thus won. For this their levity they were not puniſhed, but freely admitted now again into the *Achæan* Society. As this good ſucceſs repaired the credit of *Aratus*, ſo another Battel almoſt ruined it. *Cleomenes* and he encountred near unto *Megalopolis*, where the *Achæans* had ſomewhat the better at the firſt, but their General durſt not follow his advantage. Thereupon *Lyſiadas*, of whom we ſpake before, grew ſomewhat impatient with anger, and taking with him all the Horſe, brake upon the *Lacedæmonians*, whom he routed at the beginning, but purſuing them too far into places of hard paſſage, he was ſlain by them, and his Followers driven back upon their own Companions, in ſuch ſort, that finally all the Army was diſordered, and put to flight. This was a great loſs, and incenſed the *Achæans* againſt *Aratus*: yet their indignation proceeded no further, than that they refuſed to make any longer contribution towards the Pay of thoſe Mercinaries which he had waged. This *Aratus* took patiently, and followed the War nevertheleſs; wherein, though *Cleomenes* wan ſome Towns, and *Aratus* got the better in one ſmall Fight, yet little of importance was done; the *Achæans* being weary, and the *Spartan* King intentive to another buſineſs.

Cleomenes having led into the Field all that were like to hinder his purpoſe, and tired them with painful Journeys, forſook the *Achæan* War on a ſudden, and came unexpected home to *Sparta*, where he ſlew the *Ephori*, and reſtored by force the ancient Diſcipline of *Lycurgus*. Then gave he an account of his doings, and ſhewing by what degrees the *Ephori* had incroached upon the Power of Kings, and many Diſorders had grown in the City; he juſtified his proceedings, and forthwith began to make equal diviſion of the Lands, reducing all to the firſt inſtitution. He alſo ſupplied the defect of Citizens, by chuſing new out of ſuch as were Friends to the State, and valiant men: ſo that henceforth his Country might not altogether ſtand in need of mercinary help, as it lately had done, to ſave it ſelf from the *Ætolians*, *Illyrians*, and other Enemies. All this was diſpatched in great haſte; the *Spartans* well ſatisfied, and *Cleomenes* himſelf ready in the Field, ere his Enemies could take advantage of theſe his Domeſtical Troubles.

The *Achæans* hearing of this great alteration in *Sparta*, thought that it would be long ere *Cleomenes* durſt iſſue forth of the City, for fear of ſome Rebellion. But it was not long ere they heard that he had waſted all the Country of *Megalopolis*; had ranged over all *Arcadia* at his pleaſure; and was admitted into *Mantinæa*, and ready to take other places, even of *Achaia*. Theſe news diſpleaſed them not a little: but they muſt patiently endure to hear worſe. For when *Cleomenes* had ſhaken off the Power of the *Ephori*, that curbed his Authority, he proceeded more roundly in his work, being better obeyed, and by better men. His *Lacedæmonians* returned their ancient courage; and he himſelf had the heart to demand the Principality of *Greece*. He did not therefore henceforth contend about the Poſſeſſion of a few Towns: but adventured to win or loſe all. The *Ætolians*, in favour of his attempt, declared themſelves on his ſide: and whereas he had gotten *Mantinæa*, *Tegea*, and other places, to which they had ſome Title, they willingly renounced all their intereſt unto him.

Aratus did apprehend the danger of his Country, and ſaw that *Antigonus* with the *Ætolians*, or perhaps without them, would ſhortly make an end of that, which *Cleomenes* had thus begun. Therefore he deviſed how to provide againſt the worſt, and either to repair all, or (if it could not be) to ſave all from utter ruine. The Office of General when it was next put upon him, he refuſed; fearing to be ſo far preſt as to hazzard in one Battel all the Force of his Country, to which as he had never any affection, nor perchance Courage, ſo was his manner of warfare otherwiſe. For he commonly attempted by ſurpriſe, and defended upon the advantage of place, after the manner of the *Iriſh*, and of all other Nations, over-charged with numbers of men. Yet did he not forſake the care of the weal publick, though in aiming at the general good, it ſeems that private paſſion drew him into an ill courſe. He ſaw that *Megalopolis* could not be defended without making a dangerous hazzard of Battel; that *Mantinæa* had not only opened her Gates unto *Cleomenes*, but ſlain the *Achæan* Garriſon that lay therein; that other Towns had yielded unto him, without compulſion; and that *Ariſtomachus*, once Tyrant of *Argos*, and ſince General of the *Achæans*, was now revolted unto the Enemy, following the fortune of *Cleomenes*. *Ptolemy* was too far off to help, and the nearneſs of *Antigonus* was very dangerous; yet might be uſeful, if this King would (as *Polybius* ſaith) like others, be Friend or Enemy, as ſhould beſt agree with his own profit. To make tryal hereof, *Aratus* practiſed with ſome of *Megalopolis*, whom he found apt unto his purpoſe, and inſtructed them how to deal with both *Antigonus*, and the *Achæans*.

The City of *Megalopolis* had been well affected to the *Macedonians*, ever ſince the time of *Philip* the Father of *Alexander*, who had obliged it unto him by ſome ſpecial benefits. At this time it lay neareſt unto the danger; was very faithful, and therefore deſerved ſuccour; yet could not well be relieved by the *Achæans*, with their own proper ſtrength. Wherefore it was thought meet, that Embaſſadors ſhould be ſent unto the general Council of *Achaia*, requeſting leave and good allowance, to try the favour of *Antigonus* in their neceſſity. This was granted, for lack of what elſe to anſwer: and the ſame Embaſſadors diſpatched away to *Antigonus*. They did their own errand briefly; telling him of the good will and reſpect which their City had of long time born unto him and his Predeceſſors; of their preſent need, and how it would agree with his Honour to give them aid. But when they delivered the more general matter, wherein *Aratus* had given them inſtruction, ſhewing how the ambition of *Cleomenes*, and violence of the *Ætolians*, might redound to his own great loſs or danger, if the one and the other were not in time prevented; how *Aratus* himſelf did ſtand affected; and what good likelihood there was of reducing the *Achæans* under the Patro-

tronage of *Macedon*: then began *Antigonus* to lend a more attentive ear to their diſcourſe. He embraced the motion: and to give it the more life, he wrote unto the *Megalopolitans*, that his help ſhould not be wanting, ſo far forth, as it might ſtand with the *Achæans* good liking. Particularly he commended himſelf, by theſe Meſſengers to *Aratus*; aſſuring them, that he thought himſelf highly bound to this honourable man, whoſe former actions he now perceived, not to have been grounded upon any hatred to the *Macedonians*, but only upon a juſt and worthy love to his own Nation. With this anſwer they return to *Megalopolis*: and are preſently ſent away to the Council of *Achaia*; there to make ſome ſpeedy concluſion, as the neceſſity of the time required.

The *Achæans* were glad to hear that *Antigonus* was ſo inclineable to their deſire; and therefore were ready to entertain his favour, with all good correſpondence. Hereunto *Aratus* gave his conſent, and praiſed the Wiſdom of his Country-men, that ſo well diſcerned the beſt and likelieſt means of their common ſafety: adding nevertheleſs, that it were not amiſs, firſt of all to try their own ability; which if it failed, then ſhould they do well to call in this gracious Prince, and make him their Patron and Protector. Thus he ſhewed himſelf moderate, in that which himſelf of all others did moſt wiſh: to the end, that he might not afterward ſuſtain the common reprehenſion, if any thing fell out amiſs, ſince it might appear, that he had not been Author of this Decree, but only followed, and that leiſurably, the general conſent.

Nevertheleſs, in true eſtimation, this fineneſs of *Aratus* might have been uſed, with his greater commendation, in a contrary courſe. For it had been more honourable to make an end of the War, by yielding unto *Cleomenes* that Power which they gave unto *Antigonus*: ſince thereby he ſhould both have freed his Country from all further trouble; and withal, ſhould have reſtored unto the univerſal State of *Greece*, that honorable condition, whereof the *Macedonians* had bereft it. But it is commonly found (which is great pitty) that Vertue having riſen to honour by degrees, and confirmed it ſelf (as it were) in the ſeat of Principality, by length of time, and ſucceſs of many actions; can ill endure the haſty growth of any others reputation, wherewith it ſees it ſelf likely to be over-topped. Other cauſe to deſpiſe the *Lacedæmonians* there was none, than that they lately had been in dangerous caſe: neither could any reaſon be found, why *Aratus* ſhould prefer *Antigonus* before *Cleomenes*, than that he had ſtood in doubt of the one, when he thought himſelf more mighty than the other. Wherefore he was juſtly plagued, when he ſaw his own Honours reverſed by the inſolent *Macedonians*; and inſtead of living as a Companion with *Cleomenes*, that was deſcended of a long Race of Kings, the Poſterity of *Hercules*, was fain to do ſacrifice unto *Antigonus* as unto a God, and was finally poyſoned by *Philip*, whoſe Nobility was but of five deſcents, and whom perhaps he might have ſeen his Fellows, if he had not made them his Lords. By this inclination to the *Macedonians*, the Love of *Ptolomy* was loſt: who forthwith took part with *Cleomenes*, though he did not ſupply him with ſuch liberality as he had uſed to the *Achæans*; being warned, as may ſeem by their example, to be more wary, both in truſting and diſburſing. *Cleomenes* himſelf, whileſt this buſineſs with *Antigonus* was a foot, paſſed through *Arcadia* with an Army, and laboured by all means to draw the *Achæans* to Battel. At the City of *Dymes* in *Achaia* were aſſembled all the remaining Forces of the Nation; with which it was concluded, to make tryal, whether perhaps they might amend their Eſtate, without ſeeking help of the *Macedonian*. Thither went *Cleomenes*, and there fought with them; where he had ſo great a Victory, that the Enemy was no longer able to keep the open Field. The Calamity was ſuch, that *Aratus* himſelf durſt not take upon him to be their General, when his turn came in the next Election. Wherefore the *Achæans* were compelled to ſue for Peace; which was granted upon this eaſie condition: That they ſhould not arrogate unto themſelves the Command of *Peloponneſus*, but ſuffer the *Lacedæmonians* (as in former Ages) to be their Leaders in War. Hereunto, if they would condeſcend, he promiſed unto them, that he would preſently reſtore all places taken from them, and all his Priſoners ranſom-free: alſo that they ſhould enjoy their own Laws and Liberties without moleſtation. This gentle offer of *Cleomenes* was very pleaſing to the *Achæans*, who deſired him to come unto the City of *Lerna*, where a Parliament ſhould be held for the concluſion of the War.

Now ſeemed the Affairs of *Greece* likely to be ſetled in better order than they had ever been ſince the beginning of the *Peloponneſian* Wars, yea, or ſince the *Perſian* Invaſion, when God, who had otherwiſe diſpoſed of theſe matters, hindred all, with a draught of cold water, which *Cleomenes* drank in a great heat, and thereupon fell extream ſick, and ſo could not be preſent at *Lerna*, but cauſed the Parliament to be deferred to another time. Nevertheleſs he ſent home the chief of his Priſoners, to ſhew that he meant none other than good Faith. By this fair dealing he confirmed the *Achæans* in their deſire of his Friendſhip: who aſſembled again at *Argos*, there to eſtabliſh the League. But *Aratus* was violently bent againſt it, and ſought by great words, and terrible threats, to make his Country-men afraid of reſolving. When all would not ſerve turn, he betook himſelf to his cunning, and ſent word to *Cleomenes*, that he ſhould do well to leave his Army behind him, and come alone into *Argos*, receiving Hoſtages for ſafety of his Perſon. *Cleomenes* was already far on his way, when he met with this advertiſement: and took it in ill part, that he ſhould be thus deluded. For it had been an eaſie matter to have told him ſo much at the firſt, and not have made him come ſo far with an Army, which afterwards he muſt diſmiſs. Yet that which chiefly ſeems to have troubled him, was the drift of his Oppugners, who ſought thereby, either to make him wait without the Gates, and deal only with themſelves and their Meſſengers; or if he would adventure himſelf into the City, then to deprive him of all Royal ſhew, that might breed reſpect of him in the Multitude. This was that indeed which *Aratus* feared, and for which he ſought to hinder his coming thither in perſon, leſt the People hearing the Promiſes of *Cleomenes* ratified by his own mouth, ſhould preſently be won with his gentle words, and finiſh the Bargain without more ado. Therefore *Cleomenes* wrote unto the whole Council, bitterly complaining againſt theſe jugling tricks: and *Aratus* was not far behind with him, in as bitter an Oration. So between fear of the one, and reverence of the other, the Aſſembly knew not how to proceed, but abruptly brake up, leaving all as it were to Fortune. *Cleomenes* took his advantage of their preſent weakneſs, and renewed the War. Many Cities yielded unto him willingly, many he forced, and partly by force, partly by terrour, he wan

Argos

Argos, which never King of *Sparta* before him could do. In this case *Aratus* sent his own Son to *Antigonus*, entreating him to defer no time, but come presently to relieve the distressed *Achæans*. *Antigonus* gave as good words as could be wished: saving that he utterly refused to do any thing, unless he might first have *Acrocorinthus* put into his hand. This demand was somewhat like unto that of the Hunter, who promised to help the Horse against his Enemy the Stag: but with condition, that the Horse should suffer himself to be [illegible] and bridled. *Aratus* was herewithal [illegible]ed, but wanted all honest colour to do it: the *Corinthians* had no way deserved to be thus given away to the *Macedonians*. Yet at length an occasion was found, for that the *Corinthians* perceiving what he intended, were minded to arrest him. So he withdrew himself out of their City, and sent word to *Antigonus*, that the Castle should be ready to let him in. The *Corinthians* on the other side ran to *Cleomenes*; who lost no time, but made haste with them to *Corinth*, where he sought how to get possession of their Castle, or at least to save it from *Antigonus*, by surrounding it with Trenches, that none might issue nor enter without his leave. Whilest this was in doing, he took special order that *Aratus* his House and Goods within the Town, should be safely kept for the Owner, to whom he sent Messenger after Messenger, desiring him to come to agreement, and not to bring in the barbarous *Macedonians* and *Illyrians* to *Peloponnesus*: promising that if he would hearken to these perswasions, then would he give him double the same Pension, which he had been wont to receive of King *Ptolomy*. As for the Castle of *Corinth*, which was the Gate of *Peloponnesus*, and without which none could hold assured Soveraignty of the Country; he desired that it might not be committed unto his own disposition, but be joyntly kept by the *Lacedæmonians* and *Achæans*. All this entreaty served to no purpose. For *Aratus* rejecting utterly the motion, sent his own Son as an Hostage to *Antigonus*, and laboured with the *Achæans* to put *Acrocorinthus* into his hands. Which when *Cleomenes* understood, he seised upon the Goods of *Aratus* in *Corinth*, and wasted all the Country of *Sicyon*, whereof this his Adversary was native.

Antigonus in the mean time drew near to the *Isthmus*; having passed with his Army through *Eubœa*, because the *Ætolians* held the Sreights of *Thermopylæ* against him. This they did, either in favour of *Cleomenes*, which they pretended; or in doubt of the greatness, whereunto the *Macedonians* might attain by the good success of this Journey. At his coming thither he found the *Lacedæmonians* ready to forbid his entrance, and that with sufficient strength; yet with no purpose to hazard battel, but rather to weary him thence with hunger, against which he came not well provided. *Antigonus* therefore laboured hard to make his way by force, but he was not able so to do: he secretly got into the *Corinthian* Haven; but was violently driven out again, with great loss of men; finally, he resolved to turn aside, and seek a passage over the Gulf of *Corinth*, to *Sicyon*, or some other part of *Achaia*; but this required much time, and great preparation, which was not easily made.

In this perplexity news from *Argos* came by Sea, that greatly comforted *Antigonus*, and no less troubled his Enemies. The *Achæans* were gotten into that City; and the Garrison which *Cleomenes* had left therein, though it was not driven out of the Citadel, yet was hardly distressed, and stood in need of present help. *Argos* had always been Enemy to *Sparta*, and well affected to the Kings of *Macedon*. When *Cleomenes* took it, he forbare to chase out those whom he most suspected; partly, at the entreaty of Friends; and partly, for that they all made shew to be glad of his prosperity. They were glad indeed of *Cleomenes* his Victory, both in *Argos* and elsewhere, as many as hoped that he would cause all Debters to be discharged from their Creditors, as he had lately done in *Sparta*. But that which *Cleomenes* had done in *Sparta*, was agreeable to the *Spartan* institution: in other places, where it would have been tyrannical, he did it not. Thereupon, such as were disappointed of their unjust hopes, began to turn good Common-wealths-men, and called him Tyrant for his doings at home, because he would not do the like abroad. So they took their time, invited the *Achæans*, assailed his Garrison, cut in pieces the Rescue that he sent, and compelled him at length to forsake the defence of *Corinth*, and look unto the Enemies that were behind his back. For when he understood, by continual Messages, that his men which held the Citadel at *Argos* were almost lost: he began to fear, lest his labour in guarding the entry, should grow frivolous; the *Achæans* in the mean while spoiling all that lay within. Therefore he forsook his custody of the *Isthmus*, and made all haste towards *Argos*: which if he could save, he meant to trust Fortune with the rest. And so far he prevailed at his coming to *Argos*; that both *Argives* and *Achæans* were glad to house themselves, leaving him Master of the Streets: when the Horse-men of *Antigonus* were discovered a-far off, hasting to relieve the Citizens, and *Antigonus* himself (to whom *Corinth* was yielded, as soon as the *Spartan* had turned his back) following apace with the body of his Army. *Cleomenes* therefore had no more to do, than to make a safe retreat. This he did, and got him home into *Laconia*, losing in short space all, or most, of that which he had been long in getting.

Antigonus having shewed himself at *Argos*, and commended the Citizens, went into *Arcadia*; where he wan such Castles as were held for *Cleomenes*, and restored them to the old Possessors. This done, he took his way to *Ægium*, where was held a Parliament by the *Achæans*: to whom he declared the cause of his coming, and spake brave words, that filled them with hope. The *Achæans* were not behind with him, but made him Captain General over them and their Confederates, and further entred into Covenant with him, That they should not deal with any Prince or State, either by writing or Embassadour, without his consent. All this while, and somewhat longer, *Aratus* was the only man that seemed to rule the Kings heart: carrying him to *Sicyon* his own Town (for Winter was come on) where he not only feasted him as a great Prince, but suffered more than humane Honors, as sacrifices, and the like, to be done unto him. This example of *Aratus* and his *Sicyonians*, was followed by the rest of *Achaia*: which had made (forsooth) a very wise bargain, if instead of *Cleomenes* that would have been a King, it had obtained the protection of a God. But this God was poor, and wanting wherewith to pay his *Macedonians*, imposed the burthen upon the *Achæans*. This was hardly taken, yet worse must be endured in hope of better. Neither was *Aratus* himself over-carefully respected, when the Statues of those Tyrants, which he had thrown down in *Argos*, were again erected by *Antigonus*; or when the Statues which he had erected, of those that had taken *Acrocorinthus* with him, were all thrown down by the same King, and one only left

was for the young Prince, but entertained the fancy of Marriage; whereto the old King was even as ready to consent, as was his Son to desire it, and came thither in person to solemnize it. Hereupon all *Corinth* was filled with Sacrifices, Feasts, Plays, and all sorts of Games: in the midst of which, *Antigonus* watched his time, and got into the Castle, beguiling the poor Lady, whose jealousie had been exceeding diligent in keeping it. Of this purchase he was so glad, that he could not contain himself within the gravity beseeming his old Age. But as he had stollen it, so was it again stollen from him: neither lived he to revenge the loss of it, being already spent with Age.

Demetrius, the Son of this *Antigonus*, succeeding unto his Father, reigned ten years. He made greater proof of his Vertue before he was King, than after. The *Dardanians*, *Ætolians*, and *Achæans*, held him continually busied in War; wherein his Fortune was variable, and for the more part ill. About these Times the Power of the *Macedonians* began to decay: and the *Grecians* to cast off their yoke.

Philip, the only Son of *Demetrius*, was a young Child when his Father died; and therefore *Antigonus*, his Uncle, had the charge of the Kingdom, during the minority of the Prince; but he assumed the Name and Power of a King, though he respected *Philip* as his own Son, to whom he left the Crown at his death. This *Antigonus* was called the *Tutor*, in regard of his Protectorship; and was also called *Doson*, that is as much as *Willgive*, because he was slow in his liberality. He represſed the *Dardanians*, and *Thessalians*, which molested his Kingdom, in the beginning of his Reign. Upon confidence of this good Service, he took State upon him, as one that rather were King in his own right, than only a Protector. Hereupon the People fell to mutiny; but were soon appeased by fair words, and a seeming unwillingness of his to meddle any more with the Government. The *Achaians* took from him the City of *Athens*, soon after *Demetrius* his death; and likely they were to have wrought him out of all or most that he held in *Greece*, if their own Estate had not been endangered by a nearer Enemy. But civil Dissention, which had overthrown the Power of *Greece*, when it flourished most, overthrew it easily now again, when it had scarcely recovered strength after a long sickness; and gave to this *Antigonus* no less Authority therein, than *Philip*, the Father of *Alexander*, got by the like advantage.

These *Achaians*, from small beginnings, had increased in short time to great strength and fame: so that they grew the most redoubted Nation of all the *Greeks*. By the equality of their Laws, and by their Clemency (notwithstanding that they were a long time held under by the *Macedonians* and *Spartans*) they did not only draw all others to their love and alliance, but induced, through their example, the rest of the Cities of *Peloponnesus*, to be governed by one Law, and to use one and the same sort of Weights, Measure, and Money.

Aratus, the *Sicyonian*, was the first that united them again; and gave them courage, after that they had been by the *Macedonian* Captains divided into many Principalities. In elder Times they were governed by Kings, as most of the great Cities of *Greece* were; to which kind of Rule they first subjected themselves, after the descent of the *Heraclidæ*, when *Tisamenus* the Son of *Orestes* possest the Territory of *Achaia*. In this Estate they continued to the Time of *Gyges*; after whom, when his Sons sought to change the legal Government of their Predecessors into Tyranny, they expelled them, and made their State popular; as seeming most equal. This form of Common-weal had continuance, with some small changes according to the diversity of Times, till the Reign of *Philip* and *Alexander*, Kings of *Macedon*: who Tempest-like overturned all things in that part of the World. For those twelve Cities, called *the Cities of Alliance*, whereof *Helice*, and *Buris* or *Olenus*, the Sea had eaten up a little before the Battel of *Leuctres*; were, by disturbance of the *Macedonians*, divided from each other, and trained into a War, no less foolish than cruel, among themselves. But in the one hundred and four and twentieth *Olympiad*, in which, or near it, *Ptolomy* the Son of *Lagus*, *Lysimachus*, *Seleucus*, and *Ptolomy Ceraunus*, left the World; two of the ten remaining Cities and People, namely, the *Patrenses* and the *Dimæi*, united themselves, and laid the foundation of that general Accord, and Re-union, which after followed. For having been, some of them Partisans with sundry *Macedonian* Captains, and others having been governed by petty Kings, they began to fasten themselves in a strong league of Amity, partly, in the *Olympiad* before spoken of, and partly, at such time as *Pyrrhus* made his first Voyage into *Italy*. Now after the uniting of the *Patrenses* and *Dimæi*, to whom also the Cities of *Tritæa*, and *Phara*, joyned themselves, *Ægira* chased out her Garrisons: and the *Burians*, killing their Kings, entred with the *Ceraunians* into the same Confederacy. These Cities, for twenty and five years, used the same form of Government with the *Achaians*; who by a Senatory and two Prætors, ordered all things in their Common-weal; and soon after, by one Prætor, or Commander: of which, *Marcus Carynensis* was the first, and *Aratus* the second.

This *Aratus* was a noble young Gentleman of *Sicyon*, who living at *Argos* in Exile, whilst his Country was oppressed by Tyrants, found means, through the help of other banished men, to enter their own City by night, with Ladders; whence they chaced the Tyrant, and restored the People to liberty. This was in the Time of *Antigonus Gonatas*, King of *Macedon*, a Prince more busie in watching what to get among the *Greeks*, than wise in looking to his own. For fear of *Antigonus*, the *Sicyonians* entred into the *Achaian* League: which though at that time it received more increase, by their accession, than it added strength to them; yet the benefit of this conjunction served well enough against *Antigonus*, whose subtilty was somewhat greater than his valour. As the industry and counsel of *Aratus* delivered his Countrey from bondage, and fortified it by the *Achaian* League: so further, by his great liberality, with the exceeding great cost of one hundred and fifty Talents, he pacified the inexplicable Controversies, between the banished *Sicyonians*, which returned with him, and the other Citizens that had possession of these mens Lands; as also with the same money he drew many others to assist him in those Enterprizes following, that redounded to the singular good of all *Achaia*. The money he obtained of *Ptolomy Evergetes*, King of *Ægypt*; who partly had a desire to hold some strong and sure Friendship in *Greece*, partly was delighted with the Conversation of *Aratus* himself, that made a dangerous Voyage to him into *Ægypt*, and fed his pleasure in goodly Pictures, with the gift of many curious Pieces, wherein the Workmen of *Sicyon* excelled.

The first of *Aratus* his great Attempts, was the Surprize of the *Acrocorinthus*, or Citadel of *Corinth*; which

which he wan by night, being thereinto guided by ſome Thieves that he had hired for the purpoſe, who living in the Place, had practiſed to rob *Antigonus* his Treaſury, paſſing in and out by a ſecret path among the Rocks. Yet was he fain to fight for it, ere he could get it: though indeed *Antigonus* his Souldiers were rather overcome by their own fear, than by any force of the Aſſailants; as miſtruſting leſt the *Achaians* were more in number, than in truth they were, and having loſt the advantages of the Place already, upon which they had preſumed, before they were aware of any Enemy.

In theſe kind of Night-ſervices, Ambuſhments, Surprizes, and Practices, *Aratus* was very cunning, adventurous, and valiant: in open Field, and plain Battel, he was as timorous. By this ſtrange mixture of Cowardize and Courage, he miniſtred Argument of Diſputation, to Philoſophers and others; Whether a valiant man (as he was eſteemed, and in ſome caſes approved) might look pale and tremble, when he began Battel; and whether the vertue of Fortitude were diverſified, by the ſundry natures of men, and in a manner confined, unto ſeveral ſorts of action. In reſolving which Doubts it may be ſaid; that all Vertue is perfected in men by Exerciſe, wherein they are trained by occaſion: though a natural inclination ſtandeth in need of little practice; whereas the defect hereof muſt be ſupplied with much inſtruction, uſe, good ſucceſs, and other help, yet hardly ſhall grow abſolute in general. Such was *Aratus* in matter of War. In ſincere affection to his Countrey he was unreproveable, and ſo acknowledged: as his following actions will teſtifie.

When *Acrocorinthus* was taken, and joyned unto the Common-wealth of *Achaia*, the *Megarians* revolted ſoon after from *Antigonus*, and entred into the ſame Corporation. So did the *Trœzenians*, and the *Epidaurians*: whereby this new erected State grew ſo powerful, that it adventured to take *Athens*, from the *Macedonians*; and *Argos*, and *Megalopolis*, from Tyrants that held them. The Enterprize upon *Athens* was of none effect. For though *Aratus* waſted the Iſle of *Salamis*, to ſhew his ſtrength, and ſent home the *Athenian* Priſoners, without ranſom, to allure the City by ſhew of love, yet the *Athenians* ſtirred neither againſt him, nor for him, as being now grown honeſt Slaves to the *Macedonians*. Upon *Argos* the Adventure was carried more ſtrongly. The *Achaians* came ſometimes to the Gates of the City, but the People ſtirred not: once they entred it, and might have won it, if the Citizens would have lent any help to the recovery of their own freedom; ſundry times, and with diverſe event, they fought with the Tyrants (who roſe up one after another in *Argos*) in open Field, and ſlew one of them in Battel; but all ſufficed not: until at length *Ariſtomachus* the Tyrant was ſo terrified, perſwaded, and hired, by *Aratus*, that he conſented to reſign his Eſtate. The like did *Xenon* the Tyrant of *Hermione*, and *Cleonymus* that had oppreſſed the *Phliaſians*. Whilſt this buſineſs with the *Argives* was on foot, *Lyſiadas* the Tyrant of *Megalopolis* was ſo well handled by *Aratus*, that, without compulſion, he gave liberty to his City, and annexed it to the Councel of *Achaia*: whereby he got ſuch credit, that he was choſen General of their Forces, (which was a yearly Office, and might not be held two years together by one man) every ſecond year, for a certain while, he and *Aratus* ſucceeding one another by turns. But thoſe late Tyrants, and new Citizens, *Lyſiadas* and *Ariſtomachus*, were carried with private paſſion, from care of the general good; in which courſes they oppoſed *Aratus*, to the great hurt of *Achaia*, as ſhall appear in due time.

The *Achæans* having obtained ſo much Puiſſance and Reputation, that *Ptolomy* King of *Ægypt* was become Patron of their Alliance, and (in title of Honour) General of their Forces by Sea and Land, made open War upon *Demetrius*, the Son of *Antigonus Gonatas*, for the liberty of *Athens*. It is ſtrange and worthy of noting, That when *Aratus* in this Quarrel had loſt a Battel, the *Athenians* wore Garlands, in ſign of joy, to flatter their good Lords the *Macedonians*, that had won the Victory. Such were now the *Athenians* become; in whom the Rule was verified, that holds true in general of the multitude, *Aut humiliter ſervit, aut ſuperbè dominatur*; *It is either baſe in ſervice, or inſolent in command.* Nevertheleſs when *Demetrius* was dead, *Aratus* performed that by money which he could not by force; and corrupting the Captain of the *Macedonian* Garriſon, purchaſed liberty to the *Athenians*, who thenceforth held good correſpondence with the *Achæans*, loving them, and ſpeaking well of them, which was all that they could do: but into their Corporation they entred not, ſcorning it belike, in regard of their own out-worn glory.

Now as the Common-wealth of *Achaia* daily increaſed within *Peloponneſus*, by juſtice and honeſty; ſo did the *Ætolians*, in the utter part of *Greece*, yea and within *Peloponneſus* it ſelf, wax very powerful, by ſturdineſs of body, and rude courage in Fight, without help of any other Vertue. They had ſtoutly defended themſelves againſt *Antipater* and *Craterus*; partly by daring to do and ſuffer much; partly by the natural ſtrength and faſtneſs of their Countrey; but eſpecially by the benefit of the time, which called away theſe famous Captains to other buſineſs, as hath been related. They had moleſted *Caſſander*, in favour of *Antigonus*; and were themſelves as much plagued by him, and by the *Acarnanians*, a little, but ſtout Nation, that took his part. Afterwards they had to do with *Demetrius*, the Son of the firſt *Antigonus*, and more or leſs, with all the Kings of *Macedon* ſucceeding him. They likewiſe held often War with the *Acarnanians*, *Athamanians*, *Epirots*, and many Cities in *Peloponneſus*: ſo that they were hardened with perpetual travel, ſeldom putting off their Armour. But their hardineſs ill deſerved the Name of valour, ſeeing they had no regard of honeſty or friendſhip; meaſuring all things by their own inſolent will, and thinking all people baſe minded, that were not as fierce and outragious as themſelves.

Theſe *Ætolians* had lately made great Spoyls in *Peloponneſus*, and occupied a good part of the Countrey. They had invaded the Friends of the *Achæans*; taken and ſacked *Pallene*; where although they were ſoundly beaten by *Aratus*, yet their deſire of gain made them greedy of a new Voyage thither, as to a Countrey wherein ſomewhat was to be gotten. But they were forced to look another way, by *Demetrius* the Son of *Antigonus Gonatas*: who preſſed them ſo hardly, that they were driven to ſeek help of the *Achæans*; which they obtained. The War which the *Achæans* made upon *Demetrius*, without *Peloponneſus*, in *Attica*, though it tended to expelling the *Macedons* out of *Greece*, yet the benefit thereof redounded chiefly unto the *Ætolians*, at whoſe inſtance it was ſet on foot: for thereby were the *Macedonian* Forces diverted from them. Neither was this good turn unacknowledged; though very baſely the *Ætolians*, giving thanks in words, deviſed how

to requite the benefit with ſome great miſchief. They ſaw that the *Achæans* were deſirous to bring all *Peloponneſus* into their Alliance and Corporation: of which intent, the *Lacedæmonians* were very jealous. Wherefore theſe *Ætolians* laboured earneſtly to ſet the *Lacedæmonians* and *Achæans* together by the ears: hoping that if this might come to paſs, they themſelves ſhould be called into help (it skilled not on what ſide) and ſo get no ſmall ſhare, both in booty and Territory. Neither did they forbear to communicate this their device unto *Antigonus*; offering to make him partaker of their Gain, whom they knew to be offended with the many loſſes that his Kingdom had ſuſtained by the *Achæans*. Of this Plot *Aratus* was aware: who therefore determined to ſuffer many indignities, rather than to give the *Lacedæmonians* cauſe to take Arms. But this reſolution was taken ſomewhat too late, and not altogether in his own power to hold. He had been medling with the *Arcadians*, that were dependants of *Lacedæmon*, and thereby had provoked the *Lacedæmonians* to look about them; ſeeing that all *Peloponneſus*, excepting themſelves, the *Eleans*, and a few *Arcadians* their Friends (who alſo were attempted) was already become *Achæan*.

The City of *Sparta* was in ill caſe about theſe times; and ſubject to the injuries of any ſtronger Neighbour. *Pyrrhus* had greatly weakned it; The *Ætolians* entring *Laconia* with an Army, had carried away fifty thouſand Slaves; and, which was worſe, their Diſcipline was corrupted, Avarice and Luxury raigned among them, the poor was oppreſſed by the rich, and the generoſity of ſpirit, that had ſometime been their general Vertue, was hardly now to be found among the beſt of them. There were left in *Sparta* no more than ſeven hundred natural Citizens, of whom not above one hundred had Lands, all the reſt were needy People, and deſirous of innovation. Hereupon followed inteſtine ſedition, which endangered the City moſt of all. *Agis* a good King, who ſought to reform the diſorders of the State, exhorted the People to a ſtrict obſervation of *Lycurgus* his Laws. To which purpoſe he cauſed them to paſs an Act for the aboliſhing of all Debts, and equal diviſion of Lands. All the younger and the poorer ſort were glad of this: but the rich men oppoſed it. Theſe had recourſe unto *Leonidas* the other King (for in *Sparta* were two Kings) who took their part, being himſelf a diſſolute man, as one trained up in the Court of *Syria*, whence alſo he had his Wife. In this contention *Leonidas* was expelled the City, and a new King choſen in his ſtead. But *Agis* his Friends and Counſellors in this enterpriſe, abuſed his good meaning to their own private Commodity. They were haſty to take away all Debts, and cancel Bonds, for they themſelves were deeply indebted: but the diviſion of Lands they afterwards hindred, becauſe their own Poſſeſſions were great. Hence aroſe a Tumult in *Sparta*, which theſe men increaſed, by their foul oppreſſion of the poorer Citizens. So that in fine *Leonidas* was brought home, and reſtored to his Kingdom, and the two adverſe Kings driven to take Sanctuary; out of which, *Cleombrotus*, the late made King was diſmiſed into exile: but *Agis* was trained forth, drawn into Priſon, and there by his Enemies condemned and ſtrangled, together with his Mother, and his old Grand-Mother. The like to this was never known in *Sparta*: and (which is the more odious) this Cruelty proceeded from the *Ephori*, Magiſtrates that ſhould have given Patronage to the Laws, uſing their Power, and more Power than to them belonged, againſt a King that had proceeded orderly in reforming the City, as the Laws required.

The Death of *Agis* was much lamented by all good Citizens, and ſerved to eſtabliſh the impotent rule of a few tyrannical Oppreſſors. In which caſe *Aratus* might well hope to adjoyn *Lacedæmon* to the *Achæan* Common-wealth, though it were great injuſtice to take ſuch advantages, and attempt by force, that which would have redounded to the general good of *Peloponneſus*, and to the benefit of *Sparta* it ſelf, if it could have been wrought by perſwaſion.

But the ſame man who redreſſed the diſorders of *Sparta*, and revenged the death of *Agis*, did alſo requite the injuſt attempts of the *Achæans*, even in their own kind: obtruding upon them by force, an union of all *Peloponneſus*; though little to their good liking, for that the *Lacedæmonians* and their King, ſhould have been the principal; not they and their Prætor. *Leonidas* having thus cauſed *Agis* to be ſlain, took his Wife that was very rich and beautiful, and gave her in Marriage (perforce) to his own Son *Cleomenes*. This young Prince fell greatly enamourod on his Wife, and ſought to win her affection, as well as he had her perſon. He diſcourſed much with her about the purpoſe of her former Husband *Agis*, and by pitying his misfortune, began to entertain a deſire of accompliſhing that, wherein *Agis* had failed. So coming himſelf to be King, whilſt he was very young, he gladly embraced all occaſions of War: for that he hoped by ſtrong hand to effect that, which *Agis*, by proceeding formally, in ſo corrupt an Eſtate of the City, had attempted to his own ruine. Therefore when the *Ephori* gave him in charge to take and fortifie *Athenæum*, a Temple on the marches of *Laconia*, to which both they and the *Megalopolitans* pretended Title; he readily performed it. Hereof *Aratus* made no complaint, but ſought to take by ſurpriſe *Tegea* and *Orchomenus*, Cities then confederate with the *Lacedæmonians*: wherein his intelligence failing, he loſt the labour of a painful nights travel, and diſcovered his enmity to *Sparta*, of which *Cleomenes* was nothing ſorry. By theſe degrees the War began. In the entrance whereto *Aratus* had diſcovered the *Ætolian* practice, and therefore would have ſtaid the Quarrel from proceeding too far. But *Lyſiadas* and *Ariſtomachus* would needs fight, and he could do no other than be ruled by them; eſpecially ſeeing *Cleomenes* was ſo urgent. *Ariſtomachus* was at that time General of the *Achæans* (He and *Lyſiadas* being of great account, ſince they had abandoned their Tyranny) who ſent unto *Aratus*, lying then in *Athens*, and required his aſſiſtance in a Journey to be made into *Laconia*. No diſſwaſions of *Aratus* would ſerve, therefore he came in perſon, and took part of a buſineſs little pleaſing him in the preſent, and leſs in the future. When he met with *Cleomenes*, he durſt not fight, but oppoſed himſelf againſt *Ariſtomachus*, who deſired to give Battel. Yet had the *Achæans* twenty thouſand Foot, and one thouſand Horſe in their Army: whereas *Cleomenes* had no more than five thouſand in all. This gave reputation to the *Lacedæmonian*, and raiſed an ill report upon *Aratus*; which *Lyſiadas* helped to make worſe, by accuſing his Cowardize. Nevertheleſs the *Achæans* would not fall out with *Aratus* their Benefactor, but choſe him their General the year following, againſt *Lyſiadas* his Accuſer that ſued for the place. Being General himſelf, it behoved him to confute with deeds, the ſlanderous words of *Lyſiadas*. Therefore he purpoſed to ſet upon the

the *Eleans*: but was met withal on the way, near unto the Mount *Lycæus*, by *Cleomenes*, who vanquiſhed him in a great Battel, and drave him to hide himſelf all night for fear, ſo that he was thought to have been ſlain. This miſadventure *Aratus* recompenced by a trick of his own more natural occupation: performing with his broken Army, that which could hardly have been expected, had he been victorious. For whileſt there was no ſuſpition of any great matter that he could undertake; he ſecretly wrought with ſome of the *Mantinæans*, who did let him into their City. The *Mantinæans* had once before joyned themſelves with the *Achaians*; but ſhortly upon fear, or ſome other paſſion, they gave themſelves to the *Ætolians*, and from the *Ætolians*, preſently after this Victory, to *Cleomenes*, from whom immediately they were thus won. For this their levity they were not puniſhed, but freely admitted now again into the *Achæan* Society. As this good ſucceſs repaired the credit of *Aratus*, ſo another Battel almoſt ruined it. *Cleomenes* and he encountred near unto *Megalopolis*, where the *Achæans* had ſomewhat the better at the firſt, but their General durſt not follow his advantage. Thereupon *Lyſiadas*, of whom we ſpake before, grew ſomewhat impatient with anger, and taking with him all the Horſe, brake upon the *Lacedæmonians*, whom he routed at the beginning, but purſuing them too far into places of hard paſſage, he was ſlain by them, and his Followers driven back upon their own Companions, in ſuch ſort, that finally all the Army was diſordered, and put to flight. This was a great loſs, and incenſed the *Achæans* againſt *Aratus*: yet their indignation proceeded no further, than that they refuſed to make any longer contribution towards the Pay of thoſe Mercinaries which he had waged. This *Aratus* took patiently, and followed the War nevertheleſs; wherein, though *Cleomenes* wan ſome Towns, and *Aratus* got the better in one ſmall Fight, yet little of importance was done; the *Achæans* being weary, and the *Spartan* King intentive to another buſineſs.

Cleomenes having led into the Field all that were like to hinder his purpoſe, and tired them with painful Journeys, forſook the *Achæan* War on a ſudden, and came unexpected home to *Sparta*, where he ſlew the *Ephori*, and reſtored by force the ancient Diſcipline of *Lycurgus*. Then gave he an account of his doings, and ſhewing by what degrees the *Ephori* had incroached upon the Power of Kings, and many Diſorders had grown in the City; he juſtified his proceedings, and forthwith began to make equal diviſion of the Lands, reducing all to the firſt inſtitution. He alſo ſupplied the defect of Citizens, by chuſing new out of ſuch as were Friends to the State, and valiant men: ſo that henceforth his Country might not altogether ſtand in need of mercinary help, as it lately had done, to ſave it ſelf from the *Ætolians*, *Illyrians*, and other Enemies. All this was diſpatched in great haſte; the *Spartans* well ſatisfied, and *Cleomenes* himſelf ready in the Field, ere his Enemies could take advantage of theſe his Domeſtical Troubles.

The *Achæans* hearing of this great alteration in *Sparta*, thought that it would be long ere *Cleomenes* durſt iſſue forth of the City, for fear of ſome Rebellion. But it was not long ere they heard that he had waſted all the Country of *Megalopolis*; had ranged over all *Arcadia* at his pleaſure; and was admitted into *Mantinæa*, and ready to take other places, even of *Achaia*. Theſe news diſpleaſed them not a little: but they muſt patiently endure to hear worſe. For when *Cleomenes* had ſhaken off the Power of the *Ephori*, that curbed his Authority, he proceeded more roundly in his work, being better obeyed, and by better men. His *Lacedæmonians* reſumed their ancient courage; and he himſelf had the heart to demand the Principality of *Greece*. He did not therefore henceforth contend about the Poſſeſſion of a few Towns: but adventured to win or loſe all. The *Ætolians*, in favour of his attempt, declared themſelves on his ſide: and whereas he had gotten *Mantinæa*, *Tegea*, and other places, to which they had ſome Title, they willingly renounced all their intereſt unto him.

Aratus did apprehend the danger of his Country, and ſaw that *Antigonus* with the *Ætolians*, or perhaps without them, would ſhortly make an end of that, which *Cleomenes* had thus begun. Therefore he deviſed how to provide againſt the worſt, and either to repair all, or (if it could not be) to ſave all from utter ruine. The Office of General when it was next put upon him, he refuſed; fearing to be ſo far preſt as to hazzard in one Battel all the Force of his Country, to which as he had never any affection, nor perchance Courage; ſo was his manner of warfare otherwiſe. For he commonly attempted by ſurpriſe, and defended upon the advantage of place, after the manner of the *Iriſh*, and of all other Nations, over-charged with numbers of men. Yet did he not forſake the care of the weal publick, though in aiming at the general good, it ſeems that private paſſion drew him into an ill courſe. He ſaw that *Megalopolis* could not be defended without making a dangerous hazzard of Battel; that *Mantinæa* had not only opened her Gates unto *Cleomenes*, but ſlain the *Achæan* Garriſon that lay therein; that other Towns had yielded unto him, without compulſion; and that *Ariſtomachus*, once Tyrant of *Argos*, and ſince Ceneral of the *Achæans*, was now revolted unto the Enemy, following the fortune of *Cleomenes*. *Ptolemy* was too far off to help, and the nearneſs of *Antigonus* was very dangerous; yet might be uſeful, if this King would (as *Polybius* ſaith) like others, be Friend or Enemy, as ſhould beſt agree with his own profit. To make tryal hereof, *Aratus* practiſed with ſome of *Megalopolis*, whom he found apt unto his purpoſe, and inſtructed them how to deal with both *Antigonus*, and the *Achæans*.

The City of *Megalopolis* had been well affected to the *Macedonians*, ever ſince the time of *Philip* the Father of *Alexander*, who had obliged it unto him by ſome ſpecial benefits. At this time it lay neareſt unto the danger; was very faithful, and therefore deſerved ſuccour; yet could not well be relieved by the *Achæans*, with their own proper ſtrength. Wherefore it was thought meer, that Embaſſadors ſhould be ſent unto the general Council of *Achaia*, requeſting leave and good allowance, to try the favour of *Antigonus* in their neceſſity. This was granted, for lack of what elſe to anſwer: and the ſame Embaſſadors diſpatched away to *Antigonus*. They did their own errand briefly; telling him of the good will and reſpect which their City had of long time born unto him and his Predeceſſors; of their preſent need, and how it would agree with his Honour to give them aid. But when they delivered the more general matter, wherein *Aratus* had given them inſtruction, ſhewing how the ambition of *Cleomenes*, and violence of the *Ætolians*, might redound to his own great loſs or danger, if the one and the other were not in time prevented; how *Aratus* himſelf did ſtand affected; and what good likelihood there was of reducing the *Achæans* under the Patro-

tronage of *Macedon*: then began *Antigonus* to lend a more attentive ear to their diſcourſe. He embraced the motion: and to give it the more life, he wrote unto the *Megalopolitans*, that his help ſhould not be wanting, ſo far forth, as it might ſtand with the *Achæans* good liking. Particularly he commended himſelf, by theſe Meſſengers to *Aratus*; aſſuring them, that he thought himſelf highly bound to this honourable man, whoſe former actions he now perceived, not to have been grounded upon any hatred to the *Macedonians*, but only upon a juſt and worthy love to his own Nation. With this anſwer they return to *Megalopolis*: and are preſently ſent away to the Council of *Achaia*; there to make ſome ſpeedy concluſion, as the neceſſity of the time required.

The *Achæans* were glad to hear that *Antigonus* was ſo inclineable to their deſire; and therefore were ready to entertain his favour, with all good correſpondence. Hereunto *Aratus* gave his conſent, and praiſed the Wiſdom of his Country-men, that ſo well diſcerned the beſt and likelieſt means of their common ſafety: adding nevertheleſs, that it were not amiſs, firſt of all to try their own ability; which if it failed, then ſhould they do well to call in this gracious Prince, and make him their Patron and Protector. Thus he ſhewed himſelf moderate, in that which himſelf of all others did moſt wiſh: to the end, that he might not afterward ſuſtain the common reprehenſion, if any thing fell out amiſs, ſince it might appear, that he had not been Author of this Decree, but only followed, and that leiſurably, the general conſent.

Nevertheleſs, in true eſtimation, this fineneſs of *Aratus* might have been uſed, with his greater commendation, in a contrary courſe. For it had been more honourable to make an end of the War, by yielding unto *Cleomenes* that Power which they gave unto *Antigonus*: ſince thereby he ſhould both have freed his Country from all further trouble; and withal, ſhould have reſtored unto the univerſal State of *Greece*, that honorable condition, whereof the *Macedonians* had bereft it. But it is commonly found (which is great pitty) that Vertue having riſen to honour by degrees, and confirmed it ſelf (as it were) in the ſeat of Principality, by length of time, and ſucceſs of many actions; can ill endure the haſty growth of any others reputation, wherewith it ſees it ſelf likely to be over-topped. Other cauſe to deſpiſe the *Lacedæmonians* there was none, than that they lately had been in dangerous caſe: neither could any reaſon be found, why *Aratus* ſhould prefer *Antigonus* before *Cleomenes*, than that he had ſtood in doubt of the one, when he thought himſelf more mighty than the other. Wherefore he was juſtly plagued, when he ſaw his own Honours reverſed by the inſolent *Macedonians*; and inſtead of living as a Companion with *Cleomenes*, that was deſcended of a long Race of Kings, the Poſterity of *Hercules*, was fain to do ſacrifice unto *Antigonus* as unto a God, and was finally poyſoned by *Philip*, whoſe Nobility was but of five deſcents, and whom perhaps he might have ſeen his Fellows, if he had not made them his Lords. By this inclination to the *Macedonians*, the Love of *Ptolomy* was loſt: who forthwith took part with *Cleomenes*, though he did not ſupply him with ſuch liberality as he had uſed to the *Achæans*; being warned, as may ſeem by their example, to be more wary, both in truſting and diſburſing. *Cleomenes* himſelf, whileſt this buſineſs with *Antigonus* was a foot, paſſed through *Arcadia* with an Army, and laboured by all means to draw the *Achæans* to Battel. At the City of *Dymes* in *Achaia* were aſſembled all the remaining Forces of the Nation; with which it was concluded, to make tryal, whether perhaps they might amend their Eſtate, without ſeeking help of the *Macedonian*. Thither went *Cleomenes*, and there fought with them; where he had ſo great a Victory, that the Enemy was no longer able to keep the open Field. The Calamity was ſuch, that *Aratus* himſelf durſt not take upon him to be their General, when his turn came in the next Election. Wherefore the *Achæans* were compelled to ſue for Peace; which was granted upon this eaſie condition: That they ſhould not arrogate unto themſelves the Command of *Peloponneſus*, but ſuffer the *Lacedæmonians* (as in former Ages) to be their Leaders in War. Hereunto, if they would condeſcend, he promiſed unto them, that he would preſently reſtore all places taken from them, and all his Priſoners ranſom-free: alſo that they ſhould enjoy their own Laws and Liberties without moleſtation. This gentle offer of *Cleomenes* was very pleaſing to the *Achæans*, who deſired him to come unto the City of *Lerna*, where a Parliament ſhould be held for the concluſion of the War.

Now ſeemed the Affairs of *Greece* likely to be ſetled in better order than they had ever been ſince the beginning of the *Peloponneſian* Wars, yea, or ſince the *Perſian* Invaſion, when God, who had otherwiſe diſpoſed of theſe matters, hindred all, with a draught of cold water, which *Cleomenes* drank in a great heat, and thereupon fell extream ſick, and ſo could not be preſent at *Lerna*, but cauſed the Parliament to be deferred to another time. Nevertheleſs he ſent home the chief of his Priſoners, to ſhew that he meant none other than good Faith. By this fair dealing he confirmed the *Achæans* in their deſire of his Friendſhip: who aſſembled again at *Argos*, there to eſtabliſh the League. But *Aratus* was violently bent againſt it, and ſought by great words, and terrible threats, to make his Country-men afraid of reſolving. When all would not ſerve turn, he betook himſelf to his cunning, and ſent word to *Cleomenes*, that he ſhould do well to leave his Army behind him, and come alone into *Argos*, receiving Hoſtages for ſafety of his Perſon. *Cleomenes* was already far on his way, when he met with this advertiſement: and took it in ill part, that he ſhould be thus deluded. For it had been an eaſie matter to have told him ſo much at the firſt, and not have made him come ſo far with an Army, which afterwards he muſt diſmiſs. Yet that which chiefly ſeems to have troubled him, was the drift of his Oppugners, who ſought thereby, either to make him wait without the Gates, and deal only with themſelves and their Meſſengers; or if he would adventure himſelf into the City, then to deprive him of all Royal ſhew, that might breed reſpect of him in the Multitude. This was that indeed which *Aratus* feared, and for which he ſought to hinder his coming thither in perſon, leſt the People hearing the Promiſes of *Cleomenes* ratified by his own mouth, ſhould preſently be won with his gentle words, and finiſh the Bargain without more ado. Therefore *Cleomenes* wrote unto the whole Council, bitterly complaining againſt theſe jugling tricks: and *Aratus* was not far behind with him, in as bitter an Oration. So between fear of the one, and reverence of the other, the Aſſembly knew not how to proceed, but abruptly brake up, leaving all as it were to Fortune. *Cleomenes* took his advantage of their preſent weakneſs, and renewed the War. Many Cities yielded unto him willingly, many he forced, and partly by force, partly by terrour, he wan

Argos

Argos, which never King of *Sparta* before him could do. In this case *Aratus* sent his own Son to *Antigonus*, entreating him to defer no time, but come presently to relieve the distressed *Achæans*. *Antigonus* gave as good words as could be wished: saving that he utterly refused to do any thing, unless he might first have *Acrocorinthus* put into his hand. This demand was somewhat like unto that of the Hunter, who promised to help the Horse against his Enemy the Stag: but with condition, that the Horse should suffer himself to be sadled and bridled. *Aratus* was herewithal contented, but wanted all honest colour to do it: seeing the *Corinthians* had no way deserved to be thus given away to the *Macedonians*. Yet at length an occasion was found, for that the *Corinthians* perceiving what he intended, were minded to arrest him. So he withdrew himself out of their City, and sent word to *Antigonus*, that the Castle should be ready to let him in. The *Corinthians* on the other side ran to *Cleomenes*; who lost no time, but made haste with them to *Corinth*, where he sought how to get possession of their Castle, or at least to save it from *Antigonus*, by surrounding it with Trenches, that none might issue nor enter without his leave. Whilest this was in doing, he took special order that *Aratus* his House and Goods within the Town, should be safely kept for the Owner, to whom he sent Messenger after Messenger, desiring him to come to agreement, and not to bring in the barbarous *Macedonians* and *Illyrians* to *Peloponnesus*: promising that if he would hearken to these perswasions, then would he give him double the same Pension, which he had been wont to receive of King *Ptolomy*. As for the Castle of *Corinth*, which was the Gate of *Peloponnesus*, and without which none could hold assured Soveraignty of the Country; he desired that it might not be committed unto his own disposition, but be joyntly kept by the *Lacedæmonians* and *Achæans*. All this entreaty served to no purpose. For *Aratus* rejecting utterly the motion, sent his own Son as an Hostage to *Antigonus*, and laboured with the *Achæans* to put *Acrocorinthus* into his hands. Which when *Cleomenes* understood, he seised upon the Goods of *Aratus* in *Corinth*, and wasted all the Country of *Sicyon*, whereof this his Adversary was native.

Antigonus in the mean time drew near to the *Isthmus*; having passed with his Army through *Eubœa*, because the *Ætolians* held the Sreights of *Thermopylæ* against him. This they did, either in favour of *Cleomenes*, which they pretended; or in doubt of the greatness, whereunto the *Macedonians* might attain by the good success of this Journey. At his coming thither he found the *Lacedæmonians* ready to forbid his entrance, and that with sufficient strength; yet with no purpose to hazard battel, but rather to weary him thence with hunger, against which he came not well provided. *Antigonus* therefore laboured hard to make his way by force, but he was not able so to do: he secretly got into the *Corinthian* Haven; but was violently driven out again, with great loss of men; finally, he resolved to turn aside, and seek a passage over the Gulf of *Corinth*, to *Sicyon*, or some other part of *Achaia*; but this required much time, and great preparation, which was not easily made.

In this perplexity news from *Argos* came by Sea, that greatly comforted *Antigonus*, and no less troubled his Enemies. The *Achæans* were gotten into that City; and the Garrison which *Cleomenes* had left therein, though it was not driven out of the Citadel, yet was hardly distressed, and stood in need of present help. *Argos* had always been Enemy to *Sparta*, and well affected to the Kings of *Macedon*. When *Cleomenes* took it, he forbare to chase out those whom he most suspected; partly, at the entreaty of Friends; and partly, for that they all made shew to be glad of his prosperity. They were glad indeed of *Cleomenes* his Victory, both in *Argos* and elsewhere, as many as hoped that he would cause all Debters to be discharged from their Creditors, as he had lately done in *Sparta*. But that which *Cleomenes* had done in *Sparta*, was agreeable to the *Spartan* institution: in other places, where it would have been tyrannical, he did it not. Thereupon, such as were disappointed of their unjust hopes, began to turn good Common-wealths-men, and called him Tyrant for his doings at home, because he would not do the like abroad. So they took their time, invited the *Achæans*, assailed his Garrison, cut in pieces the Rescue that he sent, and compelled him at length to forsake the defence of *Corinth*, and look unto the Enemies that were behind his back. For when he understood, by continual Messages, that his men which held the Citadel at *Argos* were almost lost: he began to fear, lest his labour in guarding the entry, should grow frivolous; the *Achæans* in the mean while spoiling all that lay within. Therefore he forsook his custody of the *Isthmus*, and made all haste towards *Argos*: which if he could save, he meant to trust Fortune with the rest. And so far he prevailed at his coming to *Argos*; that both *Argives* and *Achæans* were glad to house themselves, leaving him Master of the Streets: when the Horse-men of *Antigonus* were discovered a-far off, hasting to relieve the Citizens, and *Antigonus* himself (to whom *Corinth* was yielded, as soon as the *Spartan* had turned his back) following apace with the body of his Army. *Cleomenes* therefore had no more to do, than to make a safe retreat. This he did, and got him home into *Laconia*, losing in short space all, or most, of that which he had been long in getting.

Antigonus having shewed himself at *Argos*, and commended the Citizens, went into *Arcadia*; where he wan such Castles as were held for *Cleomenes*, and restored them to the old Possessors. This done, he took his way to *Ægium*, where was held a Parliament by the *Achæans*: to whom he declared the cause of his coming, and spake brave words, that filled them with hope. The *Achæans* were not behind with him, but made him Captain General over them and their Confederates, and further entred into Covenant with him, That they should not deal with any Prince or State, either by writing or Embassadour, without his consent. All this while, and somewhat longer, *Aratus* was the only man that seemed to rule the Kings heart: carrying him to *Sicyon* his own Town (for Winter was come on) where he not only feasted him as a great Prince, but suffered more than humane Honors, as sacrifices, and the like, to be done unto him. This example of *Aratus* and his *Sicyonians*, was followed by the rest of *Achaia*: which had made (forsooth) a very wise bargain, if instead of *Cleomenes* that would have been a King, it had obtained the protection of a God. But this God was poor, and wanting wherewith to pay his *Macedonians*, imposed the burthen upon the *Achæans*. This was hardly taken, yet worse must be endured in hope of better. Neither was *Aratus* himself over-carefully respected, when the Statues of those Tyrants, which he had thrown down in *Argos*, were again erected by *Antigonus*; or when the Statues which he had erected, of those that had taken *Acrocorinthus* with him, were all thrown down by the same King, and one only left

left unto himself at his earnest entreaty. It might therefore appear, that this God was also spightful. Nevertheless in taking revenge upon those that offended him, *Aratus* did satisfie his own passion by the aid of these *Macedonians*. For with extream Torments he did put *Aristomachus* to death, who had been once Tyrant of *Argos*; afterwards General of the *Achæans*; and from them revolting unto *Cleomenes*, did fall at length into their hands. In like sort handled he (though not as yet) the *Mantinæans*, for their Ingratitude and Cruelty shewed to the *Achæans*. For he slew all the principal Citizens, and sold the rest, Men, Women, and Children, all for Bond-slaves: dividing the Spoyl; two parts to the *Macedonians*, and the third to the *Achæans*. The Town it self was given by *Antigonus* to the *Argives*: who peopled it with a Colony of their own; and *Aratus* having charge of this business, caused it to be new-named *Antigonia*. Surely of this Cruelty there can be no better excuse, than even the Flattery, which *Aratus* was driven to use to *Antigonus*: forasmuch as it was a token of Servility, whereinto they had urged and brought him; whom he, as in revenge thereof, did thus requite. But leaving to speak of this change, which the coming in of the *Macedonian* wrought, in the Civil state of the *Achæans*, let us return unto his War against the *Lacedæmonian*.

The next Summer *Antigonus* wan *Tegea*, *Mantinæa*, *Orchomenus*, *Heræa*, and *Telphusa*. *Mantinæa* he dispeopled, as was said before; in *Orchomenus* he placed a Garrison of his *Macedonians*; the rest he restored to the *Achæans*: with whom he wintred at *Ægium*, where they held a Parliament. Once only *Cleomenes* had met him this year; and that was on the borders of *Laconia*, where he lay ready to defend his own Territory. The reason why he stirred no further, nor followed *Antigonus* to *Mantinæa*, and to those other Towns that he wan, was this: He had few Souldiers, and not money enough to wage more. *Ptolomy* the *Ægyptian* promised much, but would perform nothing, unless he might have *Cleomenes* his own Mother, and his Children in pledge. These were sent into *Ægypt*; yet the Aid came not. For *Ptolomy* was slow; as dealing in the business of *Greece*, rather for his minds sake, than upon any apprehension of necessity. *Cleomenes* therefore provided for himself, as well as his own ability would serve. He manumised all the *Heilotes*, which were the *Lacedæmonian* Slaves: taking money for their liberty, and arming two thousand of them, after the *Macedonian* fashion. Having thus increased his Forces, he came on the sudden to *Megalopolis*, that lay secure, as having defended it self in more dangerous Times, and having now *Antigonus* near at hand in *Ægium*. The Town he wan: but after he was entred, all that were fit to bear Arms, rose hastily against him; and though they could not drive him out, yet saved the multitude, to whom they gave a Port free for their escape. He sent after the Citizens, offering their Town and Goods to them again, if they would be of his Party. But they bravely refused his offer: wherefore he sacked and ruined it, carrying with him to *Sparta* a great Booty that he found therein. These News astonished the *Achæans* at *Ægium*: who thereupon brake up their Parliament. *Antigonus* sent hastily for his *Macedonians*, out of their wintering Places: but they were so long in coming, that *Cleomenes* was safely gone home. Therefore he returned them back to their Lodgings, and went himself to *Argos*, there to pass the rest of this unlucky Winter, somewhat further from the eyes of the grieved *Achæans*. When he had layn a while at *Argos*, *Cleomenes* was at the Gates, with no great number of men, yet with more than *Antigonus* had then about him. The *Argives* perceiving that their Countrey would be spoiled, if *Antigonus* did not issue into the Field, were very earnest with him to go forth and fight. But he was wiser, than to be moved with their Clamours; and suffered them to see their Villages burnt; to bid him resign his Office of Protector, unto some that were more valiant; and to satisfie their passions with fooliſh words, rather than he would be overcome in Fight, and thereby lose more Honour than could easily be repaired. By this *Cleomenes* had his desire, in weakning the Reputation of his Enemy: though he thereby added neither followers, nor other strength, unto *Lacedæmon*.

Afterwards, when the season was more fit for War, *Antigonus* gathered together all his Troops, meaning to requite these Bravado's of his Enemy, with the Conquest of *Sparta*. *Cleomenes* on the other side, laboured to keep the War from his own Gates; and therefore entred upon the Countrey of *Argos*, where he made such havock, as drew *Antigonus* thither, from his intended Invasion of *Laconia*. Many great Affronts the *Macedonian* was fain to endure, in coasting the *Spartan* King; that ranging over the Countrey of the *Argives*, *Phliasians*, and *Orchomenians*, drave a Garrison of his out of *Oligyrtus*; and did sacrifice, as it were before his face, in the Suburbs of *Argos*, without the Temple of *Juno*, that was shut up; sending unto him in scorn, to borrow the Keys. These were light things; yet served to dishearten the *Achæan* side, and to fill the Enemy with courage, which was no matter of light importance. Therefore he concluded to lay apart all other regard, of things abroad, and to put all to hazard, by setting up his rest, without more delay, upon *Sparta* it self. He had in his Army eight and twenty thousand Foot, and twelve hundred Horse, collected out of sundry Nations, as *Macedonians*, *Illyrians*, *Gaules*, *Epirots*, *Bœotians*, *Acarnanians*, and others; together with the *Achæans*, and their Friends of *Peloponnesus*. *Cleomenes* had of all sorts, twenty thousand, with which he lay at *Selasia*: fortifying slightly the other passages into *Laconia*, through which the *Macedonians* were not likely to seek entrance. *Antigonus* coming to *Selasia*, found his Enemy so strongly incamped, upon and between the Hills of *Eva* and *Olympus*, that he was constrained to spend much time there, before he could advance any one foot: neither lay it in his power to come hastily to blows, which he greatly desired, without the hazard of his whole Army, in assayling their well-defenced Camp. But at length (as it happens, when men are weary both of their hopes and fears) both Kings being resolved to make an end one way or other, *Antigonus* attempted with his *Illyrians*, to force that part which lay on the Hill *Eva*: but his *Illyrians* were so ill seconded by the *Achæan* Foot, that the *Spartan* Horse, and light-armed Foot, incamped in the streight Valley between those Hills, issuing forth, fell upon their skirts; and not only disordered them, but were like to have endangered all the rest. If *Cleomenes* himself had stood in that part of the Battel, he would have made great use of such a fair beginning. But *Euclidas*, his Brother, a more valiant than skilful Souldier, commanded in that wing: who neither followed this advantage, nor took such benefit as the ground afforded, whereon he lay. *Philopœmen* the *Arcadian* of *Megalopolis*, who afterwards proved a famous Captain, served then on Horse, as a private young man, among the *Achæans*. He seeing that all was like

to

to go to rout, if their *Illyrians* were driven to fall back upon the Army following them, perſwaded the Captains of the *Achæan* Horſe, to break upon the *Spartan* Mercinaries. But they would not: partly deſpiſing his youth, and want of charge; partly, for that *Antigonus* had given order, that they ſhould keep their Places, until they received a ſign from him, which was not as yet. *Philopæmen* perceiving them to be more orderly, than well adviſed, entreated ſome of his own Countreymen to follow him; gave a charge upon the *Spartans*; and forced them not only to leave the *Illyrians*, but ſeek how to ſave themſelves. Being ſo far advanced, he found the Place which the *Illyrians* had attempted, like enough to be won, through the unskilfulneſs of him that held it. Wherefore he alighted, and perſwaded the men at Arms his Companions to do the like: the folly of *Euclidas* being manifeſt, who kept the top of the Hill, and ſtirred not to hinder thoſe that aſcended, but waited for them in a Plain, where they might fight upon even terms. So he recovered the Hill top; where though he was ſore hurt, yet he made good the Place that he had gotten, until the whole Army came up to him; by which the *Lacedæmonians* were beaten from it, with great ſlaughter of them in their deſcent. This overthrow, and death of *Euclidas*, made *Cleomenes* loſe the day: who fighting bravely on the other ſide, upon *Olympus*, againſt *Antigonus* himſelf, was like to have been ſurrounded and loſt, if he had not withdrawn himſelf with an extraordinary ſpeed. In this Battel, ended the glory of *Lacedæmon*; which, as a Light ready to go out, had with a great, but not long blaze, ſhined more brightly of late, than in many Ages paſt.

Cleomenes fled unto *Sparta*: where he had no deſire to ſtay, finding only two hundred left, of ſix thouſand *Spartans* that he had led unto this Battel, and moſt of his hired Souldiers dead, or gone away. So he perſwaded his people to yield themſelves unto *Antigonus*; and promiſing to do all that ſhould at any time lye in his own power, for their good, he haſted away to the Sea-ſide (where he had Shipping long before provided, againſt all that might happen) and imbarqued himſelf for *Ægypt*. He was lovingly entertained by *Ptolomy Evergetes*; who undertook to reſtore him to his Kingdom; and (perhaps) meant no leſs, as being much delighted with his gallant Behaviour and Qualities. In the mean ſeaſon he had a Penſion allowed him, of four and twenty Talents, yearly. But this *Ptolomy* died; and his Son *Ptolomy Philopater* ſucceeded him: a vicious young Prince, wholly governed by lewd Women, and baſe Men, unmindful of all Vertue, and hating any in whom it was found. When therefore *Cleomenes* was deſirous to return into *Greece*, whither the Troubles in *Peloponneſus* did ſeem to invite him, *Ptolomy*, and his Minions, would neither give him aid, nor yet dared to diſmiſs him (as he deſired) to try his own Friends in *Greece*, becauſe he was too well acquainted with the weakneſs of *Ægypt*: nor well knew how to detain him againſt his will. At length they deviſed matter againſt him, and made him Priſoner. The laſt act of him was; that with thirty of his Countreymen, he undertook a deſperate Enterprize: breaking out of the Priſon, and provoking the *Alexandrians* to rebel, and ſeek their liberty. In which Attempt he ſlew ſome Enemies of his that he met; and having walked up and down the Streets, without reſiſtance (no man offering to take his part, or, which is very ſtrange, to fight againſt him on the King's behalf) He, and his Companions, agreed together to be Miniſters of their own Death. Upon his dead Body *Ptolomy* was bold to ſhew his Indignation: and ſlew his Mother and Children, that had been ſent thither as Hoſtages, together with the Wives of his Adherents, as many as were there, attending upon the old Queen. Such was the end of *Cleomenes*; a generous Prince, but Son of *Leonidas*, who had cauſed *Agis*, with his Mother and Grandmother, to come to ſuch a bloudy end, as now befel his own Wife, Son, and Grand-children.

After the Victory at *Sellaſia*, *Antigonus* without reſiſtance entred *Sparta*: whereinto never the force of any Enemy, before him, could make way. He kindly entreated the Citizens, and left them to their own Laws and Government: tarrying there no longer, than two or three days; after which he haſtened out of *Peloponneſus*, and never returned. The cauſe of his ſpeedy departure was, an Advertiſement that he received out of *Macedon*; how the *Illyrians* over-ran, and deſtroyed the Countrey. Had theſe News come a little ſooner; or had *Cleomenes* either deferred the Fight, a few days longer, or at leaſt-wiſe tarried, a few days after the Fight, in *Sparta*, the Kingdom of *Lacedæmon* would have ſtood, and perhaps have extended it ſelf over all *Greece*. But God had otherwiſe determined.

Antigonus fought a great Battel with the *Illyrians*, and overcame them. Yet therein he caught his bane: not by any wound, but by over-ſtraining his voice; wherewith he brake a Vein that bled inwardly, and in ſhort ſpace finiſhed his Life, who was troubled before with a Conſumption of the Lungs. His Kingdom deſcended unto *Philip*, the Son of *Demetrius*, being then a Boy: as alſo about the ſame time it was, that *Antiochus*, ſirnamed (I know not why) *the Great*; and *Ptolomy Philopater*, began to reign in *Aſia*, and *Ægypt*; Boys all. Of theſe, *Ptolomy*, though old enough to love Harlots, when he firſt was King, yet continued a Boy, all the ſeventeen years of his Reign. The unripe Age of *Philip* and *Antiochus*, bred ſuch inteſtine Inconvenience to their Kingdoms, as is uſual in the minority of Princes: but their elder years brought them acquainted with the *Romans*; upon which occaſion, when it comes, we ſhall more ſeaſonably ſpeak of them, and of their Kingdoms, more at large.

§. VII.

How the Illyrians *infeſted the Coaſt of* Greece; *and how they were ſubdued by the* Romans.

WHilſt things thus paſſed in *Greece*; and whilſt the *Carthaginians* were buſie in their conqueſt of *Spain*, the *Romans* had found themſelves work among the *Sardinians* and *Corſicans*, that were eaſily ſubdued at firſt, and eaſily vanquiſhed again, when they rebelled. They made alſo War with the *Illyrians*, wherein they got much Honour with little pain. With the *Gaules* they had much ado, that laſted not long; being rather, as *Livy* ſaith, a Tumult than a War. So that by all theſe light Exerciſes, their valour was hardly kept from ruſt. How they got the Iſlands in the *Mediterranean Sea*, it hath been ſhewed before: of their dealings with the *Illyrians* and *Gaules*, it is not meet to be utterly ſilent. *Liv. l. 21.*

The *Illyrians* inhabited the Countrey, now called *Slavonia*: a troubleſom Nation, impatient of reſt, and continually making War for gain, without other regard of Friend or Foe. They were invited by *Demetrius* King of *Macedon*, to help the

Mydionians, his Friends, that were beſieged by the *Ætolians*, for that they refuſed to be of their ſociety. Before the *Illyrian* Succours came, the *Mydionians* were ſo far ſpent, that the *Ætolians* contended about the Booty: the old Prætor, or chief Magiſtrate of their Nation, who was going out of his Office, claiming to have the honour of the Victory, and the diviſion of the Spoyl to be referred unto him; for that he had in a manner brought the Siege to an end, and won the Town: others, that were in hope to be choſen into the Office, contradicting this, and deſiring that old Orders might be kept. It was a pretty ſtrife, and ſomewhat like to that of the *French* in later Ages, who thought upon dividing the Prey, before they had won the Victories, which anon they loſt, at *Poitiers* and at *Agincourt*. The *Ætolians* wiſely compounded the difference, ordering it thus; That the old, and the new Prætor, ſhould be joyntly entitled in the Victory, and have equal Authority, in diſtribution of the gettings. But the *Illyrians* finiſhed the ſtrife much more elegantly, and after another faſhion. They arrived, and landed, ere any was aware of them; they fell upon the *Ætolians*; and though good reſiſtance was made, yet got the Victory, partly by force of their own multitude, partly by help of the *Mydionians*, that were not idle in their own buſineſs, but ſtoutly ſallied out of the Town. Many of the *Ætolians* were ſlain, more were taken, their Camp and all their Baggage was loſt: the *Illyrians* took the Spoyl, and went their way; the *Mydionians* erected a Trophy, inſcribing the Names, both of their old and new Magiſtrate (for they alſo choſe new Officers at the ſame time) as the *Ætolians* had directed them by example.

The ſucceſs of this Voyage, highly pleaſed *Agron* King of the *Illyrians*: not only in regard of the money, wherewith *Demetrius* had hired his aſſiſtance; or of the booty that was gotten; but for that having vanquiſhed the ſtouteſt of the *Greeks*, he found it not uneaſie, to enrich himſelf by ſetting upon the leſs warlike. For joy of this, he feaſted, and drank ſo immoderately, that he fell into a *Pleuriſie*, which in few days ended his life. His Kingdom, together with his great hopes, he left unto *Teuta*, his Wife.

Teuta gave her people free liberty to rob all Nations at Sea, making no difference between Friend and Foe; as if ſhe had been ſole Miſtreſs of the ſalt Waters. She armed a Fleet, and ſent it into *Greece*: willing her Captains, to make War where they found advantage, without any further reſpect. Theſe fell with the *Weſtern* Coaſt of *Poloponneſus*; where they invaded the *Eleans*, and *Meſſenians*. Afterwards they returned along by *Epirus*, and ſtayed at the City of *Phœnice*, to take in Victuals and other Neceſſaries. There lay in *Phœnice* eight hundred *Gaules*; that having been Mercinaries of the *Carthaginians*, went about to betray, firſt *Agrigentum*, then *Eryx*, to the *Romans*; but failing to do either, they nevertheleſs revolted, and were for their miſ-deeds diſarmed, and ſent to Sea by the *Romans*, yet entertained by theſe *Epirots*, and truſted to lie in Garriſon within their Town. The *Gaules* were ſoon grown acquainted with the *Illyrians*, to whom they betrayed *Phœnice*; which deſerved none other, in truſting them. All *Epirus* was preſently in Arms, and haſtned to drive out theſe unwelcom gueſts. But whilſt the *Epirots* lay before the Town, there came News into their Camp, of another *Illyrian* Army, that was marching thitherward by Land, under one *Scerdilaidas*; whom Queen *Teuta* had ſent to help his fellows. Upon this Advertiſement, a part of them is ſent away towards *Antigonia*, to make good that Town, and the ſtreights adjoyning, by which theſe new comers muſt enter into their Countrey, another part of them remains at *Phœnice*, to continue the ſiege. Neither the one nor the other ſped well in their buſineſs. For *Scerdilaidas* found means to joyn with his fellows; and they that were beſieged within *Phœnice*, ſallied out of the Town, and gave ſuch an overthrow to the *Epirots*, as made them deſpair of ſaving their Countrey, without great and ſpeedy help from abroad. Wherefore Embaſſadors were ſent to the *Achæans* and *Ætolians*; craving their help, with very pitiful terms of entreaty. They obtained their ſuit: neither was it long, before an Army, ſent by theſe two Nations, was ready in *Epirus*, to preſent battel unto *Scerdilaidas*. But *Scerdilaidas* was called home, by Letters from *Teuta* the Queen, that ſignified a Rebellion of ſome *Illyrians* againſt her: ſo that he had no mind to put his Forces to hazzard, but offered compoſition; which was accepted. The Agreement was, That the *Epirots* might ranſom their Town, and all their people that were Priſoners; and that the *Illyrians* ſhould quietly depart, with all their booty and ſlaves. Having made this profitable and honourable bargain, the *Illyrians* returned into their own Countrey by Land, ſending their booty away by Sea.

At their coming home, they found no ſuch great trouble, as that which they brought, or had occaſioned in this Voyage. For in fulfilling the Commandment of their Queen, they had taken many *Italian* Merchants, whilſt they lay at *Phœnice*; and made them good prize. Hereof the complaints made unto the *Roman* Senate, were ſo frequent, that Embaſſadors were ſent to require of *Teuta*, that ſhe ſhould abſtain from doing ſuch injuries. Theſe Embaſſadors found her very jolly; both for the riches which her Fleet had brought in, and for that ſhe had, in ſhort ſpace, tamed her Rebels, and brought all to good order, ſave only the Town of *Iſſa*, which her Forces held ſtreightly beſieged. Swelling with this proſperity, ſhe could hardly afford a good look to the unmannerly *Romans*; that found fault with her doings; and calling them by a true Name, *Pyracie*, required amends. Yet when their Speech was ended, ſhe vouchſafed to tell them, That injury in publick ſhe would do them none: as for private matters, no account was to be made of them; neither was it the manner of Kings, to forbid their Subjects to get Commodity, how they beſt could, by Sea. But (ſaid the younger of the two Embaſſadors) we *Romans* have a manner, and a very laudable one, to take Revenge in publick, of thoſe private Wrongs, that are born out by publick Authority: therefore we ſhall teach you, God willing, to reform your Kingly manners, and learn better of us. Theſe Words the Queen took ſo impatiently, that no revenge could ſatisfie her, but the death of him that had ſpoken them. Wherefore, without all regard of the Common Law of Nations, ſhe cauſed him to be ſlain: as if that had been the way to ſet her heart at reſt; which was indeed the mean to diſquiet and afflict it ever after.

The *Romans*, provoked by this out-rage, prepare two great Armies; the one by Sea, conſiſting of two hundred Sail, commanded by *C. Fulvius*; the other by Land, led by *A. Poſthumus*. They trouble not themſelves any more, with requiring ſatisfaction. for this injury is of ſuch nature, as muſt be requited with mortal War. It is indeed contrary to all humane Law, to uſe violence towards Embaſſadors: the reaſon and ground whereof, ſeems

seems to be this; that since without mediation, there would never be an end of war and destruction, therefore it was equally received by all Nations, as a lesson taught by Nature, that Embassadors should pass freely, and in safety between Enemies. Nevertheless, as I take it, this general Law is not without limitation. For if any King, or State, lay hold upon Embassadors sent by their Enemies, not unto themselves, but unto some third, whom they should draw into the quarrel; then is it as lawful, to use violence to those Embassadors (thus imployed, to make the War more terrible) as it is to kill the men of War, and Subjects, of an Enemy. And so might the *Athenians* have answered it, when they slew the *Lacædemonian* Embassadors, that were sent to *Xerxes*, to draw him into a war upon the *Athenians*. Neither are those Embassadors, which practise against the person of that Prince, in whose Countries they reside, warranted by any Law whatsoever. For whereas the true Office of an Embassador residing, is the maintenance of Amity; if it be not lawful for one Prince, to practise against the life of another, much less may an Embassador do it, without incurring justly the same danger of punishment, with other Traitors; in which case, his place gives him no priviledg at all. But we will leave this dispute to the *Civilians*; and go on with the revenge, taken by the *Romans*, for the slaughter of their Embassador *Coruncanus*.

The *Illyrian* Queen was secure of the *Romans*, as if they would not dare to stir against her. She was indeed in an error; that hath undone many of all sorts, greater and less than she, both before and since: *Having more regard unto fame, than unto the substance of things.* The *Greeks* were at that time more famous than the *Romans*; the *Ætolians* and *Epirots* had the Name of the most warlike people in *Greece*; these had she easily vanquished; and therefore thought, that with the *Romans* she should be little troubled. Had she considered, that her whole Army, which wrought such wonders in *Greece*, was not much greater, than of ten thousand men; and that nevertheless, it prevailed as much, by odds of Number, as by Valour, or skill in Arms; she would have continued to use her advantage against those that were of more fame than strength, with such good caution, that she should not have needed to oppose her late-gotten reputation, against those that were more mighty than her self. But she was a woman, and did what she listed. She sent forth a greater fleet than before, under *Demetrius* of *Pharos*; with the like ample commission, to take all that could be gotten. This fleet divided it self; and one part of it fell with [a] *Dyrrachium*; the other, with *Corcyra*. *Dyrrachium* was almost surprised by the *Illyrians*; yet was it rescued by the stout Citizens. In [b] *Corcyra* the *Illyrians* landed; wasted the Isle, and besieged the Town. Hereupon the *Ætolians* and *Achæans* were called in to help: who came, and were beaten in a fight at Sea; losing, besides others of less note, *Marcus Caryneusis*, the first Prætor of *Achaia*, whom *Aratus* succeeded. The Town of *Corcyra*, dismaied with this Overthrow, opened the gates unto *Demetrius Pharius*; who took possession of it, with an *Illyrian* Garrison: sending the rest of his forces to besiege *Dyrrachium*. In the mean season, *Teuta* was angry with her Captain *Demetrius*: I know not why; but so, as he resolved to try any other course, rather than to trust her.

The *Romans* were even ready to put to Sea, though uncertain which way to take, when advertisement was brought to C. *Fulvius* the Consul, of *Demetrius* his fear and discontent. Likely it was, that such an occasion might greatly help to advance the business in hand. Wherefore the Consul sailed thither; where he found the Town of *Corcyra* so well prepared to his hand by *Demetrius*, that it not only received him willingly, but delivered into his power the *Illyrian* Garrison, and submitted it self unto the *Roman* protection.

After this good beginning, the Consul sailed alongst the coast, to [c] *Apollonia*; accompanied with *Demetrius*, whom he used thenceforth as his counsellor and guide. To *Apollonia* came also *Posthumus*, the other Consul, with the Land-Army, numbred at twenty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse. Thence they hasten towards *Dyrrachium*, which the *Illyrians* had besieged; but upon news of the *Roman* Army, they disperse themselves. From thence the *Romans* enter *Illyria*, and take *Parthenia*; beat the *Illyrians* by Sea; take Twenty of their Ships; and enforce the Queen *Teuta* to forsake the coast, and to cover her self in *Rison*, far within the Land. In the end, part of the *Romans* haste them homeward, and leave the best places of *Illyria* in the hands of *Demetrius*; an other part stays behind, and prosecutes the War, in such sort, that *Teuta* was forced to beg peace: which she obtained upon miserable Conditions; to wit, That she should quit the better part of *Illyria*, and pay Tribute for the rest; and from thenceforth, never send any of her Ships of War, towards the coasts of *Greece*, beyond the Island of *Lissa*: except it were some one or two Vessels, unarmed, and by way of Trade.

After this *Illyrian* War, the *Romans* sent Embassadors into divers parts of *Greece*, signifying their love to the Country, and how, for good will thereunto, they had made War with good success upon *Teuta*, and her people. They hoped belike, that some distressed Cities would take this occasion, to desire their patronage: which if it hapned, they were wise enough to play their own games. But no such matter fell out. The Embassadors were only rewarded with thanks; and a decree made at *Corinth*, That the *Romans* thenceforth might be partakers of the *Isthmian* pastimes. This was an idle courtesie, but well meant by the vain *Greeks*, and therefore well taken by the *Romans*: who by this *Illyrian* Expedition got nothing in *Greece*, save a little Acquaintance, that shall be more hereafter.

[a] *Dyrrachium*, sometime called *Epidamnus*, and now Durazzo, seated upon the *Adriatick* Sea, between the Islands of *Pharos* and *Corcyra*.

[b] *Corcyra*, an Island of the *Adriatick* Sea, not far from Durazzo, called now *Corfu*, and in the possession of the *Venetians*.

[c] *Apollonia*, a City near *Dyrrachium*, or Durazzo, upon the Sea-coast. *Pinetus* calls it *Sissopolis*.

§. VIII.

Of the War between the Romans *and* Gaules, *somewhat before the coming of* Hannibal *into Italy.*

THE *Gaules* that dwelt in *Lumbardy*, were the next, against whom the *Romans* took Arms. These were a populous Nation, and often molested *Rome*; sometimes with their own forces, and sometimes with the assistance of those that inhabited *France*. Once their fortune was good; when they took *Rome*, and burnt it: though the issue of that War proved not answerable to the beginning, if we may give credit unto *Roman* Historians. In following times, their success was variable, and commonly bad. Many Overthrows they received; and if they got any Victory, it yielded them no profit, but was soon extorted out of their hands. They were indeed more fierce, than well advised: lightly stirred up to War, and lightly giving over. At the first brunt, they were said to be more than men; but when that was past, less than women. The *Romans* were acquainted with their temper, by long experience; and knew how to handle them:

yet gave always careful heed to their approach, were it only bruited. For the danger of them was ſudden and uncertain; by reaſon of their Neighbourhood, and want of intelligence among them. Few of their Attempts upon *Rome*, were called Wars, but *tumultus Gallici*; *tumults of the Gaules*; and rightly. For they gave many alarms to *Italy*, and uſed to riſe with great Armies: but after a few days march, and ſometimes before their ſetting forth, any ſmall occaſion ſerved to diſperſe them. Having received an Overthrow; they would reſt ten or twelve years, ſometimes twenty or thirty: till they were ſtirred up again, by younger heads, unacquainted with the danger. Whileſt they reſted, the ſtate of *Rome*, that againſt theſe made only defenſive War, had leiſure to grow, by ſetting upon others. Herein God provided well for that Monarchy, which he intended to raiſe: that the *Gaules* never fell upon *Italy*, with a mighty power, in the time of any other great and dangerous War. Had they attempted to conquer it, whilſt *Pyrrhus* was travelling in the ſame enterpriſe; or in either of the two former *Punick* Wars; it may be doubted what would have become of this imperious City. But it ſeems that the *Gaules* had no better intelligence in the affairs of *Italy*, than ſtrangers had in *Gaule*. At leaſt, they knew not how to uſe their times: and were therefore like to ſmart, whenſoever the Enemies, whom they had much provoked, and little hurt, ſhould find leiſure to viſit them at their own home: which was now after the firſt *Punick* War. Once before this, the *Romans* had been bold, to ſet upon the *Gaules* in their own Country: and that was three years before the coming of *Pyrrhus* into *Italy*. At that time the *Senones*, a Tribe of the *Gaules*, invading *Hetruria*, and beſieging *Arretium*, had won a great battel, and ſlain *L. Cæcilius* with the moſt of his Army. *Manius Curius* the new Conſul, ſent Embaſſadors to them, to treat about ranſom of Priſoners. But theſe Embaſſadors they ſlew. Therefore when fortune turned to the better, the *Romans* followed it ſo well, that they expelled theſe *Senones* out of their Country, and ſent a Colony of their own to inhabit it. This cauſed the [e] *Boij*, another people of *Gaule*, to fear the like meaſure: who thereupon took Arms, and drew the *Hetrurians* to their ſide. But the *Romans* overthrew them in two great battels; and thereby made them ſue for peace, which laſted until this end of the *Illyrian* war.

It vexed the *Gaules*, to ſee a *Roman* Colony planted in their Countrey; who had been accuſtomed to enlarge their bounds, by driving out their Neighbours perforce. Wherefore they laboured with the *Tranſalpines* (ſo the *Romans* called thoſe in *France*, as lying from them beyond the *Alpes*; though to us they are nearer; like as they called *Ciſalpines*, or *by hither the Alpes*, thoſe who dwele between them and the Mountains) to draw them to their party: reaſonably preſuming, that as their diſjunction had cauſed their loſs, ſo their union might recompence it, with large amends. But the buſineſs was ſo fooliſhly carried, that the *Ciſalpines* and *Tranſalpines*, fell together by the ears: putting the *Romans* only to a *tumult*, without further trouble of War. Soon after, they were urged by a greater indignity, to go more ſubſtantially to work. For *C. Flaminius*, a popular man in *Rome*, propoſed a Decree which was ratified by the people; That, beſides one Colony already planted in the territory of the *Senones*, as many more ſhould be carried thither, as would ſerve to people the whole Country between *Ancona* and *Ariminum*: exterminating utterly thoſe *Gaules*. Such an Offer, were it made in *England*, concerning either *Virginia*, or *Guiana* it ſelf, would not over-joy the Multitude. But the Commonalty of *Rome* took this in ſo good part, notwithſtanding all danger joyned with the benefit, that *Flaminius* had ever after their good will.

This dreadful Preſident extremely diſpleaſed the *Boij*: who being Neighbours to *Ariminum*, feared the like diſplantation. And becauſe all the reſt of the *Gaules* had reaſon to reſolve, that themſelves alſo ſhould be rooted out by degrees; the great Nation of the *Inſubrians*, which inhabited the Dutchy of *Milan*, joyned with the *Boij*, and upon a common purſe entertained the *Geſſates*, Nations about *Rhodannus*, wageable as the *Switzers* in theſe times. The *Geſſates* having received a great Impreſt, come to the Field under the conduct of their Kings, *Concolitanus* and *Aneroeſtus*: who with the *Boij* and *Inſubrians*, compound an Army of Fifty thouſand Foot, and twenty thouſand horſe, and thoſe of the beſt men, and beſt appointed, that ever invaded the *Roman* Territory; to whom, the *Seno-galli*, that had been beaten out of their poſſeſſions, gave a great increaſe of ſtrength. On the contrary ſide, the *Venetians*, and the [f] *Cenomanni*, adhered to the *Romans*: as better believing in their proſperity and riſing fortune. For fear of whoſe incurſions therefore, the *Gaules* were forced to leave a good part of their Army, on the frontier of *Milan*: With the reſt of their forces they entred into *Tuſcane*. The *Romans* hearing of this danger, ſend *Æmilius* to *Rimine*, to ſtop their paſſage; and in the place of *C. Atilius* their other Conſul, who then was in *Sardinia*, they imploy one of their Prætors, for the defence of *Tuſcane*.

Being at this time greatly troubled, with the conſideration of this powerful Army, which the *Gaules* had aſſembled, they cauſed a view to be taken, as well of all their own forces, as of thoſe of their Allies: who were no leſs willing than themſelves, to oppoſe the incurſions of the barbarous people; fearing, as they had cauſe, that their own deſtruction could not be prevented otherwiſe, than by the good fortune of *Rome*. The numbers found in this Muſter, deſerve to be recorded; becauſe they ſet out the power of the *Romans* in thoſe days. With the Conſuls, they ſent forth to the War four Legions of their own; every Legion conſiſting of five thouſand two hundred Foot, and three hundred Horſe; and of their Allies, thirty thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe. There were alſo appointed for Supplies (if any miſadventure came to theſe) of the *Sabines* and *Hetrurians*, fifty thouſand Foot, and four thouſand Horſe; which Army was to be lodged in the border of *Hetruria*. Of the *Umbri* and *Sarſinates*, which inhabited the *Apennines*, there were twenty thouſand; and of the *Venetians* and *Cenomans*, other twenty thouſand: which latter Armies were directed to invade the *Boij*, that forcing them to defend their own Territories, the general Army of the *Gaules* ſhould be thereby greatly diminiſhed. There were beſides theſe, to be ready againſt all uncertain chances of War, thirty thouſand foot, and fifteen hundred horſe, garriſon'd in *Rome* it ſelf, of their own people; and of their Allies, thirty thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe. Over and above theſe great Troops, in the Roll of the *Latines*, that was ſent unto the Senate, there were numbred fourſcore thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe; in that of the *Samnites*, ſeventy thouſand foot, and of horſe ſeven thouſand; in that of the *Iapyges*, and *Meſſapges*, fifty thouſand foot, and thirteen thouſand horſe; the *Lucans* ſent a liſt

[e] There were divers Nations of the *Boij*; as in *Pannonia*, *Illyria*, *Germany*, in *Bourbonnois* in *France*, and in *Aquitane*; but theſe *Boij* were of the *French* race, and dwelt at this time about the mouth of the River of *Po*.

[f] *Cenomanni*, are the people about *Bergamo*, on the North-ſide of the River *Po* in *Italy*. There were alſo of theſe *Cenomani* in *France*, and inhabited the Countrey of *Main*.

[g] *Iappyges* & *Meſſapges* ſeem to be one Nation, whoſe alſo called *Salentines*, *Peucetians*, *Apulians*, and *Calabrians*. The Countrey is now *Apulia*, containing the Northermoſt heal-land of *Calabria*.

a list of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse; the [h] *Marsi*, [i] *Marrucini*, [k] *Ferentani*, and the *Vestini*, of twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse. The *Romans* had also two Legions in *Sicil*, and about *Tarentum*, containing eight thousand four hundred foot, and four hundred horse. So as of the *Romans* and *Campans* jointly, reckoning men armed, and fit to bear Arms, there were registred two hundred and fifty thousand foot; and of horse, three and twenty thousand: of which, reckoning the *Romans* apart, there were an hundred and fifty thousand foot, and about six thousand Horse. Casting up the whole forces of all the Provinces in *Italy*, both of the *Romans* and their Confederates, it amounted to seven hundred thousand foot, and seventy thousand horse. But the Number is somewhat mis-cast by *Polybius*; not with a purpose to enrich himself by the dead pays: for where he reckons Nine Hundred Horse too many, he falls short Nine Thousand Two Hundred of the Foot.

[h] A people of the Kingdom of *Naples*. [i] *Ptolomy* calls them a people of *Italy*. [k] A people of *Campania*, called to this day *Ferentines*, saith *Leander*.

How great soever this Muster was, it seems to have been like unto that which *Lodowick Sforza* made, when *Lewes* the Twelfth invaded *Milan*: at what time, the better to encourage himself, and his Subjects, he took a Roll of all persons able to bear Arms, within the Dutchy, though indeed he were never able to bring a tenth part of them into the Field. Certain it is, that the Battels of *Trebia*, *Trasymene*, and *Cannæ*, did not consume any such proportion, as was answerable to this large accompt. Yet were the *Romans* fain to arm their slaves, even for want of other Souldiers, after their overthrow at *Cannæ*. Wherefore the marvel is not great, that the *Carthaginians* and others were little terrified, with report of such a multitude. For all Heads are not fit for Helmets; though the *Roman* Citizens were, in general, as good fighting men, as elsewhere might be found.

Notwithstanding all these counter-preparations, the *Gaules* keep on their way: and entring into *Tuscane*, destroy, and put to fire and sword, all that lay before them. From thence they march directly towards *Rome*; hoping to find the *Romans*, rather in deliberation, than in the Field. But their intelligence fails them. For the *Roman* Army, sent into *Tuscane*, having taken some other way than they did, and finding that it had missed of them, came again fast after them, to arrest them in their journey. Hereof when they heard the rumour, fearing to be charged on their backs, they turned head; and in the same evening discovered the *Roman* Army, by whom they incamped. It was now a matter of apparent necessity, that fight they must. Wherefore they helped themselves with a stratagem; that shewed no great fineness of Wit, but such as well be-seemed those that had none other Occupation than War; and stood them in good stead at the present. In the dead of the Night, they cause their Foot to march away, but not far; leaving their Horse in guard; to whom they give Order, to come off at the first light of day, with such a speed, as might rather argue a running away, than a Retreat, as if they had not dared to abide battel. The *Romans*, interpreting this their hasty departure, as the *Gaules* desired they should, follow them in disorder. The *Gaules* return; charge them; and kill six thousand upon the place; the rest take a piece of ground of advantage, and defend themselves, till *L. Æmilius*, being at *Ariminum*, comes to their succour. Upon the coming of the Consul, the *Gaules* consult whether they should give the *Romans* battel, or forbear. In which dispute, *Anæroestus*, one of their Kings, perswades them, rather to return into their own Countries; where after they had disposed of the great spoils and riches which they had gotten, they should then renew the War, being without carriage, pester, or other impediment. This advice they all embrace; for seeing they that were Mercinaries, had obtained what they came for, to wit, the spoils of their enemies; they thought it wisdom, to hazzard neither it, nor themselves any further.

This indeed had been a good resolution, if they had taken it before the Enemy had been in sight. But as well in the Wars of these latter Ages, as in former times, it hath ever been found extreme dangerous, to make a Retreat in the Head of an Enemies Army. For although they that retire, do often turn head; yet in always going on from the pursuing Enemy, they find within a few miles, either streight, hedg, ditch, or place of disadvantage, which they are inforced to pass in disorder. In such cases, the Souldier knows it, as well as the Captain, that he which forsakes the Field, perceives, and fears some advantage of the Enemies. Fear, which is the betrayer of those succours that Reason offereth, when it hath once possest the heart of man, it casteth thence both Courage and Understanding. They that make the Retreat, are always in fear to be abandoned; they that lead the way, fear to be engaged: and so the hindmost treads on his heels that is foremost, and consequently, all disband, run, and perish, if those that favour the Retreat, be not held to it by men of great Courage. The miserable Overthrow that the *French* received in *Naples*, in the year 1503. upon a Retreat made by the *Marques of Sal*, doth testifie no less. For although a great Troop of *French* Horse, sustained the pursuing Enemy a long time, and gave the Foot leisure to trot away; yet being retarded by often turnings, the *Spanish* Foot over-took, and defeated them utterly. During the Wars between the *Imperials* and the *French*, *Boisi* and *Mont* were lost at *Brignolles*, who in a bravery would needs see the Enemy before they left the Field. So was *Strossi* overthrown by the *Marques of Marignan*, because he could not be perswaded to dislodg the Night before the *Marques* his Arrival. Therefore did the *French* King, *Francis* the first, wisely; when without respect of *point of Honour*, he dislodged from before *Landersey*, by Night; as many other, the most advised Captains, (not finding themselves in case to give battel) have done. *Ie ne trouve point* (saith the Marshal *Monluc*) *au fait des armes chose si difficile, qu'une retrait*; *I find nothing in the art of war so difficult, as to make a safe retreat.* A sure Rule it is, that there is less dishonour to dislodg in the dark, than to be beaten in the light. And hereof Mr. *de la Noue* gives this judgment of a days retreat made in *France*, presently before the battel of *Moncountour*. For (saith he) staying upon our Reputation, in shew *not to dislodg by night*, we lost our Reputation indeed, by dislodging by day: whereby we were forced to fight upon our disadvantage, and to our ruin. And yet did that worthy Gentleman, *Count Lodowick of Nassau*, brother to the late famous *Prince of Orange*, make the retreat at *Moncountour* with so great resolution, as he saved the one half of the *Protestant* Army, then broken and disbanded, of which my self was an Eye-witness; and was one of them that had cause to thank him for it.

Now the *Gaules*, embracing the safe advice (as they take it) of one of their Kings; turn their backs to the Enemy, and their faces homeward. *Æmilius* follows them, as near as he can, without engaging himself, attending his advantage. In the mean while *C. Atilius*, the other Consul, with the Legions of

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Sardinia, lands at *Piſa*; ſo as the *Gaules*, incloſed between two Armies, are forced to fight. They therefore equally ſtrengthen their Rear and Front. To ſuſtain *Æmilius*, they appoint the *Geſſates*, and the *Milanois*; in the Front, they range the *Piemontois*, and the reſt of the *Gaules* inhabiting upon the River of *Po*. The manner of the Fight *Polybius* deſcribeth at large: which was well fought of all hands. But in the end the *Gaules* fell; and ſo did *Atilius* the Conſul: who died in the place, accompanied with the two Kings of the *Gaules*, *Concolitanus* and *Aneroeſtus*, with forty thouſand of their Vaſſals.

After this fatal overthrow, the *Gaules* loſt courage; and, ere long, all that they held in *Italy*. For they were invaded the year following this Overthrow, by the new Conſuls, *Fulvius* and *Manlius*. The *Romans* knew well how to uſe their Victory: they gave not ten, twenty, or thirty years time to the *Gaules*, to repair their forces, as the *Gaules* had done to them. Theſe new Conſuls beat the *Boij*; but by reaſon of the great Rains that fell, and the great Peſtillence that reigned, they were compelled for that preſent to ſurceaſe. In the ſecond year, *Furius*, and *Flaminius*, invade the *Milanois*; and prevail very far, being ſtrongly aſſiſted by the *Cenomanni* and the *Venetians*. Nevertheleſs theſe Conſuls were revoked out of their Province, by the Senate of *Rome*, and compelled to reſign their Office: becauſe the *Augures*, or *Soothſayers*, had found, that ſome token or other of the Birds (in which, and all ſorts of their divination, the *Romans* were extremely ſuperſtitious) had not only fore-ſhewed little good, when they were choſen, but had alſo nullified the Election. C. *Flaminius*, receiving letters of this revocation, from the Senate, and being otherwiſe advertiſed of the Contents, was not haſty to open them: but firſt gave battel unto the Enemies, vanquiſhed them, and ſpoiled their Countrey; then peruſed the letters; and returning home obtained a triumph, ſore againſt the will of the Senate, and not altogether with good liking of the people, who yet bare him out, for that he ſided in faction with the Commonalty, though a man of great Nobility.

This was that *Flaminius*, who had propounded the Decree, for dividing the Countrey of the *Senones* among the pople of *Rome*. He was the firſt, or one of the firſt, that underſtanding the Majeſty of *Rome* to be indeed wholly in the people, and no otherwiſe in the Senate, than by way of Delegacy, or grand Commiſſion; did not ſtand highly upon his Birth and Degree, but courted the multitude, and taught them to know and uſe their power, over himſelf, and his fellow-Senators, in reforming their diſorders. For this the Commons highly eſteemed him, and the Senators as deeply hated him. But he had the ſurer ſide: and found imitators, that roſe by the ſame Art; which in proceſs of time, grew the only or chief way to preferment.

Flaminius and his Colleague, being depoſed; *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, were choſen Conſuls for the reſt of that year. The *Gaules* about this time deſired peace, and were like to have obtained it; though the new Conſuls were againſt it, as fearing to want work. But when thirty thouſand of the *Geſſates*, following their King *Britomarus*, were come over the *Alpes*, and joyned with the *Inſubrians*: all other diſcourſe, than of preſent War, was at an end. So the Conſuls haſted into their Province, where they beſieged *Acerræ*, a Town not far from *Novaro* (ſo far had the *Romans* pierced already) in the Dutchy of *Milan*. To divert them from this Siege, *Britomarus* ſate down before *Claſtidium*, a Town in the ſame Tract, with great part of his forces; leaving the reſt with the *Inſubrians*, to attend upon the Conſuls at *Acerræ*, and to look to the defence of *Milan*. But this would not ſuffice, to make the *Romans* break up their Siege: *Marcellus*, taking with him the greateſt part of the Horſe, and ſix Hundred Foot lightly armed; thought to deal well enough with thoſe at *Claſtidium*. *Britomarus* heard of the Conſuls coming; and met him upon the way; ſo ſuddenly, that the *Romans* had no leiſure to reſt themſelves after their journey, but were compelled inſtantly to fight. Herein *Britomarus* had done well; if he had not forthwith, in a raſh bravery, loſt his game at a caſt. He had advantage enough in number, both of Horſe and Foot: but he thought ſo well of his own perſonal valour, that he rode out ſingle before his Army, provoking any one to fight with him. *Marcellus* was no leſs daring, than the barbarous King: whether more wiſe in this action, I will not diſpute; he was more fortunate, and that ſufficed to commend him. He ſlew and diſarmed *Britomarus*, in preſence of both Armies: whereby his own men took ſuch courage, and his Enemies were ſo diſmaied, that without much trouble of fight, the *Romans* obtained a great Victory.

This was the third and laſt time, that ever any *Roman* General ſlew the General of the Enemies with his own Hand. To this kind of Victory belonged a peculiar triumph; whereof only *Romulus*, *Coſſus*, and this *Marcellus* had the Honour: yet I dare lay, that the two *Scipio's*, and divers other *Roman* Captains, eſpecially *Cæſar*, were better men of War than any of theſe three; though they never offered up to *Jupiter*, *Optima ſpolia*; *The Armour of a General ſlain by themſelves, when they were Generals*, nor perhaps affected ſo to do.

After this Victory, *Acerræ* was yielded to the *Romans*, and *Milan* ſoon after; with all that belonged to the *Ciſalpines* or *Gaules*, that dwelt in *Lumbardy*. Thus was that valiant and mighty Nation, that had for ſo many years vexed the State of *Rome*, and in former times taken the City it ſelf, brought to nothing in a ſhort time; their pleaſant and fertile Territory poſſeſt by the *Romans*; and the remainder of their Nation, inhabiting *Italy*, ſo many as would not ſubject their Necks to the *Roman* Yoke, either forced to abandon their Countries, or to hide themſelves in the cold and barren Mountains, like Outlaws and Thieves. And thus did the *Romans* ſpend the three and twenty years, following the peace made with *Carthage*. In part of which time, they were at ſuch leiſure, that they cloſed up the Temple of *Janus*: which they never did before, (it ſtanding always open, when they had any War, ſave once, in the Reign of *Numa*; nor in long time after, until the Reign of *Auguſtus*. But this their preſent Happineſs was not to laſt long: a dangerous War, and perhaps the greateſt that had ever been, was to come unto their gates; which being well ended, they might boldly undertake, to extend their Monarchy as far as their ambition could reach.

CHAP.

Chap. III.

Of the second Punick War.

§. I.

The Wars of Hannibal *in* Spain. *Quarrels between the* Romans *and* Carthaginians. Hannibal *besiegeth and taketh* Saguntum; *whilst the* Romans *are busied with the* Illyrians. *War proclaimed between* Rome *and* Carthage.

Hannibal, the Son of *Amilcar*, was about six and twenty years old, when he was chosen General of the *Carthaginian* Forces in *Spain*. He was elected by the Army as soon as *Asdrubal* was dead: and the Election was ratified by the State at *Carthage*; wherewith *Hanno* and his Complices were nothing pleased. This was now the third of the *Barchine* Family (so called of *Amilcar*, whose Surname was *Barcas*) that had command in chief, over the Men of War. Which honour would perhaps have been less envied by these domestical Enemies; if the Allies and Friends of the *Barchine* House, had not also born the whole sway in Government, and been the only men regarded, both by the Senate and the People. This general Good-will, as it was first purchased by the most worthy deserts of *Amilcar*, in saving his Country from imminent ruine, enlarging the Dominion thereof, and enriching it with Treasures and great Revenews; so was it retained by the same good Arts among his Friends and Followers. *Hanno* therefore, and his Partisans, being neither able to tax the vertue of their Enemies, that was unreproveable, nor to perform the like services unto the Common-weal, had nothing left, whereby to value themselves, excepting the general reprehension of War, and cautelous advice of not provoking the *Romans*. This they seasoned other whiles with detraction; saying, that the *Barchine* Faction went about to oppress the Liberty of the City. But their malicious words were unregarded; and if it were factious to bear ill will to *Rome*, then were all the Citizens (very few excepted) no less *Barchine* than *Hannibal* himself. For it was long since apparent, that the Oath of the *Romans* to the Articles of Peace, afforded no security to *Carthage*, were she never so quiet and officious, unless she would yield to become their Subject. Since therefore the Peace was like to hold no longer, than until the *Romans* could find some good advantage, to renew the War: it was rather desired by the *Carthaginians*, that whilst their own State was in good case, the War should begin, than that in some unhappy time of Famine or Pestilence, or after some great loss of Army or Fleet, they should be driven to yield unto the impudent demands of their Enemies; and to give away basely their Lands and Treasures, as they had lately done; or miserably fight, upon terms of disadvantage.

This disposition of his Countrimen, *Hannibal* well understood. Neither was he ignorant (for his Father, and other Friends, had long time devised of this business) that in making War with the *Romans*, it was no small advantage to get the start of them. If once he could bring an Army into *Italy*, without molestation, there was good hope that he should find Friends and Assistants, even of those People that helped to increase the *Roman* Armies in forreign Wars. But this could never be effected, if the matter were openly disputed at *Carthage*. For it was to be doubted, that the *Carthaginians*, how glad soever they would be, to hear that he had set the War on foot, would nevertheless be slow and timorous, as commonly men are in the beginning of great Enterprises, if the matter were referred to their deliberation. Which if it should happen; then were the *Romans* like to be made acquainted, not only with the generalities of his purpose, but with such particulars as must be discoursed of, in procuring allowance to his design. This might suffice to disorder the whole Project. Wherefore, he resolved to lay siege unto *Saguntum*, which might seem not greatly to concern the *Romans*, and would highly please the *Carthaginians*, that had fresh in mind the indignity of that *Spanish* Towns alliance with their false Friends. So should he assay both the patience of his Enemies, and the disposition of his own Citizens.

Having thus concluded, he nevertheless went fair and orderly to work: and beginning with those that lay next in his way, approached unto *Saguntum* by degrees. This he did (saith *Livy*) to give some colour to his proceedings: as if he had not principally intended the War against *Saguntum*, but had been drawn thither by course of business. Yet reason teacheth plainly, that without regard of such formalities, it was needful to finish the Conquest of the rest, before he did any thing that should provoke the *Romans*. First therefore he entred upon the Territory of the * *Olcades*, and having besieged *Althæa* (*Livy* calleth it *Carteia*) their chief City, he became, in a few days, Master not only thereof, but of all the other Towns of their Country. This Nation which he first undertook, being subdued, and the Winter at hand, he rested his Army in *New Carthage*, or *Carthagena*; and imparted liberally to the Souldiers, the Spoils he had gotten in his late Conquest.

In the Spring following, he pursued the War against the [a] *Vaccæi*: and without any great difficulty, wan first *Salmantica*, now called *Salamanca*, and after it, [b] *Arbucala*, by assault: though not without a long Siege, and great difficulty. But in his return, he was put to the heighth, both of his Courage, and of his Martial Judgment. For all such of the *Vaccæi*, as were able to bear Arms, being made desperate by the spoil of their Country, with those of *Salamanca*, and of the *Olcades*, that had escaped in the late Overthrow, joyning themselves with the *Toletans*; compounded an Army of an hundred thousand able men; and stayed *Hannibal* on the Banks of the River *Tagus*, which runneth to the Sea by *Lisbourn* in *Portugal*. These four Nations having had experience of *Hannibals*

* A People (saith *Stephanus*) near the River of *Ebro*. But in the old description of *Spain*, in *Ortelius*, they are found near *Tagus*; and by *Suidas*, not far from *New Carthage*.

[a] A People of *Castile* the old.

[b] *Arbucala*, or *Albricala*, an Inn and City of the *Vaccei* in *Aragon*.

Hannibals invincible Courage, and that he never ſaw Enemy, upon whom he durſt not give charge, were throughly reſolved, that his natural Valour would at this time no leſs neglect the cold advice of diſcretion, than at other times it had ſeemed to do, when the like great occaſion perſwaded him to uſe it. But he that makes himſelf a body of Cryſtal, that all men may look through him, and diſcern all the parts of his diſpoſition; makes himſelf (withal) an Aſs: and thereby teacheth others, either how to ride, or drive him. Wiſe men, though they have ſingle hearts in all that is juſt and vertuous, yet they are like Coffers with double bottoms: which when others look into, being opened, they ſee not all that they hold, on the ſudden, and at once. It is true, that this ſubtil *Carthaginian*, when he ſerved under *Aſdrubal*, was, of all the men of mark in the Army, the moſt adventurous. But that which may beſeem a Captain, or inferiour Commander, doth not always become a Chief, though it hath ſometimes ſucceeded well with ſuch great ones, as have been found more fortunate than wiſe. At this time, our great Man of War knew as well how to diſſemble his Courage, as at other times to make it good. For he withdrew himſelf from the River ſide, as if fearful to ford it, thereby to draw over that great Multitude from their Banks of advantage. The *Spaniards* apprehending this in ſuch ſort, as *Hannibal* deſired that they ſhould, thruſt themſelves in fury and diſorder into the ſwift Stream, with a purpoſe to charge the *Carthaginians*, abandoning (as they thought for fear) the defences on the contrary ſide. But when *Hannibal* ſaw them in their way, and well-near over, he turned back his Elephants, to entertain them at their landing, and thruſt his Horſe-men both above and beneath them, into the River. Theſe, carrying a kind of *Lance de gay*, ſharp at both ends, which they held in the midſt of the Staff; had ſuch an advantage over the Foot that were in the River under their ſtroaks, clattered together, and unable to move or ſhift their Bodies, as on firm ground, that they ſlew all thoſe (in a manner) without reſiſtance, which were allready entred into the Water, and purſued the reſt, that fled like men amazed, with ſo great a ſlaughter, as from that day forward, there was not any *Spaniard* on that ſide the River of *Iberus* (the *Seguntines* excepted) that had the daring to lift up their hands againſt the *Carthaginians*.

The *Saguntines* perceiving the danger towards them, cryed before they were hurt. They ſent Embaſſadors to *Rome*, and bemoaned themſelves, as likely to ſuffer that, which afterwards they ſuffered indeed, only becauſe of their Alliance and Friendſhip with this honorable City, which the *Carthaginians* hated. This Tale moved the Senate, but much more a report that *Saguntum* was already beſieged. Hereupon ſome cry out, that War ſhould be proclaimed by Land and Sea; as alſo that the two Conſuls ſhould be ſent with Armies, the one into *Spain*, the other into *Africk*. But others went more *Roman-like* to work, and carried it. So it was only concluded, that Embaſſadors ſhould be ſent into *Spain*, to view the State of the Confederates: which were indeed none other than the *Seguntines*. For if *Hannibal* intended War againſt *Rome*, it was likely that he would give them, ere it were long, a more plauſible occaſion to take Arms againſt him: if he had no ſuch purpoſe; yet would it be in their Power, to determine what they liſted themſelves; upon the report of theſe Embaſſadors, and this their Gravity, in being not too raſh at firſt, would ſerve to countenance their following Decree. Of theſe Embaſſadors *Livy* reports, that they found *Hannibal* before *Saguntum*; but could not get audience of him, and therefore went to *Carthage*, where alſo they were not regarded, nor heard. But *Polybius*, an Hiſtorian of ſincerity leſs queſtionable, tells, that they found him at *Carthagena*, and had conference with him, though ſuch as left them doubtful. This is more agreeable to the reſt of *Hannibal* his whole courſe. And ſurely we might wonder, why the *Carthaginians* ſhould afterwards admit a more peremptory Embaſſage (as *Livy* confeſſeth) and fall to diſputation about the Covenants of Peace; if they had rejected that which was ſent upon none other pretence, than prevention of War.

Whilſt the Embaſſadors paſſed to and fro, *Hannibal* prepared not only his Forces, but ſome *Roman* pretences againſt *Saguntum*. He found out *Mamertines*, or People that ſhould do as the *Mamertines* in *Sicil* had done for the *Romans*; and implore his help againſt the *Saguntines*. Theſe were the *Turdetani*, a Nation adjoyning to *Saguntum*, and having many quarrels with them: (as happens commonly among Neighbours) of which, *Hannibal* himſelf had hatched ſome. Finding therefore ſuch an occaſion, whatſoever it was, as made him able to ſay, that the *Seguntines* had firſt provoked him, ere he medled with them; he made no more ado, but ſate down with his whole Power before their Town. He was now more ſecure, than he had formerly been, of his own Citizens: for that they had not entertained the *Roman* Ambaſſadors, with any trembling reverence, as of late years they had been wont. Nevertheleſs, he was glad of any handſome colour to ſhadow his actions: not only becauſe the War, which he ſo much deſired, was not proclaimed, but that he might not be checked in his courſe, as an open Enemy, before he could ſet foot in *Italy*. The *Romans* had the like, though contrary deſire. They were glad of the Quarrel: as hoping that *Carthage*, with all thereto belonging, ſhould thereby in ſhort ſpace become their own. Yet were they not haſty to threaten, before they were ready to ſtrike; but, meant to temporize until they had an Army in readineſs to be ſent into *Spain*, where they thought to make *Saguntum* the Seat of the War.

In the mean while, *Demetrius Pharius*, whom the *Romans* had made King over a great part of *Illyria*, rebelled againſt them: either for that he found himſelf over-ſtreightly tyed up by them, with hard conditions; or rather becauſe he was of an unthankful diſpoſition. The commotion of the *Gauls*, and afterward the Fame of the *Carthaginian* War, emboldened him to deſpiſe his Benefactors and Patrons, whom he ought to have defended and aided in all Perils, even with the hazard of his whole Eſtate, which he had received of their Gift. But he was a Traitor to his own Queen; and therefore dealt according to his kind, with thoſe that had rewarded him for being ſuch. Firſt, he built Ships, and ſpoiled the Iſles of *Greece*: againſt the Covenants to which he was bound. Then he adventured further, and ſeiſed upon ſome places that the *Romans* kept in their own hands. If he had begun ſooner, or rather if he had ſtayed ſomewhat longer, he might have ſped better. For the buſineſs with the *Gauls* was ended, with *Hannibal* not throughly begun, when he declared himſelf, by his doings, an Enemy, and was vanquiſhed. The *Roman* Conſul, *Æmilius*, was ſent againſt him: who in ſeven days wan the ſtrong Town of *Dimalum*, and thereby brought ſuch terror

terror upon the Country round about, that Embassadors were sent from all places to yield themselves, without putting him to further pains. Only the City of *Pharus*, in which *Demetrius* lay, prepared to resist: which it might have done long, if the hot-headed Rebel had not been too foolish. *Æmilius* landed a great part of his Army in the Isle of *Pharus* by night, and bestowed them in covert, presenting himself the next morning with twenty Ships before the Town, and offering to force the Haven. *Demetrius* with all his Power issued out against the Consul, and was soon intercluded from the Town, by those that lay in ambush. Wherefore he fled away through By-paths, to a Creek where he had Shipping ready for him, and embarked himself, leaving all his Estate unto them, of whose Liberality he first had it.

This business, though it were soon dispatched, yet prevented it not the Siege of *Saguntum*; before which *Hannibal* sate down, ere *Æmilius* was landed in *Illyria*. In the beginning of the Siege, the *Carthaginians* were much discouraged, by reason of the brave Sallies made by the *Saguntines*; in one of which, their General received a dangerous Wound in the Thigh, that caused him to lie many days unable to move. Nevertheless he was not unmindful of his Work in the mean while; but gave order to raise certain moveable Towers, that might equal those which were built on the Walls of the City, and to prepare to batter the Curtains, and make a breach. These being finished and applied, had soon wrought their effect. A great and large breach was made, by the fall of divers Towers, and a great length of Wall; whereat an hot assault was given: but it was so well sustained by the *Saguntines*, as the *Carthaginians* were not only beaten from the Breach, and out of some ground within the Town, which upon the first fury they had won, but they were pursued even to their own Trenches and Camp. Nevertheless the *Carthaginian* Army, wherein were about an hundred and fifty thousand men, did so weary the Townsmen with continual travail, that at length it got within the Walls; and was only hindred from taking full possession of the City, by some Counter-works of the *Saguntines*, that were also ready to be won. In this extremity, there was one *Alcon* a *Saguntine*, that conveyed himself out of the Town, to treat with *Hannibal* for some accord. But the Conditions which the *Carthaginian* offered, were so severe, and without all compassion of Honour, as *Alcon* durst not return to propound them to his Countrymen. For *Hannibal* demanded all that they had; Gold, Silver, Plate, and other Riches within the City: yea, the City it self to be abandoned by the Citizens; promising, that he would assign some other place for their Habitation: not allowing them to carry out with them any other thing wherewith to sustain themselves, than the Cloaths on their backs; or other Arms to defend them, than their Nails and Teeth. Yet might they far better have submitted themselves unto this miserable appointment (seeing thereby they might have enjoyed their Lives, and saved the Honour of their Wives and Daughters) than to have rested at the discretion of the Conqueror, as soon after they did, by whom their Wives and Daughters were deflowred before their faces; and all put to Sword that were above fourteen years of age. For it was a poor comfort which a great number of them took, when not daring to fight, and sell their Blood at the deerest rate, they shut themselves up like most wretched Creatures, in their own Houses, and therein burnt themselves with all that they had: so dying unrevenged. The Treasures found in *Saguntum*, which were very great, *Hannibal* kept, therewith to pay his Army: the Slaves and other Booty, he divided among his Souldiers, reserving some things of choice, wherewith to present his Friends at *Carthage*, and to animate them unto the War.

These Tidings exceedingly vexed the *Romans*; who had good cause to be angry at their own slowness, in forbearing to send help unto the *Saguntines*, that held out eight months, looking still for succour in vain. Wherefore they determined to repair their Honour, by taking sharp revenge. To this end they sent Embassadors again to *Carthage*, demanding only, *Whether it were by general consent and allowance of the* Carthaginians, *that* Hannibal *had made War upon* Saguntum; which if they granted (as it seemed they would) then to give them defiance. Hereunto answer was made in the Senate of *Carthage*, to this effect. That this their second Embassage, howsoever qualified with mild words, was indeed more insolent than the former. For in that, they only required justice against *Hannibal*; but in this, the very State and Common-wealth of *Carthage*, was urged to plead guilty, or not guilty. But (said the *Carthaginian* Speaker) whether the General of our Army in *Spain*, in besieging *Saguntum*, have only followed his own Counsel; or whether he did it by direction from us, it is not the Question which the *Romans* ought to ask us. That which is indeed worthy examination or dispute, is, *Whether it were lawful, or unlawful, for* Hannibal *to do as he hath done.* For it belongs to us, to call our own Commanders in question, and to punish them according to their Faults and Errors; to you, to challenge us if we have done any thing contrary to our late League and Contract. It is true, that in our Negotiation with *Lutatius* the Consul, the Allies of both Nations were comprehended: but the *Saguntines* were not then of your Allies, and therefore no parties to the Peace then made; for of your Allies in the future, or of ours, there was no dispute. As touching the last Agreement between you and *Asdrubal*, wherein you will say that the *Saguntines* were comprehended by Name; it is you that have taught us how to answer that particular. For whatsoever you found in the Treaty between us and *Lutatius*, to your own disadvantage, you cast it upon your Consuls presumption; as promising those things for which he had no warrant from the Senate and People of *Rome*. If then it be lawful for the *Romans* to disavow the Actions of their Consuls and Commanders, concluding any thing without punctual and precise Warrant; the same liberty may we also assume, and hold our selves no way bound in honour to perform those bargains which *Asdrubal* hath made for us, without our commandment and consent.

This was an impertinent answer, and little better than a meer Cavil. For *Lutatius* the Consul, in his Treaty of Peace with the *Carthaginians*, had expresly referred the allowance thereof to the People of *Rome*. It had been therefore much better to have dealt plainly, and to have alledged, That after this League was made, and confirmed on both parts, it was broken by the *Romans*, in robbing the *Carthaginians* of the Isle of *Sardinia*, and withal, of twelve hundred Talents: which Perjury, the State of *Carthage* being now grown able, would revenge with open War. As for the *Saguntines*, it little skilled that the *Romans* had admitted them into Confederacy, and forthwith

inserted their Names into the Treaty of Peace with *Asdrubal*: seeing that the Treaty with *Asdrubal*, and all other Business between *Rome* and *Carthage*, following the violence and breach of Peace, in taking away *Sardinia*, were no better than *Roman* Injuries; as implying this Commination, *Do whatsoever we require, else will we make War, without regard of our Oath, which we have already broken.*

But this the *Carthaginians* did not alledg, forgetting, in heat of Contention (as *Polybius* takes it) the best of their Plea. Yet since *Livy* himself doth remember and acknowledge, that the taking of *Sardinia* from the *Carthaginians*, did enflame the spirit of *Amilcar* with desire of revenge, we may reasonably think, that the mention of this Injury was omitted, not so much upon forgetfulness, as for that it was not thought convenient, by ripping up such ancient matter of quarrel, to shew that the War, now towards, had long been thought upon, and like to be made with extraordinary force; in other manner than heretofore. In conclusion, the *Carthaginian* Senate moved the *Roman* Ambassadors, to deliver unto them in plain terms the purposes of those that sent them, and the worst of that, which they had long determined against them: as for the *Saguntines*, and the confining of their Armies within *Iberus*; those were but their pretences. Whereupon *Q. Fabius* gathering up the skirt of his Gown, as if somewhat had been laid in the hollow thereof, made this short Reply: I have here (quoth he) in my Gown-skirt both Peace and War: make you (my Masters of the Senate) election of these two, which of them you like best, and purpose to embrace. Hereat all cryed out at once; Even which of them you your self have a fancy to offer us. Marry then (quoth *Fabius*) take the War, and shake it among you. Which all the Assembly willingly accepted.

This was plain dealing. To wrangle about pretences, when each Part had resolved to make War, it was meerly frivolous. For all these Disputes of breach of Peace, have ever been maintained by the Party unwilling, or unable to sustain the War. The rusty Sword, and the empty Purse, do always plead performance of Covenants. There have been few Kings or States in the World, that have otherwise understood the obligation of a Treaty, than with the condition of their own advantage; and commonly (seeing Peace between ambitious Princes, and States, is but a kind of breathing) the best-advised have rather begun with the Sword, than with the Trumpet. So dealt the *Arragonois* with the *French* in *Naples*; *Henry* the second, of *France*, with the *Imperials*, when he wrote to *Brissac*, to surprize as many Places as he could, ere the War brake out; *Don John*, with the *Netherlands*; and *Philip* the second, of *Spain*, with the *English*, when in the great Embargue he took all our Ships and Goods in his Ports.

But *Hannibal*, besides the present strength of *Carthage*, and the common feeling of Injuries received from these Enemies, had another private and hereditary desire, that violently carried him against the *Romans*. His Father *Amilcar*, at what time he did sacrifice, being ready to take his Journey into *Spain*, had solemnly bound him by Oath, to pursue them with immortal hatred; and to work them all possible mischief, as soon as he should be a man, and able. *Hannibal* was then about nine years old, when his Father caused him to lay his Hand upon the Altar, and make this Vow: so that it was no marvel, if the impression were strong in him.

That it is inhumane, to bequeath Hatred in this sort, as it were by Legacy, it cannot be denied. Yet for mine own part, I do not much doubt, but that some of those Kings, with whom we are now in peace, have received the like charge from their Predecessors, that as soon as their Coffers shall be full, they shall declare themselves Enemies to the People of *England*.

§. II.

Hannibal *takes order for the defence of* Spain *and* Africk. *His Journey into* Italy.

WAR being thus proclaimed, *Hannibal* resolved, not to put up his Sword, which he had drawn against the *Saguntines*, until he had therewith opened his passage unto the Gates of *Rome*. So began the second *Punick War*; second to none, that ever the Senate and People of *Rome* sustained. *Hannibal* wintred at *Carthagena*; where he licenced his *Spanish* Souldiers to visit their Friends, and refresh themselves against the Spring. In the mean while he gave Instructions to his Brother *Asdrubal*, for the government of *Spain* in his absence. He also took order, to send a great many Troops of *Spaniards* into *Africk*, to equal the numbers of *Africans* formerly drawn thence into *Spain*; to the end, that so the one Nation might remain as Pledges and Gages for the other. Of the *Spaniards*, he transported into *Africk* thirteen thousand, eight hundred, and fifty Foot, and twelve hundred Horse; also eight hundred slingers of the * *Baleares*. Besides these, he selected four thousand Foot, all young men, and of quality, out of the best Cities of *Spain*; which he appointed to be garrison'd in *Carthage* it self, not so much in regard of their Forces, as that they might serve for Hostages: for among those four thousand, the best of the *Spanish* Citizens, and those that swayed most in their several States, had their Sons or Kinsmen. He also left with his Brother, to guard the Coast and Ports, fifty and seven Gallies; whereof thirty seven were presently armed, and appointed for the War. Of *Africans*, and other Nations strangers, he left with him above twelve thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, besides one and twenty Elephants.

* *Majora & Minora*

Having in this sort taken order for the defence of *Spain* and *Africk*, he sent Discoverers before him, to view the passages of the *Pyrenean* Mountains, and of the *Alpes*. He also sent Ambassadors to the Mountainers of the *Pyrenes*, and to the *Gaules*, to obtain a quiet passage: that he might bring his Army entire into *Italy*, and not be compelled to diminish his Forces, by any War in the way, till he came to encounter the *Romans*. His Ambassadors, and Discoverers, being returned with good satisfaction, in the beginning of the Spring, he pass'd over the River of *Iberus*, with an Army consisting of fourscore and ten thousand Foot, and twelve thousand Horse. All those Parts of *Spain*, into which he had not entred before, he now subdued: and appointed *Hanno*, (not that old Enemy of his House, who sate still at *Carthage*) to govern *Spain* on the East-side of *Iberus*; to whom he left an Army of ten thousand Foot, and one thousand Horse. Being arrived at the borders of *Spain*, some of his *Spanish* Souldiers returned home, without asking leave: which that others might not also do, or attempt, he courteously dismissed many more, that seemed willing to be gone. Hereby it came to pass, that the Journey seemed the less tedious unto those that accompa-

companied him, as being not enforced by compulsion. With the rest of his Army, consisting now but of fifty thousand Foot, and nine thousand Horse, he pass'd the *Pyrenees*, and entred into *Gaule*. He found the *Gaules* that bordered upon *Spain*, ready in Arms, to forbid his entrance into their Countrey: but won them, with gentle speech, and rich Presents that he bestowed upon their Leaders, to favour his Expedition. So without any molestation, he came to the Bank of *Rhodanus*, where dwelt, on each side of the River, a People called *Volcæ*. These were unacquainted with the cause of his coming; and therefore sought to keep him from passing over the Water. But he was greatly assisted by some of those *Gaules*, that inhabited on the West-side of *Rhodanus*, to wit, by those of *Vivaretz* and *Lionnois*. For although many of them had transported themselves and their Goods, into the Countrey of *Daulphine*, thinking to defend the further Bank against him, yet such as remained, being desirous to free their Countrey of so many ill Guests, were better pleased to have their Countreymen beaten, which had abandoned them, than to have their own store of Corn and Cattel wasted, by the long stay of so great an Army, as lay upon them. For which Reason, they helped him to make Boats; informed him of another more easie passage, higher up the River; and lent him Guides. When the Vessels for Transportation of his Army were in readiness, he sent *Hanno*, the Son of *Bomilcar*, up the River, himself in the mean while making countenance to enter the Foord below. The end of this labour was: that *Hanno* charging the *Gaules* unawares upon their own side, and *Hannibal*, at the same time, passing the River in their faces, the further Bank was won, though with some difficulty, and the Enemies dispersed. Yet was he greatly troubled in conveying over his Elephants, who marvellously feared the Water. He was therefore driven to make Rafts of Trees, and cover them with Earth and Turf; whereof he fastened one to each Bank, that might serve as a Bridge, to and from another of the same sort, but loose, upon which the Beasts were towed over.

Having pass'd this first brunt, and overcome both the rage of the River, and of those that defended it, he was visited by the Princes of the *Gaules Cisalpines*, that inhabited *Piemont* and *Milan*, who lately had revolted from the *Romans*. These informed him of the Passages of the *Alpes*, that they were not so difficult, as common Report made them; and from these he received Guides, with many other Encouragements. All which notwithstanding, he found himself extreamly incumbred by the *Savoyans*, and lost, both of his Carriages, and of his *Carthaginians*, more than willingly he would, or had formerly thought that he should. For he was twice mainly assailed by them, before he could recover the plain Countreys on the other side. And whereas this Journey over the Mountains cost him fifteen days travel, he was every day, more or less, not only charged by those Mountainers, but withal, extreamly beaten with grievous Weather and Snow: it being in the beginning of Winter, when he began, and overcame this Passage. But the fair and fertil Plains, which were now ready to receive them, with the assistance and conduct of the *Cisalpine Gaules*, who by their proper Forces had so often invaded the *Roman* Territory, gave them great comfort, and encouragement to go on: having nothing else of difficulty remaining, but that which from the beginning they made account to overcome, by their proper valour and resolution; namely, the *Roman* Armies, and Resistance.

§. III.

How the Romans *in vain sollicited the* Spaniards *and* Gaules *to take their part. The Rebellion of the* Cisalpine Gaules *against the* Romans.

THE Countreys of *Spain* and *Gaule*, through which the *Carthaginians* marched thus far, had been sollicited before, by the same *Roman* Ambassadors, who had denounced the War at *Carthage*. These, as they were instructed by the Senate, took *Spain* in their way homeward from *Carthage*, with a purpose to draw into the *Roman* Alliance, as many of the Cities and Princes as they could; at least, to disswade them from contracting any Friendship with the *Carthaginians*. The first which they attempted, were the *Volcians*, a People in *Spain*; from whom, in open Assembly, they received by one that spake for the rest, this uncomfortable Answer. With what face (saith he) can ye *Romans* perswade us to value your Alliance, or to prefer it before the Friendship of the *Carthaginians*, seeing we are taught by the example of the *Saguntines*, to be more wise, than so? For they, relying on your faith, and promised assistance, have been utterly rooted out, and destroyed by the *Carthaginians*; whom they might else have held their assured Friends, and good Neighbours, as we, and other the People of *Spain* have found them. Ye may therefore be gone, with this resolution from us, That for our parts (and so I think, I may answer for the rest of our Countreymen) the *Romans* henceforth are not to expect any kindness at our hands, who are resolved, never to make account of their protection, nor amity. From the *Volcians*, the Ambassadors took their way towards the *Gaules*, using their best Arguments to perswade them, not to suffer the *Carthaginians* to pass into *Italy*, through their Territory: and withal greatly glorifying themselves, their strength, and large Dominion. But the *Gaules* laught them to scorn, and had hardly the patience, to hear them speak. For shall we (said one of their Princes) by resisting *Hannibal*'s passage into *Italy*, entertain a War which is not meant to be made against us? Shall we hold the War among our selves, and in our own Territory, by force, which marcheth with a speedy pace from us, towards our ancient Enemies? Have the *Romans* deserved so well of us, and the *Carthaginians* so ill, that we should set fire on our own Houses, to save theirs from burning? No, we know it well, that the *Romans* have already forced some Nations of ours, out of their proper Territory and Inheritance; and constrained others, as free as themselves, to pay them tribute. We will not therefore make the *Carthaginians*, our Enemies, who have no way as yet offended us, nor we them.

With this unpleasing Answer the Ambassadors returned home, carrying no good News, of Friends likely to help them, but rather some assurance from the People of *Massilia*, which were Confederates with *Rome*, that the *Gaules* were determined to take part with their Enemy. Of this inclination, the *Cisalpine Gaules* gave hasty proof. For when the News was brought into *Italy*, that the *Carthaginians* had passed *Iberus*, and were on the way towards *Rome*, this alone sufficed to stir up the *Boii*, and *Insubrians*, against the *Romans*. These People were lately offended at the Plantation of new *Roman* Colonies, at *Cremona*, and *Placentia*, within their Territories. Relying therefore upon the *Carthaginian* succour, which they supposed to

be now at hand, they laid aſide all regard of thoſe Hoſtages, which they had given to the *Romans*, and fell upon the new Colonies. The Towns it ſeems that they could not win; for *Hannibal* ſhortly after failed to get them. But they forced the *Roman* Commiſſioners, (who belike were abroad in the Countrey) to fly to *Modena*, where they beſieged them. The Siege of *Modena* had continued ſome ſmall time; when the *Gaules*, having little skill in aſſaulting Cities, waxed weary, and ſeemed deſirous to have peace, and to come to ſome good accord with the *Romans*. This they did of purpoſe, to draw on ſome Meeting; that they might therein lay hand upon the *Roman* Deputies, thereby to redeem their Hoſtages, in way of exchange. And it fell out, in part, according to their wiſh. For the *Romans* ſent out Ambaſſadors to treat with them, and to conclude a Peace; whom they detained. *Manlius* the Prætor, who lay in theſe Quarters with an Army, hearing this outrage, marched in all haſte to the relief of the Beſieged. But the *Gaules*, having laid a ſtrong Ambuſh in a Wood joyning to the way, fell upon the Prætor ſo opportunely, as he was utterly overthrown, and all his followers left dead in the Place; a few excepted, that recovered, by faſt running, a little Village, but defenſible, upon the River of *Po*. When this was heard at *Rome*, C. *Atilius*, another of the Prætors, was haſtily ſent, to relieve the Beſieged, with one Legion, and five thouſand of the *Roman* Aſſociates: which Forces were taken out of the Conſuls Army, and ſupplied by a new Levy.

As the *Gaules* were too raſh and haſty, ſo were the *Romans* too ſlow, and indeed too ill-adviſed, in the beginning of this War. They were not perſwaded, that *Carthage*, which had almoſt ſervilely endured ſo many Indignities, in time of the late Peace, would be ſo brave and couragious on the ſudden, as to attempt the Conqueſt of *Italy* it ſelf. Wherefore they appointed one of their Conſuls, to make War in *Spain*, the other in *Africk*: reſting ſecure of all danger at home. *Titus Sempronius* took his way toward *Africk*, with an hundred and threeſcore *Quinqueremes*, or Gallies, of five to an Oar; which preparation may ſeem to threaten even the City of *Carthage*, to which it ſhall not come near. *P. Cornelius Scipio*, the other Conſul, made all poſſible haſte, by the way of *Genoa*, into *Provence*; and uſed ſuch diligence, having the Wind alſo favourable, as in five days he recovered *Maſſilia*. There he was advertiſed, of *Hannibal* his having paſſed the River of *Rhodanus*; whom he thought to have found buſie yet a while in *Spain*. *Hannibal* had alſo news of the Conſuls arrival: whereof he was neither glad, nor ſorry; as not meaning to have to do with him. Each of them ſent forth Scouts, to diſcover the others number and doings: *Hannibal*, about five hundred *Numidians*; *Scipio*, three hundred of his better appointed *Roman* Horſe. Theſe met and fought, and the *Numidians* were beaten: yet could not the *Romans* greatly brag, having ſlain only two hundred, and loſt of their own, one hundred and forty. But when *Scipio* drew near, to have met with the *Carthaginians*, he found, that they were gone three days before; and that (as he then found aſſuredly true) with an intent to look upon the Walls of *Rome*. This interrupted his intended Voyage into *Spain*. Nevertheleſs he ſent away thither his Brother *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, with the greateſt part of his Fleet and Army, to try what might be done againſt *Aſdrubal*, and the other *Carthaginian* Lieutenants in that Countrey. He himſelf, taking with him a few choice Bands, returned by Sea to *Piſa*; and ſo paſſing through *Tuſcane* into *Lombardy*, drew together the broken Troops of *Manlius* and *Atilius*, that lately had been beaten by the *Gaules*: with which Forces he made Head againſt the Enemy, thinking to find him over-laboured, with travel of his painful Journey.

§. IV.

Scipio *the* Roman *Conſul overcome by* Hannibal *at* Ticinum. *Both of the* Roman *Conſuls beaten by* Hannibal, *in a great Battel at* Trebia.

FIve months *Hannibal* had ſpent in his tedious Journey from *Carthagena*; what great Muſter he could make, when he had paſſed the *Alpes*, it is not eaſily found. Some reckon his Foot at an hundred thouſand, and his Horſe at twenty thouſand; others report them to have been only twenty thouſand Foot, and ſix hundred Horſe. *Hannibal* himſelf, in his Monument which he raiſed, in the Temple of *Juno Lacinia*, agreeth with the latter Sum. Yet the *Gaules*, *Ligurians*, and others that joyned with him, are likely to have mightily increaſed his Army, in ſhort ſpace. But when he marched Eaſtward from the Banks of *Rhodanus*, he had with him eight and thirty thouſand Foot, and eight thouſand Horſe; of which, all ſave thoſe remembred by himſelf in the Inſcription of his Altar in *Juno's* Temple, are like to have periſhed, by Diſeaſes, Enemies, Rivers, and Mountains; which miſchiefs had devoured, each, their ſeveral ſhares.

Having newly paſſed the *Alpes*, and ſcarce refreſhed his wearied Army in the Countrey of *Piemont*, he ſought to win the Friendſhip of the * *Taurini*, who lay next in his way. But the *Taurini* held War at that time with the *Inſubrians*, which were his good Friends; and refuſed (perhaps for the ſame cauſe) his Amity. Wherefore he aſſaulted their Town, and wan it by force in three days. Their Spoyl ſerved well to hearten his Army; and their Calamity, to terrifie the Neighbour-places. So the *Gaules*, without more ado, fell unto his ſide: many for fear, many for good-will, according to their former inclination. This diſpoſition ran through the whole Countrey: which joyned, or was all in a readineſs to joyn, with the *Carthaginians*; when the news of *Scipio* the Conſul, his arrival, made ſome to be more adviſed, than the reſt. The Name of the *Romans* was terrible in thoſe Quarters; what was in the *Carthaginians* experience had not yet laid open. Since therefore the *Roman* Conſul was already gotten through the moſt defenſible Paſſages, ere any ſpeech had been heard of his approach, many ſate ſtill, for very fear, who elſe would fain have concluded a League with theſe new-come Friends; and ſome, for greater fear, offered their ſervice againſt the *Carthaginians*, whom nevertheleſs they wiſhed well to ſpeed.

* Theſe dwelt about *Turine*, a goodly City, now ſubject unto the Duke of *Savoy*: which from them took the Name of *Auguſta Taurinorum*

This wavering Affection of the Province, whereinto they were entred, made the two Generals haſten to the tryal of a Battel. Their meeting was at *Ticinum*, now called *Pavia*; where each of them wondred at the others great expedition: *Hannibal* thinking it ſtrange, that the Conſul, whom he had left behind him on the other ſide of the *Alpes*, could meet him in the face, before he had well warmed himſelf in the Plains; *Scipio* admiring the ſtrange adventure of paſſing thoſe Mountains, and the great ſpirit of his Enemy. Neither were the Senate at *Rome* little amazed, at *Hannibal's* ſucceſs, and ſudden arrival. Wherefore

fore they dispatched a Messenger in all haste unto *Sempronius*, the other Consul, that was then in *Sicilia*; giving him to understand hereof: and letting him further know, that whereas he had been directed to make the War in *Africa*, it was now their pleasure that he should forbear to prosecute any such Attempt, but that he should return the Army under his charge, with all possible speed, to save *Italy* it self. According to this Order, *Sempronius* sent off his Fleet from *Lilybæum*; with direction to land the Army at *Ariminum*, a Port Town not far from *Ravenna*: quite another way from *Carthage*, whither he was making haste. In the mean while, *Scipio* and *Hannibal* were come so near, that fight they must, ere they could part asunder. Hereupon, both of them prepared the minds of their Souldiers, by the best Arguments they had: unto which *Hannibal* added the Rhetorick of a present example, that he shewed upon certain Prisoners of the *Savoyans*, which he brought along with him, fitted for the purpose, into *Italy*. For these, having been no less miserably fettered and chained, than sparingly fed; and withal so often scourged on their naked Bodies, as nothing was more in their desire, than to be delivered from their miseries by any kind of present death; were brought into the middle of the Army: where it was openly demanded, which of them would fight hand to hand with some other of his Companions, till the one of them were slain; with condition, being the Victor, to receive his liberty, and some small reward. This was no sooner propounded, than all of them together accepted the offer. Then did *Hannibal* cause Lots to be cast, which of them should enter the List, with such weapons, as the Chieftains of the *Gaules* were wont to use in single Combats. Every one of these unhappy men wished, that his own lot might speed; whereby it should at least be his good fortune, to end his miseries by death, if not to get a reward by victory. That couple, whose good hap it was to be chosen, fought resolvedly: as rather desiring, than fearing death; and having none other hope, than in vanquishing. Thus were some few couples matched, it skilled not how equally: for all these poor creatures were willing, upon whatsoever uneven terms, to rid themselves out of slavery. The same affection that was in these Combatants, and in their fellows which beheld them, wrought also upon the *Carthaginians*, for whom the spectacle was ordained. For they deemed happy, not only him, that by winning the Victory had gotten his liberty, together with an Horse and Armour: but even him also, who being slain in Fight, had escaped that miserable condition, unto which his Companions were returned. Their General perceiving what impression this dumb shew had wrought in them, began to admonish them of their own condition, speaking to this effect. That he had laid before them an example of their own estates: seeing the time was at hand, wherein they were all to run the same fortune, that these slaves had done; all to live victorious and rich; or all to die or (which these Prisoners esteemed far more grievous) to live in a perpetual slavery: That none of them all, in whom was common sense, could promise to himself any hope of life by flight; since the Mountains, the Rivers, the great distance from their own Countreys, and the pursuit of mercilesse Enemies, must needs retrench all such impotent imaginations. He therefore prayed them to remember, that they, who had even now praised the fortune both of the Victor, and of the vanquished, would make it their own case; seeing there was never any in the World, appointed with such a resolution, that had ever been broken, or beaten by their Enemies. On the contrary, he told them, that the *Romans*, who were to fight upon their own Soyl, and in view of their own Towns; who knew as many ways to save themselves by flight, as they had bodies of men to fight withal, could no way entertain such a resolution as theirs: seeing the same necessity, (to which nothing seems impossible) did no way press them, or constrain them. In this sort did *Hannibal*, with one substantial Argument, *That there was no mean, between Victory and Death*, encourage his Companions. For (saith a great Captain of *France*) *la commodite de la retracte advance la fuite*; *The commodity of a retreat, doth greatly advance a flat running away.*

Scipio, on the other side, after that he had given order for the laying of a Bridge over the River of *Ticinus*, did not neglect to use the best Arguments and Reasons he could, to encourage the Army he led: putting them in mind of the great Conquests and Victories of their Ancestors; against how many Nations they had prevailed; and over how many Princes, their Enemies, they had triumphed. As for this Army commanded by *Hannibal*, although it were enough to tell them, that it was no better than of *Carthaginians*, whom in their late War they had so often beaten, by Land and Sea; yet he prayed them withal to consider, that at this time it was not only so diminished in numbers, as it rather seemed a Troop of *Brigants* and *Thieves*, than an Army like to encounter the *Romans*; but so weather-beaten, and starved, as neither the Men, nor Horses, had strength or courage to sustain the first charge that should be given upon them. Nay (said he) ye your selves may make judgement what daring they have now remaining, after so many Travels and Miseries; seeing when they were in their best strength, after they had pass'd the *Roane*, their Horse-men were not only beaten by ours, and driven back to the very Trenches of their Camp, but *Hannibal* himself, fearing our approach, ran head-long towards the *Alpes*: thinking it a less dishonour, to die there by Frost, Famine, and Precipitation, than by the sharp Swords of the *Romans*, which had so often cut down his People, both in *Africa*, and in *Sicil*.

It was not long after this, ere the two Generals met: each being far advanced before the gross of his Army, with his Horse; and the *Roman* having also with him some light-armed Foot, to view the Ground, and the Enemies Countenance. When they discovered the approach one of the other, *Scipio* sent before him his Horse-men of the *Gaules*, to begin the Fight, and bestowing his Darters in the void ground between their Troops, to assist them: himself with his *Roman* men at Arms, following softly in good order. The *Gaules* (whether desirous to try the mettle of the *Carthaginians*, or hoping thereby to get favour of the *Romans*) behaved themselves couragiously, and were as couragiously opposed. Yet their Foot that should have aided them, shrank at the first brunt, or rather fled cowardly away, without casting a Dart; for fear of being trodden down by the Enemies Horse. This notwithstanding, the *Gaules* maintained the Fight, and did more hurt than they received: as presuming that they were well backt. Neither was the Consul unmindful to relieve them: their hardiness deserving his aid; and the hasty flight of those that should have stood by them, admonishing him that it was needful. Wherefore he adventured himself so far, that he recei-

received a dangerous Wound, and had been left in the place, if his Son (afterward ſurnamed *Africanus*) had not brought him off: though others give the Honour of this Reſcue to a *Ligurian* Slave. Whilſt the *Romans* were buſied in helping their Conſul; an unexpected Storm came driving at their backs, and made them look about how to help themſelves. *Hannibal* had appointed his *Numedian* Light Horſe, to give upon the *Romans* in Flank, and to compaſs them about, whilſt he with his men at Arms ſuſtained their Charge, and met them in the Face. The *Numidians* performed this very well: cutting in pieces the ſcattered Foot, that ran away at the firſt encounter; and then falling on the backs of thoſe whoſe looks were faſtned upon *Hannibal* and *Scipio*. By this impreſſion the *Romans* were ſhuffled together, and routed, ſo that they all betook them to their ſpeed, and left unto their Enemies the Honour of the day.

When *Scipio* ſaw his Horſe thus beaten, and the reſt of his Army thereby greatly diſcouraged; he thought it a point of wiſdom, having loſt ſo many of his Fleet upon the firſt puff of wind, to take Port with the reſt, before the extremeſt of the Tempeſt over-took him. For he ſaw by the lowring morning, what manner of day it was like to prove. Therefore his Battail of Foot being yet unbroken, he in a manner ſtole the retreat, and recovered the Bridge over *Ticinus*, which he had formerly built. But notwithſtanding all the haſte that he made, he left ſix hundred of his Rear behind him, who were the laſt that ſhould have paſſed, and ſtaid to break the Bridge. Herein he followed this Rule of a good Man of War, *Si certamen quandoque dubium videatur, tacitam mile. arripiat fugam: fuga enim aliquando laudanda:* which muſt be underſtood in this ſort: *If a General of an Army, by ſome unproſperous beginnings, doubt the ſucceſs, or find his Army fearful or wavering, it is more profitable to ſteal a ſafe Retreat, than to abide the uncertain event of Battel.*

It was two days after, ere *Hannibal* could paſs the River; *Scipio* the whilſt refreſhing his men, and eaſing himſelf of his Wound in *Placentia*. But as ſoon as *Hannibal* preſented his Army before the Town, offering Battel to the *Romans*, who durſt not accept it, nor iſſue forth of their Camp; the *Gaules*, that hitherto had followed *Scipio* for fear, gathered out of his fear courage to forſake him. They thought that now the long-deſired time was come, in which better Chieftains and Souldiers than *Aneroeſtus*, *Britomarus*, and the *Geſſates*, were come to help them: if they had the hearts to help themſelves. Wherefore the ſame night they fell upon the *Roman* Camp; wounded and ſlew many; eſpecially of thoſe Guards that kept Watch at the Gate; with whoſe Heads in their Hands, they fled over to the *Carthaginians*, and preſented their Service. *Hannibal* received them exceeding courteouſly, and diſmiſt them to their own places, as men likely to be of more uſe to him, in perſwading the reſt of their Nation to become his Confederates, than in any other ſervice at the preſent.

About the fourth Watch of the Night following, the Conſul ſtole a Retreat, as he had done before, but not with the like eaſe and ſecurity. *Hannibal* had a good eye upon him, and ere he could get far, ſent the *Numidians* after him: following himſelf with all his Army. That night the *Romans* had received a great blow, if the *Numidians*, greedy of Spoil, had not ſtaid to ranſack their Camp, and thereby given time to all, ſave ſome few in Rear, that were ſlain or taken, to paſs the River of *Trebia*, and ſave themſelves. *Scipio*, being both unable to travel by reaſon of his Wound, and withal finding it expedient to attend the coming of his Fellow-Conſul, incamps himſelf ſtrongly upon the Banks of *Trebia*. Neceſſity required that he ſhould ſo do; yet this diminiſhed his Reputation. For every day more and more of the *Gaules* fell to the *Carthaginian* ſide; among whom came in the *Boij*, that brought with them the *Roman* Commiſſioners, which they had taken in the late Inſurrection. They had hitherto kept them as Pledges, to redeem their own Hoſtages: but now they deliver them up to *Hannibal*, as Tokens and Pledges of their Affections towards him; by whoſe help they conceived better hope of recovering their own Men and Lands. In the mean while, *Hannibal*, being in great ſcarcity of Victuals, attempted the taking of *Claſtidium*, a Town wherein the *Romans* had laid up all their Store and Munition. But there need no Force; a *Brunduſian*, whom the *Romans* had truſted with keeping it, ſold it for a little Money.

The news of theſe diſaſters brought to *Rome*, filled the Senate and People, rather with a deſire of haſty revenge, than any great ſorrow for their loſs received; ſeeing that in a manner, all their Foot, wherein their Strength and Hope conſiſted, were as yet entire. They therefore haſted away *Sempronius*, that was newly arrived towards *Ariminum*, where the Army, by him ſent out of *Sicil*, awaited his coming. He therefore haſted thither, and from thence he marched ſpeedily towards his Colleague, who attended him upon the Banks of *Trebia*. Both the Armies being joyned in one, the Conſuls deviſed about that which remained to be done. *Sempronius* receiving from *Scipio* the relation of what had paſſed ſince *Hannibals* arrival; the fortune of the late Fight, and by what error or miſadventure the *Romans* were therein foiled: which *Scipio* chiefly laid on the Revolt and Treaſon of the *Gaules*.

Sempronius having received from *Scipio* the ſtate of the Affairs in thoſe parts; ſought by all means to try his fortune with *Hannibal*, before *Scipio* were recovered of his Wounds, that thereby he might purchaſe to himſelf the ſole Glory of the Victory, which he had already, in his imagination, certainly obtained. He alſo feared the Election of the new Conſuls, his own time being well near expired. But *Scipio* perſwaded the contrary, objecting the unskilfulneſs of the new-come Souldiers, and withal, gave him good reaſon to aſſure him, that the *Gaules*, naturally unconſtant, were upon terms of abandoning the Party of the *Carthaginians*; thoſe of them inhabiting between the Rivers of *Trebia* and *Po*, being already revolted. *Sempronius* knew all this as well as *Scipio*: but being both guided and blinded by his ambition, he made haſte to find out the Diſhonour, which he might otherwiſe eaſily have avoided. This reſolution of *Sempronius* was exceeding pleaſing to *Hannibal*, who feared nothing ſo much as delay and loſs of time. For the ſtrength of his Army, conſiſting in Strangers, to wit, in *Spaniards* and *Gaules*; he no leſs feared the change of affection in the one, than the impatience of the other: who being far from their own Home, had many paſſions moving them to turn their faces towards it. To further the deſire of *Sempronius*, it fell out ſo, that about the ſame time, the *Gaules* inhabiting near unto *Trebia*, complained of Injuries done by the *Carthaginians*. They did not ſupply *Hannibal* with Neceſſaries, as he ſuppoſed that they might have done, although he daily reprehended their negli-

negligence, telling them, that for their sakes, and to let them at liberty, he had undertaken this Expedition. Seeing therefore how little they regarded his words, he was bold to be his own Carver, and took from them by force, as much as he needed of that which they had. Hereupon they fly to the *Romans* for help: and to make their Tale the better, say that this wrong is done them, because they refused to joyn with *Hannibal*. *Scipio* cared not much for this: he suspected their Falshood, and was assured of their mutability. But *Sempronius* affirmed, that it stood with the Honour of *Rome* to preserve the Confederates from suffering injury: and that hereby might be won the Friendship of all the *Gaules*. Therefore he sent out a thousand Horse, which coming unlooked for upon *Hannibal* his Forragers, and finding them heavy loaden, cut many of them in pieces, and chased the rest even into their own Camp. This indignity made the *Carthaginians* sally out against them: who caused them to retire faster than they came. *Sempronius* was ready to back his own men; and repelled the Enemies. *Hannibal* did the like. So that at length, all the *Roman* Army was drawn forth, and a Battel ready to be fought, if the *Carthaginian* had not refused it.

This Victory (for so the Consul would have it called) made the *Romans* in general desirous to try the main chance in open Field: all the perswasions of *Scipio* to the contrary notwithstanding. Of this disposition *Hannibal* was advertised by the *Gaules*, his Spies, that were in the *Roman* Camp. Therefore he bethought himself how to help forward the Victory, by adding some stratagem to his Forces. He found in the hollow of a Watercourse, over-grown with high Reed, a fit Trench to cover an Ambush. Thereinto he casts his Brother *Mago*, with a thousand choice Horse, and as many Foot. The rest of his Army, after they had well warmed, and well fed themselves in their Camp, he led into the Field, and marched towards the Consul. Early in the morning, he had sent over *Trebia* some Companies of *Numidian* light Horse, to brave the Enemy, and draw him forth to a bad Dinner, ere he had broke his Fast. *Sempronius* was ready to take any opportunity to fight, and therefore not only issued out of his Camp, but foorded the River of *Trebia*, in a most cold and miserable day; his Foot being wet almost to the Arm-holes, which, together with the want of Food, did so enfeeble and cool their Courages, as they wanted force to handle the Arms they bare. Strong they were in Foot, as well of their own Nation, as of the *Latines*, having of the one, sixteen, of the other, twenty thousand. The mass of these they ranged in a gross Battalion, guarded on the Flanks with three thousand Horse: thrusting their Light-armed and Darters in loose Troops in the head of the rest, in the nature of a Vantguard. The *Carthaginian* numbers of Foot, were in a manner equal to their Enemies; in Horse, they had by far the better, both in number and goodness. When therefore the *Roman* Horse, ranged on the Flanks of their Foot, were broken by the *Numidians*, when their Foot were charged both in Front and Flank, by the *Spaniards*, *Gaules*, and *Elephants*; when finally the whole Army was unawares prest in the Rear, by *Mago* and his two thousand, that rose out of their place of ambush, then fell the *Romans* by heaps under the Enemies Swords, and being beaten down, as well fighting in disorder, as flying towards the River, by the Horse-men that pursued them, there escaped no more of six and thirty thousand, than ten thousand of all sorts, Horse and Foot.

Three great errors *Sempronius* committed, of which every one deserved to be recompenced with the loss that followed. The first was, that he fought with *Hannibal* in a Champain, being by far inferior in Horse, and withal thereby subject to the *African* Elephants, which in inclosed or uneven Grounds, and Wood-lands, would have been of no use. His second error was, that he made no discovery of the place upon which he fought, whereby he was grossly over-reacht and insnared, by the ambush which *Hannibal* had laid for him. The third was, that he drencht his Foot-men with empty Stomachs, in the River of *Trebia*, even in a most cold and frosty day, whereby in effect they lost the use of their Limbs. For as one saith well: *There is nothing more inconvenient and perilous, than to present an Army tyred with travel, to an Enemy fresh and fed; since where the strength of body faileth, the generosity of mind is but as an unprofitable vapour.*

The broken remainder of the *Roman* Army, was collected by *Scipio*, who got therewith into *Placentia*; stealing away the same night, which was exceeding rainy, from the *Carthaginians*; who either perceived him not, because of the Showers, or would not perceive him, because they were overwearied. *Sempronius* escaped with extream danger, flying through the Country that was overrun by the Enemies Horse. He was attended by more than were requisite in a secret Flight; yet by fewer than could have made resistance, if the Enemy had met with him. Nevertheless he got away, and came to *Rome*, where he did his Office in chooSing new Consuls for the year following: and then returned into his Province, with a fresh supply against *Hannibal*.

§. V.

The Departure of Hannibal *from the* Cisalpine Gaules *into* Hetruria. Flaminius *the* Roman *Consul slain; and his Army destroyed by the* Carthaginians, *at the Lake of* Thrasymen.

THe Winter growing on apace, was very sharp, and unfit for service, to the great contentment of the *Romans*, who being not able to keep the Field, lay warm in *Placentia* and *Cremona*. Yet *Hannibal* did not suffer them to rest very quiet, but vexed them with continual alarms; assailing divers places, taking some, beating the *Gaules* their adherents, and winning the *Ligurians* to his Party, who presented him, in token of their faithful Love, with two *Roman* Quæstors or Treasurers, two Colonels, and five Gentlemen, the Sons of Senators, which they had intercepted. These, and in general all such Prisoners as he had of the *Romans*, he held in streight places, loaden with Irons, and miserably fed: those of their Followers, he not only well entreated, but sent them to their Countries without Ransome; with this Protestation, That he therefore undertook the War in *Italy*, to free them from the Oppression of the *Romans*. By these means he hoped, and not in vain, to draw many of them to his Party and assistance. But the *Gaules* were not capable of such perswasions. They stood in fear, lest he should make their Country the Seat of the War, and perhaps take it from them. They were also more grieved than reason willed them, at his feeding upon them, and wasting their Territory. Where some of them conspired against his Life; others admonished him of the danger: and these that gave him the advice, were ready soon after to practise against him;

him; but were in like ſort detected. He was therefore glad to uſe Peruques of Hair, and falſe Beards of divers colours, to the end that he might not be deſcribed, nor known to thoſe that ſhould undertake to make him away. Fain he would have paſſed the *Apennines*, upon the firſt appearance of Spring, but was compelled by the violence of weather, to tarry among the *Gauls*, till he had ſeen more Swallows than one. At length, when the year was ſomewhat better opened, he reſolved to take his leave of theſe giddy Companions, and bring the War nearer to the Gates of *Rome*. So away he went, having his Army greatly increaſed with *Ligurians* and *Gauls*, more ſerviceable Friends abroad, than in their own Countrey. That the paſſage of the *Apennine* Mountains was troubleſome, I hold it needleſs to make any doubt. Yet ſince the *Roman* Armies found no memorable impediment in their marches that way: the great vexation which fell upon *Hannibal*, when he was travelling through and over them, ought in reaſon to be imputed rather to the extremity of Winter, that makes all ways foul, than to any intollerable difficulty in that Journey. Nevertheleſs, to avoid the length of way, together with the reſiſtance and fortifications, which may not improbably be thought to have been erected upon the ordinary paſſages towards *Rome*: he choſe at this time, though it were with much trouble, to travel through the Fens and rotten grounds of *Tuſcane*. In thoſe Mariſhes and Bogs, he loſt all his Elephants, ſave one, together with the uſe of one of his Eyes, by the moiſtneſs of the Air, and by lodging on the cold Ground, and wading through deep Mire and Water. In brief, after he had with much ado recovered the firm and fertile Plains, he lodged about *Arretium*, where he ſomewhat refreſhed his wearied Followers, and heard news of the *Roman* Conſuls.

C. Flaminius, and *Cn. Servilius* had of late been choſen Conſuls for this year: *Servilius*, a tractable man, and wholly governed by advice of the Senate; *Flaminius*, an hot-headed Popular Orator, who having once been robbed (as he thought) of his Conſulſhip, by a device of the Senators, was afraid to be ſerved ſo again, unleſs he quickly finiſhed the War. This jealous Conſul thought it not beſt for him to be at *Rome*, when he entred into his Office, leſt his Adverſaries, by faining ſome religious impediments, ſhould detain him within the City, or find other buſineſs for him at home, to diſappoint him of the Honour that he hoped to get in the War. Wherefore he departed ſecretly out of the Town, and meant to take poſſeſſion of his Office, when the day came, at *Ariminum*. The *Fathers* (ſo the Senators were called) highly diſpleaſed with this, revoked him by Embaſſadors: but he neglected their injunction; and haſting to meet with the *Carthaginians*, took his way to *Arretium*, where he ſhortly found them.

The fiery diſpoſition of this Conſul, promiſed unto *Hannibal* great aſſurance of Victory. Therefore he provoked, with many indignities, the vehement nature of the *Roman*: hoping thereby to draw him unto fight, ere *Servilius* came with the reſt of the Army. All the Countrey between *Feſulæ* and *Arretium*, he put to Fire and Sword, even under the Conſuls Noſe, which was enough to make him ſtir, that would not have ſitten ſtill, though *Hannibal* had been quiet. It is true, that a great Captain of *France* hath ſaid; *Pays gaſte veſte pas perdu*; *A waſted Country is not thereby loſt.* But by this waſte of the Country, *Flaminius* thought his own Honour to be much impaired, and therefore advanced towards the Enemy. Many adviſed him (which had indeed been beſt) to have patience a while, and ſtay for his Colleague. But of this he could not abide to hear; ſaying, that he came not to defend *Arretium*, whilſt the *Carthaginians* went burning down all *Italy* before them, to the Gates of *Rome*. Therefore he took Horſe, and commanded the Army to march. It is reported as ominous, that one of their Enſigns ſtuck ſo faſt in the ground, as it could not be plucked up by the Enſign-bearer. Of this Tale, whether true or falſe, *Tully* makes a Jeſt; ſaying, that the cowardly Knave did faintly pull at it (as going now to fight) having hardly pitched it into the Earth. Neither was the anſwer of *Flaminius* (if it were true) diſagreeable hereto. For he commanded that it ſhould be digged up, if fear had made the hands too weak to lift it: asking withal, whether Letters were not come from the Senate, to hinder his proceedings. Of this Jealouſie, both he, and the Senate that gave him cauſe, are likely to repent.

All the Territory of *Cortona*, as far as to the Lake of *Thraſymene*, was on a light Fire, which whilſt the Conſul thought to quench with his Enemies Blood, he purſued *Hannibal* ſo unadviſedly, that he fell, with his whole Army, into an ambuſh cunningly laid for him, between the Mountains of *Cortona*, and the Lake. There was he charged unawares, on all ſides (ſave only where that great Lake of *Peruſia* permitted neither his Enemies to come at him, nor him to fly from them) knowing not which way to turn, or make reſiſtance. So was he ſlain in the place, accompanied with fifteen thouſand dead Carkaſſes of his Countrey-men. About ſix thouſand of his men, that had the Vant-guard, took courage, as for the moſt part happens, out of deſperation, and breaking through the Enemies that ſtood in their way, recovered the tops of the Mountains. If theſe had returned, and given charge upon the *Carthaginians* backs, it was thought that they might have greatly amended, if not wholly altered the fortune of the day. But that violence of their fear, which kindled by neceſſity, had wrought the effects of hardineſs; was well aſſwaged, when they ceaſed to deſpair of ſaving their Lives by flight. They ſtood ſtill in a cold Sweat upon the Hill-top, hearing under them a terrible noiſe, but not diſcovering how things went, becauſe of the great Fog that held all the Morning. When it grew toward Noon, the Air was cleared, and they might plainly diſcern the lamentable Slaughter of their Fellows. But they ſtaid not to lament it: for it was high time, they thought, to be gone, ere they were deſcried, and attached by the Enemies Horſe. This they ſhould have thought upon ſooner, ſince they had no mind to return unto the Fight. For deſcried they were, and *Maharbal* ſent after them; who overtook them by night in a Village, which he ſurrounded with his Horſe: and ſo they yielded the next day, rendring their Arms upon his promiſe of their Lives and Liberties. This accord *Hannibal* refuſed to confirm; ſaying, that it was made by *Maharbal*, without ſufficient warrant, as wanting his authority to make it good. Herein he taught them (yet little to his own Honour) what it was to keep no Faith: and fitted them with a trick of their own. For if it were lawful unto the *Romans*, to alter Covenants, or add unto them what they liſted; if the *Carthaginians* muſt be fain to pay certain hundreds, and yet more hundreds of Talents, beſides their firſt Bargain; as alſo to renounce their Intereſt in *Sardinia*, and be limitted in their *Spaniſh* Con-

Conqueſts, according to the good pleaſure of the *Romans*, whoſe preſent advantage is more ample, than the Conditions of the late concluded Peace: then can *Hannibal* be as *Roman* as themſelves; and make them know, that perfidiouſneſs gaineth no more in proſperity, than it loſeth in the change of Fortune. Fifteen thouſand *Italian* Priſoners, or thereabout, he had in his hands: of which, all that were not *Romans*, he ſet free without Ranſom, proteſting, as he had done before, that it was for their ſakes, and to free them and others from the *Roman* Tyranny, that he had undertaken this War. But the *Romans* he kept in ſtreight Priſon, and in Fetters, making them learn to eat hard Meat. This was a good way to bread in the People of *Italy*, if not a Love of *Carthage*, yet a contempt of *Rome*: as if this War had not concerned the general Safety, but only the preſerving of her own Neck from the Yoke of Slavery, which her over-ſtrong Enemies would thruſt upon her, in revenge of her Oppreſſions. But an ancient reputation, confirmed by ſucceſs of many Ages, is not loſt in one or two Battels. Wherefore more is to be done, ere the *Carthaginian* can get any *Italian* Partiſans.

Preſently after the Battel of *Thraſymene*, *C. Centronius*, with four thouſand *Roman* Horſe, drew near unto the Camp of *Hannibal*. He was ſent from *Ariminum*, by *Servilius* the other Conſul, to increaſe the ſtrength of *Flaminius*; but coming too late, he increaſed only the Miſadventure. *Mabarbal* was imployed by *Hannibal*, to intercept this Company, who finding them amazed with report which they had newly heard of the great Overthrow, charged them, and brake them, and killing almoſt half of them, drave the reſt unto an high piece of Ground, whence they came down, and ſimply yielded to Mercy the next day. *Servilius* himſelf was in the mean while skirmiſhing with the *Gauls*; againſt whom he had wrought no matter of importance, when the News were brought him of his Colleagues Overthrow and Death in *Hetruria*, that made him haſten back to the defence of *Rome*.

In theſe Paſſages it is eaſie to diſcern the fruits of popular jealouſie, which perſwaded the *Romans* to the yearly change of their Commanders in the Wars, which greatly indangered and retarded the growth of that Empire. Certain it is, that all men are far better taught by their own Errours, than by the examples of their Fore-goers. *Flaminius* had heard in what a Trap *Sempronius* had been taken but the year before, by this ſubtil *Carthaginian*, yet ſuffered he himſelf to be caught ſoon after in the ſame manner. He had alſo belike forgotten, how *Sempronius*, fearing to be prevented by a new Conſul, and ambitious of the ſole Honour of beating *Hannibal* in Battel, without help of his Companion *Scipio*, had been rewarded with ſhame and loſs, elſe would he not, contrary to all good advice, have been ſo haſty to fight, before the arrival of *Servilius*. If *Sempronius* had been continued in his Charge, it is probable that he would have taken his Companion with him the ſecond time, and have ſearched all ſuſpected places, proper to have ſhadowed an ambuſh: both which, this new Conſul *Flaminius* neglected. We may boldly avow it, that by being continued in his Government of *France* ten years, *Cæſar* brought that mighty Nation together with the *Helvetians* and many of the *Germans*, under the *Roman* Yoke, into which parts had been there very year a new Lieutenant ſent, they would hardly, if ever, have been ſubdued. For it is more than the beſt Wit in the World can do, to inform it ſelf, within one years compaſs, of the nature of a great Nation, of the Factions, of the Places, Rivers, and of all good helps, whereby to proſecute a War to the beſt effect. Our Princes have commonly left their Deputies in *Ireland* three years; whence, by reaſon of the ſhortneſs of that their time, many of them have returned as wiſe as they went out; others have profited more, and yet when they began but to know the firſt rudiments of War, and Government, fitting the Countrey, they have been called home, and new Apprentices ſent in their places, to the great prejudice both of this and that Eſtate. But it hath ever been the courſe of the World, rather to follow old errors, than to examine them, and of Princes and Governours to uphold their ſlothful ignorance, by the old examples and policy of other Ages and People, though neither likeneſs of time, of occaſion, or of any other circumſtance, have perſwaded the imitation.

§. VI.

How Q. Fabius *the* Roman *Dictator, ſought to conſume the Force of* Hannibal, *by lingring War.* Minutius, *the Maſter of the Horſe, honoured and advanced by the People, for bold and ſucceſsful attempting, adventures raſhly upon* Hannibal; *and is like to periſh with his Army, but reſcued by* Fabius.

GReatly were the *Romans* amazed at this their ill ſucceſs, and at the danger apparent; which threatned them in more terrible manner, than ever did War, ſince *Rome* it ſelf was taken. They were good Souldiers, and ſo little accuſtomed to receive an Overthrow; that when *Pyrrhus* had beaten them, once and again, in open Field, all *Italy* was ſtrangely affected with his ſucceſs, and held him in admiration, as one that could work Wonders. But *Pyrrhus* his Quarrel was not grounded upon hate: he only ſought Honour, and fought (as it were) upon a bravery: demeaning himſelf like a courteous Enemy. This *Carthaginian* deteſted the whole *Roman* Name; againſt which he burned with deſire of revenge. *Ticinum*, *Trebia*, and *Thraſymene* witneſſed his purpoſe, and his ability. Which to withſtand, they fled unto a remedy that had long been out of uſe, and created a Dictator. The Dictators Power was greater than the Conſuls, and ſcarcely ſubject unto comptrole of the whole City. Wherefore this Officer was ſeldom choſen, but upon ſome extremity, and for no longer time than ſix months. He was to be named by one of the Conſuls, at the appointment of the Senate: though it were ſo, that the Conſul (if he ſtood upon his Prerogative) might name whom he pleaſed. At this time, the one Conſul being dead, and the other too far off; the People took upon them, as having ſupream Authority, to give the Dignity by their Election, to *Q. Fabius Maximus*, the beſt reputed man of War in the City. *Novum factum, novum conſilium expetit; Contrary Winds, contrary Courſes.* *Q. Fabius* choſe *M. Minutius Rufus* Maſter of the Horſe: which Officer was cuſtomarily, as the Dictators Lieutenant; though this *Minutius* grew afterwards famous, by taking more upon him.

The firſt act of *Fabius*, was the reformation of ſomewhat amiſs in matter of Religion: a good beginning, and commendable, had the Religion been alſo good. But if it were true (as *Livy* reports it) that the Books of *Sybil* were conſulted, and gave direction in this buſineſs of Devotion;

then muſt we believe, that thoſe books of *Sybil*, preſerved in *Rome*, were dictated by an evil ſpirit. For it was ordained, that ſome Vow, made in the beginning of this War to *Mars*, ſhould be made anew, and amplified; as having not been rightly made before: alſo that great Plays ſhould be vowed unto *Jupiter*, and a Temple to *Venus*; with other ſuch trumpery. This vehemency of ſuperſtition, proceeds always from vehemency of fear. And ſurely this was a time, when *Rome* was exceedingly diſtempered with paſſion: whereof that memorable accident, of two Women that ſuddenly died, when they ſaw their Sons return alive from *Thraſymene*, may ſerve to bear witneſs; though it be more properly an example of motherly love. The Walls and Towers of the City, were now repaired and fortified; the Bridges upon Rivers were broken down; and all care taken for defence of *Rome* it ſelf. In this tumult, when the Dictator was newly ſet forth againſt *Hannibal*; word was brought, that the *Carthaginian* Fleet had intercepted all the ſupply that was going to *Cn. Scipio* in *Spain*. Againſt theſe *Carthaginians*, *Fabius* commanded *Servilius* the Conſul to put to Sea; and taking up all the Ships about *Rome* and *Oſtia*, to purſue them: whilſt he, with the Legions, attended upon *Hannibal*. Four Legions he had levied in haſte: and from *Ariminum* he received the Army, which *Servilius* the Conſul had conducted thither.

With theſe forthwith he followed apace after *Hannibal*; not to fight, but to affront him. And knowing well, what advantage the *Numidian* Horſe had over the *Romans*, he always lodged himſelf on high grounds, and of hard acceſs. *Hannibal* in the mean while, purſuing his Victory, had ranged over all the Countrey, and uſed all manner of cruelty towards the Inhabitants; eſpecially to thoſe of the *Roman* Nation, of whom he did put to the Sword all that were able to bear Arms. Paſſing by *Spoletum* and *Ancona*, he incamped upon the *Adriatick* ſhores; refreſhed his diſeaſed and over-travelled Companies; armed his *Africans* after the manner of the *Romans*; and made his diſpatches for *Carthage*, preſenting his friends, which were in effect all the Citizens, with part of the Spoils he had gotten. Having refreſhed his Army, fed his Horſes, cured his wounded Souldiers, and (as *Polybius* hath it) healed his Horſe Heels of the ſcratches, by waſhing their paſterns in old Wine: he followed the Coaſt of the *Adriatick* Sea towards *Apulia*, a *Northern* Province of the Kingdom of *Naples*; ſpoiling the *Marrucini*, and all other Nations lying in his way. In all this ground that he over-ran, he had not taken any one City; only he had aſſayed *Spoletum*, a Colony of the *Romans*; and finding it well defended, preſently gave it over.

The malice of a great Army is broken, and the force of it ſpent, in a great Siege. This the *Proteſtant* Army found true at *Poictiers*, a little before the Battel of *Moncounter*; and their victorious Enemies, anon after, at St. *Jean d' Angeley*. But *Hannibal* was more wiſe. He would not engage himſelf in any ſuch Enterpriſe, as ſhould detain him, and give the *Romans* leave to take breath. All his care was to weaken them in Force and Reputation; knowing, that when once he was abſolute Maſter of the Field, it would not be long ere the walled Cities would open their Gates, without expecting any Engine of Battery. To this end he preſented *Fabius* with Battel, as ſoon as he ſaw him; and provoked him with all manner of Bravado's. But *Fabius* would not bite. He well knew the differences between Souldiers bred up, ever ſince they were Boys, in War and in Blood, trained and hardened in *Spain*, made proud and adventurous by many Victories there; and of late by ſome notable acts againſt the *Romans*; and ſuch as had no oftner ſeen the Enemy, than been vanquiſhed by him. Therefore he attended the *Carthaginian* ſo near, as he kept him from ſtragling too far; and preſerved the Countrey from utter ſpoil. He inured his men by little and little, and made them acquainted with dangers by degrees; and he brought them firſt to look on the Lion a far off, that in the end they might ſit on his tail.

Now *Minutius* had a contrary diſpoſition, and was as fiery as *Flaminius*; taxing *Fabius* with cowardiſe and fear. But all ſtirred not this well-adviſed Commander. For wiſe men are no more moved with ſuch Noiſe, than with Wind bruſſed out of a bladder. There is nothing of more indiſcretion and danger, than to purſue misfortune: It waſteth it ſelf ſooner by ſufferance, than by oppoſition. It is the invading Army that deſires battel: and this of *Hannibal*, was both the invading, and the victorious. *Fabius* therefore ſuffered *Hannibal* to croſs the *Apennines*, and to fall upon the moſt rich and pleaſant Territory of *Campania*; neither could he by any Arguments be perſwaded, to adventure the *Roman* Army in battel: but being far too weak in Horſe, he always kept the Hills and faſt grounds. When *Hannibal* ſaw he could by no means draw this wary Dictator to fight; that the Winter came on; and that the Towns ſtood firm for the *Romans*, whoſe Legions were in ſight, though a-far off; he reſolved to reſt his Army, that was loaden with Spoil, in ſome plentiful and aſſured place, till the following Spring. But ere this can be done, he muſt paſs along by the Dictators Camp, that hung over his Head upon the Hills of *Callicula* and *Caſilinum*: for other way there was none, by which he might iſſue out of that goodly Garden-Countrey, which he had already waſted, into places more aboundant of proviſion for his wintering. It was by meer Error of his Guide, that he firſt entred within theſe ſtreights. For he would have been directed unto *Caſſinum*, whence he might both aſſay the fair City of *Capua*, which had made him friendly promiſes under Hand, and hinder the *Romans* from coming near it to prevent him. But his guide miſunderſtood the *Carthaginian* pronunciation, and conducted him awry an other way, from *Caſſinum* to *Caſilinum*, whence *Fabius* hoped that he ſhould not eaſily eſcape. Now began the Wiſdom of *Fabius* to grow into credit; as if he had taken the *Carthaginians* in a Trap, and won the Victory without blows. But *Hannibal* reformed this opinion, and freed himſelf, by a ſlight invention, yet ſerving the turn as well as a better. In driving the Countrey, he had gotten about two thouſand Kine; whoſe Horns he dreſſed with dry faggots, and ſetting fire to them in the dark Night, cauſed them to be driven up the Hills. The Spectacle was ſtrange, and therefore terrible; eſpecially to thoſe that knew it to be the work of a terrible Enemy. What it ſhould mean, *Fabius* could not tell: but thought it a device to circumvent him; and therefore kept within his Trenches. They that kept the Hill-tops, were horribly afraid, when ſome of theſe fiery Monſters were gotten beyond them; and ran therefore haſtily away, thinking that the Enemies were behind their backs, and fell among the light-armed *Carthaginians*, that were no leſs afraid of them. So *Hannibal*, with his whole Army, recovered ſure ground, without moleſtation: where he ſtayed till the next morning; and then brought off his light foot-

foot-men, with ſome ſlaughter of the *Romans*, that began to hold them in Skirmiſh. After this, *Hannibal* made ſemblance of taking his journey towards *Rome*: and the Dictator coaſted him in the wonted manner, keeping ſtill on high grounds, between him and the City, whilſt the *Carthaginian* waſted all the Plains. The *Carthaginian* took *Geryon*, an old ruinous Town in *Apulia*, forſaken by the Inhabitants, which he turned into Barns and Store-Houſes for Winter, and incamped under the broken Walls. Other matter of importance he did none: but the time paſſed idlely, till the Dictator was called away to *Rome*, about ſome buſineſs of Religion, and left the Army in charge with *Minutius*, the Maſter of the Horſe.

Minutius was glad of this good occaſion to ſhew his own ſufficiency. He was fully perſwaded, that his *Romans*, in plain Field, would be too hard for the *Africans* and *Spaniards*: by whom if they had been foiled already twice or thrice, it was not by open force, but by ſubtilty and ambuſh, which he thought himſelf wiſe enough to prevent. All the Army was of his opinion; and that ſo earneſtly, as he was preferred by judgment of the Souldiers, in Worthineſs to command, before the cold and wary *Fabius*. In this jollity of conceit, he determined to fight. Yet had he been peremptorily forbidden ſo to do, by the Dictator; the breach of whoſe command was extreme peril of death. But the Honour of the Victory, which he held undoubtedly his own; the love of the Army, and the friends that he had at Home bearing Office in *Rome*, were enough to ſave him from the Dictators Rods and Axes, took he the matter never ſo heinouſly. *Hannibal* on the other ſide was no leſs glad, that he ſhould play with a more adventurous gameſter. Therefore he drew near: and to provoke the *Romans*, ſent forth a third part of his Army to waſte the Countrey. This was boldly done, ſeeing that *Minutius* incamped hard by him: but it ſeems, that he now deſpiſed thoſe whom he had ſo often vanquiſhed. There was a piece of high ground between the two Camps; which becauſe it would be commodious to him that could occupy it, the *Carthaginians* ſeiſed upon by Night, with two thouſand of their light-armed. But *Minutius*, by plain force, wan it from them the next day; and entrenching himſelf thereupon, became their nearer Neighbour.

The main buſineſs of *Hannibal* at this time was, to provide abundantly, not only for his Men, but for his Horſes, which he knew to be the chief of his ſtrength; that he might keep them in good Heart againſt the next Summer: if beſides this he could give the *Romans* another blow, it would increaſe his Reputation, encourage his own men, terrifie his Enemies, and give him leave to forrage the Countrey at Will. Since therefore *Minutius* did not in many days iſſue forth of his Camp, the *Carthaginian* ſent out (as before) a great number of his men, to fetch in Harveſt. This advantage *Minutius* wiſely eſpied, and took. For he led forth his Army, and ſetting it in order, preſented battel to *Hannibal*, that was not in caſe to accept it, even at his own Trenches. His Horſe, and all his light Armature, divided into many companies, he ſent abroad againſt the forragers; who being diſperſed over all the Fields, and loaden with booty, could make no reſiſtance. This angred *Hannibal*, that was not able to help them; but worſe did it anger him, when the *Romans* took heart to aſſail his Trenches. They perceived that it was meer Weakneſs which held him within his Camp; and therefore were bold to deſpiſe his great Name, that could not reſiſt their preſent ſtrength. But in the heat of the buſineſs, *Aſdrubal* came from *Geryon* with four thouſand men, being informed of the danger, by thoſe that had eſcaped the *Roman* Horſe. This emboldened *Hannibal* to iſſue forth againſt the *Romans*; to whom nevertheleſs he did not ſuch hurt, as he had received.

For this piece of ſervice *Minutius* was highly eſteemed by the Army, and more highly by the People at *Rome*, to whom he ſent the News, with ſomewhat greater boaſt than truth. It ſeemed no ſmall matter, that the *Roman* Army had recovered ſpirit, ſo far forth that it dared to ſet upon *Hannibal* in his own Camp; and that in ſo doing, it came off with the better. Every man therefore praiſed the Maſter of the Horſe, that had wrought this great alteration; and conſequently, they grew as far out of liking with *Fabius*, and his timorous proceedings, thinking that he had not done any thing wiſely in all his Dictatorſhip; ſaving that he choſe ſuch a worthy Lieutenant; whereas indeed in no other thing he had ſo greatly erred. But the Dictator was not ſo joyful of a little good luck, as angry with the breach of Diſcipline, and fearful of greater danger, thereon likely to enſue. He ſaid that he knew his own place, and what was to be done; that he would teach the Maſter of the Horſe to do ſo likewiſe; and make him give account of what he had done, if he were Dictator: ſpeaking it openly, That good ſucceſs, iſſuing from bad counſel, was more to be feared than calamity; for as much as the one bred a fooliſh confidence, the other taught men to be wary. Againſt theſe Sermons every one cried out; eſpecially *Metellus*, a Tribune of the people: which Office warranted him to ſpeak, and do what he liſt, without fear of the Dictator. Is it not enough (ſaid he) that this our only Man, choſen to be General, and Lord of the Town, in our greateſt neceſſity, hath done no manner of good, but ſuffered all *Italy* to be waſted before his Eyes, to the utter ſhame of our State; unleſs he alſo hinder others from doing better than himſelf can, or dares? It were good to conſider what he means by this. Into the place of *C. Flaminius* he hath not choſen any new Conſul all this while; *Servilius* is ſent away to Sea. I know not why; *Hannibal* and He, have, as it were, taken Truce; *Hannibal* ſparing the Dictators grounds: (for *Hannibal* had indeed forborn to ſpoil ſome grounds of *Fabius*, that ſo he might bring him into envy and ſuſpicion) and the Dictator giving him leave to ſpoil all others, without impeachment. Surely his drift is even this: He would have the War to laſt long, that he himſelf might be long in Office, and have the ſole Government both of our City and Armies. But this muſt not be ſo. It were better, that the Commonalty of *Rome*, which gave him this Authority, ſhould again take it from him, and confer it upon one more worthy. But leſt, in moving the people hereto, I ſhould ſeem to do him injury; thus far forth I will regard his Honour: I will only propound, That the Maſter of the Horſe may be joyned in equal Authority with the Dictator; a thing not more new, nor leſs neceſſary, than was the electing of this Dictator by the People.

Though all men, even the Senators, were ill perſwaded of the courſe which *Fabius* had taken againſt *Hannibal*, as being neither plauſible, nor ſeeming beneficial at the preſent; yet was there none ſo injurious, as to think that his general intent, and care of the Weal publick, was leſs than very honourable. Whereas therefore it was the manner, in paſſing of any Act, that ſome man of Credit and Authority, beſides the Propounder,

ſhould ſtand up, and formally deliver his approbation; not one of the principal Citizens was found ſo impudent, as to offer that open diſgrace, both unto a worthy Perſonage, and (therewithal) unto that Dignity, whoſe great power had freed the State at ſeveral times, from the greateſt dangers. Only *C. Terentius Varro*, who the year before had been Prætor, was glad of ſuch an opportunity, to win the favour of the Multitude. This fellow was the ſon of a *Butcher*; afterwards became a Shop-keeper; and being of a contentious ſpirit, grew, by often brablings, to take upon him as a Pleader, dealing in poor mens Cauſes. Thus by little and little he got into Office; and roſe by degrees, being advanced by thoſe, who in hatred of the Nobility favoured his very baſeneſs. And now he thought the time was come, for him to give an hard puſh at the Conſulſhip; by doing that which none of the great men, fearing or favouring one another, either durſt or would. So he made an hot invective, not only againſt *Fabius*, but againſt all the Nobility; ſaying, that it grieved them to ſee the people do well, and take upon them what belonged unto them, in matter of Government; that they ſought to humble the Commons by Poverty, and to impoveriſh them by War; eſpecially by War at their own doors, which would ſoon conſume every poor mans living, and find him other work to think upon, than matter of State. Therefore he bad them to be wiſe; and ſince they had found one (this worthy Maſter of the Horſe) that was better affected unto them and his Countrey, to reward him according to his good deſerts; and give him Authority, accordingly as was propounded by the Tribune, that ſo he might be encouraged and enabled to proceed as he had begun. So the Act paſſed.

Before this buſie day of contention, *Fabius* had diſpatched the Election of a new Conſul, which was *M. Atilius Regulus*, in the room of *C. Flaminius*: and having finiſhed all requiſite buſineſs, went out of Town, perceiving well, that he ſhould not be able to withſtand the Multitude, in hindering the Decree. The News of *Minutius* his advancement, was at the Camp as ſoon as *Fabius*: ſo that his old Lieutenant, and new Colleague, began to treat with him as a Companion; asking him at the firſt, in what ſort he thought it beſt to divide their Authority: whether that one, one day; and the other the next; or each of them, ſucceſſively, for ſome longer time, ſhould command in chief. *Fabius* briefly told him, That it was the pleaſure of the Citizens, to make the Maſter of the Horſe equal to the Dictator; but that he ſhould never be his Superiour: He would therefore divide the Legions with him, by lot, according to the cuſtom. *Minutius* was not herewith greatly pleaſed; for that with half of the Army he could not work ſuch Wonders, as otherwiſe he hoped to accompliſh. Nevertheleſs he meant to do his beſt; and ſo taking his part of the Army, incamped about a mile and an half from the Dictator. Needful it was (though *Livy* ſeem to tax him for it) that he ſhould ſo do. For where two ſeveral Commanders are not ſubordinate one unto the other, nor joyned in Commiſſion, but have each entire and abſolute charge of his own followers, there are the forces (though belonging unto one Prince or State) not one, but two diſtinct Armies: in which regard, one Camp ſhall not hold them both, without great inconvenience. *Polybius* neither finds fault with this disjunction, nor yet reports, that *Fabius* was unwilling to command in chief ſucceſſively (as the two Conſuls uſed) with *Minutius*, by turns. He ſaith, that *Minutius* was very refractory; and ſo proud of his advancement, that continually he oppoſed the Dictator: who thereupon referred it to his choice, either to divide the Forces between them, as is ſaid before, or elſe to have command over all by courſe. This is likely to be true. For Natures impatient of ſubjection, when once they have broken looſe from the rigour of Authority, love nothing more than to conteſt with it: as if herein conſiſted the proof and aſſurance of their liberty.

It behoved the Maſter of the Horſe, to make good the Opinion which had thus advanced him. Therefore he was no leſs careful, of getting occaſion to fight, than was *Fabius* of avoiding the neceſſity. That which *Minutius* and *Hannibal* equally deſired, could not long be wanting. The Countrey lying between them was open and bare, yet as fit for Ambuſh as could be wiſhed: for that the ſides of a naked Valley adjoyning, had many, and ſpacious Caves; able, ſome one of them to hide Two or Three Hundred men. In theſe lurking places, *Hannibal* beſtowed Five Hundred Horſe, and Five Thouſand Foot; thruſting them ſo cloſe together, that they could not be diſcovered. But leſt by any miſadventure they ſhould be found out, and buried in their Holes, he made offer betimes in the morning, to ſeize upon a piece of ground that lay on the other hand: whereby he drew the eyes and thoughts of the *Romans*, from their more needful care, to buſineſs little concerning them. Like unto this was the occaſion, which, not long before, had provoked *Minutius* to adventure upon the *Carthaginians*. Hoping therefore to increaſe his Honour, in like ſort as he got it; he ſent firſt his light Armature, then his Horſe, and at length (ſeeing that *Hannibal* ſeconded his own Troops with freſh Companies) he followed in perſon with the Legions. He was ſoon caught; and ſo hotly charged on all ſides, that he knew neither how to make reſiſtance, nor any ſafe Retreat. In this dangerous caſe, whilſt the *Romans* defended themſelves, loſing many, and thoſe of their beſt men: *Fabius* drew near, in very good order, to relieve them. For this old Captain, perceiving a far off, into what extremity his new Colleague had raſhly thrown himſelf, and his followers, did the Office of a good Citizen; and regarding more the benefit of his Countrey, than the diſgrace which he had wrongfully ſuſtained, ſought rather to approve himſelf, by haſting to do good, than by ſuffering his Enemy to feel the reward of doing ill. Upon *Fabius* his approach, *Hannibal* retired; fearing to be well wetted with a ſhower, from the Cloud (as he termed the Dictator) that had hung ſo long on the Hill-tops. *Minutius* forthwith ſubmitted himſelf to *Fabius*; by whoſe benefit he confeſſed his life to have been ſaved. So from this time forwards, the War proceeded coldly, as the Dictator would have it; both whilſt his Office laſted, which was not long, and likewiſe afterwards, when he delivered up his charge unto the Conſuls, that followed his inſtructions.

Servilius the Conſul had purſued in vain a *Carthaginian* Fleet, to which he came never within kenning. He ran along all the Coaſt of *Italy*; took Hoſtages of the *Sardinians* and *Corſicans*; paſſed over into *Africk*; and there negligently falling to ſpoil the Countrey, was ſhamefully beaten aboard his Ships, with the loſs of a thouſand men. Weighing anchor therefore in all haſte, he returned home by *Sicil*; and (being ſo required by the Dictator's Letters) repaired to the Camp, with his fellow-Conſul, where they took charge of the Army.

§. VII.

§. VII.

The Roman *People, desirous to finish the War quickly, choose a rash and unworthy Consul. Great Forces levied against* Hannibal. Hannibal *taketh the* Romans *Provisions in the Castle of* Cannæ. *The new Consuls set forth against* Hannibal.

WITH little pleasure did they of the poorer sort in *Rome*, hear the great commendations, that were given to *Fabius* by the principal Citizens. He had indeed preserved them from receiving a great Overthrow: but he had neither finished the War, nor done any thing in appearance thereto tending. Rather it might seem, that the Reputation of this his one worthy act, was likely to countenance the slow proceedings, or perhaps the cowardize (if it were no worse) of those that followed him, in protracting the work to a great length. Else, what meant the Consuls to sit idle the whole Winter, contrary to all former custom; since it was never heard before, that any *Roman* General had willingly suffered the time of his Command to run away without any performance; as if it were honourable to do just nothing? Thus they suspected they knew not what; and were ready every man, to discharge the grief and anger of his own private loss, upon the ill administration of the publick.

This Affection of the People, was very helpful to *C. Terentius Varro*, in his suit for the Consulship. It behoved him to strike whilst the Iron was hot; his own Worth being little or none, and his Credit over-weak, to make way into that high Dignity. But the Commonalty were then in such a mood, as abundantly supplied all his defects. Wherein to help, he had a Kinsman, *Bibius Herennius*, then Tribune of the People; who spared not to use the liberty of his place, in saying what he lifted, without all regard of truth or modesty. This bold Orator stuck not to affirm, That *Hannibal* was drawn into *Italy*, and suffered therein to range at his pleasure, by the Noblemen; That *Minutius* indeed with his two Legions, was likely to have been overthrown, and was rescued by *Fabius*, with the other two; but had all been joyned together, what they might have done, it was apparent, by the Victory of *Minutius*, when he commanded over all, as Master of the Horse; That without a *Plebeian* Consul, the War would never be brought to an end; That such of the *Plebeians* as had long since been advanced to Honour by the People, were grown as proud as the old Nobility, and contemned the meaner sort, ever since themselves were freed from contempt of the more mighty; That therefore it was needful to choose a Consul, who should be altogether a *Plebeian*, a meer new man, one that could boast of nothing but the Peoples love, nor could wish more, than to keep it, by well deserving of them. By such perswasions the Multitude was won, to be wholly for *Terentius*: to the great vexation of the Nobles, who could not endure to see a man raised for none other Vertue, than his detracting from their Honour; and therefore opposed him with all their might. To hinder the desire of the People, it fell out, or at least was alledged, that neither of the two present Consuls could well be spared, from attending upon *Hannibal*, to hold the Election. Wherefore a Dictator was named for that purpose: and he again deposed; either (as was pretended) for some religious impediment, or because the *Fathers* desired an *Inter-regnum*, wherein they might better hope to prevail in choice of the new Consuls. This *Inter-regnum* took Name and Being in *Rome*, at the Death of *Romulus*; and was in use at the Death of other Kings. The order of it was this: All the *Fathers*, or *Senators*, who at the first were an Hundred, parted themselves into *Tens*, or *Decuries*; and governed successively, by the space of five days, one *Decury* after another in order: yet so, that the *Lictors*, or *Virgers*, carrying the *Fasces*, or bundles of Rods and Axes, waited only upon the chief of them with these Ensigns of Power. This custom was retained in times of the Consuls, and put in use, when by death, or any casualty, there wanted ordinary Magistrates of the old year, to substitute new for the year following. The advantage of the *Fathers* herein was, that if the Election were not like to go as they would have it, there needed no more, than to let slip five days, and then was all to begin a-new: by which interruption, the heat of the Multitude was commonly well asswaged. Upon such change of those that were Presidents of the Election; it was also lawful unto new Petitioners, to sue for the Magistracies that lay void: which otherwise was not allowed; but a time limited, wherein they should publickly declare themselves to seek those Offices. But no device would serve against the general favour born unto *Terentius*. One *Inter-regnum* passed over; and the malice of the *Fathers*, against the Vertue (as it was believed) of this mean, but worthy man, seemed so manifest, that when the People had urged the business to dispatch, only *Terentius* was chosen Consul: in whose hand it was left, to hold the Election of his Colleague. Hereupon all the former Petitioners gave over. For whereas men of ordinary mark had stood for the place before; it was now thought meet, that, both to supply the defect, and to bridle the violence of this unexpert, and hot-headed man, one of great sufficiency, and reputation, should be joyned with him, as both Companion and Opposite. So *L. Æmilius Paulus*, he who few years since had overcome the *Illyrians*, and chased *Demetrius Pharius* out of his Kingdom, was urged by the Nobility to stand for the place: which he easily obtained, having no Competitor. It was not the desire of this honourable man, to trouble himself any more in such great business of the Commonwealth. For, notwithstanding his late good service, He, and *M. Livius*, that had been his Companion in Office, were afterwards injuriously vexed by the People, and called unto judgment: wherein *Livius* was condemned, and *Æmilius* hardly escaped. But of this injustice they shall put the *Romans* well in mind, each of them in his second Consulship, wherein they shall honourably approve their worth; the one of them nobly dying, in the most grievous loss; the other bravely winning, in the most happy Victory, that ever befel that Common-wealth.

These new Consuls, *Varro* and *Paulus*, omitted no part of their diligence, in preparing for the War: wherein though *Varro* made the greater noise, by telling what Wonders he would work, and that he would ask no more than once to have a fight of *Hannibal*, whom he promised to vanquish the very first day; yet the providence and care of *Paulus*, travelled more earnestly toward the accomplishment of that, whereof his fellow vainly boasted. He wrote unto the two old Consuls, *Servilius* and *Atilius*; desiring them to abstain from hazard of the main chance; but nevertheless, to ply the *Carthaginians* with daily skirmish, and weaken them by degrees: that

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when he and his Colleague ſhould take the Field, with the great Army which they were now levying, they might find the four old Legions well accuſtomed to the Enemy, and the Enemy well weakened to their hands. He was alſo very ſtrict in his Muſters; wherein the whole Senate aſſiſted him ſo carefully, as if in this Action they meant to refute the ſlanders, with which *Terentius* and his Adherents had burdened them. What number of men they raiſed it is uncertain. Fourſcore thouſand Foot, at the leaſt, and ſix thouſand Horſe, they were ſtrong in the Field, when the day came, which *Varro* had ſo greatly deſired, of looking upon *Hannibal*.

Hiero, the old King of *Syracuſe*, as he had relieved the *Carthaginians*, when they were diſtreſſed by their own Mercinaries; ſo did he now ſend help to *Rome*, a thouſand Archers and Slingers, with great quantity of Wheat, Barley, and other Proviſions: fearing nothing more, than that one of theſe two mighty Cities ſhould deſtroy the other, whereby his own Eſtate would fall to ruine; that ſtood upright, by having them ſomewhat evenly ballanced. He gave them alſo counſel, to ſend Forces into *Africa*; if (perhaps) by that means they might divert the War from Home. His gifts, and good advice were lovingly accepted; and inſtructions were given to *Titus Octacilius* the Prætor, which was to go into *Sicil*, that he ſhould accordingly paſs over into *Africk*, if he found it expedient.

The great Levies which the *Romans* made at this time, do much more ſerve to declare their puiſſance, than any, though larger, account by Poll, of ſuch as were not eaſily drawn into the Field, and fitted for ſervice. For beſides theſe Armies of the Conſuls, and that which went into *Sicil*; twenty five thouſand, with *L. Poſthumius Albinus*, another of the Prætors, went againſt the *Gaules*, to reclaim that Province, which the paſſage of *Hannibal* through it, had taken from them. The contemplation of this their preſent ſtrength, might well embolden them to do as they did. They ſent Embaſſadors to *Philip*, the Son of *Demetrius*, King of *Macedon*; requiring him to deliver into their hands, *Demetrius Pharius*: who having been their Subject, and Rebel, was fled into his Kingdom. They alſo ſent to the *Illyrians*, to demand their Tribute; whereof the day of payment was already paſt. What Anſwer they received, it is not known: only this is known, that *Demetrius Pharius* was not ſent unto them; and that *Philip* henceforth began to have an eye upon them, little to their good. As for the *Illyrian* money; by the ſhifts that they were driven ſoon after to make, it will appear, that the one half of it (how little ſoever) would have been welcome to *Rome*, and accepted, without any cavil about forfeiture for *non payment* of the whole.

Whilſt the City was buſied in theſe cares, the old Conſuls lay as near unto *Hannibal* as poſſibly they could, without incurring the neceſſity of a Battel. Many Skirmiſhes they had with him; wherein their ſucceſs, for the moſt part, was rather good than great. Yet one miſchance not only blemiſhed the Honour of their other Services, but was indeed the occaſion, to draw on the miſery following. *Hannibal*, for the moſt part of that time, made his abode at *Geryon*, where lay all his ſtore for the Winter. The *Romans*, to be near him, lodged about *Cannuſium*; and, that they might not be driven to turn aſide for all Neceſſaries, to the loſs of good Opportunities, they beſtowed much of their Proviſions in the Caſtle of *Cannæ*: for the Town was razed the year before. This place *Hannibal* wan; and thereby not only furniſhed himſelf, but compelled his Enemies to want many needful things, unleſs they would be troubled with far carriage. Beſides this, and more to his advantage, he enabled himſelf to abide in that open Countrey, fit for the ſervice of his Horſe: longer than the *Romans*, having ſo many mouths to feed, could well endure to tarry; without offering Battel; which he moſt deſired. Of this miſhap when *Servilius* had informed the Senate, letting them underſtand, how this Piece, taken by *Hannibal*, would ſerve him to command no ſmall part of the Countrey adjacent; it then ſeemed needful, even unto the *Fathers* themſelves, to adventure a Battel with the *Carthaginian*, rather than ſuffer him thus to take root in the ground of *Italy*. Nevertheleſs anſwer was returned unto *Servilius*, that he ſhould have patience yet a while: for that the Conſuls would ſhortly be there, with a power ſufficient to do as need required.

When all things were ready in the City, and the ſeaſon of the year commodious to take the Field; the two Conſuls, with their Army, ſet forth againſt *Hannibal*. This was always done with great Solemnity: eſpecially, whenſoever they went forth to War againſt any noble or re-doubted Enemy. For Sacrifices, and ſolemn Vows, were made unto *Jupiter*, and the reſt of their Gods, for good Succeſs and Victory: which being performed, the Generals, in warlike Attire, with an honourable train of the principal men, not only ſuch as were of their Kindred and Alliance, or followed them to the War, as Voluntaries, for love, but a great number of others that meant to abide at home, were accompanied on their way, and diſmiſſed with friendly leave-taking, and good Wiſhes. At this time, all the *Fathers*, and the whole Nobility, waited upon *Æmilius Paulus*, as the only Man, whom they thought either worthy of this Honour, or likely to do his Countrey remarkable Service. *Terentius* his Attendants were the whole multitude of the poorer Citizens; a Troop no leſs in greatneſs, than the other was in dignity. At the parting, *Fabius* the late Dictator, is ſaid to have exhorted the Conſul *Paulus*, with many grave words, to ſhew his Magnanimity, not only in dealing with the *Carthaginians*, but (which he thought harder) in bridling the outragious folly of his fellow-Conſul. The anſwer of *Paulus* was, That he meant not again to run into danger of condemnation, by offending the Multitude; that he would do his beſt for his Countrey: but if he ſaw his beſt were likely to be ill taken, He would think it leſs raſhneſs to adventure upon the Enemies Sword, than upon the malice of his own Citizens.

§. VIII.

Diſſenſion between the two Roman *Conſuls. Whether it be likely, that* Hannibal *was upon point of flying out of* Italy, *when the* Romans *preſſed him to fight. The great Battel of* Cannæ.

THeſe new Generals, arriving at the Camp, diſmiſſed *M. Atilius*, one of the laſt years Conſuls, requeſting it becauſe of his age and weakneſs: *Servilius* they retained with them, as their Aſſiſtant. The firſt thing that *Æmilius* thought neceſſary, was, to hearten his Souldiers with good words; who out of their bad ſucceſs hitherto,

hitherto, had gathered more cauſe of fear, than of courage. He willed them to conſider, not only now, their Victories in times paſt againſt the *Carthaginians*, and other more warlike Nations than were the *Carthaginians*, but even their own great numbers: which were no leſs than all that *Rome* at the preſent was able to ſet forth. He told them in what danger their Countrey ſtood; how the ſtate and ſafety thereof, reſted upon their hands; uſing ſome ſuch other common matter of perſwaſion. But the moſt effectual part of his Oration was, That *Hannibal* with this his terrible Army, had not yet obtained one Victory by plain force and valour: but that only by deceit and ambuſh he had ſtollen the Honour, which he had gotten at *Trebia* and *Thraſymene*. Herewithal he taxed the inconſiderate raſhneſs of *Sempronius* and *Flaminius*; of whom the one ſaw not his Enemies, until he was ſurrounded by them; the other ſcarce ſaw them, when they ſtruck off his Head, by reaſon of the thick miſt, through the darkneſs whereof he went groping (as it were blind-fold) into their ſnares. Finally, declaring what advantages they had againſt the Enemy; and how deſtitute the Enemy was of thoſe helps, by which he had hitherto prevailed againſt them; he exhorted them to play the men, and do their beſt. They were eaſily perſwaded: for the contemplation of their own multitude, and confidence of the *Roman* vertue in matter of Arms, gave them cauſe to think, that under a Captain ſo well experienced, and every way ſufficient, as *Æmilius* was known to be, they ſhould eaſily prevail againſt the *Carthaginians*: that came far ſhort of them in all things elſe, ſave craft; which would not always thrive. But in one thing they miſtook the meaning of their General. It was his deſire, that they ſhould have heart to fight; not that they ſhould loſe the patience of waiting a convenient ſeaſon. But they, having pre-conceived a Victory, thought all delays to be impediments: and thereby ſought to rob themſelves of their beſt help; which was, good conduct. They remembred what talk they had heard at *Rome*: and were themſelves affected with the vulgar deſire, of ending the War quickly; wherein ſince *Æmilius* had acknowledged, that the advantage was theirs, why did he make them forbear to uſe it? Thus thought the common Souldier: and thus alſo thought the Conſul *Terentius*; who was no leſs popular in the Camp, than he had been in the City. Expectation is always tedious; and never more, than when the Event is of moſt importance. All men longed, both at *Rome*, and in the Army, to be freed from the doubtful Paſſions of Hope and Fear: therefore *Terentius*, who haſtned their deſire to effect, was likely to win more thanks, than ſhould his Colleague, though greater in the performance. Thus while the *Romans* think themſelves to have the better of their Enemies, they fall into an inconvenience, than which few are more dangerous; *Diſſention* of their chief Commanders. *Varro* would fight: *Æmilius* would ſo too, but ſaid that it was not yet time; why? becauſe the Enemy muſt ſhortly diſlodge, and remove hence, into Places leſs fit for his Horſe. But ſhall the *Romans* wait, till *Hannibal*, having eaten up his laſt years proviſions, return into *Campania* to gather a ſecond Harveſt? This would (ſaid *Varro*) ſavour too much of *Q. Fabius*: And your haſte (ſaid *Paulus*) doth ſavour no leſs of *C. Flaminius*. Their deeds were like their words: for they commanded by turns interchangeably every day. *Æmilius* lodged ſix miles from *Hannibal*, where the ground was ſomewhat uneven. Thither if the *Carthaginians* would take pains to come, he doubted not to ſend them away in ſuch haſte, as they ſhould not leave running till they were out of *Italy*. But they came not. *Terentius* therefore the next day deſcended into the Plains; his Colleague holding him, and beſeeching him to ſtay. Nevertheleſs he ſate down cloſe by *Hannibal*: who as an unbidden Gueſt gave him but a rude welcom and entertainment. The *Carthaginian* Horſe, and light Armature, fell upon the *Roman* Vant-courrers; and put the whole Army in tumult, whilſt it was yet in march: but they were beaten off, not without loſs, for that the *Romans* had, among their *Velites*, ſome Troops weightily armed, whereas the *Carthaginians* had none. The day following, *Æmilius*, who could not handſomly withdraw the Army out of that level ground, incamped upon the River *Auſidus*; ſending a third part of his Forces over the Water, to lye upon the Eaſtern Bank, where they entrenched themſelves. He never was more unwilling to fight, than at this preſent: becauſe the ground ſerved wholly for the advantage of his Enemy; with whom he meant to deal, when occaſion ſhould draw him to more equal terms. Therefore he ſtirred not out of his Trenches, but fortified himſelf; expecting when *Hannibal* ſhould diſlodge, and remove towards *Geryon*, *Cannæ*, or ſome other Place, where his ſtore lay, for want of Neceſſaries: whereof an Army forraging the Countrey, was not likely to carry about with it ſufficient quantity, for any long time.

Here it would not be paſſed over with ſilence, That *Livy* differeth much in his Relation from *Polybius*: telling many ſtrange Tales, of the miſery into which *Hannibal* had been driven; and of baſe courſes that he deviſed to take, if the *Romans* could have retained their patience a little longer. He had (ſaith *Livy*) but ten days proviſion of meat. He had not money to pay his Souldiers. They were an unruly Rabble, gathered out of ſeveral Nations, ſo that He knew not how to keep them in order; but that from murmuring, they fell to flat exclamations, firſt, about their Pay, and Provant, and afterwards for very Famine. Eſpecially the *Spaniards* were ready to forſake him, and run over to the *Roman* ſide. Yea *Hannibal* himſelf was once upon the point, to have ſtollen away into *Gaule* with all his Horſe, and left his Foot unto their miſerable deſtinies. At length, for lack of all other counſel, He reſolved to get him as far as he could from the *Romans*, into the Southermoſt Parts of *Apulia*; to the end, that both his unfaithful Souldiers might find the more difficulty in running from him; and that his hunger might be relieved with the more early harveſt. But whilſt he was about to put this device in execution, the *Romans* preſſed him ſo hard, that they even forced him unto that, which he moſt deſired; even to fight a Battel upon open champain ground: wherein he was victorious. It was not uncommendable in *Livy*, to ſpeak the beſt of his own Citizens; and, where they did ill, to ſay, That, without their own great folly, they had done paſſing well. Further alſo he may be excuſed; as writing only by report. For thus he ſaith; *Hannibal de fugâ in Galliam [dicitur] agitâſſe; Hannibal [is ſaid] to have bethought himſelf of flying into Gaule*: where he makes it no more than a matter of hear-ſay; as perhaps was all the reſt of this Relation. As for the proceſs it ſelf, it is very incredible. For if *Hannibal*, coming out of *Gaule*, through the Mariſhes and Bogs of *Hetruria*, could find Victuals enough, and all things needful unto his Army, the Summer foregoing: what ſhould hinder him to do the like this year; eſpecially ſeeing *Liv. l. 22.*

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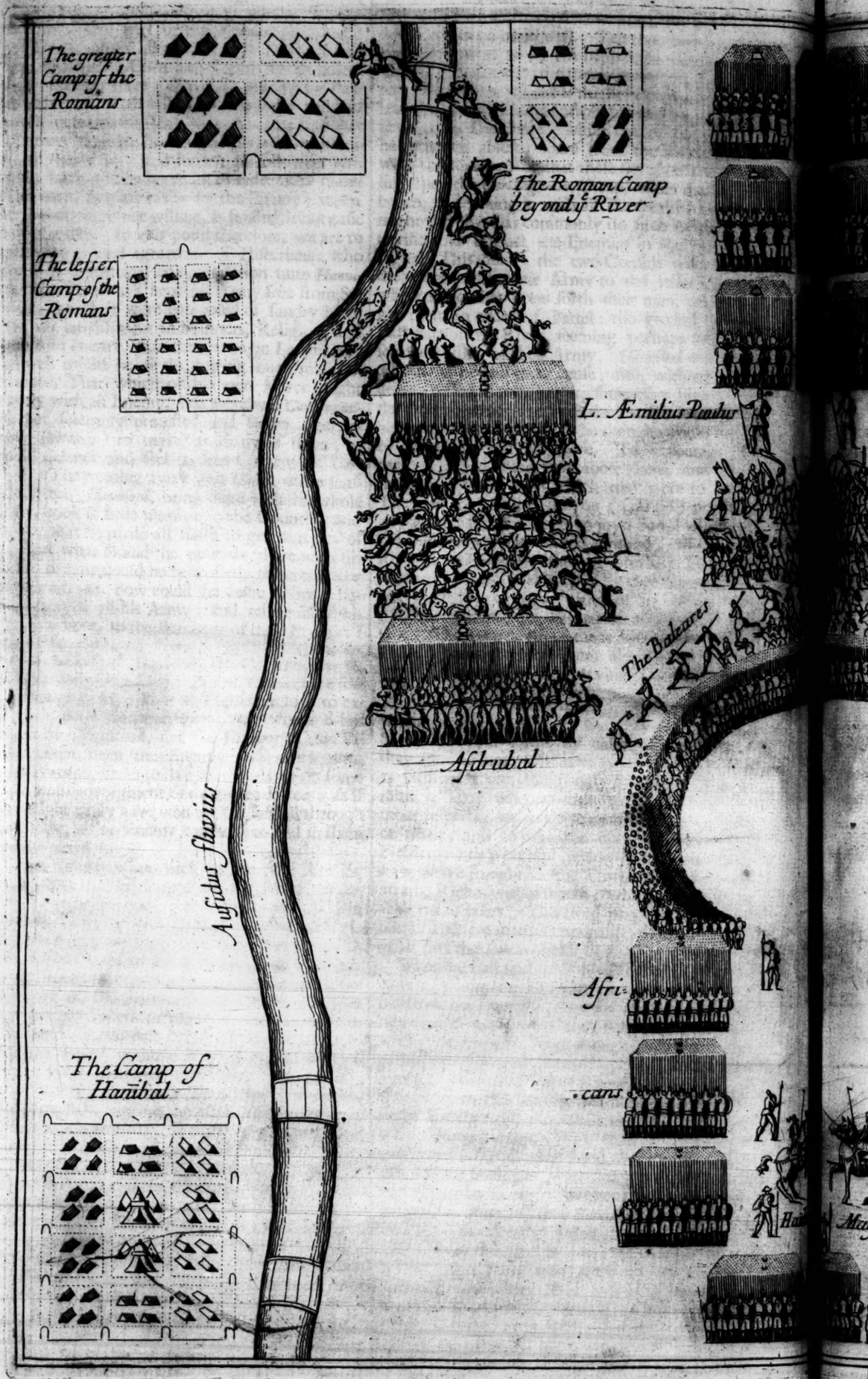
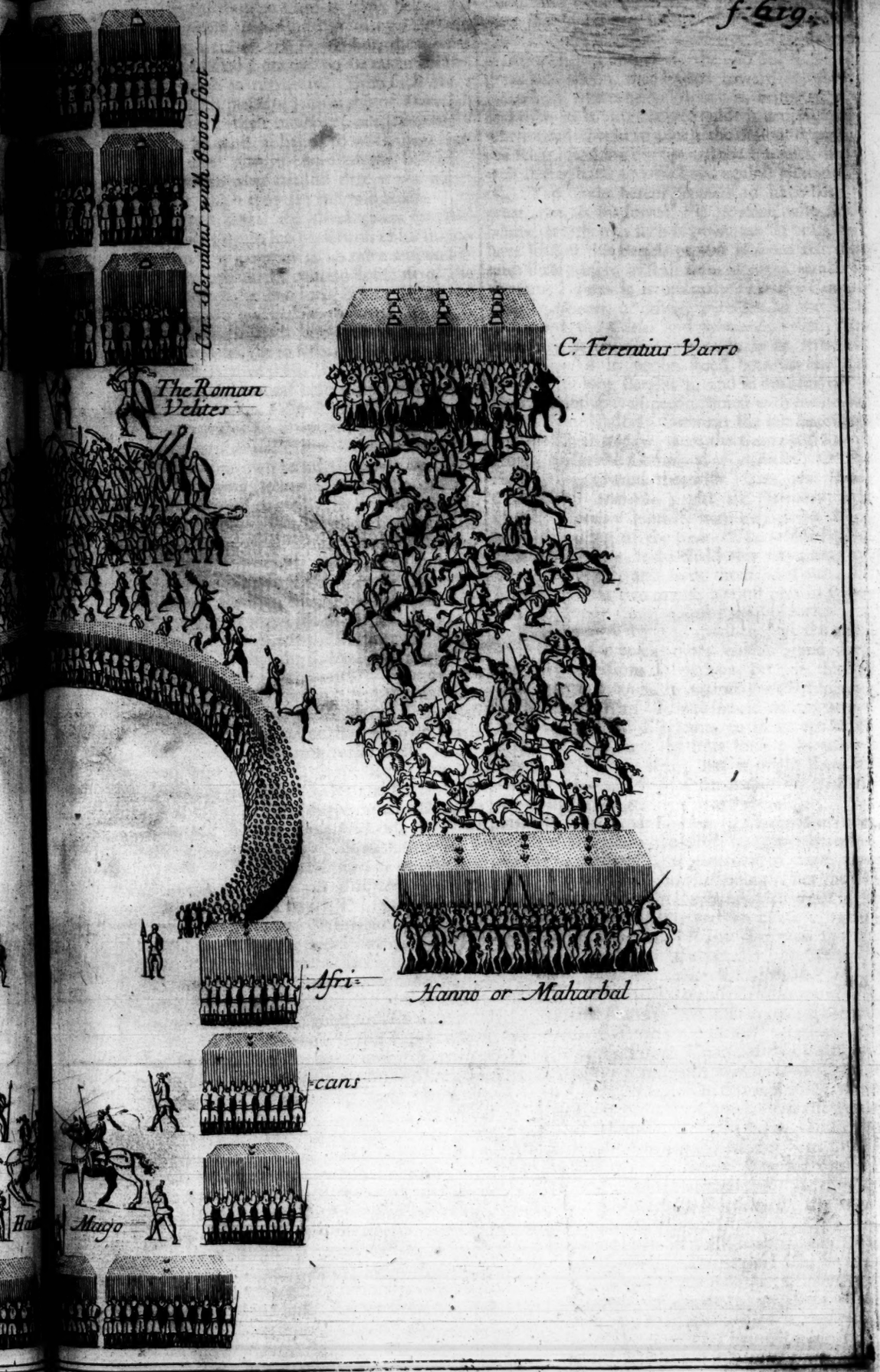
ing he had play'd the careful Husband in making a great Harveſt; ſince he had long been Maſter of the open Field; and beſides, had gotten, by ſurprize, no ſmall part of the *Romans* proviſions? Sutable hereunto is all the reſt. If *Hannibal* had taken nothing but Corn and Cattel; his Souldiers might perhaps have fallen into mutiny for Pay. But he brought Gold with him into *Italy*: and had ſo well increaſed his ſtock, ſince he came into that Countrey, that he had armed his *African* Souldiers, all *Roman-like*; and loaden his followers with ſpoyl: having left wherewith to redeem as many of his own, as were taken by the Enemy; when the *Romans* were not willing, as finding it not eaſie to do the like. In this point therefore, we are to attend the general agreement of Hiſtorians: who give it as a principal commendation unto *Hannibal*, That he always kept his Army free from Sedition, though it were compoſed of ſundry Nations; no leſs different in Manners, Religion, and almoſt in Nature, than they were in Languages: and well might he ſo do, having not only pronounced, That which of his men ſoever fought bravely with an Enemy, was thereby a *Carthaginian*; but ſolemnly proteſted and ſworn, (beſides other rewards) to make as many of them, as ſhould deſerve and ſeek it, free Citizens of *Carthage*. The running away into *Gaule*, was a ſenſleſs device. *Hannibal*, being there with his whole Army, took ſo little pleaſure in the Countrey and People, that he made all haſte to get him out of it. And what ſhould he now do there with his Horſe? or how could he be truſted, either there or elſewhere? yea, how could he deſire to live; having betrayed all his Army; and relinquiſhed his miſerable Foot, to the Butchery of their Enemies? This Tale therefore *Plutarch* omitteth; who in writing the Life of *Hannibal*, takes in a manner all his Directions from *Livy*. But of this and the like it is enough to ſay, That all Hiſtorians love to extol their own Countrey-men; and where a loſs cannot be diſſembled, nor the Honour of the Victory taken from the Enemy, and given unto blind Fortune, there to lay all the blame on ſome ſtrange miſ-government of their own Forces: as if they might eaſily have won all, but loſt all through ſuch folly, as no Enemy can hope to find in them another time.

Now let us return back to the two Armies, where they lye encamped on the River *Aufidus*. *Varro* was perſwaded, that it concerned him in Honour, to make good his word unto the People of *Rome*: and ſince he had thus long waited in vain, to get the conſent of *Paulus*, now at length to uſe his own Authority; and, without any more diſputing of the matter, to fight when his own day came. When therefore it was his turn to command; at the firſt break of day he began to paſs the River, without ſtaying to bid his Colleague good morrow. But *Paulus* came to him; and ſought, as in former Times, to have diſſwaded him, from putting the eſtate of his Countrey to a needleſs hazard. Againſt whoſe words and ſubſtantial Arguments, *Terentius* could alledg none other, than *point of Honour*. *Hannibal* had preſented them Battel at their Trenches: ſhould they endure this Bravado? He had ſent his *Numidians* over the River but even the day before, who fell upon the *Romans* that were fetching water to the leſſer Camp; and drave them ſhamefully to run within their defences, which alſo they made offer to aſſail: muſt this alſo be ſuffered? He would not endure it: for it could not but weaken the ſpirit of the *Roman* Souldier; which as yet was lively, and full of ſuch courage, as promiſed aſſured Victory. When *Æmilius* perceived, that he could not hinder the obſtinate reſolution of his Companion; he took all care, that what he ſaw muſt be done, might be done well. Ten thouſand *Roman* Foot he cauſed to be left behind, in the greater Camp, oppoſite unto the *Carthaginian*; to the intent, that either *Hannibal* might be compelled, to leave behind him ſome anſwerable number, for defence of his Trenches: (which out of his paucity he was leſs able to ſpare from the Battel, than were the *Romans*) or that theſe ten thouſand, falling upon the *Carthaginian* Camp, when the Fight began, and taking it with all the wealth therein, might thereby (as commonly do ſuch accidents) terrifie and diſtract the Enemies in the heat of Fight. This done; the two Conſuls went over the water with their Army to the leſſer Camp, whence alſo they drew forth their men, and ranged them in order of Battel: the ground on the Eaſt part of the River, ſeeming perhaps more fit for marſhalling of their Army. *Hannibal* was glad of this, as he had great cauſe; and, without any delay, paſſed likewiſe over, ſomewhat higher up the ſtream, which ran from the South; leaving in his own Camp ſo many, as he thought would ſerve to defend it, and no more. To encourage his men; He bad them look about them, and view the ground well, upon which they were to fight. They did ſo. And could you (ſaid he) pray for any greater fortune, than to joyn Battel with the *Romans* upon ſuch a level ground, where the ſtronger in Horſe are ſure to prevail? They all aſſented to him; and ſhewed by their Countenances, that they were very glad of it. Well then (ſaid he further) ye are firſt of all to thank the Gods, that have brought them hither; and then Us, that have trained them along, and drawn them into neceſſity of playing for their lives, where they are ſure to loſe them. As for theſe *Romans*, I was fain to encourage you againſt them, when ye met them firſt: but now ye may even encourage your ſelves, by calling to mind that they are the men, whom ye have as often beaten as ſeen. Of one thing only I will put you in mind: That whereas hitherto you fought for other reſpects; as, to drive them before you out of *Gaule*; and to win the open Countrey, and Fields of *Italy*; both of which ye have obtained: now are ye to fight for the Towns themſelves, and all the Riches within them; which this Victory ſhall make yours. Therefore play the ſtout Souldiers: and ere many hours paſs, ye ſhall be Lords of all that the *Romans* hold.

When he had ſaid this; his Brother *Mago* came to him, whom he had ſent to view the Countenance of the Enemy. *Hannibal* asked him, What news; and what work they were likely to have with theſe *Romans*? Work enough (anſwered *Mago*) for they are an horrible many. As horrible a many as they are (thus *Hannibal* replied) I tell thee Brother, that among them all, ſearch them never ſo diligently, thou ſhalt not find one man, whoſe Name is *Mago*. With that he fell a laughing, and ſo did all that ſtood about him: which gladded the Souldiers, who thought their General would not be ſo merry, without great aſſurance. Whether it were ſo, that *Hannibal*, in the pride of his Victories already gotten, valued one *Mago* above many thouſand *Romans*; or whether he intimated, that the *Romans* were no leſs troubled with thinking upon *Mago* and his Companions, than was *Mago* with beholding their huge multitude; or whether he meant only to correct the ſad mood of his Brother with a jeſt, and ſhew himſelf merry unto the Souldiers: this his Anſwer was


The greater Camp of the Romans
The Roman Camp beyond ye River
The lesser Camp of the Romans
L. Æmilius Paulus
The Baleares
Asdrubal
Aufidus fluvius
Afri-
.cans
The Camp of Hannibal


Ca. Servilius with Roman foot
The Roman Velites
C. Terentius Varro
Afri-
cans
Hanno or Maharbal
Mago

was more manly, than was the Relation of his discoverer. But if *Hannibal* himself had been sent forth by *Mago*, to view the *Romans*; he could not have returned with a more gallant report in his mouth, than that which Captain *Gam*, before the Battel of *Agincourt*, made unto our King *Henry* the fifth: saying, that of the *French-men*, there were enough to be killed; enough to be taken Prisoners; and enough to run away. Even such words as these, or such pleasant Jests as this of *Hannibal*, are not without their moment; but serve many times, when Battel is at hand, to work upon such passions, as must govern more of the business: especially, where other needful care is not wanting; without which they are but vain boasts.

In this great day, the *Carthaginian* excelled himself; expressing no less perfection of his military skill, than was greatness in his spirit and undertakings. For to omit the commodiousness of the Place, into which he had long before conceived the means to draw his Enemies to Battel; He marshalled his Army in such convenient order, that all hands were brought to fight, where every one might do best service. His Darters, and Slingers of the *Baleares*, he sent off before him, to encounter with the *Roman Velites*. These were loose Troops, answerable in a manner to those, which we call now by a *French* Name *Enfans perdues*; but when we used our own terms, *the Forlorn hope*. The gross of his Army following them he ordered thus. His *Africans*, armed after the *Roman* manner, with the Spoyls which they had gotten at *Trebia*, *Thrasymene*, or elsewhere; and well trained in the use of those weapons, that were of more advantage, than those wherewith they had formerly served; made the two wings, very deep in File. Between these he ranged his *Gaules* and *Spaniards*, armed, each after their own Countrey manner; their Shields alike; but the *Gaules* using long broad Swords, that were forcible in a downright stroke; the *Spaniards*, short and well-pointed Blades, either to strike or thrust; the *Gaules*, naked from their Navel upwards, as confident in their own fierceness; the *Spaniards*, wearing white Cassocks embroidered with purple. This medley of two Nations, differing as well in habit and furniture, as in quality, made a gallant shew; and terrible, because strange. The *Gaules* were strong of Body, and furious in giving charge; but soon wearied, as accustomed to spend their violence at the first brunt, which disposition all that come of them have inherited to this day. The *Spaniards* were less eager, but more wary; neither ashamed to give ground, when they were over-pressed; nor afraid to return, and renew the Fight, upon any small encouragement. As the roughness of the one, and patience of the other, served mutually to reduce each of them to a good and firm temper; so the Place which they held in this Battel, added confidence joyntly unto them both. For they saw themselves well and strongly flanked with *Carthaginians* and other *Africans*; whose Name was grown terrible in *Spain*, by their Conquests; and in *Gaule*, by this their present War. Since therefore it could not be feared, that any great calamity should fall upon them, whilst the wings on either side stood fast: these Barbarians had no cause to shrink, or forbear to imploy the utmost of their hardiness, as knowing that the Enemy could not press far upon them, without further engaging himself than discretion would allow. Hereunto may be added that great advantage, which the *Carthaginian* had in Horse: by which he was able, if the worst had happened, to make a good retreat. The effect of contraries is many times alike. Desperation begetteth courage; but not greater, nor so lively, as doth assured Confidence. *Hannibal* therefore caused these *Gaules* and *Spaniards* to advance; leaving void the Place wherein they had stood, and into which they might fall back, when they should be over-hardly pressed. So, casting them into the form of a Crescent, He made them as it were his Vantguard: the two points of this great half Moon, that looked toward the empty space from which he had drawn it, being narrow and thin, as serving only to guide it orderly back, when need should require; the foremost part of the Ring, swelling out toward the Enemies, being well strengthned and thickned against all impression. The circle hereof seemeth to have been so great, that it shadowed the *Africans*, who stood behind it: though such Figures, cut in brass, as I have seen of this Battel, present it more narrow; with little reason, as shall anon appear: as also in the same Figures it is omitted, That any Companies of *Africans*, or others, were left in the Rear, to second the *Gaules* and *Spaniards*, when they were driven to retreat; though it be manifest, that *Hannibal* in person stood between the last ranks of his long Batallions, and in the head of his Rear, doubtless well accompanied with the choice of his own Nation. Between the left Battallion and the River *Ausidus*, were the *Gaules* and *Spanish* Horse, under the Command of *Asdrubal*: On the right wing, toward the wide Plains, was *Hanno* (*Livy* saith *Maharbal*) with the *Numidian* light Horse. *Hannibal* himself, with his Brother *Mago*, had the leading of the Rear. The whole sum of *Hannibal*'s Army in the Field this day, was ten thousand Horse, and forty thousand Foot; his Enemies having two to one against him in Foot; and He, five to three against them in Horse.

The *Roman* Army was marshalled in the usual form: but somewhat more narrow, and deep, than was accustomed; perhaps, because this had been found convenient against the *Carthaginians*, in the former War. It was indeed no bad way of resistance against Elephants, to make the Ranks *thick and short*, but the Files long; as also to strengthen well the Rear, that it might stand fast compacted as a Wall, under shelter whereof the disordered Troops might re-ally themselves. Thus much it seems, that *Terentius* had learned of some old Souldiers; and therefore he now ordered his Battels accordingly, as meaning to shew more skill, than was in his understanding. But the *Carthaginians* had here no Elephants with them in the Field: their advantage was in Horse; against which, this manner of embattelling was very unprofitable, forasmuch as their charge is better sustained in front, than upon a long flank. As for *Æmilius*; it was not his day of Command: He was but an Assistant; and in such cases it happens often, that wise men yield for very weariness unto the more contentious. Upon the right hand, and toward the River, were the *Roman* Horse-men, under the Consul *Paulus*: On the left wing, was *C. Terentius Varro* the other Consul, with the rest of the Horse, which were of the *Latines*, and other Associates: *Cn. Servilius* the former years Consul, had the leading of the Battel. The Sun was newly risen, and offended neither part; the *Carthaginians* having their faces Northward; the *Romans* toward the South.

After some light Skirmish between the *Roman Velites* and *Hannibal* his Darters and Slingers of the *Baleares*: *Asdrubal* brake upon the Consul *Paulus*, and was roughly encountred; not after the manner of service on Horse-back, used in those times, wheeling about *Alman-like*, but each giving on in

a right line, Pouldron to Pouldron, as having the River on the one hand, and the ſhoulder of the foot on the other hand, ſo that there was no way left, but to pierce and break through. Wherefore they not only uſed their Lances and Swords, but ruſhing violently amongſt the Enemies, graſped one another: and ſo their Horſes running from under them, fell many to the ground; where ſtarting up again, they began to deal Blows like Foot-men. In concluſion, the *Roman* Horſe were over-born, and driven by plain force to a ſtaggering recoil. This the Conſul *Paulus* could not remedy. For *Aſdrubal*, with his boiſtrous *Gaules* and *Spaniards*, was not to be reſiſted by theſe *Roman* Gentlemen, unequal both in number, and in Horſemanſhip. When the Battels came to joyning, the *Roman* Legionaries found work enough, and ſomewhat more than enough to break that great Creſcent, upon which they firſt fell: ſo ſtrongly for the while, did the *Gauls* and *Spaniſh* Foot make reſiſtance. Wherefore the two points of their Battel drew towards the midſt; by whoſe aid, theſe Oppoſites were forced to disband, and fly back to their firſt place. This they did in great haſte and fear, and were with no leſs haſte and folly purſued. Upon the *Africans* that ſtood behind them, they needed not to fall foul, both for that there was void room enough, and foraſmuch as the Rear, or Horns of this Moon, pointed into the ſafe Retreat, where *Hannibal* with his *Carthaginians* was ready to re-enforce them, when time ſhould require. In this haſty Retreat, or Flight of the *Gaules* and *Spaniards*; it hapned, as was neceſſary, that they who had ſtood in the Limb or utter Compaſs of the half Moon made the innermoſt or concave ſurface thereof (diſordered and broken though it were) when it was forced to turn the inſide outward, the Horns or points thereof, as yet untouched, only turning round, and recoiling very little. So the *Romans*, in purſuing them, were incloſed in an half Circle; which they ſhould not have needed greatly to regard (for that the ſides of it were exceeding thin and broken; and the bottom of it, none other than a throng of men routed, and ſeeming unable to make reſiſtance) had all the Enemies foot been caſt into this one great Body, that was in a manner diſſolved. But whilſt the Legions, following their ſuppoſed Victory, ruſhed on upon thoſe that ſtood before them, and thereby unwittingly engaged themſelves deeply within the principal ſtrength of the Enemies, hedging them in on both hands; the two *African* Battalions on either ſide advanced ſo far, that getting beyond the Rear of them, they incloſed them, in a manner, behind: and forward they could not paſs far, without removing *Hannibal* and *Mago*, which made that way the leaſt eaſie. Hereby it is apparent, That the great Creſcent, before ſpoken of, was of ſuch extent, as covered the *Africans*, who lay behind it undiſcerned, until now. For it is agreed, that the *Romans* were thus empaled *unawares*, and that they behaved themſelves as men that thought upon no other work, than what was found them by the *Gauls*. Neither is it credible, that they would have been ſo mad, as to run headlong with the whole bulk of their Army, into the Throat of ſlaughter, had they ſeen thoſe Weapons bent againſt them at the firſt, which when they did ſee, they had little hope to eſcape. Much might be imputed to their heat of Fight, and raſhneſs of inferiour Captains: but ſince the Conſul *Paulus*, a man ſo expert in War, being vanquiſhed in Horſe, had put himſelf among the Legions; it cannot be ſuppoſed, that he and they did willfully thus ingage themſelves.

Plut. in vit. Hannib.

Aſdrubal having broken the Troops of *Roman* Horſe, that were led by the Conſul *Paulus*, followed upon them along the River ſide, beating down, and killing as many as he could (which were almoſt all of them) without regard of taking Priſoners. The Conſul himſelf was either driven upon his own Legions, or willingly did caſt himſelf among them, as hoping by them to make good the day, notwithſtanding the Defeat of his Horſe. But he failed of this his expectation. Nevertheleſs he cheared up his men as well as he could, both with comfortable words, and with the example of his own ſtout behaviour: beating down, and killing many of the Enemies with his own hand. The like did *Hannibal* among his *Carthaginians*, in the ſame part of the Battel; and with better ſucceſs. For the Conſul received a Blow from a Sling, that did him great hurt: and though a Troop of *Roman* Gentlemen, riding about him, did their beſt to ſave him from further harm, yet was he ſo hardly laid at, that he was compelled by Wounds and Weakneſs, to forſake his Horſe. Hereupon all his Company alighted, thinking that the Conſul had given order ſo to do, as in many Battels, the *Roman* men at Arms had left their Horſes, to help their Foot in diſtreſs. When *Hannibal* (for he was near at hand) perceived this, and underſtood that the Conſul had willed his Horſe-men to diſmount, He was very glad of it, and pleaſantly ſaid, *I had rather he would have delivered them unto me bound hand and foot*: meaning, that he had them now almoſt as ſafe as if they were ſo bound. All this while *C. Terentius Varro*, with the Horſe of the Aſſociates, in the left Wing, was marvelouſly troubled by *Hanno* (or *Maharbal*) and the *Numidians*: who beating up and down about that great ſandy Plain, raiſed a foul duſt, which a ſtrong South-wind, blowing there accuſtomarily, drave into the Eyes and Mouths of the *Romans*. Theſe uſing their advantage both of number and of lightneſs, wearied the Conſul and his Followers exceedingly, neither giving nor ſuſtaining any charge, but continually making offers, and wheeling about. Yet at the firſt they ſeemed to promiſe him an happy day of it. For when the Battels were even ready to joyn, five hundred of theſe *Numidians* came pricking away from their Fellows, with their Shields caſt behind their backs (as was the manner of thoſe which yielded) and throwing down their Arms, rendred themſelves. This was good luck to begin withal, if there had been good meaning. *Varro* had not leiſure to examine them, but cauſed them, unweaponed as they were, to get them behind the Army, where he had them reſt quietly till all was done. Theſe crafty adventurers did as he bad them for a while, till they found opportunity to put in execution the purpoſe for which they had thus yielded. Under their Jackets they had ſhort Swords and Ponyards, beſides which, they found other ſcattered Weapons about the Field, of ſuch as were ſlain, and therewithal flew upon the hindmoſt of the *Romans*, whilſt all eyes and thoughts were bent another way, ſo that they did great miſchief, and raiſed yet a greater terror. Thus *Hannibal*, in a plain level ground, found means to lay an Ambuſh at the back of his Enemies. The laſt blow, that ended all fight and reſiſtance, was given by the ſame hand which gave the firſt. *Aſdrubal* having in ſhort ſpace broken the *Roman* Troops of Horſe, and cut in pieces all, ſave the Company of *Æmilius* that ruſhed into the groſs of his Foot, and a very few beſides, that recovered ſome narrow paſſage, between the River and their own Battalions; did not ſtay to charge

charge upon the face of the Legions, but fell back behind the Rear of his own, and fetching about, came up to the *Numidians*, with whom he joyned, and gave upon *Terentius*. This fearful cloud, as it ſhewed at the firſt appearance what weather it had left behind it, on the other ſide: ſo did it prognoſticate a diſmal Storm unto thoſe, upon whom it was ready now to fall. Wherefore *Terentius* his Followers, having wearied themſelves much in doing little, and ſeeing more work toward than they could hope to ſuſtain; thought it the beſt way to avoid the danger by preſent flight. The Conſul was no leſs wiſe than they, in apprehending the greatneſs of his own peril; nor more deſperate, in ſtriving to work impoſſibilities: it being impoſſible, when ſo many ſhrank from him, to ſuſtain the impreſſion alone, which he could not have endured with their aſſiſtance. Now he found that it was one thing to talk of *Hannibal* at *Rome*, and another to incounter him. But of this, or of ought elſe, excepting haſty flight, his preſent leiſure would not ſerve him to conſider. Cloſe at the heels of him and his flying Troops, followed the light *Numidians*, appointed by *Aſdrubal* unto the purſuit, as fitteſt for that ſervice. *Aſdrubal* himſelf, with the *Gauls* and *Spaniſh* Horſe, compaſſing about, fell upon the backs of the *Romans*, that were, ere this, hardly diſtreſſed, and in a manner ſurrounded on all parts elſe. He brake them eaſily, who before made ill reſiſtance, being incloſed and laid at on every ſide, not knowing which way to turn. Here began a pitiful Slaughter: the vanquiſhed Multitude thronging up and down, they knew not whether, or which way, whilſt every one ſought to avoid thoſe Enemies, whom he ſaw neareſt. Some of the *Roman* Gentlemen that were about *Æmilius*, got up to Horſe, and ſaved themſelves: which though it is hardly underſtood how they could do; yet I will rather believe it, than ſuppoſe that *Livy* ſo reporteth, to grace thereby his Hiſtory with this following Tale. Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, *galloping along by a place, where he ſaw the Conſul ſitting all blooded upon a Stone, entreated him to riſe and ſave himſelf, offering him his aſſiſtance and Horſe. But* Paulus *refuſed it, willing* Lentulus *to ſhift for himſelf, and not to loſe time: ſaying, That it was not his purpoſe to be brought again into Judgment by the People, either as an Accuſer of his Colleague, or as guilty himſelf of that days loſs. Further, he willed* Lentulus *to commend him to the Senate, and in particular to* Fabius: *willing them to fortifie* Rome *as faſt and as well as they could; and telling* Fabius, *that he lived and died mindful of his wholeſome counſel.* Theſe words (peradventure) or ſome to like purpoſe, the Conſul uttered to *Lentulus*, either when againſt his will he was drawn to that Battel, or when he beheld the firſt Defeat of his Horſe, at what time he put himſelf in the head of his Legions. For I doubt not, but *Hannibal* knew what he ſaid a good while before this; when he thought the Conſul and his Troop, in little better caſe than, if they had been bound. The whole Groſs of the *Romans* was incloſed indeed as within a Sack, whereof the *African* Battalions made the ſides, the *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, and *Hannibal* with his *Carthaginians*, the bottom, and *Aſdrubal* with his Horſe, cloſed up the Mouth: in which part, they firſt of all were ſhuffled together, and began the Rout, wherein all the reſt followed. *Æmilius* therefore, who could not ſit his Horſe, whilſt the Battel yet laſted, and whilſt the Spaces were ſomewhat open, by which he might have withdrawn himſelf; was now (had he never ſo well been mounted) unable to fly, having in his way ſo cloſe a Throng of his own miſerable Followers, and ſo many heaps of Bodies, as fell apace in that great Carnage. It ſufficeth unto his Honour, That in the Battel he fought no leſs valiantly, than he had warily before, both abſtained himſelf, and diſſwaded his Fellow Conſul from fighting at all. If, when the day was utterly loſt, it had lain in his power to ſave his own Life, unto the good of his Country, never more needing it; I ſhould think, that he either too much diſeſteemed himſelf, or being too faintly minded, was weary of the World, and his unthankful Citizens. But if ſuch a reſolution were praiſe-worthy in *Æmilius*, as proceeding out of *Roman* Valour, then was the *Engliſh* Vertue of the Lord *John Talbot*, *Vicount Liſle*, Son to that famous *Earl* of *Shrewsbury*, who died in the Battel of *Chaſtillon*, more highly to be honoured. For *Æmilius* was old, grievouſly, if not mortally wounded, and accountable for the Overthrow received: *Talbot* was in the flower of his Youth, unhurt, eaſily able to have eſcaped, and not anſwerable for that days misfortune, when he refuſed to forſake his Father; who foreſeeing the loſs of the Battel, and not meaning to ſtain his actions paſt by flying in his old Age, exhorted this his noble Son to be gone and leave him.

In this terrible Overthrow died all the *Roman* Foot, ſave two or three thouſand, who (as *Livy* ſaith) eſcaped into the leſſer Camp, whence, the ſame night, about ſix hundred of them break forth, and joyning with ſuch of thoſe in the greater Camp, as were willing to try their Fortune, conveyed themſelves away ere morning, about four thouſand Foot, and two hundred Horſe, partly in whole Troops, partly diſperſed into *Cannuſium*: the next day, the *Roman* Camps, both leſs and greater, were yielded unto *Hannibal* by thoſe that remained in them. *Polybius* hath no mention of this Eſcape: only he reports, that the ten thouſand, whom *Æmilius* had left on the Weſt ſide of *Auſidus* (as was ſhewed before) to ſet upon the Camp of *Hannibal*, did as they were appointed, but ere they could effect their deſire, which they had well-near done, the Battel was loſt, and *Hannibal* coming over the Water to them, drave them into their own Camp, which they quickly yielded, having loſt two thouſand of their number. Like enough it is, that at the firſt ſight of *Hannibal*, coming upon them with his victorious Army, a great number of theſe did fly, and thereby eſcaped, whilſt their Fellows, making defence in vain, retired into their Camp, and held the Enemy buſied. For about *two Legions* they were (perhaps not half full, but made up by addition of others, whoſe fault or fortune was like) that having ſerved at *Cannæ*, were afterwards extremely diſgraced by the State of *Rome*, for that they had abandoned their Companions fighting. Of the *Roman* Horſe, what numbers eſcaped, it is uncertain: but very few they were that ſaved themſelves in the firſt charge, by getting behind the River; and *Tarentius* the Conſul recovered *Venuſia*, with threeſcore and ten at the moſt in his company. That he was ſo ill attended, it is no marvail: for *Venuſia* lay many miles off to the Southward; ſo that his neareſt way thither, had been through the midſt of *Hannibals* Army, if the Paſſage had been open. Therefore it muſt needs be, that when once he got out of ſight, he turned up ſome by-way, ſo diſappointing the *Numidians* that hunted *contra*. Of ſuch as could not hold pace with the Conſul, but took other ways, and were ſcattered over the Fields; two thouſand, or thereabouts, were gathered up by the *Numidians*, and made Priſoners: the reſt were ſlain, all ſave three hundred; who *Liv. l. 19.*

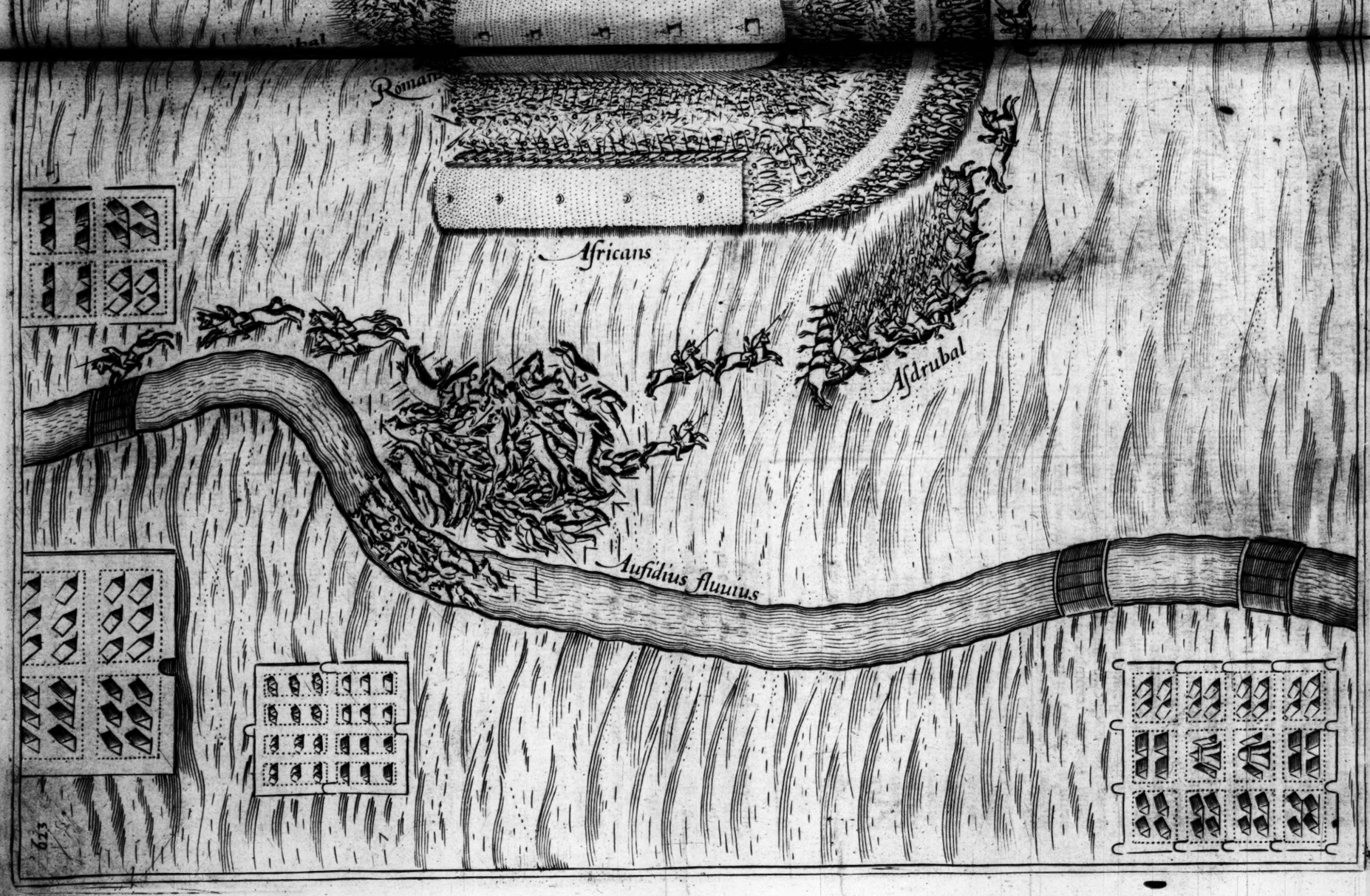
diſperſed themſelves in flight, as chance led them, and got into ſundry Towns. There died in this great Battel of *Cannæ*, beſides *L. Æmilius Paulus* the Conſul; two of the *Roman* Quæſtors or Treaſurers, and one and twenty Colonels or Tribunes of the Souldiers, fourſcore Senators, or ſuch as had born Office, out of which they were to be choſen into the Senate. Many of theſe were of eſpecial mark, as having been *Ædiles*, *Prætors*, or *Conſuls*, among whom was *Cn. Servilius* the laſt years Conſul, and *Minutius*, late Maſter of the Horſe. The number of Priſoners taken in this Battel, *Livy* makes no greater than three thouſand Foot, and three hundred Horſe: too few to have defended, for the ſpace of one half hour, both the *Roman* Camps; which yet the ſame *Livy* ſaith, to have been over-cowardly yielded up. We may therefore do better, to give credit unto one of the priſoners, whom the ſame Hiſtorian ſhortly after introduceth ſpeaking in the Senate, and ſaying, That they were no leſs than eight thouſand. It may therefore be, that theſe three thouſand were only ſuch as the Enemy ſpared, when the fury of Execution was paſt: but to theſe muſt be added about five thouſand more, who yielded in the greater Camp, when their Company were either ſlain or fled. So the reckoning falls out right: which the *Romans*, eſpecially the Conſul *Varro*, had before caſt up (as we ſay) without their Hoſt; nothing ſo chargeable, as now they find it. On the ſide of *Hannibal* there died ſome four thouſand *Gauls*, fifteen hundred *Spaniards* and *Africans*, and two hundred Horſe, or thereabouts: a loſs not ſenſible, in the joy of ſo great a Victory: which if he purſued, as *Maharbal* adviſed him, and forthwith marched away towards *Rome*; it is little doubted, but that the War had preſently been at an end. But he believed not ſo far in his own proſperity, and was therefore told, That *he knew how to get, not how to uſe a Victory.*

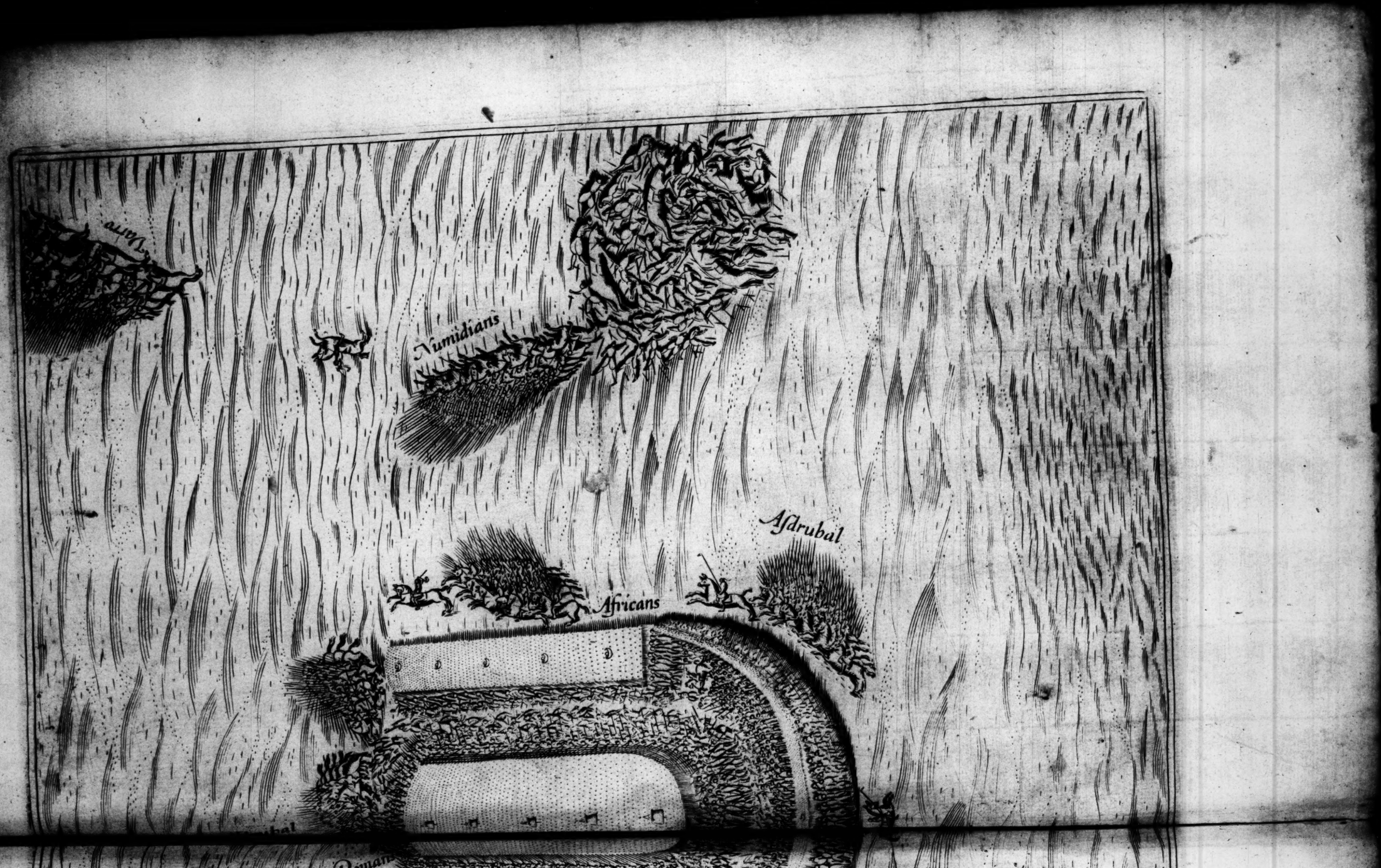
§. IX.

Of things following the Battel at Cannæ.

NOt without good cauſe doth *Polybius* reprehend thoſe two Hiſtorians, *Fabius* the *Roman*, and *Philinus* the *Carthaginian*: who regarding more the pleaſure of them, unto whoſe Honour they conſecrated their Travels, than the truth of things, and information of Poſterity, magnified indifferently, whether good or bad, all actions and Proceedings, the one of his *Carthaginians*, the other of his *Roman Quirites* and *Fathers conſcript*. No man of ſound judgment will condemn this liberty of Cenſure, which *Polybius* hath uſed. For, to recompence his Juniority (ſuch as it was) he produceth ſubſtantial arguments, to juſtifie his own Relation; and confuteth the vanity of thoſe former Authors, out of their own Writings, by conference of places ill cohering: which pains it is to be ſuſpected, that he would not have taken, had he been born in either of theſe two Cities, but have ſpared ſome part of his diligence, and been contented to have all men think better and more honourably than it deſerved of his own Country. The like diſeaſe it is to be feared, that we ſhall hereafter find in others; and ſhall have cauſe to wiſh, that either they were ſomewhat leſs *Roman*, or elſe, that ſome Works of their oppoſite Writers were extant, that ſo we might at leaſt hear both ſides ſpeak: being henceforth deſtitute of *Polybius* his help, that was a man indifferent. But ſince this cannot be, we muſt be ſometimes bold, to obſerve the coherence of things, and believe ſo much only to be true, as dependeth upon good reaſon, or (at leaſt) fair probability. This attentive circumſpection is needful even at the preſent: ſuch is the repugnancy or forgetfulneſs which we find in the beſt Narration, of things following the Battel of *Cannæ*. For it is ſaid, that four thouſand Foot and Horſe gathered together about the Conſul *Terentius* at *Venuſia*; that others, to the number of ten thouſand, got into *Canuſium*, chooſing for their Captains, young *P. Scipio*, and *Ap. Claudius*; yet that the Conſul *Terentius Varro*, joyning his Company unto thoſe of *Scipio* at *Canuſium*, wrote unto the Senate, that he had now well near ten thouſand men about him; that theſe Letters of the Conſul were brought to *Rome*, when the Senate was newly riſen, that had been taking order for pacifying thoſe Tumuls in the City, which grew upon the firſt bruit of the Overthrow; and yet, that Embaſſadors from *Capua* (after ſome conſultation, whether it were meet to ſend any, or, without further circumſtance, to ſide with *Hannibal*) were ſent unto *Terentius*, and found him at *Venuſia*, a prety while before he wrote thoſe Letters, which over-took (in a manner) at *Rome* the firſt news of the Overthrow. Among ſuch incoherences, I hold it the beſt way, to omit ſo much as hath not ſome particular connexion with matter enſuing: mutual dependency in things of this nature, being no ſmall argument of truth.

When *Hannibal* had ſacked the *Roman* Camp, and truſſed up the Spoils, forthwith he diſlodged, and marched away into *Samnium*; finding a diſpoſition in the *Hirpines*, and many other People thereabout, to forſake the *Roman Party*, and make alliance with *Carthage*. The firſt Town that opened the Gates unto him, was *Coſſa*, where he laid up his Baggage: and leaving his Brother *Mago* to take in other places, He haſted into *Campania*. The general affection of the Multitude, in all the Cities of *Italy*, was inclineable unto him; not only in regard of their grievous loſſes ſuſtained abroad in the Fields, which the *Romans* themſelves, who could not hinder him from ſpoiling the Countrey, eſpecially the poorer ſort of them, did hardly endure; but in a loving reſpect unto that great courteſie (as it ſeemed) which he uſed, unto ſuch of them as became his Priſoners. For as at other times, ſo now alſo after his great Victory at *Cannæ*, He had lovingly diſmiſſed as many of the *Italian* Confederates of *Rome*, as fell into his hands: rebuking them gently for being ſo obſtinate againſt him that had ſought to deliver them from bondage. Neither ſpared he to win their Love with Gifts; pretending to admire their Valour; but ſeeking indeed, by all ways and means to make them his, whilſt all other motives were concurrent. At this time alſo he began to deal kindly (though againſt his nature) with his *Roman* Priſoners: telling them, that he bore no mortal hatred unto their Eſtate; but being provoked by Injuries, ſought to right himſelf and his Country; and fought with them, to try which of the two Cities, *Rome* or *Carthage*, ſhould bear Soveraign Rule, not which of them ſhould be deſtroyed. So he gave them leave to chooſe ten of their number, that ſhould be ſent home to treat with the *Fathers* about their Ranſome: and together with theſe, he ſent *Carthalo* a Noble Man of *Carthage*, and General of his Horſe, to feel the diſpoſition of the Senate; whether it were bowed as yet by ſo much adverſity, and could ſtoop unto deſire of Peace. But with the *Romans* theſe Arts prevailed not, as ſhall be ſhewed in due place.


Africans
Asdrubal
Ausidius Aunius


Numidians
Asdrubal
Africans

place. The People of *Italy*, all, or moſt of them, ſave the *Roman* Colonies, or the *Latines*, were not only weary of their Loſſes paſt, but entertained a deceiveable hope, of changing their old Society for a better. Wherefore not only the *Samnites*, *Lucans*, *Brutians*, and *Apulians*, ancient Enemies of *Rome*, and not until the former Generation utterly ſubdued, began to re-aſſume their wonted Spirits: but the *Campans*, a Nation of all other in *Italy* moſt bound unto the State of *Rome*, and by many mutual affinities therewith as ſtreightly conjoyned, as were any ſave the *Latines*, changed on a ſudden their Love into Hatred, without any other cauſe found, than change of Fortune.

Campania is the moſt goodly and fruitful Province of *Italy*, if not (as ſome then thought) of all the Earth: and the City of *Capua*, anſwerable unto the Country whereof it was Head, ſo great, fair, and wealthy, that it ſeemed no leſs convenient a Seat of the Empire, than was either *Rome* or *Carthage*. But of all Qualities, Bravery is the leaſt requiſite unto Soveraign Command. The *Campans* were luxurious, idle, and proud: and valuing themſelves like Jays by their Feathers, deſpiſed the unfortunate Vertue of the *Romans* their Patrons and Benefactors. Yet were there ſome of the principal among them, as in other Cities, that bore eſpecial regard unto the Majeſty of *Rome*, and could not endure to hear of Innovation. But the *Plebeian* Faction had lately ſo prevailed within *Capua*, that all was governed by the pleaſure of the Multitude, which wholly followed the direction of *Pacuvius Calavius*, an ambitious Nobleman, whoſe Credit grew, and was upheld by furthering all popular deſires: whereof the conjunction with *Hannibal* was not the leaſt. Some of the *Capuans* had offered their City to the *Carthaginian*, ſhortly after the Battel of *Thraſymene*: whereupon chiefly it was, that *Hannibal* made his Journey into *Campania*; the Dictator *Fabius* waiting upon him. At that time, either the nearneſs of the *Roman* Army, or ſome other fear of the *Capuans*, hindred them from breaking into actual Rebellion. They had indeed no leiſure to treat about any Articles of new Confederacy: or, had leiſure ſerved, yet were the Multitude (whoſe inconſtant Love *Hannibal* had won from the *Romans*, by gentle uſage, and free diſmiſſing of ſome Priſoners, in good account among them) unable to hold any ſuch Negotiation, without advice of the Senate, which mainly impugned it. So they that had promiſed to yield up their Town to *Hannibal*, and to meet him on the way with ſome of their Nobility, that ſhould aſſure him of all faithful meaning; were driven to ſit ſtill in a great perplexity: as having failed to let in this their new Friend, yet ſufficiently diſcovered themſelves, to draw upon them the hatred of the *Romans*. In this caſe were no ſmall number of the Citizens: who thereupon grew the more incenſed againſt their Senate; on whom they caſt all the blame, eaſily pardoning their own Cowardize. The People holding ſo tender a regard of Liberty, that even the lawful Government of Magiſtrates grieved them, with an imaginary oppreſſion, had now good cauſe to fear, leſt the Senators would become their Lords indeed, and by help of the *Romans*, bring them under a more ſtreight ſubjection than ever they had endured. This fear being ready to break into ſome Outrage, *Pacuvius* made uſe of to ſerve his own Ambition. He diſcourſed unto the Senate, as they ſate in Council, about theſe motions troubling the City: and ſaid, That he himſelf had both married a *Roman* Lady, and given his Daughter in Marriage to a *Roman*; but, that the danger of forſaking the *Roman* Party was not now the greateſt: for that the People were violently bent even to murther all the Senate, and afterward to joyn themſelves with *Hannibal*, who ſhould countenance the Fact, and ſave them harmleſs. This he ſpake as a man well known to be beloved himſelf by the People, and privy unto their deſigns. Having throughly terrified the Senate, by laying open the danger hanging over them: He promiſed nevertheleſs to deliver them all, and to ſet things at quiet, if they would freely put themſelves into his hands, offering his Oath, or any other aſſurance that they ſhould demand, for his faithful meaning. They all agreed. Then ſhutting up the Court, and placing a Guard of his own Followers about it, that none might enter nor iſſue forth without his leave; He called the People to aſſembly, and ſpeaking as much ill of the Senate as he knew they would be glad to hear, he told them that theſe wicked Governours were ſurpriſed by his Policy, and all faſt, ready to abide what ſentence they would lay upon them. Only thus much he adviſed them, as a thing which neceſſity required, that they ſhould chooſe a new Senate, before they ſatisfied their anger upon the old. So rehearſing unto them the names of one or two Senators, he asked what their judgment was of thoſe. All cried out, that they were worthy of Death: Chooſe then (ſaid he) firſt of all ſome new ones into their places. Hereat the Multitude, unprovided for ſuch an Election, was ſilent; until at laſt, ſome one or other adventured to name whom he thought fit. The men ſo nominated, were utterly diſliked by the whole Aſſembly; either for ſome known fault, baſeneſs, and inſufficiency; or elſe, even becauſe they were unknown, and therefore held unworthy. This difficulty in the new Election appearing more and more, whilſt more were to be choſen (the fitteſt men to be ſubſtituted, having been named among the firſt, and not thought fit enough) *Pacuvius* entreated, and eaſily prevailed with the People, that the preſent Senate might for this time be ſpared, in hope of amends hereafter; which (doubtleſs) they would make, having thus obtained pardon of all offences paſt. Henceforth, not only the People, as in former times, honoured *Pacuvius*, and eſteemed him their Patron; but the Senators alſo were governed by him, to whom they acknowledged themſelves indebted, for ſaving all their Lives. Neither did the Senate fail after this, by all obſequiouſneſs, to court the People, giving their Reins unto their lawleſs Will, who elſe were likely to caſt them down: All the City being thus of one mind; only fear of the *Romans* kept them from opening their Gates to *Hannibal*. But after the Battel at *Cannæ*, this impediment was removed, and few there were that would open their mouths to ſpeak againſt the Rebellion. Yet foraſmuch as three hundred principal Gentlemen of the *Campans*, did then ſerve the *Romans* in the Iſle of *Sicil*: the Parents and Kinſmen of theſe prevailed ſo far, that Embaſſadors were ſent unto *Terentius* the Conſul; to ſee his preſent caſe, and what it could miniſter of Hope or Fear. Theſe whereſoever they found him, found him weakly attended, and as weak in Spirit as in Followers. Yet they offered him formally the ſervice of their State; and deſired to know what he would command them. But he moſt baſely lamented unto them, the greatneſs of the *Roman* Misfortune: ſaying, that all was loſt, and that the *Campans* muſt now, not help the *Romans*, who had nothing left wherewith to help themſelves, but make War in their defence againſt the *Carthaginians*; as the *Romans* had

had sometimes done for the *Campans* against the *Samnites*. Hereunto he is said to have added a foolish Invective, against *Hannibal* and his *Carthaginians*: telling, How he had taught them to make Bridges of slaughtered Carkases, and to feed upon mans flesh; with such other stuff, as only bewrayed his own fear. As for the *Campans* themselves, He put them in mind of their present strength: they having thirty thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse; with money, and all provisions, in abundance. Thus he dismissed them, prouder than they came: and filled them with conceit of getting a great Lordship; whereas before, they were somewhat timorous, in adventuring to seek their own liberty. Having reported this at *Capua*: the same Embassadors were dispatched away to *Hannibal*, with whom they easily made Alliance, upon these Conditions: That the *Campans* should be absolutely free, and ruled by their own Laws; That no Citizen of theirs should be subject unto any *Carthaginian* Magistrate, in what case soever, whether in War, or Peace; and, That *Hannibal* should deliver unto the *Campans* three Hundred *Roman* Prisoners, such as they themselves would choose, whom they might exchange for their Gentlemen which were in *Sicil*.

Against all this Negotiation, *Decius Magius*, an honourable Citizen opposed himself earnestly: using, in vain, many perswasions, to the wilful and head-strong Multitude; whom he put in mind of *Pyrrhus* and the *Tarentines*, wishing them not to change old Friends for new Acquaintance. This did he, when they were sending Embassadors to *Hannibal*: and this also did he when the new Alliance was concluded; but most earnestly, when a *Carthaginian* Garrison was entring the Town; at which time he gave advice, either to keep it out, or to fall upon it, and cut it in pieces, that, by such a notable piece of service, they might make amends unto the *Romans*, whom they had forsaken.

Advertisement hereof was given to *Hannibal*: who lying about *Naples*, not far off, sent for *Magius* to come speak with him in the Camp. This *Magius* refused: alledging, that he was, by the late concluded Articles, free from subjection unto any *Carthaginian*; and therefore would not come. *Hannibal* thereupon hasted himself towards *Capua*: forbearing to attempt any further upon *Naples*; which he thought to have taken in his way by *Scalado*, but found the Walls too high, and was not well provided, to lay Siege unto it. At *Capua* he was entertained with great Solemnity and Pomp: all the People issuing forth of the Town, to behold that great Commander, which had won so many Noble Victories. Having taken his pleasure in the sight of that goodly City, and passed over his first Entertainments; He came into their Senate: where he commended their resolution, in shaking off the *Roman* Yoke; promising, that ere long all *Italy*, and *Rome* it self, should be driven to acknowledg *Capua* as chief, and receive Law from thence. As for *Decius Magius*, who openly took part with the *Romans* their Enemies; He prayed them, that they would not think him a *Campan*, but a Traitor to the State: and use him accordingly, giving sentence out of hand upon him, as he deserved. This was granted: and *Magius* delivered unto *Hannibal*; who unwilling to offend the *Capuans*, at his first coming, by putting so great a man to death, yet fearing that they might sue for his liberty, if he kept him alive, thought it best to send him away to *Carthage*. Thus *Hannibal* setled his friendship with the *Campans*: among whom, only this *Decius Magius* had openly dared to speak against him; being assisted by *Perolla*, the Son of *Pacuvius*. This *Perolla* would have murdered *Hannibal*, whilst he was at Supper, the first night of his coming, had not his Fathers Authority kept him from making any such attempt. All the Town (besides) were so earnest in the love of their new Society, that they are said to have murdered all the *Romans*, upon whom at the present they could lay hand; or, (which is all one) to have smothered them to death in an hot Bath.

The same course of Fortune, with those of *Capua*, ran some other Towns thereabouts, which depended on this, as their Mother-City. *Nola*, *Nuceria*, *Naples*, *Casiline*, and *Acerræ*, were the Cities next adjoining, that stood out for the *Romans*. Against these *Hannibal* went, thinking to find them weakly manned; as they were indeed, though stoutly defended.

The *Romans* at this time were not in case, to put Garrisons into all their Walled Towns; but were fain to leave all places, except a few of the most suspected, unto the faith and courage of the Inhabitants. *Rome* it self was in extreme fear of *Hannibal*'s coming, at the first report of the Overthrow at *Cannæ*: and the grief of that loss was so general, and immoderate, that it much disturbed the Provision against apparent danger. It was hard to judge, whether the loss already received, or the fear of destruction presently threatning, were the more terrible. All the Senators found work enough, to stint the noise and lamentable bewailings, whereof the Streets were full. Courriers were sent forth, to bring assured tidings how all went; whereof when Letters from the Consul *Varro* had throughly informed them, they were so amazed, that they ran into barbarous Superstition; and taking direction (as was said) from their fatal books, buried alive Two Men and Women, *Gaules* and *Greeks*, in their Ox-market. If the books of *Sibyl* gave them such instructions, we may justly think, that *Sibyl* her self was instructed by the Devil. Yet is it not improbable, that extremity of fear caused them to hearken to wicked Soothsayers; whose detestable Counsels they afterwards, for their own Honour, (as ashamed of such Authors) imputed to the books of *Sibyl*. An Embassador was sent to *Delphi*, to consult the Oracle of *Apollo*; and enquire, with what Prayers and Supplications they might pacifie the Gods, and obtain an end of these Calamities. This is enough to discover the greatness of their fear; though not serving to give remedy. At the same time came Letters out of *Sicil*, from the Prætor *Otacilius*; whom the Senate had appointed, if he found it meet, to pass over into *Africk*. In these were contained News, of one *Carthaginian* Fleet, that wasted the Kingdom of *Hieron*, their good Friend and Confederate; and of another Fleet, riding among the Isles *Ægates*, which was in readiness to set upon *Lilybæum*, and the rest of the *Roman* Province, if the Prætor stirred aside, to the rescue of *Hieron*.

In the midst of these extremities, it was thought needful to call home *Terentius* the Consul, that he might name a Dictator, to take soveraign charge of the Weal publick, with absolute power, as necessity required. It must needs seem strange, that all sorts of People went forth to meet the Consul, and bid him welcome home, gi-

giving him thanks *for that he had not despaired of the Weal-publick.* But this was done (as may seem) by order from the Senate: which therein (doubtless) provided wisely, for up-holding the general Reputation. If his coming into the City, had renewed the lamentations and out-cries of the people: what else would have followed, than a contempt of their Wretchedness, among those that were subject unto their Dominion? Now in finding this occasion (though indeed he gave it not) of bestowing upon him their Welcome, and Thanks; they noised abroad a fame, which came perhaps unto the ears of *Hannibal*, of their Magnanimity and Confidence: that might seem grounded on their remaining strength. This therefore was wisely done: But whereas *Livy* would have us think, that it was done generously, and out of great spirit; let me be pardoned, if I believe him not. It was done fearfully, and to cover their grief: had they dared to shew their indignation, they would have struck off his Head; as in
Liv. l. 26. few years after, *Cn. Fulvius* had his life brought into question, and was banished by them, being less blame-worthy, for a smaller Offence. *M. Junius*, by appointment of the Senate, was nominated Dictator; and *T. Sempronius*, Master of the Horse. These fell presently to mustering
Liv. l. 22. of Souldiers, of whom they raised *Four* new Legions, and a thousand Horse; though with much difficulty; as being fain to take up some that were very Boys. These four Legions are elsewhere forgotten, in account of the Forces levi-
Liv. l. 23. ed by this Dictator; and *Two* Legions only set down, that had been enrolled in the beginning of the year for custody of the City. Wherefore it may be, that these two Legions being drawn into the Field, four new ones of *Prætextati*, or Striplings, were left in their places. In such raw Souldiers, and so few, little confidence was to be reposed; for which reason they increased their number, by adding unto them eight thousand sturdy Slaves, that were put in hope of Liberty, if they should deserve it by manful Service. This not sufficing, the Dictator proclaimed, that whosoever owed Money, and could not pay it, or had committed any capital Offence, should forthwith be discharged of his debt, or punishment, if he would serve in the War. To arm these Companies, they were fain to take down, out of their Temples and Porches, the Spoils of their Enemies that had been there set up: among which were six thousand Armours of the *Gaules*, that had been carried in the Triumph of *C. Flaminius*, a little before the beginning of this War. To such mockery had God brought the pride of the *Romans*, as a due reward of their insolent Oppressions, that they were fain to issue forth of their own Gates, in the habit of Strangers, when *Hannibal* was ready to encounter them with his *Africans*, armed *Roman-like*.

About the same time it was, that *Carthalo*, with the Agents of the Prisoners taken at *Cannæ*, came to *Rome*. *Carthalo* was not admitted into the City, but commanded, whilst he was on the way, to be gone ere Night out of the *Roman* Territory. To the Messengers of the Captives, audience was given by the Senate. They made earnest Petition, to be ransomed at the publick charge; not only the tears and lamentation of their poor Kins-folk, but the great need wherein the City then stood, of able Souldiers, commending their Suit; which yet they obtained not. Besides the general custom of the *Romans* (held by long Tradition, and strengthned by a notable Precedent, when *Regulus* was overthrown, and taken Prisoner in the former War) not to be too tender of such as had yielded to the Enemy; much was alledged against these who now craved ransom: but the special point was, that they were wilfully lost, since they might have saved themselves, as others did. It sufficed not unto these poor men, to say, that their Offence was no greater than the Consuls: they were told, that this was great presumption. The truth was, the State wanted Money; and therefore could not want Excuses, whereby to avoid the disbursement: whether it were so, or not, that any such Plea was held about this matter of Redemption, as we find recorded. Neither must we regard it, that the Slaves which were armed for the War, are said to have cost more than the Sum did amount unto, that would have ransomed these Prisoners. For this is but a tale, devised to countenance the *Roman* Proceedings, as if they had been severe; when as indeed they were suitable to the present fortune, poor, and somewhat beggarly. Hereof it is no little proof, That *Hannibal* valued those *Roman* Slaves, whom he had taken in the Camp among their Masters, at no more than every one the third part of a common Souldiers Ransom: and likely it is, that he offered them at the price, whereat he thought them current. But if we should suppose, that by trading with *Hannibal*, a better bargain for Slaves might have been made, than was by the State at home, in dealing with private men; yet must we withal consider, that these private men did only lend these Slaves for a while unto the Common-wealth, and were afterwards contented *to forbear the price of them* (when by order from the Senate they were enfranchised) until the War should be ended. If *Hannibal* would have given such long day of payment; it is likely that the *Romans* would have been his Chapmen: but seeing he dealt only for ready Money, they chose rather to say, We will not give, than, We cannot. The like austerity, upon the same reason, but contrary pretence, was used toward the Souldiers that escaped from that great Battel. These were charged, for having fled: as the prisoners were, for not flying, when they might have done so. True it is, that in such cases (if ever) that which they call *raggione del Stato* may serve for an excuse: when the Common-wealth being driven to a miserable Exigent, is fain to help it self, by doing injuries to private men. And so dealt the *Romans* now: condemning all those that had served at *Cannæ*, to be transported into *Sicil*; and there to serve, not as others did until they had fulfilled twenty years in the Wars, or else were fifty years of Age; but until this War should be ended, how long soever it lasted, and that without reward. The same thrifty censure, was afterwards laid upon others, for their misbehaviour: but never upon any man of Quality, save only (a good while after this, at better leisure) upon *Cæcilius Metellus*, and a few other hair-brain'd Fools his Companions; who being frighted out of their Wits, with the terror of so great a loss, were devising, after the Battel, which way to run out of *Italy*, when *Hannibal* as yet had scarce one Town within it. The inequality of this rigour grew shortly distastful to the Commonalty: and was openly blamed by *a Tribune of the People*; *Liv. l. 2.* nevertheless it was quietly digested, the excuse being no less apparent than the fault.

Liv. l. 24.

M. Junius the Dictator, having dispatched all needful business within the City, took the Field with

with five and twenty thouſand men. What he did with this Army, I cannot find: nor more of him, than this, That he ſpent the time about *Campania*; where (as may be preſumed) he was not idle. To him therefore perhaps it may be aſcribed, that *Hannibal* did no greater evil: for of any evil done to *Hannibal*, by the *Romans* in this their weak eſtate, only *Marcellus* had the Honour. *Marcellus*, being then one of the Prætors, lay at *Oſtia* with a Fleet, ready to ſet Sail for *Sicil*, having one Legion aboard his Ships, and Fifteen Hundred other Souldiers newly taken up: with which Forces he was to defend that Iſland, and do what harm he could in *Africk*. But hearing of the Overthrow at *Cannæ*, he ſent theſe of his new Levy to *Rome*, for defence of the City; and marched haſtily with his Legion toward *Cannuſium*: delivering the Fleet, empty of Souldiers, to *P. Furius* his Colleague. Thence was he called by the Magiſtrates, and chief Citizens of *Nola*, to help them: who were like to be forced by the Multitude (affected, as were the reſt of the *Campans*,) to let in the *Carthaginian*; and knew not how to avoid this otherwiſe, than by ſeeming to deliberate about the Articles of this new Confederacy. Wherefore he made great journies thitherward, and arrived even time enough to prevent the Enemy. Many idle Walks *Hannibal* made, betwixt *Nola* and *Naples*: aſſaying by fair Words, and terrible Threats, the one and the other City. *Naples* was ſtrong, and not infected with any the leaſt touch of diſloyalty: it had alſo a ſure Haven; whereby it ſtood in the leſs fear of ſuſtaining much inconvenience, by ſpoil of the Lands and Villages abroad in the Countrey. But at *Nola* it was thought a valuable conſideration, That *Hannibal* was Maſter of the Field: which if he laid waſte, all the poor people were utterly undone. So thought the Multitude: and ſuch talk uſed ſome, that had little fear of their own private Want or Poverty, but a great deſire to gratifie the *Carthaginian*. Of theſe, one *L. Bantius* was chief; a ſtout young Gentleman, and Souldier of eſpecial mark, well beloved in the City, and one that had done good ſervice to the *Romans*: but was found by *Hannibal*, half dead at *Cannæ*, and after much gentle uſage, good attendance, and cure of his Wounds, friendly diſmiſſed with liberal gifts. He therefore thought, that it concerned him in Honour, to return the greateſt thanks he could unto ſo courteous an Enemy. *Marcellus* perceiving this, wrought upon the ſame eaſie Nature of the Gentleman: and taking notice of him, as if it had been by chance, ſeemed to wonder, why one that had ſo well deſerved of the *Roman* ſtate, had not repaired unto him the Prætor, who deſired nothing more than ſuch acquaintance. So with many commendations, gifts, and loving entertainment, being himſelf alſo a man highly reputed for his perſonal Valour, he made this *Bantius* ſo far in love with him, that nothing could be attempted within *Nola*, againſt the *Romans*, whereof he had not preſently advertiſement. At the coming of *Marcellus*, *Hannibal* removed from about *Nola*; and aſſayed, as formerly he had done, the *Neapolitans*: but they had lately taken in a *Roman* Garriſon; upon confidence whereof they gave him a peremptory anſwer, to his diſcontent. Thence went he to *Nuceria*: which he took by compoſition; and ſo returned back again to *Nola*. He was not ignorant, what good affection the common people of *Nola* bore unto him: who although they durſt not ſtir in his quarrel, being over-awed by the *Roman* Garriſon; yet if they ſaw *Marcellus* hardly beſtead, and forced to turn his care from watching them within, to repelling the Enemies aſſailing him without, like enough it ſeemed, that they would not be wanting unto the accompliſhment of their own deſires. He therefore brought his Army cloſe to the Town, and skirmiſhed often with *Marcellus*: not in hope thereby to do much good, but only to make ſhew of a meaning to force the Town; which he ſought in the mean while to take by intelligence. In the Night-time there paſſed Meſſages between him and the Citizens his partakers: whereby it was concluded, That if once *Marcellus*, with all his Forces, could be trained into the Field, the Multitude within the Town ſhould preſently riſe; and ſeizing upon the Gates, exclude him as an Enemy. Of this Negotiation *Marcellus* was advertiſed: and fearing, leſt the Conſpirators would ſhortly adventure, even to find him buſied within the City, whilſt the *Carthaginians* ſhould ſcale the Walls; he thought it the ſureſt way, to cut off the Enemies hope, and ſend him away betimes. Wherefore ordering his Men in three Companies, within three ſeveral Gates looking towards the Enemy: He gave a ſtreight command, that all the Citizens ſhould keep their Houſes. Thus he lay cloſe a good part of the day, to the Enemies great wonder; againſt whom he had cuſtomarily iſſued forth before more early, every day, to skirmiſh. But when it was further noted, that the Walls were bare, and not a man appearing on them; then thought *Hannibal*, that ſurely all was diſcovered, and *Marcellus* now buſied with the Citizens. Whereupon he bad his Men bring Ladders, and make ready for the Aſſault; which was done in all haſte. But when the *Carthaginians* were at the very Walls, and thought nothing leſs, than that the *Romans* would meet them in the Field: ſuddenly the middle Gate was opened, whereat *Marcellus*, with the beſt and oldeſt of his Souldiers, break forth upon them, with a great noiſe, to make his unexpected Sally the more terrible. Whilſt the *Carthaginians*, much out of order, were ſome of them flying before *Marcellus*, the reſt making head againſt him; the other two Gates opened, whereat in like ſort iſſued they of the new-levied Companies, upon the Enemies backs. The ſudden terror was more available unto the *Romans*, than their force: yet the Execution was ſo great, that this was accounted as a Victory, and reputed one of the braveſt Acts performed in all that War; foraſmuch as hereby it was firſt proved, that *Hannibal* might be overcome. After this, *Marcellus*, being freed from his Enemies that were departed, took a ſtrict account of the Citizens of *Nola*: condemning above threeſcore and ten of High Treaſon, whoſe Heads he ſtruck off; and ſo leaving the Town in quiet obedience unto their Senate, went and incamped hard by about *Sueſſula*. *Hannibal* in the mean ſeaſon was gone to *Acerræ*: where being excluded, he thought it no Wiſdom to loſe time in perſwaſions, but laid Siege unto it, and began on all ſides to cloſe it up. This terrified the People, who knew themſelves unable to hold out. Therefore, before his Works were finiſhed, and they quite ſurrounded; they ſtole out by Night, and left him the Town empty: which he ſacked and burnt. Then hearing News of the Dictator, that he was about *Caſiline*, thither went *Hannibal*: as being unwilling, that an Enemy ſo near ſhould diſquiet him at *Capua*; where he meant

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to Winter. It seems, or rather indeed it is plain, that the late Victory of *Marcellus*, had nothing abated the Spirit of the *Carthaginian*: who durst with a small part of his Army, seek out the Dictator, that had with him the heart of the *Roman* strength. Wherefore the joy of his Enemies, upon so slight an occasion as the death of some two thousand of his Men, at the most, and those not slain in plain Battel, but by a sudden eruption; witnesseth chiefly, in what great fear they stood of *Hannibal*, and how Creast-fallen they were: that having three years since demanded at *Carthage*, the body of *Hannibal*, to be delivered unto their pleasure, by his own Citizens; could now please themselves, as with good News, to hear, That in a Skirmish not far from *Rome* he appeared to be a man, and not resistless. At *Casilinum* the Dictator was not: but many Companies of *Italians*, Confederates of *Rome*, were gotten into the Town, and held it. Five hundred of the *Prænestines* there were, and above four hundred of *Perusia*, with some of the *Latines*. All these had the good hap, to come too late to the Battel of *Cannæ*, being sent by their several States to the Camp: whither whilst they were marching, the tidings of that great misfortune encountred them, and sent them back sorrowful; for they loved well their Lords the *Romans*, under whose Government they lived happily. So came they all, one after another, to *Casiline*, where they met and stayed. Neither had they stayed there long, ere they heard News from *Capua*. How that great City became the Ring-leader of all the *Campans* into Rebellion. The people of *Casiline* were affected as they of *Capua*: and therefore sought how to rid their hands of those *Prænestines* and their fellows; but the Souldiers were too hard for them, and after many Trains laid one for another, at last they slew all the Townsmen in a Night, and fortified the *Western* part of the Town (for it was divided by the River *Vulturnus*) against the Enemy. If they had run away with the goods, and pretended, that these of *Casiline* were, as the rest of the *Campans*, all Traitors; they themselves might have been reputed, as no better than the *Mamertines*. But their constancy in defence of the place witnesseth, upon what honest reasons they surprised it. *Hannibal* came thither, thinking to have encountred with greater Forces: but these few found him more work than he expected. Divers Assaults he gave, but was still repelled with loss: and many Sallies they made, with variable event. The Enemy mined; and they countermined: opposing so much industry to his force, that he was driven to close them up, and seek to win them by famine. *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, that was Master of the Horse, lay with the *Roman* Army higher up the River, who fain would have relieved *Casiline*, but that the Dictator, being gone to *Rome*, about some matters of Religion, had given him express charge not to fight till his return. *Marcellus* from *Suessula* could not come, his way being stopped by the over-flowings of *Vulturnus*; the *Nolans* also beseeching him not to leave them, who were in danger of the *Campans*, if he departed. Thus it is reported: but if the Water stayed his journey, such Entreaties were needless. Neither is it like, that the Dictator tarried at *Rome* so long, as till extreme famine had consumed the Garrison in *Casiline*. Wherefore it may be thought, that the Town was lost, because the *Romans* durst not adventure to raise the Siege. Barrels of Corn were sent by Night, floating down the River; and when some of these, being carried awry by an Eddy of the Water, stuck among the Willows on the Bank, whereby this manner of relief was discovered and prevented; *Gracchus* cast a great quantity of Nuts into the stream, which faintly sustained the poor besieged men. At length, when all food was spent, and whatsoever grew green under the Walls was gathered for Sallets; the *Carthaginians* ploughed up the ground: whereon the besieged presently sowed Rape-seed. *Hannibal* seeing this, admired their Patience; and said, That he meant not to stay at *Casiline* until the Rapes were grown. Wherefore, though hitherto he had refused to hearken unto any Composition, as intending to make them an example to all others, by punishing their Obstinacy; yet now he was content, to grant them their lives at an indifferent Ransom, which when they had paid, he quietly dismissed them according to his promise. Seven Hundred *Carthaginians* he placed in *Casiline*, as a Garrison for defence of the *Campans*; unto whom he restored it. To the *Prænestine* Souldiers great thanks were given, and loving rewards; among which, they had offer, in regard of their Vertue, to be made Citizens of *Rome*. But their present condition pleased them so well, that they chose rather to continue, as they were, in *Prænestе*: which is no weak proof of the good estate wherein the Cities flourished, that were subject to the *Roman* Government. This Siege of *Casiline* was not a little beneficial to the *Romans*; as having long detained *Hannibal*, and consumed much of his time, that might otherwise have been better spent. For Winter overtook him, long before he could dispatch the business: which how to quit with his Honour he knew not, when he was once engaged. Therefore he Wintered at *Capua*: where he refreshed his Army, or rather corrupted it, as all Historians report, and made it effeminate; though, effeminate as it was, He therewithal did often beat the *Romans* in following times, as shall appear hereafter.

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§. X.

Of the great Supply that was decreed at Carthage, *to be sent to* Hannibal *in* Italy. *How by the malice of* Hanno, *and sloath or parsimony of the* Carthaginians, *the supply was too long deferred. That the riches of the* Carthaginians *grew faster, than of the* Romans. *Of* Fabius *and other old* Roman *Historians, how partial they were in their Writings.*

WHen *Mago*, the Son of *Amilcar*, had spent some time about the taking in of such *Italians*, as fell from the *Romans* after the Battel at *Cannæ*; his Brother *Hannibal* sent for him to *Capua*, and thence dispatched him away to *Carthage*, with the joyful message of Victory. He told the *Carthaginian* Senate, with how many *Roman* Generals his Brother had fought; what Consuls he had chaced, wounded, or slain; how the stout *Romans*, that in the former War never shunned any occasion of Fight, were now grown so calm, that they thought their Dictator *Fabius* the only good Captain, because he never durst adventure to come to Battel; that, not without reason, their spirits were thus abated, since *Hannibal* had slain of them above two hundred thousand, and taken above fifty thousand Prisoners. He further told them of the *Brutians*, *Apulians*, *Samnites*, *Lucans*, and other

People of *Italy*, that following the fortune of thoſe great Victories, had revolted unto the *Carthaginians*. Among the reſt he magnified *Capua*, as a goodly City, and fit to be not only (as already it was) Head of all the *Capuans*, but the chief ſeat of their Dominion in *Italy*: and there he informed them, how lovingly his Brother had been entertained, where he meant to reſt that Winter, attending their ſupply. As for the War, He ſaid it was even at an end, if they would now purſue it cloſely, and not give the *Romans* any breathing time, wherein to recollect themſelves, and repair their broken Forces. He willed them to conſider, that the War was far from home, in the Enemies Countrey; that ſo many Battels had much diminiſhed his Brothers Army; that the Souldiers, who had ſo well deſerved, ought to be conſidered with liberal rewards; and that it was not good to burden their new *Italian* Friends, with exactions of Money, Corn, and other neceſſaries; but that theſe things muſt be ſent from *Carthage*: which the Victory would requite with large amends. Finally he cauſed the golden Rings, taken from the fingers of the *Roman Knights* that were ſlain, to be poured out openly in the Court: which being meaſured, filled (as ſome ſay) three buſhels, or (as others would rather have it) no more than one; adding, that by this might appear the greatneſs of the *Roman* calamity, foraſmuch as none but the * principal of that Order, were accuſtomed to wear that Ornament.

Who ſo conſiders the former *Punick War*, may eaſily find, that the State of *Carthage* never did receive, in all the durance thereof, any ſuch hopeful advertiſements from their Captains abroad. Wherefore it is no marvel, if the Errand of *Mago* found extraordinary welcom. In the vehemency of this joy, *Himilco*, a Senator adverſe to the faction of *Hanno*, is ſaid to have demanded of that great perſwader unto peace with *Rome*, Whether he were ſtill of opinion, that *Hannibal* ſhould be yielded up unto the *Romans*; or whether he would forbid them to give thanks unto the Gods, for this their good ſucceſs. Hereunto though it be not likely that *Hanno* made the ſame formal Anſwer, which *Livy* puts into his mouth, calling the *Carthaginian* Senators *Patres conſcripti*, by a term proper to the *Romans*, and putting them in mind of his own ſhameful overthrow received at the Iſlands *Ægateis*: yet the ſum of his ſpeech appears to have been no leſs malicious, than it is ſet down, foraſmuch as *Hannibal* himſelf, at his departure out of *Italy*, exclaimed againſt the wickedneſs of this *Hanno*; ſaying, that his hatred againſt the *Barchines*, had oppreſſed their Family, when otherwiſe it could not, with the ruine of *Carthage*. Therefore it may well be, that he made ſuch a jeſt of theſe Victories, as is reported; ſaying, It ill beſeemed him, who had vanquiſhed the *Romans*, to call for more help, as if he had been beaten; or him, that had taken their Camp, filled forſooth with ſpoyl, to make requeſt for Meat and Money. To theſe Cavils, if Anſwer were needful, it might be ſaid, That other booty than of Horſes and Slaves, little was to be found in the *Roman* Camp: the beſt of the Souldiers carrying no other wealth into the Field, than a few [a] ſilver Studs in the Bridles and Trappings of their Horſes. If *Hannibal* had taken any main Convoy of Money and Proviſions, going to ſupply all wants of a great Army in ſome other Province, (as the two *Scipio's* are afterwards ſaid to have done, when they wan the Camp of *Aſdrubal*, that carried along with him all the wealth of *Spain*, in his journey towards *Italy*) then might ſuch an objection more juſtly have been made unto his demand of a ſupply. But the moſt likely part of *Hanno* his Oration, and wherein he beſt might hope to prevail, contained a perſwaſion to uſe their fortune with moderation; and now to ſeek Peace, whilſt they had ſo much the better in War.

What would have been the iſſue of this counſel, if it had been followed, it were not eaſie to ſay. For though it be likely, that the *Roman* pride would have brooked much indignity, in freeing *Italy* from the danger of War, yet it is not likely, that the faith, ſo often broken to the *Carthaginians* in former times, would have been kept entire, when any opinion of good advantage had called for revenge of ſo many ſhameful overthrows; ſince after this War ended, and a new League concluded, no ſubmiſſive behaviour could preſerve *Carthage* from ruine, longer than until ſuch time, as *Rome* was at leiſure from all other Wars. This counſel therefore of *Hanno*, though it might ſeem temperate, was indeed very peſtilent; and ſerved only to hinder the performance of a noble reſolution. For it was concluded by a main conſent of the Senate, that forty thouſand *Numidians*, forty Elephants, and great abundance of Silver, ſhould be ſent over to *Hannibal*: and that, beſides theſe, twenty thouſand Foot, and four thouſand Horſe, ſhould be levied in *Spain*; not only to ſupply, as need ſhould require, the Armies in that Province, but to be tranſported into *Italy*.

This great aid, had it been as carefully ſent, as it was readily decreed, the *Roman* Hiſtorians would not have found cauſe, to tax the wretchleſs improvidence of *Hannibal*, in forbearing to march directly from *Cannæ* to *Rome*, or in refreſhing his Army among the delights of *Capua*: the next years work would have finiſhed the buſineſs, with leſs dangerous adventure; and the pleaſures, which his men enjoyed among the *Campans*, would have been commended, as rewards by him well thought upon, wherewith to animate both them and others, that were to be employed in the following War. But either the too much careleſneſs of thoſe, that were loth to make haſte in laying out their money, before extream neceſſity required it; or the crafty malice of *Hanno*, and his fellows, working upon the private humours of men, that had more feeling of their own commodity, than ſenſe of the publick need; utterly perverted, and made unprofitable in the performance, the order that had been ſo well ſet down. The [b] Elephants were ſent: and [b] Liv. l. 28. ſome money peradventure; uncertain it is, how long after. But thoſe great Forces of threeſcore thouſand Foot, and four thouſand Horſe, came not into *Italy*, till much was loſt of that which already had been gotten, and a great part of the old *Carthaginian* Army, was firſt conſumed by Time, and ſundry accidents of War. Only ſome ſmall numbers, no way anſwering unto the proportion decreed, were ſent into *Spain*; and the journey of *Aſdrubal* thence through *France* into *Italy* much talked of, but he not enabled thereunto, till many years were paſt, and the *Romans* had recovered their ſtrength.

Here we may note, what great Riches the *Carthaginians* drew into their City, both by the Tributes received from their Subjects, and by their wealthy Trade of Merchandize. For it is not long, ſince the War of the Mercinaries; and the perfidious Tyranny of the *Romans*, extorting in time of greateſt neceſſity twelve hundred talents; had exceedingly impoveriſhed *Carthage*: which was before brought into great want, even by the expence of ſo much money, as was to be diſburſed for redeeming of Peace, after the loſs at *Ægateis*.

Yet

* Thus *Livy* reports it: and credible it is, that while *Rome* was poor, the bravery of private men was not altogether ſo great, as the Law would have permitted; though otherwiſe *Jus Annuli*, *The wearing of the Ring*, was the general priviledge of the *Roman Equites*.

[a] Liv. l. 22.

Yet we see, what great Armies of *Numidians*, and *Spaniards*, besides those already on Foot, are appointed to the service in *Italy*, and how little the *Carthaginians* fear the want of money in these chargeable undertakings: whereas the *Romans*, on the other side, having three or four years together been forced to some extraordinary cost, are fain to go upon credit, even for the price of those Slaves, which they bought of their own Citizens to arm for their defence. Such advantage, in means to enrich their Treasury, had the wealthy Merchants of *Carthage*, trading in all Parts of the *Mediterranean Sea*, even from *Tyrus* their Mother-City in the bottom of the streights unto the great Ocean, above the *Romans*: who lived on the fruits of their ground; and received their Tributes from people following the same course of life. When time therefore was come, that the hatred of *Rome* found leisure to shew it self, in the destruction of *Carthage*; the impudence of *Roman* falshood, in seeking an honest colour wherewith to shadow the intended breach of faith, discovered plainly whence the jealousie was bred, that this mighty City would again rebel. For the *Carthaginians*, having given up Hostages, even before the *Roman* Army did set forth, to perform whatsoever should be enjoyned them, with condition that their City might not be destroyed; and having accordingly, when they were so required, yielded up all their Weapons, and Engines of War; the *Romans* told them plainly, That the City of *Carthage*, which was the Body of the Citizens, should be friendly dealt withal, but the Town must needs be demolished, and removed into some other Place, that should be twelve miles distant from the Sea. For (said the *Romans*) this Trade of Merchandize, by which ye now live, is not so fit for peaceable men, such as ye promise to become hereafter, as is the Trade of Husbandry; an wholsom kind of life, and enduing men with many laudable qualities, which enable their bodies, and make them very apt for conversation. This villainous dealing of the *Romans*, though sugred with glosing words, plainly shews, what good observation the elder *Cato* had made of the hasty growth of *Carthage* in Riches. For when, being demanded his opinion in the Senate about any matter whatsoever it were, added still this conclusion, *Thus I think*; *and that* Carthage *should be destroyed*; He may seem, not only to have had regard unto that present Wealth, which at his being there he had found in the City, but much more unto these Times, and the great height whereunto it rose, even suddenly as we see, out of many calamities, whilst the *Romans* thought, that it had not been in case to dare so terrible a War.

But as the *Carthaginians*, in gathering Wealth, were more industrious and skilful than the *Romans*; so came they far short of them, in the honourable care of the publick good: having every one, or most of them, a more principal regard of his own private benefit. This made them (besides the negligence commonly found in Victors) when the first heat of their affection, wherein they concluded to pursue the War strongly, was over-past, go more leisurely to work, than had been requisite in the execution. It was easie for *Hanno* to perswade covetous men, that they should first of all defend their own in *Spain*. This might be done with little charges. Afterwards, when that Province was secured, they might send an Army into *Italy*; so going to work orderly by degrees. For it were no wisdom, to commit all the strength of the Common-wealth to one hazard of Fortune, against the Enemies; or (which perhaps were worse) to the Government of an ambitious man, and his brethren; who having once (if they could so do) finished the War, might easily make * *Hannibal* a King, and subdue *Carthage*, with the Forces that she had given them to the Conquest of *Rome*.

By such malicious working of *Hanno*, and by their own Slackness, Incredulity, dulness, or Niggardize, the *Carthaginians* were perswaded rather to make small disbursements in *Spain*, than to set up all their rest at once in *Italy*. Yet was it indeed impossible, to hold a Countrey of so large extent, and so open a Coast as that of *Spain*, free from all incursion of the Enemy: especially the affection of the Naturals being (as in a new Conquest) ill established. A better way therefore it had been to make a running War, by which the *Romans* might have been found occupied, even with the ordinary *Carthaginian* Garrisons, or some little addition thereunto. For if it were thought meet, to defer the prosecution of their main intendment against *Rome* it self, until such time as every little Thorn were pulled out of the sides of so great a Province: then must *Emporiæ* have been besieged and forced: which by reason of Alliance with the *Massilians*, gave unto the *Romans*, at all times when they pleased, a ready and secure Harbour. But the Town of *Emporiæ* was too strong to be won in haste: it had long defended it self against the *Barbarians*; having not above four hundred paces of Wall to the main Land, and exceedingly well fortified; a great *Spanish* Town of the same Name, lying without it, that was three miles in compass, very strong likewise, and friend unto the *Grecians*, though not over-much trusted. Wherefore to force this Town of *Emporiæ*, that was, besides the proper strength, like to be so well assisted by the *Massilians*, *Romans*, and some *Spaniards*; would have been a work of little less difficulty, than was the *Roman* War (in appearance) after the Battel at *Cannæ*: yea it had been in effect none other, than to alter the seat of the War; which *Hannibal* had already fixed, with better judgment, near unto the Gates of *Rome*. The difficulty of this attempt being such, as caused it altogether to be forborn; great folly it was, to be much troubled about expelling the *Romans* utterly out of *Spain*: whom they might more easily have diverted thence, and drawn home to their own doors, by making strong War upon their City. For even so the *Romans* afterwards removed *Hannibal* into *Africk*, by sending an Army to *Carthage*; and by taking the like course, they now endeavoured to change the seat of the War, transferring it out of *Italy* into *Spain*. But the private Affections of men, regarding the common good no otherwise, than as it is accessary to their own purposes, did make them easily wink at Opportunities, and hope, that somewhat would fall out well of it self, though they set not to their helping hands. *Hanno* was a malicious Wretch: yet they that thought him so, were well enough contented to hearken unto his discourses, as long as they were plausible, and tended to keep the Purse full. In the mean while they suffered *Hannibal*, and all the Noble House of *Amilcar*, to weary themselves in travel for the Common-wealth: which all *Carthage* in general highly commended, but weakly assisted; as if the industry of these *Barchines* had been somewhat more than needful. Surely the *Carthaginians*, in general, were far less honourable than the People of *Rome*: not only in Go-

* Of such ambition *Hanno* directly accused *Hannibal*, saying, that he made War upon War, that so he might live compassed with Legions, as knowing no other way to make himself a King *Liv. lib. 21.*

vernment of their ſubject Provinces, but in adminiſtration of their own Eſtate; few of them preferring the reſpect of the Weal publick above their private intereſt. But as they thrived little in the end, by their parſimony uſed toward their own Mercinaries, when the former *Roman* War was finiſhed: ſo the concluſion of this War preſent, will make them complain, with feeling Sighs, of their Negligence in ſupplying *Hannibal*, after the Victory at *Cannæ*; when gladly they would give all their Treaſures, to redeem the Opportunity, that now they let paſs, as if it were coſt enough to ſend a few Handfuls into *Spain*.

That both the *Spaniſh* buſineſs, and the State of *Africk* it ſelf, depended wholly, or for the moſt part, upon ſucceſs of things in *Italy*; the courſe of Actions following will make manifeſt. Particularly how matters were ordered in *Spain* by the *Carthaginian* Governors, it is very hard, and almoſt impoſſible, to ſet down. For though we muſt not reprehend, in that worthy Hiſtorian *Livy*, the tender love of his own Countrey, which made him give credit unto *Fabius* and others: yet muſt we not, for his ſake, believe thoſe lies, which the unpartial judgment of *Polybius* hath condemned, in the Writers that gave them Original. It were needleſs to rehearſe all that may be found in *Polybius*, concerning the untruth of that *Roman* Hiſtorian *Fabius*. One Example may ſuffice. He ſaith of *Amilcar* and his men at *Eryx*, in the former War, That having clean ſpent their ſtrength, and being even broken with many miſeries, they were glad to ſubmit themſelves unto the *Romans*. Contrary hereunto we find in *the Life of Amilcar*, ſet down by *Æmilius Probus*, That *Eryx* was in ſuch ſort held by the *Carthaginians*, that it ſeemed to be in as good condition, as if in thoſe parts there had not been any War. Theſe Words, heing referred to the brave reſolution of the *Carthaginian* Souldiers, and the ſingular Vertue of their General infuſing ſuch ſpirit into them; may be taken as not over-liberal. For in the Treaty of Peace between *Amilcar* and *Catulus*, when the *Roman* firſt of all required, that this Garriſon of *Eryx* ſhould lay down their Arms, and forſake *Sicil*, threatning, that otherwiſe he would not talk of any Compoſition: *Amilcar* boldly bad him chuſe, whether he would talk of it, or no; for that the Arms which his Countrey had put into his hands to uſe againſt her Enemies, it was not his purpoſe to yield up unto them. Now ſince the *Romans*, contrary to their cuſtom upon like advantages, were content to let *Amilcar* have his Will, and not to ſtand with him upon point of Honour, whilſt otherwiſe they might quietly rid their hands of him; plain enough it is, that they were far from thinking him a man conſumed with miſeries, as *Fabius* would have him ſeem. Hereunto agrees the relation of *Polybius*: who flatly, and by Name, chargeth *Fabius* with untruth; ſaying, that howſoever *Amilcar*, and his Souldiers, had endured all extremity, yet they behaved themſelves as men that had no ſenſe thereof; and were as far from being either vanquiſhed, or tired, as were their Enemies. Such being the difference between *Fabius* (as alſo perhaps between other old Writers of the *Roman* Story) and thoſe that had more regard of truth, than of flattering the mighty City of *Rome*: we muſt take it in good part, that howſoever *Livy* introduceth *Hanno*, in one place, joyning very fooliſhly his own ſhameful Overthrow at the Iſlands * *Ægateis*, with the great ſervices of *Amilcar* at *Eryx*, as if both of them had had a like event; yet † elſewhere he forbeareth not to put a more likely tale (though with as impudent a commemoration of his own unhappy conduct) into the ſame *Hanno* his Mouth, making him ſay, That the Affairs of *Carthage* went never better, than a little before the loſs of their Fleet in that Battel at Sea: wherein himſelf was General. Now concerning the doings of the *Scipio*'s in *Spain*, there is cauſe to wiſh, that this *Fabius*, with *Val. Antias*, and others of the like ſtamp, had either written (if they could not write more temperately) nothing at all; or that the tender affection of *Livy* to his *Rome*, had not cauſed him to think too well of their Relations: which are ſuch as follow.

Pol. lib. 1.

* *Ægateis Inſulas, Eryce mq; ante oculos proponite, &c. Liv. lib. 21.*

† *Liv. lib. 23.*

§. XI.

Strange reports of the Roman *Victories in* Spain, *before* Aſdrubal, *the Son of* Amilcar, *followed thence his brother* Hannibal *into Italy.*

IT hath been ſhewed already, how *P. Cornelius Scipio* the Conſul, returning from *Gaul* into *Italy*, to encounter with *Hannibal* at his deſcent from the *Alpes*, ſent before him his brother *Cneus*, with part of his Fleet and Army, into *Spain*. Two *Roman* Legions, with fourteen thouſand Foot of the Confederates, and twelve hundred Horſe, had been allotted unto this Conſul, therewith to make War in *Spain* againſt *Hannibal*: who ſince he was marching into *Italy* with the ſtrength of his Army, *P. Scipio* believed, that a good part of theſe his own Forces might well be ſpared from the *Spaniſh* Expedition; and therefore made bold to carry ſome of the number back with him, ſending on his brother with the reſt, as his Lieutenant. *Publius* himſelf remained in *Italy* all the time of his Conſulſhip: which being expired, He was ſent Proconſul into *Spain*, by the Senate, with an Army of Eight thouſand Men, and a Fleet of thirty Gallies.

The Acts of theſe two Brethren in their Province, were very great; and, as they are reported, ſomewhat marvellous. For they continually prevailed in *Spain*, againſt the *Carthaginians*: whom they vanquiſhed in ſo many Battels, and withdrew from their Alliance ſo many of the *Spaniards* their Confederates; that we have cauſe to wonder, how the Enemy could ſo often find means to repair his Forces, and return ſtrong into the Field. But as the *Romans*, by pretending to deliver the Countrey from the Tyranny of *Carthage*, might eaſily win unto their Confederacy, as many as were galled with the *African* Yoke, and durſt adventure to break it: ſo the ancient Reputation of the firſt Conquerors, might ſerve to arm the Naturals againſt theſe Invaders; and to reclaim thoſe, that had revolted unto the *Romans*, were it only by the memory of ſuch ill ſucceſs, as the like Rebellions in former times had found. Hereto may be added the *Carthaginian* Treaſure: which eaſily raiſed Souldiers, among thoſe valiant, but (in that Age) poor, and Gold-thirſty Nations. Neither was it of ſmall importance, that ſo many of the *Spaniards* had their Children, Kinſmen, and Friends, abroad with *Hannibal* in his *Italian* Wars; or ſerving the *Carthaginians* in *Africk*. And peradventure, if we durſt be bold to ſay it; the Victories of the *Scipio*'s were neither ſo many, nor ſo great, as they are ſet out by *Livy*. This we may be bold to ſay, That the great Captain *Fabius*, or *Livy* in his perſon, maketh an Objection unto *Scipio*, which neither *Scipio*, nor *Livy* for him, doth anſwer, That

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if Asdrubal were vanquished, as Scipio would say, by him in Spain: strange it was, and as little to his honour, as it had been extremely dangerous to Rome, that the same vanquished man should invade Italy. And it is indeed an incredible narration, That *Asdrubal* being closed in on all sides, and not knowing how to escape out of a Battel, save only by the steep descent of Rocks, over a great River that lay at his back, ran away with all his Money, Elephants, and broken Troops, over *Tagus*, directly toward the *Pyrenees*, and so toward *Italy*; upon which he fell with more than threescore thousand armed Souldiers. Neither do I see, how it hangs well together, That he chose a piece of ground very defensible, but most incommodious for his Retreat, if he should happen to be vanquished; and yet, that he sent all his Money and Elephants away before him, as not intending to abide the Enemy: Or how it could be true, that these his Elephants, being so sent before, could hinder the *Romans* (for so are they said to have done in the last Battel between him and *Scipio*) from breaking into his Camp. Wherefore we can no more than be sorry, that all *Carthaginian* Records of this War, and *Spanish*, (if there were any) being utterly lost, we can know no more thereof, than what it hath pleased the *Romans* to tell us: unto whom it were no Wisdom to give too much credit. In this regard, I will summarily run over the doings of the *Scipio's* in *Spain*; not greatly insisting on particulars, whereof there is no great certainty.

Liv. l. 28.

Cn. Cornelius landed at *Emporiæ*, an Haven-Town not far within the *Pyrenees*, retaining still the same Name with little inflexion. That by the fame of his Clemency he allured many Nations to become subject unto *Rome*, as the Story begins of him, I could easily believe, if I understood by what occasion they had need to use his Clemency, or he to give such famous example thereof, being a meer stranger, and having no Jurisdiction in the Countrey. Yet is it certain, that he was a man very courteous, and one that could well insinuate himself into the love of the *Barbarians*; among whom, his dexterity in practise had the better success, for that he seemed to have none other Errand, than setting them at liberty. This Pretext availed with some: others were to be hired with Money; and some he compelled to yield by force or fear; especially, when he had won a Battel against *Hanno*. Into all Treaties of accord made with these People, likely it is that he remembred to insert this Article, which the *Romans* in their Alliances never forgot, unless in long times past, and when they dealt with the *Carthaginians*, or their Superiours; *Majestatem Pop. Rom. comiter conservent*, which is, as *Tully* interprets it, *That they should gently (or kindly) uphold the Majesty of the People of* Rome. This was in appearance nothing troublesome: yet implied it indeed an obscure covenant of subjection. And in this respect it may be true, That the *Spaniards* became *ditionis Romanæ*; *of the* Roman *Jurisdiction*; though hereafter they will say, they had no such meaning. That part of the Countrey wherein *Scipio* landed, was newly subdued by *Hannibal* in his passage toward *Italy*; and therefore the more easily shaken out of obedience. Particularly in the *Bargutians*; *Hannibal* had found, at his coming among them, such an apprehension of the *Roman* greatness, as made him suspect, that any light occasion would make them start from the *Carthaginians*. Wherefore he not only appointed *Hanno* Governour over them, as over the rest of the Province between *Iberus* and the *Pyrenees*, but made him also their *Lord*; that is, (as I conceive it; for I do not think he gave the Principality of their Countrey unto *Hanno* and his Heirs,) He made him not only Lieutenant General over them, in matters of War, and things concerning the holding them in obedience to *Carthage*; but took from them all inferior Officers of their own, leaving them to be governed by *Hanno*, at his discretion. These therefore had good cause to rejoyce at the coming of *Scipio*; with whom, others also (no doubt) found reasons to joyn; it being the custom of all conquered Nations, in hatred of their present Lords, to throw themselves indiscreetly into the protection of others, that many times prove worse than the former. So were the *Neapolitans*, and *Milancis*, in the Age of our Grand-fathers, weary by turns of the *Spaniards* and *French*; as more sensible still of the present evil which they felt, than regardful of the greater mischief, whereinto they ran by seeking to avoid it. This bad affection of his Province, would not suffer *Hanno* to temporize. Ten thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse, *Hannibal* had left unto him: besides which it is like, that some Forces he was able to raise out of his Province. Therefore he adventured a Battel with *Scipio*; wherein he was overthrown and taken. Following this Victory, *Scipio* besieged *Stissum*, a Town hard by, and wan it. But *Asdrubal* having passed *Iberus*, and coming too late to the relief of *Hanno*, with eight thousand Foot and a thousand Horse, fell upon the *Roman* Sea-forces, that lay not far about *Tarracon*, whom he found careless, as after a Victory, roving abroad in the Countrey; and with great slaughter drave them aboard their Ships. This done, he ran up into the Countrey, where he withdrew the *Illergetes* from the *Roman* party, though they had given Hostages to *Scipio*. *Scipio* in the mean season was gone to visit and aid his Fleet: where having set things in order, he returned back, and made toward *Asdrubal*; who durst not abide his coming, but withdrew himself again over *Iberus*. So the *Illergetes* were compelled by force, having lost *Athanagia*, their chief City, to pay a Fine to the *Romans*, and increase the number of their Hostages. The *Ausetani* likewise, Confederates of the *Carthaginians*, were besieged in their chief Town; which they defended thirty days; hoping in vain, that the sharp Winter, and great abundance of Snow that fell, would have made the *Romans* to dislodg. But they were fain at length to yield: and for this their obstinacy, they were amerced twenty talents of Silver. During the Siege, the *Lacetani* came to help their distressed Neighbours; and were beaten home by *Scipio*, leaving twelve thousand of their Company dead behind them. I cannot but wonder, how these *Lacetani*, that are said to be the first which embraced the friendship of *Scipio*, should, without any cause remembred, become *Carthaginian* on the sudden, in the next news that we hear of them. As also it is strange, that all the Sea-coast *Northward* of *Iberus*, having lately become voluntarily *ditionis Romanæ*; *subject unto* *Rome*, should, in continuance of the Story, after a few lines, hold War against *Scipio*, without any assistance of the *Carthaginians*. Neither can I believe, that *Asdrubal*, as it were by a Charm, stirred up the *Illergetes*, making them lay aside all care of their Hostages, and take Arms in his Quarrel; whilst himself had not the daring to stand against *Scipio*, but ran away, and saved himself beyond *Iberus*. *Philinus* perhaps, or some *Carthaginian* Writer, would have told it thus: That *Scipio* adventuring too far into the Countrey, was beaten by *Asdrubal* back to his Ships, whence

Orat. pro Corn. Balbo.

Liv. l. 21.

Liv. l. 21.

Polyb. l. 3.

whence he durſt not ſtir, until Winter came on: at what time this *Carthaginian* returned into the heart of his Province, leaving ſome few Garriſons to defend thoſe places, that after *Scipio* wan, by returning upon them, unlooked for, through a deep Snow. As for the *Lacetani*, *Illergetes*, and the reſt, we may reaſonably think, that they ſought their own benefit: helping themſelves one while by the *Romans* againſt the *Carthaginians*; and contrariwiſe, upon ſenſe of injuries received, or apprehenſion of more grievous Tyranny, under which they feared to be brought by theſe new Maſters, hearkening again unto the comfortable promiſes of thoſe, that had ruled them before. For that it was their intent to live under their own Countrey Laws, and not under Governors ſent from *Rome* or *Carthage*, their demeanour in all Ages following may teſtifie: even from henceforth unto the days of *Auguſtus Cæſar*; till when they were never throughly conquered.

The year following this, *Cn. Scipio* had a Victory againſt the *Carthaginians*, in fight at Sea; or rather came upon them unlooked for, while they rode at Anchor, moſt of their men being on ſhore. All their Ships, that ran not too far on ground, he took, and thereby grew Maſter of the whole Coaſt; landing at pleaſure, and doing great hurt in all places that were not well defenced. After this Victory, above one hundred and twenty Nations, or petty Eſtates in *Spain*, are ſaid to have ſubmitted themſelves unto the *Romans*, and given Hoſtages: whereby *Aſdrubal* was compelled to fly into the utmoſt corners of the Land, and hide himſelf in *Luſitania*. Yet it follows; that the *Illergetes* did again rebel; that *Aſdrubal* hereupon came over *Iberus*, and that *Scipio* (though having eaſily vanquiſhed the *Illergetes*) went not forth to meet him, but ſtirred up againſt him the *Celtiberians*, that lately were become his Subjects and had given him Hoſtages. Theſe took from the *Carthaginian* three Towns, and vanquiſhed him in two Battels, wherein they ſlew fifteen thouſand of his Men, and took four thouſand Priſoners. Then arrived *P. Scipio*, with the ſupply before mentioned: and henceforward the two Brethren joyntly adminiſtred the buſineſs in *Spain*.

The *Carthaginians* being occupied in the *Celtiberian War*, the two *Scipio's* did, *haud cunctanter*, *without fear or doubt*, paſs over *Iberus*, and beſiege *Saguntum*. Little cauſe of doubt had they, if *Cn.* had already ſubdued many Nations beyond it, and among many others, the ſame *Celtiberians*, that with their proper Forces were able to vanquiſh *Aſdrubal*. *Boſtar*, the Governour of *Saguntum*, a ſimple man, ſuffered himſelf to be perſwaded by one *Acedux* a *Spaniard*, that the only way to get the favour and hearty good will of the Country, was by freely reſtoring unto them their Hoſtages; as reſting, without any pledge, aſſured of their Faith. But the crafty *Spaniard*, being truſted with this Meſſage and Reſtitution of the Hoſtages, carried them all to the *Roman* Generals: perſwading them, as he had done *Boſtar*, to make the Liberality their own. Hereby the *Romans* purchaſed much Love: if the Tale were true; and if it were not rather true, as afterward, and ere this we find, that all the *Spaniſh* Hoſtages were left in new *Carthage*. I am weary of rehearſing ſo many particularities, whereof I can believe ſo few. But ſince we find no better certainties, we muſt content our ſelves with theſe.

The year following was like unto this: *Aſdrubal* muſt be beaten again. The two *Scipio's* divide their Forces: *Cn.* makes War by Land; *P.* by Sea. *Aſdrubal*, with much labour and entreaty, hath gotten four thouſand Foot, and five hundred Horſe out of *Africk*: He repairs his Fleet, and provides every way to make reſiſtance. But all his chief Sea-men, and Maſters of his Ships, revolt unto the *Romans*, becauſe they had been chidden the laſt year for their Negligence, which had betraied the Navy. The revolt of theſe Ship-Maſters animates to Rebellion the *Carpeſians*, or *Carpetani*, an In-land People about *Toledo*, in the very Center of *Spain*. Theſe do much miſchief, ſo that *Aſdrubal* is fain to make a Journey to them. His ſudden coming cuts off ſome of them that were found ſcattered abroad in the Fields. But they making head, ſo valiantly aſſail him, that they drive him, for very fear, to incamp himſelf ſtrongly on an high piece of ground, whence he dares not come forth to give them Battel. So they take a Town by force, wherein he had laid up all his Proviſions; and ſhortly make themſelves Maſters of the Country round about. This good ſucceſs breeds negligence, for which they dearly pay. *Aſdrubal* comes upon them, takes them unprepared, beats them, kills the moſt of them, and diſperſeth the reſt, ſo that the whole Nation yieldeth to him the next day. Then come directions from *Carthage*, that *Aſdrubal* ſhould lead his Army forthwith into *Italy*: which we may wonder, why the *Carthaginians* would appoint him to do, if they had been informed by his Letters in what hard caſe he was, and had ſo weakly ſupplied him, as is ſhewed before. But thus we find it reported, and that upon the very rumour of this his Journey, almoſt all *Spain* was already to fall to the *Romans*. *Aſdrubal* therefore ſends word preſently to *Carthage*, That this muſt not be ſo: or if they will needs have it ſo, that then they muſt ſend him a Succeſſor, and well attended with a ſtrong Army, which to imploy, they ſhould find work more than enough; ſuch notable men were the *Roman* Generals. But the Senate of *Carthage* is not much moved with this excuſe: *Aſdrubal* muſt needs be gone; and *Himilco*, with ſuch Forces as are thought expedient for that Service, both by Land and Sea, is ſent to take the charge of *Spain*. Wherefore *Aſdrubal* hath now no more to do, than to furniſh himſelf with ſtore of Money, that he might have wherewithal to win the Friendſhip of the *Gauls*; through whoſe Countries he muſt paſs, as *Hannibal* had done before him. the *Carthaginians* were greatly too blame, for not remembring to eaſe him of this care. But ſince it can be no better, he lays great impoſitions upon all the *Spaniards* his Subjects: and having gotten together as much Treaſure as he could, onward he marcheth toward *Iberius*. The *Scipio's* hearing theſe news, are careful how to arreſt him on the way. They beſiege *Ibera* (ſo called of the Rivers name running by it) the richeſt Town in all thoſe Quarters, that was confederate with *Aſdrubal*: who thereupon ſteps aſide to relieve it. The *Romans* meet him, and fight a Battel with him: which they win the more eaſily, for that the *Spaniards*, his Followers, had rather be vanquiſhed at home, than get the Victory, and afterwards be haled into *Italy*. Great numbers are ſlain, and few ſhould have eſcaped, but that the *Spaniards* ran away, ere the Battels were throughly joyned. Their Camp the *Romans* take and ſpoil: whereby (queſtionleſs) they are marvelouſly enriched; all the Money that could be raked together in *Spain*, being carried along in this *Italian* Expedition. This days event joyns all *Spain* to the *Romans*, if any part of the Country ſtood in doubt before; and puts *Aſdrubal* ſo far from all thought of travelling into *Italy*, that it leaves him ſmall hope of keeping him-

himself safe in *Spain*. Of these exploits advertisement is sent to *Rome*: and *Letters* to the Senate, from *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, whereof the Contents are, Liv. l. 23. That they have neither Money, Apparel, nor Bread, wherewith to sustain their Army and Fleet; That all is wanting, so as unless they may be supplied from *Rome*, they can neither hold their Forces together, nor tarry any longer in the Province. These Letters come to *Rome* in an evil season, the State being scarcely able, after the loss at *Cannæ*, to help it self at home. Yet relief is sent, how hardly, and how much to the commendations of that Love and Care, which the private Citizens of *Rome* bare unto the Common-wealth, shall be inserted elsewhere, into the Relation of things whereof the truth is less questionable. At the coming of this supply, the two *Scipio's* pursue *Asdrubal*, and hunt him out of his lurking holes. What else can we think; that remember the last news of him, and how fearfully he mistrusted his own safety? They find him, and *Mago*, and *Amilcar*, the Son of *Bomilcar*, with an Army of threescore thousand Men, besieging *Iliturgi*: (which the learned *Ortelius*, and others, probably conjecture to have stood, where *Carinena* is now, in the Kingdom of *Aragon*; for there was *Illiturgis*, afterward called *Forum Julii*, quite another way) a Town of the *Illergetes*, their neerest Neighbours, for having revolted unto the *Romans*. The Town is greatly distressed; but most of all, for want of Victuals. The *Romans* therefore break through between the Enemies Camps, with terrible slaughter of all that resist them: and having victualled the place, encourage the Townsmen to defend their Walls as stoutly, as they should anon behold them fighting manfully with the besiegers, in Liv. l. 23. their behalf. So they issue forth, about sixteen thousand against threescore thousand: and killing more of the Enemies, than themselves were in number, drive all the three *Carthaginian* Commanders, every one, out of his quarter; and took that day, besides Prisoners and other Booty, fifty and eight Ensigns. The *Carthaginian* Army, being thus beaten from *Illiturgi*, fall upon *Incibili*, that stood a little *Southward* from the mouth of *Iberus*. The *Spaniards* are blamed, as too greedy of earning Money by War, for thus re-enforcing the broken *Carthaginians*. But it may be wondred whence the *Carthaginians* had Money to pay them; since *Asdrubal* was lately driven to poll the Countrey, wanting Money of his own; and being beaten in this journey, had lost his wealthy Carriages, when his Camp was taken after the Battel by *Ibera*. Howsoever it happens, the *Carthaginians* (according to their custom) are beaten again at *Incibili*: where there were of them above thir- Liv. l. 23. teen thousand slain, and above three thousand taken; besides two and forty Ensigns, and nine Elephants. After this, (in a manner) all the people of *Spain* fell from them unto the *Romans*. Thus could *Fabius*, *Valerius Antias*, or some other Historian, to whom *Livy* gave credit, conquer all *Spain* twice in one year, by winning famous Victories; whereof these good Captains, *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, perhaps were not aware.

The *Romans*, notwithstanding this large access of Dominion, winter on their own side of *Iberus*. In the beginning of the next year, great Armies of the *Spaniards* rise against *Asdrubal*; and are overthrown by him. *P. Scipio*, to help these his friends, is forced to make great haste over the River. At *Castrum Album*, a place in the mid-way between new *Carthage* and *Saguntum*, famous by the death of *the great Amilcar*, *P. Scipio* incampeth; and stores the place with Victuals, being strong and defensible; as intending to make it his seat for a while. But the Countrey round about is too full of Enemies: the *Carthaginian* Horse have charged the *Romans* in their March, and are gone off clear; falling also upon some straglers, or such as lagged behind their fellows in March, they have cut off two thousand of them. Hereupon it is thought behoveful, to retire unto some place more assured. So *Pub.* withdraws himself unto *Mons Victoriæ*: that rising somewhat *Eastward* from *Incibili*, overlooks the *Southern* Out-let of *Iberus*. Thither the *Carthaginians* pursue him; His brother *Cn.* repairs unto him; and *Asdrubal*, the Son of *Gesco*, with a full Army, arrives to help his Companions. As they lie thus near incamped together, *P. Scipio*, with some light-armed, going closely to view the places thereabouts, is discovered by the Enemies: who are like to take him, but that he withdraws himself to an high piece of ground; where they besiege him, until his brother *Cn.* fetch him off. After this (but I know not why) *Castulo*, a great City of *Spain*, whence *Hannibal* had taken him a Wife, joyneth with the *Romans*; though being far distant from them, and seated on the head of the River *Bætis*. Nevertheless the *Carthaginians* pass over *Iberus*, to besiege *Illiturgi* again, wherein lodgeth a *Roman* Garrison; hoping to win it by Famine. We may justly wonder, what should move them to neglect the Rebellion of *Castulo*, yea and the *Roman* Army lying so close by them, and to seek adventures further off, in that very place, wherein they had been so grievously beaten the year before. But thither they go: and thither follows them *Cn. Scipio* with one Legion: who enters the Town by force, breaks out upon them the next day, and in two Battels kills above twelve thousand, and takes more than a thousand of them Prisoners, with six and thirty Ensigns. This Victory (doubtless) is remarkable: considering that the greatest *Roman* Legion at this time, consisted of no more than five thousand men. The vanquished *Carthaginians* besiege *Bigarra*: but that Siege is also raised by *Cn. Scipio*. Thence the *Carthaginians* remove to *Munda*; where the *Romans* are soon at their heels. There is a great Battel fought, that lasteth four hours, wherein the *Romans* get a notable Victory; and a more notable would have gotten, had not *Cn. Scipio* been wounded. Thirty nine Elephants are killed, and twelve thousand men; three thousand Prisoners taken, and seven and fifty Ensigns. The *Carthaginians* fly to *Auringes*; and the *Romans* pursue them. *Cn. Scipio* in a Litter is carried into the Field, and vanquisheth the *Carthaginians* again: but kills not half so many of them, as before; good cause why, for there are *fewer* of them left to fight. Not- Liv. l. 24. withstanding all these Overthrows, the *Spaniards*, a people framed even by Nature to set War on foot, quickly fill up the broken Troops of *Asdrubal*: who having also hired some of the *Gaules*, adventures once more to try his fortune with the *Romans*. But he is beaten again, and loseth eight thousand of his men; besides Prisoners, Elephants, Ensigns, and other Appurtenances. After so many Victories, the *Romans* are even ashamed, to leave *Saguntum* enthralled unto the *Carthaginians*; since, in behalf of that City, they had at first entred into this War. And well may we think it strange, that they had not recovered it long before, since we may remember, that long before this they had won all the Countrey once and again. But it must not be forgotten, that they had ere now besieged *Saguntum*; and were fain (as appears) to go their way without it: so

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as they need not to bluſh, for having ſo long forborn to do that, which ere now they had attempted, but were unable to perform. At the preſent they win *Saguntum*, and reſtore the poſſeſſion thereof unto ſuch of the poor diſperſed Citizens, as they can find out. They alſo waſte and deſtroy the Countrey of the *Turdetani*, that had miniſtred unto *Hannibal* matter of quarrel againſt the *Saguntines*. This laſt Action (queſtionleſs) was much to their Honour; and wherein we may be aſſured, that the *Carthaginians* would have diſturbed them, if they had been able.

But over-looking now this long continuance of great Victories, which the *Romans* have gotten in *Spain*, other print or token of all their brave Exploits, we can perceive none, than this recovery of *Saguntum*: excepting the ſtopping of *Aſdrubal*'s journey; which was indeed of greateſt importance, but appertaining to their own defence. For they have landed at *Emporiæ*, an Haven-Town, built and peopled by a Colony of the *Phocæans*, kin to the *Maſſilians*, friends to the *Romans*; They have eaſily won to their party, loſt, recovered, and loſt again, ſome petty bordering Nations of the *Spaniards*, that are carried one while by perſwaſion, other whiles by force, and ſometimes by their own unſetled paſſions; and now finally they have won a Town, whereof the *Carthaginians* held entire poſſeſſion; who had rooted out the old Inhabitants. Wherefore we may eaſily believe, that when they took *Saguntum* (if they took it not by ſurpriſe: which is to be ſuſpected, ſince in this Action we find no particulars remembred, as when the ſame place was taken by *Hannibal*) they had gotten the better of their Enemies in ſome notable Fight. In like ſort alſo muſt we think, that all thoſe Battels lately remembred, after every one of which *Aſdrubal* ſate down before ſome place that had rebelled, or ſeemed ready to rebel, were proſperous unto the *Carthaginians*. For it is not the cuſtom of Armies vanquiſhed, to carry the War from Town to Town, and beleaguer Cities of their Enemies; but to fortifie themſelves within their own places of ſtrength, and therein to attend the levy and arrival of new ſupplies. And ſurely, if the *Romans* had been abſolute Maſters of the Field, when they wan *Saguntum*, they would not have conſumed a whole year following, in practiſing only with the *Celtiberians*, the next adjoyning People. Yet made they this, little leſs than two years buſineſs. Of theſe *Celtiberians* we hear before, That they have yielded up themſelves unto the *Romans*; for ſecurity of their Faith, given Hoſtages to *Scipio*; and, at his appointment, made War againſt the *Carthaginians*, with their proper forces. Wherefore it is ſtrange, that they are now thus hardly wrought; and, not without expreſs condition of a great ſum, hired to ſerve in the *Roman* Camp. How this may hold together I cannot perceive; unleſs perhaps in thoſe days it were the *Roman* cuſtom, or rather the cuſtom of ſome bad Author whom *Livy* follows, to call every Meſſenger, or Stragler, that entred their Camp, an Hoſtage of that People from whom he came.

" The *Celtiberians* at length, hired with great Rewards, ſend an Army of thirty thouſand to help the *Romans*: out of which, three hundred the fitteſt men are choſen, and carried into *Italy*, there to deal with their Countreymen that follow *Hannibal* in his Wars. But if any of theſe three hundred return back into *Spain*, it is to be feared, that he brings with him ſuch news of the Riches and Welfare of *Hannibal*'s Men, that all his fellows at home are the leſs unwilling to follow *Aſdrubal*, when he ſhall next have a deſire to lead them into *Italy*. Hereof we find more than probability, when theſe Mercinary *Celtiberians* meet the *Carthaginian* Army in the Field. The two *Scipio*'s, preſuming on this acceſs of ſtrength, divide their forces, and ſeek out the Enemies; who lie not far off with three Armies. *Aſdrubal*, the Son of *Amilcar*, is neareſt at hand: even among the *Celtiberians*, at *Anitorgis*. With him *Cn. Scipio* doubts not to take good order: but the fear is, that this one part of the *Carthaginian* forces being deſtroyed, *Mago*, and *Aſdrubal*, the Son of *Geſco*, hearing the news, will make uſe of their diſtance, which is five days March, and, by running into the furtheſt parts of the Countrey, ſave themſelves from being overtaken. *Publius* therefore muſt make the more haſte, and take with him the better Souldiers, that is, two parts of the old *Roman* Army; leaving the third part, and all the *Celtiberians*, to his brother. He that hath the longer journey to make, comes ſomewhat the ſooner to his lives end. *Mago*, and *Aſdrubal*, the ſon of *Geſco*, are not ſtudying how to run away: they find no ſuch neceſſity. They joyn their forces together; meet with *P. Scipio*; and lay at him ſo hardly, that he is driven to keep himſelf cloſe within his Trenches: wherein he thinks himſelf not well aſſured. Eſpecially he is vexed by *Maſaniſſa*, Prince of the *Maſſæſyli*, *Numidians* bordering upon *Mauritania*, in the Region called now *Tremizen*: to whom the chief Honour of this ſervice is aſcribed, for that he becomes afterward Confederate with the *Romans*. In this dangerous caſe *P. Scipio* gets intelligence, that *Indibilis*, a *Spaniſh* Prince, is coming with ſeven thouſand and five hundred of the *Sueſſetani*, to joyn with his Enemies. Fearing therefore to be ſtreight ſhut up, and beſieged, He iſſues forth by night, to meet with *Indibilis* upon the way; leaving *T. Fonteius*, his Lieutenant, with a ſmall Company, to defend the Camp. He meets with *Indibilis*; but is not able according to his hope, to defeat him at the firſt encounter. The Fight continues ſo long, that the *Numidian* Horſe appear (whom he thought to have been ignorant of his departure) and fall upon the *Romans* on all ſides: neither are the *Carthaginians* far behind; but come ſo faſt upon him in Rear, that *P. Scipio*, uncertain which way to turn, yet fighting, and animating his Men, where need moſt requireth, is ſtruck through with a Launce, and ſlain: very few of his Army eſcaping the ſame deſtiny, through benefit of the dark night. The like end hath *Cn. Scipio*, within nine and twenty days after. At his meeting with *Aſdrubal*, the *Celtiberian* Mercinaries all forſake him; pretending that they had War in their own Countrey. If *Anitorgis*, where *Aſdrubal* then lay, were, as *Ortelius* following *Beuterus* takes it; a *Celtiberian* Town; this was no vain pretence, but an apparent truth. But we may juſtly believe, that they were won by *Aſdrubal*, and eaſily perſwaded to take as much Money for not fighting, as they ſhould have had for hazarding their lives. *Cn. Scipio* therefore being unable to ſtay them; and no leſs unable, without their help, either to reſiſt the Enemy, or to joyn with his Brother, makes a very violent Retreat; herein only differing from plain flight, that he keeps his men together. *Aſdrubal* preſſeth hard upon him: and *Mago*, with *Aſdrubal*, the Son of *Geſco*, having made an end of *Publius*, haſten to diſpatch his brother after him. *Scipio* ſteals from them all, by night; but is overtaken the next day by their Horſe, and arreſted, in an open place of hard ſtony ground, where grows not ſo much as a ſhrub, unfit for defence of his Legions againſt ſuch Ene-

Enemies. Yet a little Hill he finds, of easie ascent on every side, which he takes for want of a more commodious place, and fortifies with packsaddles, and other luggage, for default of a better Pallisado. These weak defences the *Carthaginians* soon tear in sunder: and, breaking in on all hands, leave very few of them alive; that saving themselves, I know not how, within some Woods adjoyning, escape unto *T. Fonteius*, whom *Publius* had left in his Camp, as is before said. It is a terrible Overthrow, they say, out of which no man escapes. Yet, how they that were thus hemmed in on every side, in so bare a ground as affoarded not a shrub to cover them, could break out, and shrowd themselves within Woods adjoyning, I should much wonder, did not a greater Miracle following call away mine attention. *T. Fonteius* is in *P. Scipio*'s Camp, on the *North* side of *Iberus*, fearful (as may be supposed) of his own life; since his General, with two parts of the *Roman* Army, had little hope to remain long safe within it. Thither comes *L. Martius*, a young *Roman* Gentleman, of a notable spirit: who having gathered together the scattered Souldiers, and drawn some Companies out of their Garrisons, makes a pretty Army. The Souldiers, being to choose a General by most voices, prefer this *L. Martius* before *Fonteius*, the Lieutenant; as well they may. For *Asdrubal*, the Son of *Gesco*, coming upon them; this *L. Martius* so encourageth his Men, (fondly weeping when he led them forth, upon remembrance of their more honourable Generals lately slain) and admonisheth them of their present necessity, that he beats the *Carthaginians* into their Trenches. A notable Victory perhaps he might have gotten, but that he wisely sounds the Retreat; reserving the fury of his Souldiers to a greater occasion. The *Carthaginians* are at first amazed, and wonder whence this new boldness grows, in Enemies lately vanquished, and now again little better than taken: But when they see, that the *Roman* dares not follow his advantage, they return to their former security; and utterly despising him, set neither *Corps du gard*, nor Sentinel, but rest secure, as if no Enemy were near. *Martius* therefore animates his Souldiers with lively words, and tells them, That there is no adventure more safe, than that which is furthest from suspicion of being undertaken. They are soon perswaded to follow him, in any desperate piece of service. So he leads them forth by night, and steals upon the Camp of *Asdrubal*: where finding no Guard, but the Enemies fast asleep, or very drowzy. He enters without resistance, fires their Cabbins, and gives a terrible alarm; so that all affrighted, the *Carthaginians* run head-long one upon another, they know not which way. All passages out of their Camp, *Martius* hath prepossessed, so that there is no way to escape, save by leaping down the Rampart: which as many do as can think upon it, and run away toward the Camp of *Asdrubal*, the Son of *Amilcar*, that lay six miles off. But *Martius* hath way-laid them. In a Valley between their two Camps he hath bestowed a *Roman* Cohort, and I know not what number of Horse; so that into this Ambush they fall every one, and are cut in pieces. But lest perchance any should have escaped, and give the alarm before his coming; *Martius* hastens to be there as soon as they. By which diligent speed, He comes early in the morning upon this further Camp: which with no great difficulty he enters; and, partly by force, partly by apprehension of danger which the Enemies conceived, when they beheld the *Roman* Shields, foul, and bloodied with their former Execution, He drives head-long into flight, all that can save themselves from the fury of the Sword. Thirty seven thousand of the Enemies perish in this nights work; besides a thousand eight hundred and thirty, that are taken Prisoners. Hereunto *Valerius Antius* adds, that the Camp of *Mago* was also taken, and seven thousand slain: and that in another Battel with *Asdrubal*, there were slain ten thousand more; besides four thousand three hundred and thirty taken Prisoners. Such is the power of some Historians. *Livy* therefore hath elsewhere well observed, That there is none so intemperate as *Valerius Antius*, in multiplying the numbers that have fallen in Battels. That, whilst *Martius* was making an Oration to his Souldiers, a flame of fire shone about his head, *Livy* reporteth as a common tale, not giving thereto any credit: and temperately concludeth, That this Captain *Martius* got a great name; which he might well do, if with so small forces, and in such distress, He could clearly get off from the Enemies, and give them any parting blow, though it were far less than that which is here set down.

Of these Occurrents *L. Martius* sent word to *Rome*, not forgetting his own good service, whatsoever it was, but setting it out in such wise, as the Senate might judg him worthy to hold the place of their Vicegerent in *Spain*: which the better to intimate unto them, He stiled himself Propretor. The *Fathers* were no less moved with the tidings, than the case required: and therefore took such careful order, for supplying their Forces in *Spain*, that although *Hannibal* came to the gates of *Rome*; ere the Companies, levied to serve in that Province, could be sent away; yet would they not stay a tide for defence of the City it self, but shipped them in all haste for *Spain*. As for that title of Proprætor, which *Martius* had assumed, they thought it too great for him, and were offended at his presumption in usurping it: foreseeing well, that it was a matter of ill consequence, to have the Souldiers abroad make choice, among themselves, of those that should command Armies and Provinces. Therefore *C. Claudius Nero* was dispatched away, with all convenient haste, into *Spain*: carrying with him about six thousand of the *Roman* Foot, and as many of the *Latines*, with three hundred *Roman* Horse, and of the *Latines* eight hundred.

It happened well, that about these times, the Affairs of *Rome* began to prosper in *Italy*, and affoarded means of sending abroad such a strong supply: otherwise, the Victories of *Martius* would ill have served, either to keep footing in *Spain*, or to stop the *Carthaginian* Armies from marching towards the *Alpes*. For when *Claudius*, landing with his new forces, took charge of that remainder of the Army, which was under *Martius* and *Fonteius*; he found surer tokens of the Overthrows received, than of those miraculous Victories, whereof *Martius* had made his Vaunts unto the Senate. The *Roman* party was forsaken by most of the *Spanish* friends: whom how to reclaim, it could not easily be devised. Yet *Claudius* advanced boldly towards *Asdrubal*, the brother of *Hannibal*: whom he found among the *Ausetani*, near enough at hand, incamped in a place called *Lapides atri*; out of which there was no issue, but only through a streight, whereon the *Roman* seized at his first coming. What should have tempted any man of understanding to incamp in such a place, I do not find: and as little reason can I find in that which followed. For it is said, That *Asdrubal*, seeing himself thus lockt up, made offer to depart forth-

with out of all *Spain*, and quit the Province to the *Romans*, upon condition, that he and his Army might be thence dismissed; That he spent many days in entertaining Parley with *Claudius* about this business, That night by night he conveyed his Foot-men (a few at a time) through very difficult passages, out of the danger; and that finally taking advantage of a misty day, He stole away with all his Horse and Elephants, leaving his Camp empty. If we consider, that there were at the same time, besides this *Asdrubal*, two other *Carthaginian* Generals in *Spain*; we shall find no less cause to wonder at the simplicity of *Claudius*, who hoped to conclude a bargain for so great a Countrey, with one of these three Chieftains, than at the strange nature of those passages: through which the Foot-men could hardly creep out by night; the Horse and Elephants easily following them in a dark misty day. Wherefore in giving belief to such a tale, it is needful that we suppose, both the danger wherein the *Carthaginians* were, and the Conditions offered for their safe departure, to have been of far less value. Howsoever it was; neither this, nor ought else that the *Romans* could do, served to purchase any new friends in *Spain*; or to recover the old which they had lost. Like enough it is, that the old Souldiers, which had chosen *Martius* their Prætor, took it not well, that the Senate, regardless of their good deserts, had repealed their Election, and sent a Prætor whom they fancied not so well. Some such occasion may have moved them to desire a Proconsul, and (perhaps) young *Scipio* by name: as if a title of greater dignity, were needful to work regard in the *Barbarians*; and the beloved Memory of *Cn.* and *Publius*, likely to do good, were it revived in one of the same Family. Whether upon these, or upon other Reasons; *C. Claudius* was recalled out of the Province, and *Publius* the Son of *P. Scipio*, sent Proconsul into *Spain*.

This is that *P. Scipio*, who afterward transferred the War into *Africk*: where he happily ended it, to the great honour and benefit of his Countrey. He was a man of goodly presence, and singularly well conditioned: especially he excelled in Temperance, Continency, Bounty; and other Vertues that purchase love; of which qualities what great use he made, shall appear in the tenor of his Actions following. As for those things that are reported of him, savouring a little too much of the great *Alexander*'s Vanity; How he used to walk alone in the *Capitol*, as one that had some secret conference with *Jupiter*; How a Dragon (which must have been one of the Gods; and, in likelihood, *Jupiter* himself) was thought to have conversed with his Mother, entring her chamber often, and vanishing away at the coming in of any man; and how of these matters he nourished the rumour, by doubtful answers; I hold them no better than meer Fables, devised by Historians, who sought thereby to add unto the glory of *Rome*: that this noble City might seem, not only to have surpassed other Nations in vertue of the generality, but also in great worth of one single man. To this end nothing is left out, that might serve to adorn this *Roman* Champion. For it is confidently written, as a matter of unquestionable truth, That when a Proconsul was to be chosen for *Spain*, there durst not any Captain of the principal Citizens offer himself as Petitioner, for that honourable, but dangerous charge; That the People of *Rome* were much astonished thereat; That when the day of Election came, all the Princes of the City stood looking one another in the face, not one of them having the heart, to adventure himself in such a desperate service; and finally, that this *P. Cornelius Scipio*, being then about four and twenty years of age, getting up on an high place, where he might be seen of all the Multitude, requested, and obtained, that the Office might be conferred upon him. If this were true, then were all the Victories of *L. Martius* no better than dreams: and either very unreasonable was the fear of all the *Roman* Captains, who durst not follow *Claudius Nero*, that not long before was gone into *Spain* Prætor; or very bad intelligence they had out of the Province, which *Asdrubal*, the *Carthaginian*, as we heard even now, was ready to abandon. But upon these incoherences, which I find in the too partial *Roman* Historians, I do not willingly insist.

P. Scipio was sent Proconsul into *Spain*; and with him was joyned *M. Junius Syllanus*, as Prætor, and his Coadjutor. They carried with them ten thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse, in thirty *Quinquereme Gallies*. With these they landed at *Emporiæ*; and marched from thence to *Tarracon* alongst the Sea-coast. At the fame of *Scipio*'s arrival, it is said, that Embassages came to him apace from all quarters of the Province: which he entertained with such a Majesty, as bred a wonderful Opinion of him. As for the Enemies, they were greatly afraid of him: and so much the greater was their fear, by how much the less they could give any reason of it. If we must believe this, then must we needs believe, that their fear was even as great as could be: for very little cause there was, to be terrified with the fame of so young a man, which had as yet performed nothing. All the Winter following (or, as some think, all the next year) he did nothing, but spent the time perhaps, as his foregoers had done, in treating with the *Spaniards*. His first enterprise was against *New Carthage*: upon which he came unexpected, with five and twenty thousand Foot, and two thousand five hundred Horse, his Sea-forces coasting him, and moderating their course in such wise, that they arrived there together with him. He assailed the Town by Land and Sea; and won it by assault the first day. The *Carthaginians* lost it, by their too much confidence upon the strength of it: which caused them to man it more slenderly than was requisite. Yet it might have been well enough defended, if some Fishermen of *Tarracon* had not discovered unto *Scipio*, a secret passage unto the Walls; whereof the Townsmen themselves were either ignorant, or thought (at least) that their enemies could have no notice. This City of *New Carthage*, resembled the old and great *Carthage* in scituation; standing upon a demy-Island, between an Haven and a great Lake. All the *Western* side of the Walls, and somewhat of the *North*, was fenced with this Lake, which the Fisher-men of *Tarracon* had sounded; and finding in some part thereof a shelf, whereon at low water men might pass knee-deep, or (at most) wading up to the Navil, *Scipio* thrust thereinto some Companies of his men; who recovered the top of the Walls without resistance: the place being left without Guard, as able to defend it self by the natural strength. These falling suddenly upon the backs of the *Carthaginians* within the City; easily forced a Gate, and gave free entrance to the *Roman* Army. What booty was found within the Town, *Livy* himself cannot certainly affirm; but is fain to say, That some *Roman* Historians told lies without measure, in way of amplification. By that small proportion of Riches, which was afterward carried by *Scipio* into the *Roman* Treasury, we may easily perceive, how

how great a vanity it was to say, That all the wealth of *Africk* and *Spain*, was heaped up in that one Town. But therein were bestowed all the *Spanish* Hostages: (or at least of the adjoyning Provinces) whom *Scipio* entreated with singular courtesie; restoring them unto their kindred and friends, in such gracious manner as doubled the thanks due to so great a benefit. Hereupon a Prince of the *Celtiberians*, and two petty Kings of the *Illergetes* and *Lacetani*, neerest Neighbours to *Tarracon*, and dwelling on the *North* side of *Iberus*, forsook the *Carthaginian* party, and joyned with the *Romans*. The Speech of *Indibilis*, King of the *Illergetes*, is much commended; for that he did not vaunt himself, as commonly Fugitives use, of the pleasure which he did unto the *Romans*, in revolting from their Enemies; but rather excused this his changing side, as being thereto compelled by injuries of the *Carthaginians*; and invited by the honourable dealing of *Scipio*. This temperate estimation of his new professed friendship, was indeed no unsure token, that it should be long-lasting. But if the *Illergetes* had long ere this (as we have heard before) forsaken the *Carthaginian* party, and stoutly held themselves as friends to *Cn. Scipio*; then could nothing have been devised more vain, than this Oration of *Indibilis* their King; excusing, as new, his taking part with the same, when he should have rather craved pardon for his breach of alliance, formerly contracted with the Father and the Uncle. Most likely therefore it is, that howsoever the two elder *Scipio*'s had gotten some few places among these their Neighbours, and held them by strength; yet were the *Romans* never Masters of the Countrey, till this worthy Commander, by recovering their Hostages from the *Carthaginians*, and by his great munificence in sending them home, wan unto himself the assured love and assistance of these Princes. The *Carthaginian* Generals, when they heard of this loss, were very sorry: yet nevertheless they set a good face on the matter; saying, That a young man, having stoln a Town by surprise, was too far transported, and over-joyed, but that shortly they would meet with him, and put him in mind of his Father and Uncle; which would alter his mood, and bring him to a more convenient temper.

Now if I should here interpose mine own conjecture; I should be bold to say, That the *Carthaginians* were at this time busie, in setting forth towards *Italy*; and that *Scipio*, to divert them, undertook *New Carthage*, as his Father and Uncle, upon the like occasion, sate down before *Ibera*. And in this respect I would suppose, that it had not been much amiss, if the passage over the Lake had been undiscovered, and the Town held out some longer while. For howsoever that particular Action was the more fortunate, in coming to such good issue upon the first day: yet in the generality of the business, between *Rome* and *Carthage*, it was more to be wished, that *Asdrubal* should be stayed from going into *Italy*, than that half of *Spain* should be taken from him. Whereas therefore he had nothing left to do, that should hinder his journey; *Mago*, and *Asdrubal*, the Son of *Gesco*, were thought sufficient to hold *Scipio* work, in that lingring War of taking and re-taking Towns, whilst the main of the *Carthaginian* Forces, under *Asdrubal*, the Son of *Amilcar*, went to a greater Enterprise; even to fight in trial of the Empire. But the *Roman* Historians tell this after another fashion; and say, That *Asdrubal* was beaten into *Italy*: whither he ran for fear, as thinking himself ill assured of the *Spaniards*, as long as they might but hear the Name of *Scipio*. *Scipio*, say they, coming upon *Asdrubal*; his Vantcourrers charged so lustily the *Carthaginian* Horse, that they drave them into their Trenches: and made it apparent, even by that small piece of service, how full of spirit the *Roman* Army was, and how dejected the Enemy. *Asdrubal* therefore by night retired out of that even ground, and occupied an Hill, compassed on three sides with a River, very steep of ascent, and not easie of access on the foreside; by which himself got up, and was to be followed by the *Romans*. On the top of it there was a Plain, whereon he strongly incamped himself: and in the mid-way, between the top and root of the Hill, was also another Plain; into which he descended more upon bravery, that he might not seem to hide himself within his Trenches, than for that he durst adventure his Army to the hazard of a Battel, for which this was no equal ground. But such advantage of place could not save him from the *Romans*. They climbed up the Hill to him; they recovered even footing with him; drove him out of this lower Plain, up into his Camp on the Hill-top: whither although the ascent were very difficult, and his Elephants bestowed in the smoothest places to hinder their approach; yet compassing about, and seeking passage where it was hardest to be found; but much more strongly breaking their way, where the *Carthaginians* had got up before them, they drave both Men and Elephants head-long, I know not whither: for it is said, that there was no way to fly. Out of such a Battel, wherein he lost eight thousand men, *Asdrubal* is said to have escaped; and gathering together his dispersed Troops, to have marched towards the *Pyrenees*, having sent away his Elephants ere the fight began. Nevertheless *Mago*, and *Asdrubal*, the Son of *Gesco*, are reported after this, to have consulted with him about this War; and finally to have concluded, that go he needs must, were it but to carry all the *Spaniards* as far as might be, from the Name of *Scipio*. How likely this was to have been true, it shall appear at his coming into *Italy*; whence these incoherent relations of the *Spanish* affairs, have too long detained us.

§. XII.

The great troubles that Hannibal *raised in all quarters, to the City of* Rome. Posthumius, *the* Roman *General, with his whole Army, is slain by the* Gaules. Philip, *King of* Macedon, *enters into a League with* Hannibal, *against the* Romans. *The* Romans, *joyning with the* Ætolians, *make War upon* Philip *in* Greece: *and afterwards conclude a peace with him, the better to intend their business against the* Carthaginians.

WE left *Hannibal* wintering at *Capua*: where he and his new Confederates rejoyced (as may be thought) not a little, to hear the good news from *Carthage*, of such mighty aid, as was decreed to be sent thence unto him. In former times he had found work enough, to carry the *Romans* Corn into his own Barns, and to drive away their Cattel to *Geryon*: his Victories affording him little other profit, than sustenance for his Army; by making him Master of the open Field. He might perhaps have forc'd some walled Towns, in like sort as he did *Geryon*, and the Castle of *Cannæ*: but had he spent much time about the getting of any one place well defended; the hunger, that his Army must have endured the Winter and

Spring following, until Corn were ripe, would have grievouſly puniſhed him for ſuch employment of the Summer. This may have been the reaſon, why he forbore to adventure upon *Rome* after his Victory at *Cannæ*. For had he failed (as it was a matter of no certainty) to carry the City at his firſt coming; want of Victuals would have compelled him to quit the Enterpriſe. Yea many of the People that opened ſo haſtily their Gates unto him, upon the freſh bruit of his glorious ſucceſs, would have taken time of deliberation, and waited perhaps the Event of another Battel: if being, either for want of means to force the City, or of neceſſaries to continue a Siege before it, repelled (as might ſeem) from the Walls of *Rome*, he had preſented himſelf unto them with a leſſened Reputation, ſomewhat later in the year; when time to force their obedience was wanting, unleſs they would freely yield it. But this great part of the care and travel was paſt, when ſo many States of *Italy* were become his: the year following, the *Samnites*, and other old Enemies of *Rome*, were like to receive a notable pleaſure of their new alliance with *Carthage*, by helping to lay Siege unto that proud City, which ſo long had held them in ſubjection. Thus the Winter was paſſed over joyfully, ſaving that there came not any tidings of the preparations, to ſecond the welcome report of thoſe mighty Forces, that were decreed and expected. The Spring drew on: and of the promiſed ſupply, there arrived no more, than only the Elephants. How late it was ere theſe came, I find not: only we find, that after this he had above Thirty of them; whereas all, ſave one, that he brought over the *Alpes*, had been loſt in his journey through the Marſhes of *Hetruria*. Very bad excuſe of this exceeding negligence, they that brought the Elephants could make unto *Hannibal*. If they were his Friends, they told him truly, what Miſchiefs the perſwaſion of *Hanno* wrought among the too niggardly *Carthaginians*. Otherwiſe, they might perhaps inform him, that it was thought a ſafer, though a farther way about, to paſs along through *Spain* and *Gaule*, as he himſelf had done; and increaſe the Army, by hiring the *Barbarians* in the journey; than to commit the main ſtrength of their City, to the hazard of the Seas: eſpecially wanting a commodious Haven, to receive the Fleet that ſhould carry ſuch a number of Men, Horſes, and Elephants, with all needful Proviſions. With theſe allegations *Hannibal* muſt reſt content; and ſeek, as well as he can, to ſatisfie his *Italian* Confederates. Therefore when time of the year ſerved, he took the Field: and having finiſhed what reſted to be done at *Caſilinum*, ſought to make himſelf Maſter of ſome good Haven-Town thereabout, that might ſerve to entertain the *Carthaginian* Fleet; or take from his Enemies at home all excuſe, which they might pretend by want thereof. To the ſame purpoſe, and to do what elſe was needful, he ſent *Himilco* unto the *Locrians*, and *Hanno* to the *Lucans*: not forgetting at once to aſſay all quarters of *Italy*, yea the Iſles of *Sicil* and *Sardinia*; ſince the Siege of *Rome* muſt needs be deferred unto another year. *Hanno* made an ill journey of it, being met, or over-taken, by *T. Sempronius Longus*: who ſlew above Two thouſand of his Men, with the loſs of fewer than Three hundred *Romans*. But *Himilco* ſped far better. By help of the *Brutians*, his good Friends, he wan *Petellia*, or *Petilia*, by force; after it had held out ſome Months. He wan likewiſe *Conſentia*, and *Croton*, that was forſaken by the Inhabitants. Alſo the City of *Locri*, which was of great importance, yielded unto him: as did all other places thereabout; except only the Town of *Rhegium*, over-againſt *Sicil*.

The great Faith of the *Petilians* is worthy to be recorded, as a notable teſtimony of the good Government, under which the *Roman* Subjects lived. As for the *Samnites*, *Campans*, and others, whoſe earneſtneſs in Rebellion may ſeem to prove the contrary; we are to conſider, That they had lately contended with *Rome* for Soveraignty, and were now tranſported with ambition: which Reaſon can hardly moderate, or Benefits allay. The *Petilians*, in the very beginning of their danger, did ſend to *Rome* for help: where their Meſſengers received anſwer from the Senate, That the publick Misfortunes had not left means to relieve their Aſſociates that were ſo far diſtant. The *Petilian* Meſſengers (Embaſſadors they are termed, as were all others, publickly ſent from Cities of the *Roman* Subjection, that had a private Juriſdiction within themſelves) fell down to the ground, and humbly beſought the *Fathers*, not to give them away: promiſing to do and ſuffer whatſoever was poſſible in defence of their Town againſt the *Carthaginians*. Hereupon the Senate fell to conſultation again: and having throughly conſidered all their Forces remaining, plainly confeſſed, that it was not in their power to give any relief. Wherefore theſe Embaſſadors were willed to return home, and to bid their Citizens provide hereafter for their own ſafety; as having already diſcharged their Faith to the utmoſt. All this notwithſtanding, the *Petilians* (as was ſaid) held out ſome Months; and having ſtriven in vain to defend themſelves, when there was no apparent poſſibility, gave to the *Carthaginians* a bloody Victory over them; being vanquiſhed as much by Famine, as by any violence of the Aſſailants.

The *Romans* at this time were indeed in ſuch ill caſe, that *Hannibal*, with a little help from *Carthage*, might have reduced them into terms of great Extremity. For whereas, in a great bravery, before their loſs at *Cannæ*; they had ſhewed their high minds, by entertaining the care of things far off, notwithſtanding the great War that lay upon them ſo near at hand: it now fell out miſerably all at once, that their Fortune abroad was no whit better than at home. *L. Poſthumius Albinus* their Pretor they had ſent, with an Army of five and twenty thouſand, into *Gaule*; to the *Illyrian* King, *Pineus*, they had ſent for their Tribute due, whereof the pay-day was paſt, willing him, if he deſired forbearance, to deliver Hoſtages for his performance of what was due; and to *Philip*, King of *Macedon*, they had ſent, to require, that he ſhould deliver up unto them *Demetrius Pharius*, their Subject and Rebel, whom he had received. But now from all quarters they hear tidings, little ſuitable to their former glorious conceits. *Poſthumius*, with all his Army, was cut in pieces by the *Gaules*, in ſuch ſort, that ſcarce Ten men eſcaped. The manner of his overthrow was very ſtrange. There was a great Wood, called by the *Gaules*, *Luana*, through which he was to paſs. Againſt his coming, the Enemies had ſawed the Trees ſo far, that a little force would ſerve to caſt them down. When therefore *Poſthumius*, with his whole Army, was entred into this dangerous paſſage, the *Gaules*, that lay about the Wood, began to caſt down the Trees: which falling one againſt another, bore all down ſo faſt, that the *Romans* were

were over-whelmed, Men and Horſes; in ſuch wiſe, that no more eſcaped, than is ſaid before. How this tedious work, of ſawing ſo many Trees, could take deſired effect, and neither be perceived, nor made fruſtrate, either by ſome wind, that might have blown all down before the *Romans* entred, or by ſome other of thoſe many accidents, whereto the device was ſubject, I do not well conceive. Yet ſome ſuch thing may have been done; and what failed in the ſtratagem, ſupplied with the Enemies Sword. It is not perhaps worthy to be omitted, as a monument of the ſavage condition, wherewith *Lombardy*, a Countrey now ſo civil, was infected in elder times, That of *Poſthumius* his skull, being cleanſed, and trimmed up with Gold, a drinking Cup was made, and conſecrated in their principal Temple, as an holy Veſſel, for the uſe of the Prieſt in their Solemnities. Of this great overthrow when word was brought to *Rome*; the amazement was no leſs than the calamity. But Sorrow could give no remedy to the Miſchief: and Anger was vain, where there wanted Forces to revenge. Tribute from the *Illyrians* there came none: neither do I find, that any was a ſecond time demanded: this we find, That with *Pleuratus*, and *Scerdiletus*, *Illyrian* Kings, as alſo with *Gentius*, who reigned within a few years following, the *Romans* dealt upon even terms; intreating their aſſiſtance againſt *Philip* and *Perſeus*; not commanding their duty, as Vaſſals. The *Macedonian* troubled them yet a little further. For having aſſured his affairs in *Greece*, and enjoying leiſure to look into the doings abroad, he ſent Embaſſadors to *Hannibal*: with whom he made a League, upon theſe conditions; That the King in Perſon ſhould come into *Italy*, and with all his Forces, by Land and Sea, aſſiſt the *Carthaginians* in the *Roman* War, until it were finiſhed; That *Rome*, and all *Italy*, together with all the Spoil therein to be gotten, ſhould be left intire unto the State of *Carthage*; And that afterwards *Hannibal*, with his Army, ſhould paſs into *Greece*, and there aſſiſt *Philip*, until he had ſubdued all his Enemies: (which were the *Ætolians*, *Thracians*, King *Antiochus*, and others) leaving ſemblably unto him the full poſſeſſion of that Countrey, and the Iſles adjoyning. But ſuch pre-diſpoſition of Kingdoms and Provinces, is lightly controlled by the Divine Providence, which therein ſhews it ſelf not (as *Herodotus* falſly terms it, and like an *Atheiſt*) envious or malicious, but very juſt and majeſtical, in upholding that unſpeakable greatneſs of Soveraignty, by which it rules the whole World, and all that therein is.

The firſt Embaſſadors that *Philip* ſent, fell into the *Romans* hands, in their journey towards *Hannibal*: and being examined what they were, adventured upon a bold Lie, ſaying, That they were ſent from the King of *Macedon* to *Rome*, there to make a League with the Senate and People, and offer his help in this time of great neceſſity. Theſe news were ſo welcome, that the joy thereof took away all care of making better inquiry. So they were lovingly feaſted; and friendly diſmiſſed, with Guides that ſhould lead them the way, and ſhew them how to avoid the *Carthaginians*. But they being thus inſtructed concerning their journey, fell wilfully into the Camp of *Hannibal*: who entertained them after a better faſhion; and concluded the buſineſs, about which they came, upon the points before remembred. In their return homeward, they happened again unluckily to be deſcried by the *Roman* Fleet; which, miſtruſting them to be of the *Carthaginian* party, gave them chace. They did their beſt to have eſcaped: but being overtaken, they ſuffered the *Romans* to come aboard; and truſting to the Lie that once had ſerved them, ſaid it again, That having been ſent from King *Philip*, to make a League with the People of *Rome*, they were not able, by reaſon of the *Carthaginians* lying between, to get any farther than to *M. Valerius*, the Pretor, unto whom they had ſignified the good affection of the King their Maſter. The Tale was now leſs credible than before: and (which marred all) *Geſco*, *Baſtar*, and *Mago*, with their followers, *Carthaginians* that were ſent with them from *Hannibal*, to ratifie the Agreement, being preſently detected, made the matter apparent. Wherefore a little inquiſition ſerved to find all out: ſo that at length *Hannibal*'s own Letters to King *Philip* were delivered up, and the whole buſineſs confeſſed. The Embaſſadors, and their followers, were ſent cloſe Priſoners to *Rome*: where the chief of them were caſt into Priſon, and the reſt ſold for bond-ſlaves. Yet one of their Ships that eſcaped, carried word into *Macedon* of all that had happened. Whereupon a new Embaſſage was ſent, that went and returned with better ſpeed; concluding, as was agreed before; only with ſome loſs of time.

The *Romans* were exceedingly perplexed: thinking with what heavy weight this *Macedonian* War, in an evil hour, was likely to fall upon them, when their ſhoulders were overburdened with the load of the *Carthaginian*. Yet they took a noble reſolution; and ſuitable unto that, whereby they kept off the ſtorm, that elſe would have beaten upon them from *Spain*. They judged it more eaſie, with ſmall Forces to detain *Philip* in *Greece*, than with all their ſtrength to reſiſt him in *Italy*. And herein they were in the right. For that the very Reputation of a King of *Macedon*, joyning with *Hannibal* in ſuch a time, would have ſufficed to ſhake the allegiance not only of the *Latines*, and other their moſt faithful Subjects, but even of the *Roman* Colonies that held all Priviledges of the City, it will appear by the following ſucceſs of things. *M. Valerius*, the Pretor, with Twenty *Quinquereme* Gallies, was appointed to attend the *Macedonian*: and to ſet on foot ſome commotion in *Greece*; or to nouriſh the troubles already therein begun. *Philip* was buſie about the Sea-Towns, that looked towards *Italy*, ſetting upon *Apollonia*; and thence falling upon *Oricum*, which he wan, and ſo returned to *Apollonia* again. The *Epyrots* craved help of *M. Valerius*: or rather accepted his kind Offers, who had none other buſineſs to do. The Garriſon that *Philip* had left in *Oricum*, was ſtrong enough to hold the Townſmen in good order; but not to keep out the *Romans*: of whoſe daring to attempt any thing againſt him, on that ſide the Sea, *Philip* as then had no ſuſpicion. *Valerius* therefore eaſily re-gained the Town, and ſent thence a Thouſand Men, under *Nævius Criſpus*, an undertaking and expert Captain; which got by night into *Apollonia*. Theſe made a notable Sally; and break into *Philip*'s Trenches with ſo great ſlaughter, that they forced him to forſake his Camp, and raiſe the Siege. The King purpoſed (as it is ſaid) to have departed thence by Sea: but *Valerius*, coming with his Fleet from *Oricum*, ſtopped up the mouth of the River; ſo that he was fain to burn his Ships, (which belike were

were no better than long boats) and depart ill furniſhed of carriages, by Land. After this, *Valerius* dealt with the *Ætolians*, a Nation always Enemy to the Crown of *Macedon*: and eaſily perſwaded them (being ſo affected, as hath elſewhere been ſhewed) to make ſtrong War on *Philip*; wherein he promiſed them great aſſiſtance from the *Romans*. That which moſt moved the troubleſome Spirits of the *Ætolians*, was the hope of getting *Acarnania*: after which they had gaped long; and whereof the *Roman* was as liberal in making promiſe, as if already it had been his own. So a League was made between them: and afterward ſolemnly publiſhed at *Olympia*, by the *Ætolians*, and by the *Romans* in their *Capitoll*. The conditions were, That from *Ætolia* to *Corcyra*, in which ſpace *Acarnania* was contained, all the Countrey ſhould be ſubdued, and left unto the *Ætolians*; the pillage only to be given to the *Romans*. And that if the *Ætolians* made peace with *Philip*, it ſhould be with Proviſion, to hold no longer, than whilſt he abſtained from doing injury to the *Romans*, or their Aſſociates. This was indeed the only point, whereat *Valerius* aimed: who promiſed as much on the *Romans* behalf, That they ſhould not make peace with the *Macedonian*, unleſs it were with like condition of including the *Ætolians*. Into this League was place reſerved for the *Lacedæmonians* and *Eleans*, as to thoſe that had made or favoured the ſide of *Cleomenes* againſt the *Macedonian*, to enter at their pleaſure. The like regard was had of *Attalus*, *Pleuratus*, and *Scerdiletus*: the firſt of which reigned at *Pergamus*, in *Aſia* the leſs, a Prince hereafter much to be ſpoken of; the other two held ſome part of *Illyria*, about which the *Romans* were ſo far from contending with them, that gladly they ſought to get their friendly acquaintance. But the names of theſe Aſſociates, are thruſt into the Treaty; rather to give it countenance, than for any readineſs which they diſcloſe to enter thereinto. The *Ætolians* alone, and chiefly *Scopas* their Prætor, with *Dorymachus*, and others, are yet a while the only men, of whom the *Roman* Generals muſt make much; as the late *French* King, *Henry* the Fourth, when he had only the title of *Navarre*, was ſaid to court the Majors of *Rochel*. *Philip* was not idle, when he heard whereunto the *Ætolians* tended. He repaired his Army; made a countenance of War upon the *Illyrians*, and other his borderers, that were wont in times of danger, to infeſt the Kingdom of *Macedon*; waſted the Countrey about *Oricum* and *Apollonia*; and overrunning the *Pelagonians*, *Dardanians*, and others, whom he held ſuſpected, came down into *Theſſaly*, whence he made ſhew as if he would invade *Ætolia*. By the fame of this Expedition, he thought to ſtir up all the *Greeks* adjoyning, againſt the *Ætolians*, whom they generally deteſted as a neſt of Robbers, troubleſome to all the Countrey. To which purpoſe, and to hinder the *Ætolians* from breaking into *Greece*, he left *Perſeus*, his Son and Heir, with four thouſand men, upon their borders: with the reſt of his Army, before greater buſineſs ſhould overtake and entangle him, he made a long journey into *Thrace*, againſt a people called the *Medes*: that were wont to fall upon *Macedon*, whenſoever the King was abſent. The *Ætolians* hearing of his departure, armed as many as they could againſt the *Acarnanians*, in hope to ſubdue thoſe their daily Enemies, and win their little Countrey, ere he ſhould be able to return. Hereto it much availed, that the *Romans* had already taken *Oeniadæ* and *Naxos*, *Acarnanian* Towns, conveniently ſituated to let in an Army, and conſigned them unto the *Ætolians*, according to the tenor of the contract lately made with them. But the ſtout reſolution of the *Acarnanians*, to die (as we ſay) every Mothers ſon of them, in defence of their Countrey; together with the great haſte of the *Macedonian* (who laid aſide all other buſineſs) to ſuccour theſe his friends; cauſed the *Ætolians* to forſake their Enterpriſe. When this Expedition was given over, the *Romans* and *Ætolians* fell upon *Anticyræ*, which they took: the *Romans* aſſailing it by Sea, the *Ætolians* by Land. The *Ætolians* had the Town, and the *Romans* the ſpoil.

For theſe good ſervices *M. Valerius* was choſen Conſul at *Rome*; and *P. Sulpicius* ſent in his ſtead, to keep the War on foot in *Greece*. But beſides the *Roman* help, *Attalus*, out of *Aſia*, came over to aſſiſt the *Ætolians*. He was chiefly moved, by his own jealouſie of *Philip*'s greatneſs: though ſomewhat alſo tickled with the vanity, of being choſen by the *Ætolians* their principal Magiſtrate; which honour, though no better than titulary, he took in very loving part. Againſt the Forces which *Attalus* and the *Romans* had ſent, being joyned with the main power of *Ætolia*. *Philip* tried the fortune of two battels: and was victorious in each of them. Hereupon theſe his troubleſome Neighbours deſired peace of him; and uſed their beſt means to get it. But when the day, appointed for the concluſion thereof, was come; their Embaſſadors, inſtead of making ſubmiſſion, propoſed unto him ſuch intollerable conditions, as ill beſeemed vanquiſhed men to offer; and might therefore well teſtifie, that their minds were altered. It was not any love of peace, but fear of being beſieged in their own Towns, that had made them deſirous of compoſition. This fear being taken away, by the Encouragements of *Attalus* and the *Romans*, they were as fierce as ever: and thruſt a Garriſon of their own, and ſome *Roman* friends, into *Elis*; which threatned *Achaia*, wherein *Philip* then lay. The *Romans*, making a cut over the ſtreight from *Naupactus*, waſted the Countrey in a terrible bravery: wherein *Philip* requited them; coming upon them in haſte from the *Nemæan* Games (which he was then celebrating) and ſending them faſter away, but nothing richer than they came.

In the heat of this contention, *Pruſias*, King of *Bithynia*, fearing the growth of *Attalus*, no leſs than *Attalus* held ſuſpected the power of *Philip*; ſent a Navy into *Greece*, to aſſiſt the *Macedonian* party. The like did the *Carthaginians*: and upon greater reaſon; as being more intereſſed in the ſucceſs of his affairs. *Philip* was too weak by Sea: and though he could man ſome two hundred Ships; yet the Veſſels were ſuch, as could not hold out againſt the *Roman Quinqueremes*. Wherefore it behoved him, to uſe the help of his good friends the *Carthaginians*. But their aid came ſomewhat too late: which might better at firſt have kept thoſe Enemies from faſtning upon any part of *Greece*; than afterwards it could ſerve to drive them out, when they had pierced into the bowels of that Countrey. Ere *Philip* could attempt any thing by Sea; it was needful that he ſhould correct the *Eleans*, bad Neighbours to the *Achaians* his principal Confederates. But in aſſailing their Town, he was encountred by the *Ætolian* and *Roman* Garriſon; which drave him back with ſome loſs.

loss. In such cases, especially where God intends a great conversion of Empire, Fame is very powerful in working. The King had received no great detriment, in his Retreat from *Elis*: rather he had given testimony of his personal Valour, in fighting well on foot, when his Horse was slain under him. He had also soon after taken a great multitude of the *Eleans*, to the number of four thousand; with some twenty thousand Head of Cattel, which they had brought together into a place of safety, as they thought, when their Countrey was invaded. But it had happened, that in his pursuit of the *Roman* forragers about *Sicyon*, his Horse running hastily under a low Tree, had torn off one of the Horns, which (after the fashion of those times) the King wore in his Crest. This was gathered up by an *Aetolian*; who carried it home, and shewed it as a token of *Philip*'s death. The Horn was well known, and the Tale believed. All *Macedon* therefore was in an uproar: and not only the Borderers, ready to fall upon the Countrey, but some Captains of *Philip*, easily corrupted; who thinking to make themselves a fortune in that change of things, ran into such Treason, as they might better hope to make good, than to excuse. Hereupon the King returned home; leaving not three thousand men to assist his friends the *Achæans*. He also took order, to have Beacons erected, that might give him notice of the Enemies doings; upon whom he meant shortly to return. The affairs of *Macedon*, his presence quickly established. But in *Greece* all went ill-favouredly; especially in the Isle of *Eubœa*, where one *Plator* betrayed to *Attalus*, and the *Romans*, the Town of *Oreum*, ere *Philip* could arrive to help it; where also the strong City of *Chalcis* was likely to have been lost, if he had not come the sooner. He made such hasty Marches, that he had almost taken *Attalus* in the City of *Opus*. This City, lying over-against *Eubœa*, *Attalus* had won, more through the cowardize of the People, than any great force that he had used. Now because the *Roman* Souldiers had defrauded him in the sack of *Oreum*, and taken all to themselves: it was agreed, that *Attalus* should make his best profit of the *Opuntians*; without admitting the *Romans* to be his sharers. But whilst he was busie, in drawing as much Money as he could out of the Citizens: the sudden tidings of *Philip*'s arrival, made him leave all behind him, and run away to the Seaside, where he got aboard his Ships; finding the *Romans* gone before, upon the like fear. Either the indignity of this misadventure; or tidings of *Prusias* the *Bithynian* his invasion upon the Kingdom of *Pergamus*; made *Attalus* return home, without staying to take leave of his friends. So *Philip* recovered *Opus*; won *Toronè*, *Tritones*, *Dryopus*, and many small Towns in those parts; performing likewise some Actions, of more bravery than importance, against the *Aetolians*. In the mean season, *Machanidas*, the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, had been busie in *Peloponnesus*; but hearing of *Philip*'s arrival, was returned home.

The *Lacedæmonians*, hearing certain report of *Cleomenes* his Death in *Ægypt*, went about to choose two new Kings; and to conform themselves to their old manner of Government. But their Estate was so far out of tune, that their hope of redressing things within the City, proved no less unfortunate, than had been their attempts of recovering a large Dominion abroad. *Lycurgus*, a Tyrant, rose up among them: unto whom succeeded this *Machanidas*; and shortly after came *Nabis*, that was worst than both of them. They held on the *Aetolian* and *Roman* side, for fear of the *Achæans*, that were the chief Confederates of *Philip*, and hated extremely the name both of *Tyrant*, and of *Lacedæmonian*. But of these we shall speak more hereafter.

Philip entring into *Achaia*, and seeing his presence had brought the contentment of assurance to that Countrey; spake brave words to the Assembly of their States, saying, That he had to do with an Enemy, that was very nimble, and made War by running away. He told how he had followed them to *Chalcis*, to *Oreum*, to *Opus*, and now into *Achaia*: but could no where find them; such haste they made, for fear of being overtaken. But flight, he said, was not always prosperous: he should one day light upon them; as ere this he sundry times had done, and still to their loss. The *Achaians* were glad to hear these words; and much the more glad, in regard of his good deeds accompanying them. For he restored unto their Nation some Towns, that were in his hand, belonging to them of old. Likewise to the *Megalopolitans* their Confederates, he rendred *Aliphera*. The *Dymæans*, that had been taken by the *Romans*, and sold for slaves, he sought out, ransomed, and put in quiet possession of their own City. Further, passing over the *Corinthian Gulf*, he fell upon the *Aetolians*: whom he drave into the Mountains and Woods, or other their strongest holds; and wasted their Countrey. This done, he took leave of the *Achæans*: and returning home by Sea, visited the people that were his Subjects, or dependants; and animated them so well, that they rested fearless of any threatning danger. Then had he leisure to make War upon the *Dardanians*, ill Neighbours to *Macedon*: with whom nevertheless he was not so far occupied, but that he could go in hand with preparing a Fleet of an hundred Gallies, whereby to make himself Master of the Sea; the *Romans* (since the departure of *Attalus*) having not dared to meet or pursue him, when he lately ran along the coast of *Greece*, fast by them where they lay.

This good success added much Reputation to the *Macedonian*; and emboldened him to make strong War upon the *Aetolians*, at their own doors. As for the *Romans*; either some displeasure, conceived against their Confederates; or some fear of danger at home, when *Asdrubal* was ready to fall upon *Italy*; caused them to give over the care of things in *Greece*, and leave their friends there to their own fortunes. The *Aetolians* therefore, being driven to great extremity, were fain to sue for peace unto *Philip*, and accept it, upon whatever conditions it best pleased him. The agreement was no sooner made, than *P. Sempronius* with ten thousand Foot, a thousand Horse, and thirty five Gallies, came over in great haste (though somewhat too late) to trouble it. Hearing how things went in *Aetolia*, he turned aside to *Dyrrachium*, and *Apollonia*; making a great noise, as if with these his own Forces he would work Wonders. But it was not long, ere *Philip* came to visit him; and found him tame enough. The King presented him Battel: but he refused it; and suffering the *Macedonians* to waste the Countrey round about, before his eyes, kept himself close within the Walls of *Apollonia*; making some Overtures of Peace: which caused *Philip* to return home quietly. The *Romans* had not so great cause to be displeased with the *Aetolians*, as had *Philip*, to take in evil part the demeanor of the *Carthaginians*. For notwithstanding the Royal offer that he made them, to serve their turn

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in *Italy*, and assist them in getting their hearts desire, before he would expect any requital: they had not sent any Fleet, as in reason they ought, and as (considering his want of sufficient ability by Sea) it is likely they were bound, either to secure the transportation of his Army, or to free his coast from the *Roman* and *Ætolian* Pyracies. Only once they came to his help, which was, at his last journey into *Achaia*. But they were gone again before his arrival: having done nothing; and pretending fear of being taken by the *Romans*, even at such time as *Philip*, with his own Navy, durst boldly pass by Sea, and found none that durst oppose him. This wretchless dealing of the *Carthaginians*, may therefore seem to have been one of *Hanno* his Tricks; whereof *Hannibal* so bitterly complained. For it could not but grieve this malicious man exceedingly, to hear, that so great a King made offer to serve in person under *Hannibal*, and required the assistance of the same *Hannibal*, as of a man likely to make Monarchs, and alter the affairs of the World at his pleasure. Therefore he had reason, such as Envy could suggest, to perswade the *Carthaginians* unto a safe and thrifty course: which was, not to admit into the fellowship of their *Italian* Wars so mighty a Prince, whom change of affection might make dangerous to their Empire; or his much affection unto *Hannibal*, more dangerous to their liberty. Rather they should do well to save charges, and feed the *Macedonian* with hopes, by making many promises of sending a Fleet, and some other succours. This would cost nothing: yet would it serve to terrifie the *Romans*, and compel them to send part of their Forces from home; that might find this Enemy work abroad. So should the *Roman* Armies be lessened in *Italy*; and *Philip*, when once he was engaged in the War, be urged unto the prosecution by his own necessity, putting the *Carthaginians* to little or no charges; yea, scarce to the labour of giving him thanks. Now if it might come to pass, as *Hannibal* every day did promise, that *Rome*, and all *Italy*, should within a while be at the devotion of *Carthage*: better it were that the City should be free, so as the troublesome *Greeks* might address their complaints unto the *Carthaginians*, as competent Judges between them and the *Macedonian*, than that *Hannibal*, with the power of *Africk*, should wait upon *Philip*, as his Executioner, to fulfil his will and pleasure, in doing such injuries, as would both make the name of a *Carthaginian* hateful in *Greece*, and oblige *Philip* to be no less impudent, in fulfilling all requests of *Hannibal*. Whether the counsel of *Hanno* and his fellows, were such as this; or whether the *Carthaginians*, of their own disposition without his advice, were too sparing, and careless, the matter (as far as concerned *Philip*) came to one reckoning. For they did him no manner of good: but rather dodged with him; even in that little courtesie which they most pretended. And this perhaps was part of the reason, why he begun the building of an hundred Gallies, as if he would let them and others know, whereto his proper strength would have reached, had he not vainly given credit to faithless promises. When therefore the *Ætolians* had submitted themselves already: and when the *Romans* desired his friendship, as might be thought, for very fear of him; with reputation enough, and not as a forsaken Client of the *Carthaginians*, but a Prince able to have succoured them in their necessity, he might give over the War, and, without reprehension, leave them to themselves. For he had wilfully entred into trouble for their sakes: but they despised him, as if the quarrel were meerly his own, and he unable to manage it. The vanity of which their conceits would appear unto them, when they should see, that with his proper strength he had finished the War, and concluded it highly to his honour. So the year following it was agreed, by mediation of the *Epirots*, *Acarnanians*, and others, That the *Romans* should retain three or four Towns of *Illyria*, which they had recovered in this War, being part of their old *Illyrian* Conquest: Places no way belonging to the *Macedonian*; and therefore perhaps inferred into the Covenants, that somewhat might seem to have been gotten. On the other side, the *Atintanes* were appointed to return under the obedience of *Philip*: who, if they were (as *Ortelius* probably conjectures) the people of the Countrey about *Apollonia*, then did the *Romans* abandon part of their gettings; whereby it appears, that they did not give peace, as they would seem to have done, but accepted it, upon conditions somewhat to their loss.

The Confederates and Dependants of the *Macedonian*, comprehended in this Peace, were *Prusias*, King of *Bithynia*, the *Achæans*, *Bœotians*, *Thessalians*, *Acarnanians*, and *Epirots*. On the *Roman* side were named, first, the People of *Ilium*, as an honourable remembrance of the *Romans* descent from *Troy*; then, *Attalus*, King of *Pergamus*; *Pleuratus*, an *Illyrian* Prince; and *Nabis*, the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*; together with the *Eleans*, *Messenians*, and *Athenians*. The *Ætolians* were omitted, belike, as having agreed for themselves before. But the *Eleans* and *Messenians*, followers of the *Ætolians*, (and by them, as is most likely, comprised in their League with *Philip*) were also inserted by the *Romans*; that were never slow in offering their friendship to small and feeble Nations. As for the *Athenians*, they stood much upon their old honour; and loved to bear a part, though they did nothing, in all great Actions. Yet the setting down of their name in this Treaty, served the *Romans* to good purpose: for as much as they were a busie people, and ministred occasion to renew the War, when means did better serve to follow it.

§. XIII.

How the Romans *began to recover their strength by degrees. The noble Affection of the* Romans, *in relieving the publick necessities of their Commonweal.*

IT was a great fault in the *Carthaginians*, that embracing so many Enterprises at once, they followed all by the halves; and wasted more Men and Money to no purpose, than would have served (if good order had been taken) to finish the whole War, in far shorter space; and make themselves Lords of all that the *Romans* held. This Error had been the less harmful, if their care of *Italy* had been such as it ought. But they suffered *Hannibal*, to weary himself with expectation of their promised Supplies: which being still deferred from year to year, caused as great opportunities to be lost, as a Conqueror could have desired. The Death of *Posthumius*, and destruction of his whole Army in *Gaule*; the begun Rebellion of the *Sardinians*; the Death of *Hiero*, their friend in *Syracuse*; with great alterations, much to their prejudice, in the whole Isle of *Sicil*; as also that War, of which we last spake, threatned from *Macedon*, happening all at one time;

time; and that ſo nearly after their terrible overthrow at *Cannæ*, among ſo many revolts of their *Italian* Confederates; would utterly have ſunk the *Roman* State, had the *Carthaginians*, if not the firſt year, yet at leaſt the ſecond, ſent over to *Hannibal* the Forces that were decreed. It is not to be doubted, that even this diverſity of great hopes, appearing from all parts, adminiſtred matter unto *Hanno*, or ſuch as *Hanno* was, whereupon to work. For though it were in the power of *Carthage*, to perform all that was decreed for *Italy*: yet could not that proportion hold, when ſo many new occurrences brought each along with them their new care, and required their ſeveral Armies. This had not been a very bad excuſe, if any one of the many occaſions offered had been throughly proſecuted: though it ſtood with beſt reaſon, that the foundation of all other hopes and comforts, which was the proſperity of *Hannibal* in his *Italian* War; ſhould have been ſtrengthened, whatſoever had become of the reſt. But the ſlender Troops, wherewith the *Carthaginians* fed the War in *Spain*; the lingring aid which they ſent, to uphold the *Sardinian* Rebellion, when it was already well near beaten down; their trifling with *Philip*; and (amongſt all theſe their attempts) their haſty catching at *Sicil*: little deſerved to be thought good reaſons of neglecting the main point, whereto all the reſt had reference. Rather every one of theſe Actions, conſidered apart by it ſelf, was no otherwiſe to be allowed as diſcreetly undertaken, or ſubſtantially followed, than by making ſuppoſition. That the care of *Italy*, made the *Carthaginians* more negligent in all things elſe. Yet if theſe allegations would not ſerve to content *Hannibal*, then muſt he patiently endure to know, that his own Citizens were jealous of his Greatneſs, and durſt not truſt him with ſo much power, as ſhould enable him to wrong the State at home.

Whatſoever he heard or thought, *Hannibal* was glad to apply himſelf to Neceſſity, to feed his *Italian* friends with hopes, and to trifle away the time about *Nola*, *Naples*, *Cumæ*, and other places: being loth to ſpend his Army in an hard Siege, that was to be reſerved for a work of more importance. Many offers he made upon *Nola*; but always with bad ſucceſs. Once *Marcellus* fought a Battel with him there: yet under the very Walls of the Town; having the aſſiſtance of the Citizens, that were grown better affected to the *Roman* ſide, ſince the Heads, that inclined them to Rebellion, were cut off. About a thouſand men *Hannibal* in that Fight loſt: which was no great marvel; his Forces being then divided, and imployed in ſundry parts of *Italy* at once. *Naples* was, even in thoſe days, a ſtrong City; and required a years work to have taken it by force. Wherefore the earneſt deſire of *Hannibal* to get it, was always fruſtrate. Upon the Town of *Cumæ* they of *Capua* had their plot; and were in hope to take it by cunning. They ſent to the chief Magiſtrates of the *Cumans*, deſiring them (as being alſo *Campans*) to be preſent at a ſolemn Sacrifice of the Nation, where they would conſult about their general good: promiſing to bring thither a ſufficient Guard, to aſſure the whole Aſſembly, from any danger that might come by the *Romans*. This motion the *Cumans* made ſhew to entertain; but privily ſent word of all to *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, the *Roman* Conſul.

Gracchus was a very good Man of War; and happily choſen Conſul in ſo dangerous a time. His Colleague ſhould have been *Poſthumius Albinus*, that was lately ſlain by the *Gaules*: after whoſe death *Marcellus* was choſen; as being judged the fitteſt man to encounter with *Hannibal*. But the *Roman* Augures either found ſome religious impediment, that nullified the Election of *Marcellus*; or at leaſt they feigned ſo to have done: becauſe this was the firſt time that ever two *Plebeian* Conſuls were choſen together. *Marcellus* therefore gave over the place: and *Q. Fabius Maximus*, the late famous Dictator, was ſubſtituted in his room. But *Fabius* was detained in the City, about matters of Religion, or Superſtition: wherewith *Rome* was commonly, eſpecially in times of danger, very much troubled. So *Gracchus* alone, with a Conſular Army, waited upon *Hannibal* among the *Campans*: not able to meet the Enemy in Field; yet intentive to all occaſions that ſhould be preſented. The *Volones*, or *Slaves*, that lately had been armed, were no ſmall part of his followers. Theſe, and the reſt of his Men, he continually trained: and had not a greater care, to make his Army skilful in the Exerciſes of War, than to keep it from quarrels, that might ariſe by upbraiding one another with their baſe condition.

Whilſt the Conſul was thus buſied at *Linternum*, the Senators of *Cumæ* ſent him word, of all that had paſſed between them and the *Capuans*. It was a good occaſion to fleſh his Men, and make them confident againſt the Enemy; of whom hitherto they had bad experience. *Gracchus* therefore put himſelf into *Cumæ*; whence he iſſued at ſuch time, as the Magiſtrates of that City were expected by the *Campans*. The Sacrifice was to be performed by night, at a place called *Hamæ*, three miles from *Cumæ*. There lay *Marius Alfius* the chief Magiſtrate of *Capua*, with fourteen thouſand Men; not wholly intent either to the Sacrifice, or to any danger that might interrupt it; but rather deviſing how to ſurpriſe others, than fearing himſelf to be aſſailed. The Conſul therefore, ſuffering none to go forth of *Cumæ*, that might bear word of him to the Enemies, iſſued out of the Town when it grew dark: his Men being well refreſhed with meat and ſleep, the day before, that they might hold out the better in this nights ſervice. So he came upon the *Capuans* unawares, and ſlew more than two thouſand of them, together with their Commander; loſing not above an hundred of his own Men. Their Camp he took: but tarried not long to rifle it, for fear of *Hannibal*; who lay not far off. By this his providence, he eſcaped a greater loſs than he had brought upon the Enemies. For when *Hannibal* was informed how things went at *Hamæ*, forthwith he marched thither: hoping to find thoſe young Souldiers, and Slaves, buſied in making ſpoil, and loading themſelves with the booty. But they were all gotten ſafe within *Cumæ*; which partly for anger, partly for deſire of gaining it, and partly at the urgent entreaty of the *Capuans*, *Hannibal* aſſailed the next day. Much labour, and with ill ſucceſs, the *Carthaginians* and their fellows ſpent about this Town. They raiſed a wooden Tower againſt it: which they brought cloſe unto the Walls; thinking thereby to force an Entry. But the Defendants, on the inſide of the Wall, raiſed againſt this an higher Tower: whence they made reſiſtance; and found means at length, to conſume with fire the work of their Enemies. While the *Carthaginians* were buſie in quenching the fire, the *Romans*, ſallying out of the Town at two Gates, charged them valiantly, and drave them to their Trenches, with the ſlaughter of about fourteen hundred. The

Conſul wiſely ſounded the Retreat; ere his Men were too far engaged, and *Hannibal* in a readineſs to requite their ſervice. Neither would he, in the pride of this good ſucceſs, adventure forth againſt the Enemy; who preſented him battel the day following, near unto the Walls. *Hannibal* therefore, ſeeing no likelihood to prevail in that which he had taken in hand, brake up the Siege; and returned to his old Camp at *Tifata*. About theſe times, and ſhortly after, when *Fabius* the other Conſul had taken the Field, ſome ſmall Towns were recovered by the *Romans*, and the people ſeverely puniſhed for their revolt.

The *Carthaginian* Army was too ſmall, to fill with Garriſons all places that had yielded; and withal to abide (as it muſt do) ſtrong in the field. Wherefore *Hannibal*, attending the ſupply from home, that ſhould enable him to ſtrike at *Rome* it ſelf, was driven in the mean time to alter his courſe of War: and, inſtead of making (as formerly he had done) a general invaſion upon the whole Countrey, to paſs from place to place; and wait upon occaſions, that grew daily more commodious to the Enemy than to him. The Countrey of the *Hirpines* and *Samnites* was grievouſly waſted by *Marcellus*, in the abſence of *Hannibal*: as alſo was *Campania*, by *Fabius* the Conſul; when *Hannibal* having followed *Marcellus* to *Nola*; and received there the loſs before-mentioned, was gone to winter in *Apulia*. Theſe people ſhewed not the like ſpirit in defending their Lands, and fighting for the *Carthaginian* Empire, as in former times they had done; when they contended with the *Romans*, in their own behalf, to get the Soveraignty. They held it reaſon, that they ſhould be protected, by ſuch as thought to have Dominion over them: whereby at once they overburdened their new Lords; and gave unto their old the more eaſie means, to take revenge of their defection.

The people of *Rome* were very intentive, as neceſſity conſtrained them, to the work that they had in hand. They continued *Fabius* in his Conſulſhip: and joyned with him *M. Claudius Marcellus*; whom they had appointed unto that honour the year before. Of theſe two, *Fabius* was called the *Shield*; and *Marcellus*, the *Roman Sword*. In *Fabius* it was highly, and upon juſt reaſon, commended, That being himſelf Conſul, and holding the Election, he did not ſtand upon nice points of formality, or regard what Men might think of his ambition, but cauſed himſelf to be choſen with *Marcellus*; knowing in what need the City ſtood of able Commanders. The great name of theſe Conſuls, and the great preparations which the *Romans* made, ſerved to put the *Campans* in fear, that *Capua* it ſelf ſhould be beſieged. To prevent this, *Hannibal* at their earneſt entreaty came from *Arpi*: (where he lay, hearkening after news from *Tarentum*) and, having with his preſence, comforted theſe his friends, fell on the ſudden upon *Puteoli*, a Sea-Town of *Campania*; about which he ſpent three days in vain, hoping to have won it. The Garriſon in *Puteoli* was ſix thouſand ſtrong: and did their duty ſo well, that the *Carthaginian*, finding no hope of good ſucceſs, could only ſhew his anger upon the Fields there, and about *Naples*; which having done, and once more (with as ill ſucceſs as before) aſſayed *Nola*, he bent his courſe to *Tarentum*: wherein he had very great intelligence. Whilſt he was in his progreſs thither, *Hanno* made a journey againſt *Beneventum*: and *T. Gracchus*, the laſt years Conſul, haſting from *Nuceria*, met him there; and fought with him a Battel. *Hanno* had with him about ſeventeen thouſand Foot, *Brutians* and *Lucans* for the moſt part; beſides twelve hundred Horſe; very few of which were *Italians*, all the reſt, *Numidians* and *Moors*. He held the *Roman* work four hours, ere it could be perceived, to which ſide the Victory would incline. But *Gracchus* his Souldiers, which were all (in a manner) the late-armed Slaves, had received from their General a peremptory denunciation, That this day, or never, they muſt purchaſe their liberty, bring every man, for price thereof, an Enemies head. The ſweet reward of liberty was ſo greatly deſired, that none of them feared any danger in earning it; howbeit that vain labour, impoſed by their General, of cutting off the ſlain Enemies heads, troubled them exceedingly, and hindered the ſervice, by imployment of ſo many hands, in a work ſo little concerning the Victory. *Gracchus* therefore finding his own Error, wiſely corrected it: proclaiming aloud, That they ſhould caſt away the heads, and ſpare the trouble of cutting off any more; for that all ſhould have liberty immediately after the Battel, if they wan the day. This encouragement made them run head-long upon the Enemy; whom their deſperate fury had ſoon overthrown, if the *Roman* Horſe could have made their part good againſt the *Numidian*. But though *Hanno* did what he could, and preſſed ſo hard upon the *Roman* Battel, that four thouſand of the Slaves, (for fear either of him, or of the puniſhment which *Gracchus* had threatned before the Battel, unto thoſe that ſhould not valiantly behave themſelves) retired unto a ground of ſtrength: yet was he glad at length to ſave himſelf by flight, when the Groſs of his Army was broken; being unable to remedy the loſs. Leaving the Field, he was accompanied by no more than two thouſand: moſt of which were Horſe; all the reſt were either ſlain or taken. The *Roman* General gave unto all his Souldiers that reward of liberty which he had promiſed: but unto thoſe four thouſand, which had recoiled unto the Hill, he added this light puniſhment; That as long as they ſerved in the Wars, they ſhould neither eat nor drink otherwiſe than ſtanding, unleſs ſickneſs forced them to break his Order. So the victorious Army returned to *Beneventum*: where the newly enfranchiſed Souldiers were feaſted in publick by the Townſmen; ſome ſitting, ſome ſtanding, and all of them having their heads covered (as was the cuſtom of Slaves manumiſed) with Caps, or white Wool. The Picture of this Feaſt (as a thing worthy of remembrance) was afterward hung up in a Table by *Gracchus*, in the Temple of *Liberty*; which his Father had built and dedicated. This was indeed the firſt Battel, worthy of great note, which the *Carthaginians* had loſt ſince the coming of *Hannibal* into *Italy*: the Victories of *Marcellus* at *Nola*, and of this *Gracchus* before at *Hamæ*, being things of ſmall importance.

Thus the *Romans* through induſtry, by little and little, repaired that great breach in their Eſtate, which *Hannibal* had made at *Cannæ*. But all this while, and long after this, their Treaſury was ſo poor, that no induſtry nor art could ſerve to help it. The Fruits of their grounds did only (and perhaps hardly) ſerve to feed their Towns and Armies, without any ſurpluſage, that might be exchanged for other needful commodities. Few they were in *Italy*, that continued to pay them Tribute: which alſo they could worſe do than before; as living upon the ſame Trade, and ſubject to the ſame inconveniences, which enfeebled *Rome* it ſelf. *Sicil* and *Sardinia*, that were wont to yield

yield great profit, hardly now maintained the *Roman* Armies, that lay in those Provinces, to hold them safe and in good order. As for the Citizens of *Rome*, every one of them suffered his part of the Detriment, which the Common-wealth sustained, and could now do least for his Countrey, when most need was: as also the number of them was much decreased: so as if Money should be raised upon them by the *Poll*, yet must it be far less than in former times. The Senate therefore, diligently considering the greatness of the War within the bowels of *Italy*, that could not be thence expelled without the exceeding charge of many good Armies; the peril, wherein *Sicil* and *Sardinia* stood, both of the *Carthaginians*, and of many among the Naturals declining from the friendship or subjection of *Rome*; the threats of the *Macedonian*, ready to land in the *Eastern* parts of *Italy*, if they were not at the cost to find him work at home; the greater threats of *Asdrubal*, to follow his brother over the *Alpes*; as soon as he could rid himself of the *Scipio*'s in *Spain*; and the poverty of the Common-wealth, which had not Money for any one of these mortal dangers, were driven almost even to extream want of counsel. But being urged by the violence of swift necessity, signified in the Letters of the two *Scipio*'s from *Spain*; they resolved upon the only course, without which the City could not have subsisted.

They called the people to Assembly: wherein *Q. Fulvius*, the Prætor, laid open the publick wants, and plainly said, That in this Exigent, there must be no taking of Money for Victual, Weapons, Apparel, or the like things needful to the Souldiers: but that such as had stuff, or were Artificers, must trust the Common-wealth with the Loan of their commodities, and labours, until the War were ended. Hereunto he so effectually exhorted all men, especially the *Publicans* or *Customers*, and those which in former times had lived upon their dealing in the common Revenues, that the charge was undertaken by private men; and the Army in *Spain* as well supplied, as if the Treasury had been full. Shortly after this, *M. Atilius Regulus*, and *P. Furius Philus*, the *Roman* Censors, taking in hand the redress of disorders within the City, were chiefly intentive to the correction of those that had mis-behaved themselves in this present War. They began with *L. Cæcilius Metellus*: who, after the Battel at *Cannæ*, had held discourse with some of his Companions, about flying beyond the Seas; as if *Rome*, and all *Italy*, had been no better than lost. After him they took in hand those, that having brought to *Rome* the Message of their fellows made Prisoners at *Cannæ*, returned not back to *Hannibal*, as they were bound by Oath; but thought themselves thereof sufficiently discharged, in that they had stepped once back into his Camp; with pretence of taking better notice of the Captives names. All these were now pronounced infamous by the Censors: as also were a great many more; even whosoever had not served in the Wars, after the term which the Laws appointed. Neither was the note of the Censors at this time (as otherwise it had used to be) hurtful only in Reputation: but greater weight was added thereunto by this Decree of the Senate following; *That all such as were noted with infamy by these Censors, should be transported into* Sicil, *there to serve until the end of the War, under the same hard Conditions that were imposed upon the Remainder of the Army beaten at* Cannæ. The Office of the Censors was, to take the List and account of the Citizens; to choose or displace the Senators; and to set notes of disgrace (without further punishment) upon those, whose unhonest or unseemly behaviour fell not within compass of the Law. They took also an account of the *Roman* Gentlemen: among whom they distributed the publick Horses of service, unto such as they thought meet; or took them away for their misbehaviour. Generally, they had the over-sight of mens lives and manners: and their censure was much reverenced and feared; though it extended no further, than to putting men out of rank; or making them change their Tribe; or (which was the most that they could do) causing them to pay some Duties to the Treasury, from which others were exempted. But besides the care of this general Tax, and matters of Morality, they had the charge of all publick works; as mending of High-Ways, Bridges, and Water-courses; the reparations of Temples, Porches, and such other Buildings. If any man encroached upon the streets, high-ways, or other places that ought to be common; the Censors compelled him to make amends. They had also the letting out of Lands, Customs, and other publick Revenues, to farm: so that most of the Citizens of *Rome* were beholding unto this Office, as maintaining themselves by some of the Trades thereto belonging. And this was no small help to conserve the Dignity of the Senate: the Commonalty being obnoxious unto the Censors; which were always of that Order, and careful to uphold the Reputation thereof. But the Common-weal being now impoverished by War, and having small store of Lands to let, or of Customs that were worth the farming; *Regulus* and *Philus* troubled not themselves much with perusing the Temples, or other decaied places, that needed reparations: or if they took a view of what was requisite to be done in this kind; yet forbore they to set any thing in hand, because they had not wherewith to pay. Herein again appeared a notable generosity of the *Romans*. They that had been accustomed, in more happy times, to undertake such pieces of work, offered now themselves as willingly to the Censors, as if there had been no such want: promising liberally their cost and travel, without expectation of any payment, before the end of the War. In like sort, the Masters of those Slaves, that lately had been enfranchised by *Gracchus*, were very well contented to forbear the price of them, until the City were in better case to pay. In this general inclination of the Multitude, to relieve, as far forth as every one was able, the common necessity; all the Goods of Orphans, and of Widows living under Patronage, were brought into the Treasury; and there the Quæstor kept a book, of all that was laid out for the sustenance of these Widows and Orphans: whilst the whole stock was used by the City. This good Example of those which remained in the Town, prevailed with the Souldiers abroad: so that (the poorer sort excepted) they refused to take pay; and called those *Mercinaries*, that did accept it, when their Countrey was in so great want.

The twelve hundred Talents, wrongfully extorted from the *Carthaginians*; nor any injuries following, done by the *Romans* in the height of their pride; yielded half so much Commodity, as might be laid in ballance against these miseries, whereinto their Estate was now reduced. Nevertheless if we consider things aright, the calamities of this War did rather enable *Rome* to deal with those Enemies, whom she forthwith under-

took, than abate or slacken the growth of that large Dominion, whereto she attained, ere the youngest of those Men was dead, whose names we have already mentioned. For by this hammering, the *Roman* Mettal grew more hard and solid; and by paring the Branches of private Fortunes, the Root and Heart of the Commonwealth was corroborated. So grew the City of *Athens*, when *Xerxes* had burnt the Town to ashes, and taken from every particular Citizen all hope of other felicity, than that which rested in the common happiness of the universality. Certain it is, (as Sir *Francis Bacon* hath judiciously observed) That a State whose dimension or stem is small, may aptly serve to be a foundation of a great Monarchy: which chiefly comes to pass, where all regard of domestical prosperity is laid aside; and every mans care addressed to the benefit of his Countrey. Hereof I might say, that our Age hath seen a great Example, in the united Provinces in the *Netherlands*; whose present riches and strength, grew chiefly from that ill assurance, which each of their Towns, or almost of their Families, perceived it self to hold, whilst the generality was oppressed by the Duke of *Alva*; were it so, that the people had thereby grown as warlike, as by extreme industry, and straining themselves to fill their publick Treasury, they are all grown wealthy, strong at Sea, and able to wage great Armies for their services by Land. Wherefore if we value at such a rate as we ought, the patient Resolution, conformity to good Order, obedience to Magistrates, with many other Vertues, and, above all other, the great love of the Common-weal, which was found in *Rome* in these dangerous times: we may truly say, That the City was never in greater likelihood to prosper. Neither can it be deemed otherwise, than that if the same affections of the people had lasted, when their Empire, being grown more large and beautiful, should in all reason have been more dear unto them, if the riches and delicacies of *Asia* had not infected them with sensuality, and carried their appetites mainly to those pleasures, wherein they thought their well-being to consist; if all the Citizens, and Subjects of *Rome*, could have believed their own interest to be as great, in those Wars which their latter Emperors made for their defence, as in these which were managed by the Consuls: the Empire, founded upon so great Vertue, could not have been thrown down by the hands of rude *Barbarians*, were they never so many. But unto all Dominions God hath set their periods: Who, though he hath given unto Man the knowledg of those ways, by which Kingdoms rise and fall; yet hath left him subject unto the affections, which draw on these fatal changes, in their times appointed.

§. XIV.

The Romans *win some Towns back from* Hannibal. Hannibal *wins* Tarentum. *The Siege of* Capua. *Two Victories of* Hannibal. *The journey of* Hannibal *to the Gates of* Rome. Capua *taken by the* Romans.

AS the People of *Rome* strained themselves to the utmost, for maintaining the War: so their Generals abroad omitted no part of industry, in seeking to recover what had been lost. The Town of *Casilive* *Fabius* besieged. It was well defended by the *Carthaginian* Garrison; and likely to have been relieved by those of *Capua*, if *Marcellus* from *Nola* had not come to the assistance of his Colleague. Nevertheless the place held out so obstinately, that *Fabius* was purposed to give it over: saying, that the Enterprise was not great; yet as difficult, as a thing of more importance. But *Marcellus* was of a contrary opinion. He said, That many such things, as were not at first to have been undertaken by great Commanders, ought yet, when once they were taken in hand, to be prosecuted unto the best effect. So the Siege held on: and the Town was pressed so hard, that the *Campans* dwelling therein grew fearful, and craved parley; offering to give it up, so as all might have leave to depart in safety, whither they pleased. Whilst they were thus treating of conditions: or whilst they were issuing forth, according to the composition already made; (for it is diversly reported) *Marcellus*, seizing upon a Gate, entred with his Army, and put all to the Sword that came in their way. Fifty of those that were first gotten out, ran to *Fabius* the Consul: who saved them, and sent them to *Capua* in safety; all the rest were either slain, or made Prisoners. If *Fabius* deserved commendations, by holding his word good unto these Fifty, I know not how the slaughter of the rest, or imprisonment afterward of such, as scaped the heat of Execution, could be excused by *Marcellus*. It may be that he helped himself, after the *Roman* fashion, with some Equivocation, but he shall pay for it hereafter. In like sort was *Mount Marsan*, in *Gascoigne*, taken by the Marshal *Monluc*, when I was a young man in *France*. For whilst he entertained parley about composition, the besieged ran all from their several Guards, upon hasty desire of being acquainted with the Conditions proposed. The Marshal therefore discovering a part of the Walls unguarded, entred by *Scalade*, and put all save the Governor unto the Sword. Herein that Governor of *Mount Marsan* committed two gross Errors; the one, in that he gave no order for the Captains and Companies, to hold themselves in their places; the other, in that he was content to parley, without pledges for assurance given and received. Some such over-sight the Governor of *Casilive* seemeth to have committed: yet neither the advantage taken by *Marcellus*, or by *Monluc*, was very honourable. When this work was ended, many small Towns of the *Samnites*, and some of the *Lucans* and *Apulians*, were recovered: wherein were taken, or slain, about five and twenty thousand of the Enemies; and the Countrey grievously wasted by *Fabius*, *Marcellus* lying sick at *Nola*.

Hannibal in the mean while was about *Tarentum*, waiting to hear from those, that had promised to give up the Town. But *M. Valerius*, the *Roman* Proprætor, had thrust so many Men into it, that the Traitors durst not stir. Wherefore the *Carthaginian* was fain to depart, having wearied himself in vain with expectation. Yet he wasted not the Countrey; but contented himself with hope, that they would please him better in time following. So he departed thence toward *Salapia*: which he chose for his wintering place; and began to victual it, when Summer was but half past. It is said, that he was in love with a young Wench in that Town: in which regard if he began his Winter more timely, than otherwise need required, he did not like the *Romans*; whom ne-

neceſſity enforced, to make their Summer laſt as long, as they were able to travel up and down the Countrey.

About this time began great troubles in *Sicil*; whither *Marcellus* the Conſul was ſent, to take ſuch order for the Province, as need ſhould require. Of the doings there, which wore out more time than his Conſulſhip, we will ſpeak hereafter.

The new Conſuls, choſen at *Rome*, were *Q. Fabius*, the Son of the preſent Conſul, and *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the ſecond time. The *Romans* found it needful for the publick ſervice, to imploy oftentimes their beſt able men: and therefore made it lawful, during the War, to recontinue their Officers, and chooſe ſuch, as had lately held their places before; without regarding any diſtance of time, which was otherwiſe required. The old *Fabius* became Lieutenant unto his Son: which was perhaps the reſpect, that moſt commended his Son unto the place. It is noted, That when the old man came into the Camp, and his Son rode forth to meet him: Eleven of the Twelve Lictors, which carried each an Axe, with a bundle of Rods before the Conſul, ſuffered him, in regard of due reverence, to paſs by them on horſe-back; which was againſt the cuſtom. But the Son perceiving this, commanded the laſt of his Lictors to note it: who thereupon bad the old *Fabius* alight, and come to the Conſul on his Feet. The Father chearfully did ſo, ſaying, *It was my mind, Son, to make trial, whether thou didſt underſtand thy ſelf to be Conſul.* *Caſſius Altinius*, a wealthy Citizen of *Arpi*, who, after the Battel at *Cannæ*, had holpen the *Carthaginian* into that Town, ſeeing now the fortune of the *Romans* to amend; came privily to this Conſul *Fabius*, and offered to render it back unto him, if he might be therefore well rewarded. The Conſul purpoſed to follow old Examples: and to make this *Altinius* a pattern to all Traitors; uſing him, as *Camillus* and *Fabricius* had done thoſe, that offered their unfaithful ſervice againſt the *Faliſci*, and King *Pyrrhus*. But *Q. Fabius*, the Father, was of another opinion: and ſaid, it was a matter of dangerous conſequence, That it ſhould be thought more ſafe to revolt from the *Romans*, than to turn unto them. Wherefore it was concluded, that he ſhould be ſent to the Town of *Cales*, and there kept as Priſoner, until they could better reſolve what to do with him, or what uſe to make of him. *Hannibal*, underſtanding that *Altinius* was gone, and among the *Romans*, took it not ſorrowfully; but thought this a good occaſion, to ſeize upon all the Mans Riches, which were great. Yet, that he might ſeem rather ſevere, than covetous, he ſent for the Wife and Children of *Altinius* into his Camp: where having examined them by torment, partly concerning the departure and intention of this fugitive, partly, and more ſtrictly, about his riches, what they were, and where they lay, he condemned them, as partakers of the Treaſon, to be burnt alive; and took all their goods unto himſelf. *Fabius*, the Conſul, ſhortly after came to *Arpi*: which he wan by *Scalado*, in a ſtormy and rainy night. Five thouſand of *Hannibal's* Souldiers lay in the Town; and of the *Arpines* themſelves, there were about three thouſand. Theſe were thruſt formoſt by the *Carthaginian* Garriſon, when it was underſtood, that the *Romans* had gotten over the Wall, and broken open a Gate. For the Souldiers held the Townſmen ſuſpected; and therefore thought it no wiſdom, to truſt them at their backs. But after ſome little reſiſtance, the *Arpines* gave over fight, and entertained parley with the *Romans*: proteſting, that they had been betrayed by their Princes; and were become ſubject to the *Carthaginians*, againſt their wills. In proceſs of this diſcourſe, the *Arpine* Prætor went unto the *Roman* Conſul: and receiving his faith for ſecurity of the Town, preſently made head againſt the Garriſon. This notwithſtanding, like it is, that *Hannibal's* men continued to make good reſiſtance. For when almoſt a thouſand of them, that were *Spaniards*, offered to leave their Companions, and ſerve on the *Roman* ſide, it was yet covenanted, That the *Carthaginians* ſhould be ſuffered to paſs forth quietly, and return to *Hannibal*. This was performed: and ſo *Arpi* became *Roman* again, with little other loſs, than of him that had betrayed it. About the ſame time, *Cliternum* was taken by *Sempronius Tuditanus*, one of the Prætors: and unto *Cneius Fulvius*, another of the Prætors, an hundred and twelve Gentlemen of *Capua* offered their ſervice, upon no other condition, than to have their goods reſtored unto them, when their City ſhould be recovered by the *Romans*. This was a thing of ſmall importance: but conſidering the general hatred of the *Campans* toward *Rome*, it ſerved to diſcover the inclination of the *Italians* in thoſe times; and how their affections recoiled from *Hannibal*, when there was no appearance of thoſe mighty ſuccours, that had been promiſed from *Carthage*. The *Conſentines* alſo, and the *Thurines*, people of the *Brutians*, that had yeilded themſelves to *Hannibal*, returned again to their old allegiance. Others would have followed their Example, but that one *L. Pomponius*, who of a *Publican*, had made himſelf a Captain, and gotten Reputation by ſome petty Exploits in forraging the Countrey, was ſlain by *Hanno*, with a great multitude of thoſe that followed him. *Hannibal* in the mean while had all his care bent upon *Tarentum*; which if he could take, it ſeemed that it would ſtand him in good ſtead, for drawing over that help out of *Macedon*, which his *Carthaginians* failed to ſend. Long he waited, ere he could bring his deſire to paſs: and being loth to hazard his Forces, where he hoped to prevail by intelligence, he contented himſelf, with taking in ſome poor Towns of the *Salentines*. At length, his Agents within *Tarentum*, found means to accompliſh their purpoſe, and his wiſh. One *Phileas*, that was of their Conſpiracy, who lay at *Rome*, as Embaſſador, practiſing with the Hoſtages of the *Tarentines*, and ſuch as had the keeping of them, conveyed them by night out of the City. But he and his Company were the next day ſo cloſely purſued, that all of them were taken and brought back to *Rome*; where they ſuffered death, as Traitors. By reaſon of this cruelty, or ſeverity, the people of *Tarentum* grew to hate the *Romans*, more generally and earneſtly than before. As for the Conſpirators, they followed their buſineſs the more diligently; as knowing what reward they were to expect, if their intention ſhould happen to be diſcovered. Wherefore they ſent again to *Hannibal*: and acquainting him with the manner of their Plot, made the ſame compoſition with him for the *Tarentines*, which they of *Capua* had made before. *Nico* and *Philomenes*, two the chief among them, uſed much to go forth of the Town on hunting by night, as if they durſt not take their pleaſure by day, for

for fear of the *Carthaginians*. Seldom or never they miſſed of their Game: for the *Carthaginians* prepared it ready for their hands, that they might not ſeem to have been abroad upon other occaſion. From the Camp of *Hannibal*, it was about three days journey to *Tarentum*, if he ſhould have marched thither with his whole Army. This cauſed his long abode in one place the leſs to be ſuſpected: as alſo to make his Enemies the more ſecure, he cauſed it to be given out, that he was ſick. But when the *Romans* within *Tarentum*, were grown careleſs of ſuch his Neighbourhood, and the Conſpirators had ſet their buſineſs in order, he took with him ten thouſand the moſt expedite of his Horſe and Foot, and long before break of day, made all ſpeed thitherward. Fourſcore light Horſe of the *Numidians* ran a great way before him, beating all the ways, and killing any that they met, for fear leſt he, and his Troop following him, ſhould be diſcovered. It had been often the manner of ſome few *Numidian* Horſe, to do the like in former times. Wherefore the *Roman* Governour, when he heard tell in the Evening, that ſome *Numidians* were abroad in the Fields, took it for a ſign, that *Hannibal* was not as yet diſlodged; and gave order, that ſome Companies ſhould be ſent out the next morning, to ſtrip them of their Booty, and ſend them gone. But when it grew dark night, *Hannibal*, guided by *Philomenes*, came cloſe to the Town: where, according to the Tokens agreed upon, making a light to ſhew his arrival; *Nico*, that was within the Town, anſwered him with another light, in ſign that he was ready. Preſently *Nico* began to ſet upon one of the Gates, and to kill the Watchmen. *Philomenes* went toward another Gate: and whiſtling (as was his manner) called up the Porter; bidding him make haſte, for that he had killed a great Boar, ſo heavy, that ſcarce two men could ſtand under it. So the Porter opened the Wicket: and forthwith entred two young men, loaden with the Boar; which *Hannibal* had prepared large enough, to be worthy the looking on. While the Porter ſtood wondring at the largeneſs of the Beaſt, *Philomenes* ran him through with his Boar-Spear: and letting in ſome thirty armed men, fell upon all the Watch; whom when he had ſlain, he opened the great Gate. So the Army of *Hannibal*, entring *Tarentum* at two Gates, went directly toward the Market-place; where both parts met. Thence they were diſtributed by their General, and ſent into all quarters of the City, with *Tarentines* to be their Guides. They were commanded to kill all the *Romans*; and not to hurt the Citizens. For better performance hereof, *Hannibal* willed the Conſpirators, that when any of their friends appeared in ſight, they ſhould bid him be quiet, and of good chear. All the Town was in an uproar; but few could tell what the matter meant. A *Roman* Trumpet was unskilfully ſounded by a *Greek* in the Theatre; which helped the ſuſpition, both of the *Tarentines*, that the *Romans* were about to ſpoil the Town; and of the *Romans*, that the Citizens were in commotion. The Governor fled into the Port: and taking boat, got into the Citadel, that ſtood in the mouth of the Haven; whence he might eaſily perceive the next morning, how all had paſſed. *Hannibal*, aſſembling the *Tarentines*, gave them to underſtand, what good affection he bore them; inveighed bitterly againſt the *Romans*, as tyrannous oppreſſors; and ſpake what elſe he thought fit for the preſent. This done: and having gotten ſuch ſpoil as was to be had of the Souldiers goods in the Town, he addreſſed himſelf againſt the Citadel: hoping that if the Garriſon would ſally out, he might give them ſuch a blow, as ſhould make them unable to defend the Piece. According to his expectation it partly fell out. For when he began to make his approaches, the *Romans* in a bravery ſallying forth, gave charge upon his Men: who fell back of purpoſe, according to direction, till they had drawn on as many as they could, and ſo far from their ſtrength, as they durſt adventure. Then gave *Hannibal* a ſign to his *Carthaginians*, who lay prepared ready for the purpoſe: and fiercely ſetting upon the Enemy, drave him back with great ſlaughter, as faſt as he could run; ſo that afterwards he durſt not iſſue forth. The Citadel ſtood upon a Demi-Iſland, that was plain ground; and fortified only with a Ditch and Wall againſt the Town, whereunto it was joyned by a Cawſey. This Cawſey *Hannibal* intended to fortifie in like ſort againſt the Citadel; to the end, that the *Tarentines* might be able, without his help, to keep themſelves from all danger thence. His work in few days went ſo well forward, without impediment from the beſieged, that he conceived hope of winning the Piece it ſelf, by taking a little more pains. Wherefore he made ready all ſorts of Engines, to force the place. But whilſt he was buſied in his Works, there came by Sea a ſtrong ſupply from *Metapontum*: which took away all hope of prevailing; and made him return to his former counſel. Now foraſmuch as the *Tarentine* Fleet lay within the Haven, and could not paſs forth, whilſt the *Romans* held the Citadel: it ſeemed likely, that the Town would ſuffer want, being debarred of accuſtomed Trade and Proviſions by Sea; whilſt the *Roman* Garriſon, by help of their Shipping, might eaſily be relieved, and enabled to hold out. Againſt this inconvenience, it was rather wiſhed by the *Tarentines*, than any way hoped, that their Fleet could get out of the Haven, to guard the mouth of it, and cut off all ſupply from the Enemy. *Hannibal* told them, that this might well be done: for that their Town ſtanding in plain ground, and their ſtreets being fair and broad, it would be no hard matter to draw the Gallies over Land, and lanch them into the Sea without. This he undertook and effected: whereby the *Roman* Garriſon was reduced into great neceſſity; though with much patience it held out, and found *Hannibal* oftentimes otherwiſe buſied, than his affairs required.

Thus with mutual loſs on both ſides, the time paſſed: and the *Roman* Forces, growing daily ſtronger, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, with *Appius Claudius*, lately choſen Conſuls, prepared to beſiege the great City of *Capua*. Three and twenty Legions the *Romans* had now armed. This was a great and haſty growth from that want of men, and of all neceſſaries, whereinto the loſs at *Cannæ* had reduced them. But to fill up theſe Legions, they were fain to take up young Boys, that were under ſeventeen years of age: and to ſend Commiſſioners above fifty miles round, for the ſeeking out of ſuch Lads as might appear ſerviceable, and preſſing them to the Wars; making yet a Law, that their years of ſervice whereunto they were bound by order of the City, ſhould be reckoned, for their benefit, from this their beginning ſo young, as if they had been of lawful age. Before the *Roman* Army drew near, the *Campans* felt great want of Victuals, as if they had already been beſieged. This happened partly by ſloath of the Nation, partly by the great waſte and ſpoil, which the *Romans* had in fore-

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going years made upon their grounds. They ſent therefore Embaſſadors to *Hannibal*; deſiring him to ſuccour them ere they were cloſed up, as they feared to be ſhortly. He gave them comfortable words; and ſent *Hanno* with an Army to ſupply their wants. *Hanno* appointed them a day, againſt which they ſhould be ready with all manner of Carriages, to ſtore themſelves with Victuals, that he would provide. Neither did he promiſe more than he performed. For he cauſed great quantity of Grain, that had been layed up in Cities round about, to be brought into his Camp, three miles from *Beneventum*. Thither at the time appointed came no more than forty Carts or Waggons, with a few Pack-horſes; as if this had been enough to victual *Capua*. Such was the wretchleſsneſs of the *Campans*. *Hanno* was exceeding angry hereat: and told them, they were worſe than very Beaſts, ſince hunger could not teach them to have greater care. Wherefore he gave them a longer day, againſt which he made proviſion to ſtore them throughly. Of all theſe doings word was ſent to the *Roman* Conſuls, from the Citizens of *Beneventum*. Therefore *Q. Fulvius*, the Conſul, taking with him ſuch ſtrength as he thought needful for the ſervice, came into *Beneventum* by night; where with diligence he made enquiry into the behaviour of the Enemy. He learned, that *Hanno*, with part of his Army, was gone abroad to make proviſions; that ſome two thouſand Waggons, with a great rabble of Carters, and other Varlets, lay among the *Carthaginians* in their Camp; ſo that little good order was kept; all thought being ſet upon a great Harveſt. Hereupon the Conſul bad his Men prepare themſelves, to aſſail the Enemies Camp: and leaving all his impediments within *Beneventum*, he marched thitherward ſo early in the morning, that he was there with the firſt break of day. By coming ſo unexpected, he had well-near forced the Camp on the ſudden. But it was very ſtrong, and very well defended: ſo that the longer the Fight continued, the leſs deſire had *Fulvius* to loſe more of his Men in the Attempt; ſeeing many of them caſt away, and yet little hope of doing good. Therefore he ſaid, that it were better to go more leiſurely and ſubſtantially to work; to ſend for his fellow-Conſul, with the reſt of their Army, and to lie between *Hanno* and home; that neither the *Campans* ſhould depart thence, nor the *Carthaginian* be able to relieve them. Being thus diſcourſing, and about to ſound the Retreat, he ſaw, that ſome of his Men had gotten over the Enemies Rampart. There was great booty; or (which was all one to the Souldier) an opinion of much that might be gotten in that Camp. Wherefore ſome Enſign-bearers threw their Enſigns over the Rampart, willing their Men to fetch them out, unleſs they would endure the ſhame and diſhonour following ſuch a loſs. Fear of ſuch ignominy, than which none could be greater, made the Souldiers adventure ſo deſparately, that *Fabius*, perceiving the heat of his Men, changed purpoſe, and encouraged thoſe that were ſomewhat backward, to follow the Example of them that had already gotten over the Trenches. Thus the Camp was won: in which were ſlain above ſix thouſand; and taken, above ſeven thouſand; beſides all the ſtore of Victuals, and Carriages, with abundance of Booty, that *Hanno* had lately gotten from the *Roman* Confederates. This miſadventure, and the nearer approach of both the Conſuls, made them of *Capua* ſend a pitiful Embaſſage to *Hannibal*: putting him in mind of all the love that he was wont to proteſt unto their City; and how he had made ſhew, to affect it no leſs than *Carthage*. But now, they ſaid, it would be loſt, as *Arpi* was lately, if he gave not ſtrong and ſpeedy ſuccour. *Hannibal* anſwered with comfortable words; and ſent away two thouſand Horſe, to keep their grounds from ſpoil; whilſt he himſelf was detained about *Tarentum*, partly by hope of winning the Citadel, partly by the diſpoſition, which he ſaw in many Towns adjoyning, to yield unto him. Among the Hoſtages of the *Tarentines*, that lately had fled out of *Rome*, and, being over-taken, ſuffered Death for their attempt; were ſome of the *Metapontines*, and other Cities of the *Greeks*, inhabiting that *Eaſtern* part of *Italy*, which was called of old *Magna Græcia*. Theſe people took to heart the Death of their Hoſtages; and thought the puniſhment greater than the offence. Wherefore the *Metapontines*, as ſoon as the *Roman* Garriſon was taken from them, to defend the Citadel of *Tarentum*, made no more ado, but opened their Gates to *Hannibal*. The *Thurines* would have done the like, upon the like reaſon; had not ſome Companies lain in their Town; which they feared that they ſhould not be able to maſter. Nevertheleſs they helped themſelves by cunning: inviting to their Gates *Hanno* and *Mago*, that were near at hand: againſt whom whilſt they proffered their ſervice to *Atinius*, the *Roman* Captain, they drew him forth to fight; and recoiling from him, cloſed up their Gates. A little formality they uſed, in pretending fear, leſt the Enemy ſhould break in together with the *Romans*; in ſaving *Atinius* himſelf, and ſending him away by Sea; as alſo in conſulting a ſmall while (becauſe perhaps many of their chief Men were unacquainted with the practice) whether they ſhould yield to the *Carthaginian*, or no. But this Diſputation laſted not long: for they that had removed the chief impediment, eaſily prevailed in the reſt; and delivered up the Town to *Hanno* and *Mago*. This good ſucceſs, and hope of the like, detained *Hannibal* in thoſe quarters; whilſt the Conſuls, fortifying *Beneventum*, to ſecure their backs, addreſſed themſelves unto the Siege of *Capua*.

Many diſaſters befel the *Romans*, in the beginning of this great Enterpriſe. *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, a very good man of War, that had of late been twice Conſul, was ſlain either by treachery of ſome *Lucans*, that drew him into an Ambuſh; or by ſome *Carthaginian* ſtraglers, among whom he fell unawares. His Body, or his Head, was very honourably interred, either by *Hannibal* himſelf, or (for the reports agree not) by the *Romans*; to whom *Hannibal* ſent it. He was appointed to lie in *Beneventum*, there to ſecure the back of the Army that ſhould beſiege *Capua*. But his Death happened in an ill time, to the great hinderance of that buſineſs. The *Volones*, or *Slaves* lately manumiſed, forſook their Enſigns, and went every one whither he thought good, as if they had been diſcharged by the deceaſe of their Leader: ſo that it asked ſome labour to ſeek them out, and bring them back into their Camp. Nevertheleſs the Conſuls went forward with their work: and drawing near to *Capua*, did all acts of hoſtility which they could. *Mago*, the *Carthaginian*, and the Citizens of *Capua*, gave them an hard welcom; wherein above fifteen hundred *Romans* were loſt. Neither was it long, ere *Hannibal* came thither: who fought with the Conſuls,

ſuls, and had the better; inſomuch, that he cauſed them to diſlodg. They removed by night, and went ſeveral ways: *Fulvius* toward *Cumæ*; *Claudius* into *Lucania*. *Hannibal* followed after *Claudius*: who having led him a great walk, fetcht a compaſs about, and returned to *Capua*. It ſo fell out, that one *M. Centenius Penula*, a ſtout man, and one that with good commendations had diſcharged the place of a *Centurion*, lay with an Army not far from thence, where *Hannibal* reſted, when he was weary of hunting after *Claudius*. This *Penula* had made great vaunts to the *Roman* Senate, of wonders which he would work, if he might be truſted with the leading of five thouſand men. The *Fathers* were unwilling in ſuch a time, to reject the Vertue of any good Souldier, how mean ſoever his condition were. Wherefore they gave him the charge of eight thouſand: and he himſelf, being a proper man, and talking bravely, gathered up ſo many Voluntaries, as almoſt doubled his number. But meeting thus with *Hannibal*, he gave proof of the difference between a ſtout *Centurion*, and one able to command in chief. He and his fellows were all (in a manner) ſlain, ſcarce a thouſand of them eſcaping. Soon after this *Hannibal* had word, that *Cn. Fulvius*, a *Roman* Prætor, with eighteen thouſand Men, was in *Apulia*, very careleſs, and a man inſufficient for the charge which he held. Thither he therefore haſted, to viſit him: hoping to deal the better with the main ſtrength of *Rome*, which pointed at *Capua*, when he ſhould have cut off thoſe Forces, that lay in the Provinces about under Men of ſmall ability. Coming upon *Fulvius*, he found him and his Men ſo jolly, that needs they would have fought the firſt night. Wherefore it was not to be doubted, what would happen the day following. So he beſtowed *Mago*, with three thouſand of his lighteſt armed, in places thereabout moſt fit for ambuſh. Then offering battel to *Fulvius*, he ſoon had him in the Trap: whence he made him glad to eſcape alive; leaving all, ſave two thouſand of his followers dead behind him.

Theſe two great blows, received one preſently after the other, much aſtoniſhed the *Romans*. Nevertheleſs all care was taken, to gather up the ſmall reliques of the broken Armies: and that the Conſuls ſhould go ſubſtantially forwards with the Siege of *Capua*; which was of great conſequence, both in matter of reputation, and in many other reſpects. The two Conſuls ſate down before the Town: and *C. Claudius Nero*, one of the Prætors, came with his Army from *Sueſſula* to their aſſiſtance. They made Proclamation, That whoſoever would iſſue forth of *Capua* before a certain day prefixed, ſhould have his pardon, and be ſuffered to enjoy all that unto him belonged: which day being paſt, there ſhould be no grace expected. This offer was contumeliouſly rejected; the *Capuans* relying on their own ſtrength, and the ſuccours attended from *Hannibal*. Before the City was cloſed up, they ſent Meſſengers to the *Carthaginian*; which found him at *Brunduſium*. He had made a long journey, in hope of gaining the *Tarentine* Citadel: of which Expectation failing, he turned to *Brunduſium*, upon advertiſement that he ſhould be let in. There the *Capuans* met him; told him of their danger with earneſt words; and were with words as brave re-comforted. He bad them conſider, how a few days ſince he had chaſed the Conſuls out of their Fields; and told them, that we would preſently come thither again, and ſend the *Romans* going, as faſt as before. With this good anſwer the Meſſengers returned: and hardly could get back into the City, which the *Romans* had almoſt entrenched round. As for *Hannibal* himſelf, he was of opinion, that *Capua*, being very well manned, and heartily devoted unto his friendſhip, would hold out a long time: and thereby give him leiſure, to do what he thought requiſite among the *Tarentines*, and in thoſe *Eaſtern* parts of *Italy*; whilſt the *Roman* Army ſpent it ſelf in a tedious Siege. Thus he lingred: and thereby gave the Conſuls time, both to fortifie themſelves at *Capua*, and to diſpatch the Election of new Magiſtrates in *Rome*, whilſt he himſelf purſued hopes, that never found ſucceſs.

Claudius and *Fulvius*, when their term of Office was expired, were appointed to continue the Siege at *Capua*; retaining the ſame Armies, as Proconſuls. The Townſmen often ſallied out: rather in a bravery, than likelihood to work any matter of effect; the Enemy lying cloſe within his Trenches, as intending, without other violence, to ſubdue them by famine. Yet againſt the *Campan* Horſe (for their Foot was eaſily beaten) the *Romans* uſed to thruſt out ſome Troops, that ſhould hold them skirmiſh. In theſe Exerciſes the *Campans* uſually had the better, to the great grief of their proud Enemy; who ſcorned to take foil at the hands of ſuch Rebels. It was therefore deviſed, that ſome active and couragious young men, ſhould learn to ride behind the *Roman* Men at Arms; leaping up, and again diſmounting lightly, as occaſion ſerved. Theſe were furniſhed like the *Velites*, having each of them three or four ſmall Darts: which, alighting in time of conflict, they diſcharged thick upon the Enemies Horſe; whom vanquiſhing in this kind of ſervice, they much diſheartned in the main. The time thus paſſing, and famine daily increaſing within the City, *Hannibal* came at length, not expected by the *Romans*: and taking a Fort of theirs, called *Galatia*, fell upon their Camp. At the ſame time the *Capuans* iſſued with their whole power, in as terrible manner as they could deviſe: ſetting all their multitude of unſerviceable people on the Walls; which, with a loud noiſe of Pans and Baſons, troubled thoſe that were occupied in fight. *Appius Claudius* oppoſing himſelf to the *Campans*, eaſily defended his Trenches againſt them; and ſo well repreſſed them, that he drave them at length back into their City. Nevertheleſs, in purſuing them to their Gates, he received a Wound, that accompanied him in ſhort ſpace after to his Grave. *Q. Fulvius* was held harder to his task, by *Hannibal*, and the *Carthaginian* Army. The *Roman* Camp was even at point to have been loſt: and *Hannibal* his Elephants, of which he brought with him three and thirty, were either gotten within the Rampart, or elſe (for the report varies) being ſome of them ſlain upon it, fell into the Ditch; and filled it up in ſuch ſort, that their bodies ſerved as a bridge unto the Aſſailants. It is ſaid, that *Hannibal* in this Tumult cauſed ſome Fugitives, that could ſpeak *Latin* well, to proclaim aloud, as it were in the Conſul's name, That every one of the Souldiers ſhould ſhift for himſelf, and fly betimes unto the next Hills, foraſmuch as the Camp was already loſt. But all would not ſerve. The fraud was detected: and the Army, having ſitten there ſo long, had at good leiſure ſtrongly intrenched it ſelf;

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ſo as little hope there was to raiſe the Siege by force.

This did extremely perplex the *Carthaginian*. The purchaſe of *Capua* had (as was thought) withheld him from taking *Rome* it ſelf: and now his deſire of winning the *Tarentine* Citadel, had well near loſt *Capua*; in reſpect of which, neither the Citadel, nor City of *Tarentum*, were to have been much regarded. Falling therefore into a deſperate anger with himſelf and his hard fortune, that of ſo many great Victories he had made no greater uſe: on the ſudden he entertained an haughty reſolution, even to ſet upon *Rome*; and carry to the Walls of that proud City, the danger of War that threatned *Capua*. This he thought would be a mean, to draw the *Roman* Generals, or one of them at leaſt, unto the defence of their own home. If they roſe from the Siege with their whole Army, then had he his deſire: If they divided their Forces, then was it likely, that either he, or the *Campans*, ſhould well enough deal with them apart. Neither did he deſpair that the terror of his coming might ſo aſtoniſh the Multitude within *Rome*, as he might enter ſome part or other of the City. His only fear was, leſt the *Campans*, being ignorant of his purpoſe, ſhould think he had forſaken them; and thereupon forthwith yield themſelves to the Enemy. To prevent this danger, he ſent Letters to *Capua* by a ſubtle *Numidian*: who running as a Fugitive into the *Roman* Camp, conveyed himſelf thence over the innermoſt Trenches into the City. The journey to *Rome*, was to be performed with great celerity: no ſmall hope of good ſucceſs, reſting in the ſuddenneſs of his arrival there. Wherefore he cauſed his Men, to have in a readineſs ten days Victuals; and prepared as many boats, as might in one night tranſport his Army over the River of *Vulturnus*. This could not be done ſo cloſely, but that the *Roman* Generals, by ſome Fugitives, had notice of his purpoſe. With this danger therefore they acquainted the Senate: which was therewith affected, according to the diverſity of mens opinions, in a caſe of ſuch importance. Some gave counſel to let alone *Capua*, yea, and all places elſe, rather than to put the Town of *Rome* into peril of being taken by the Enemy. Others were ſo far from allowing of this, as they wondered how any man could think, that *Hannibal*, being unable to relieve *Capua*, ſhould judg himſelf ſtrong enough to win *Rome*; and therefore ſtoutly ſaid, That thoſe Legions which were kept at home for defence of the City, would ſerve the turn well enough, to keep him out, and ſend him thence, if he were ſo unwiſe as to come thither. But it was finally concluded, that Letters ſhould be ſent to *Fulvius* and *Claudius*, acquainting them perfectly with the Forces that at the preſent were in *Rome*: who ſince they knew beſt, what the ſtrength was which *Hannibal* could bring along with him, were beſt able to judg, what was needful to oppoſe him. So it was referred unto the diſcretion of theſe Generals at *Capua*, to do as they thought behoveful: and if it might conveniently be, neither to raiſe their Siege, nor yet to put the City of *Rome* into much adventure. According to this Decree of the Senate, *Q. Fulvius* took fifteen thouſand Foot, and a thouſand Horſe, the choice of his whole Army: with which he haſted toward *Rome*, leaving *App. Claudius*, who could not travel by reaſon of his wound, to continue the Siege at *Capua*.

Hannibal, having paſſed over *Vulturnus*, burnt up all his boats; and left nothing that might ſerve to tranſport the Enemy, in caſe he ſhould offer to purſue or coaſt him. Then haſted he away toward *Rome*; ſtaying no longer in any one place than he needs muſt. Yet found he the Bridges over *Liris* broken down, by the people of *Frezellæ*: which as it ſtopped him a little on his way; ſo it made him the more grievouſly to ſpoil their Lands, whilſt the Bridges were in mending. The nearer that he drew to *Rome*, the greater waſte he made: his *Numidians* running before him; driving the Countrey, and killing or taking multitudes of all ſorts and ages, that fled out of all parts round about. The Meſſengers of theſe news came apace, one after another, into the City; ſome few bringing true advertiſements; but the moſt of them reporting the conceits of their own fear. All the ſtreets, and Temples in *Rome*, were peſtered with Women, crying, and praying, and rubbing the Altars with their Hair, becauſe they could do none other good. The Senators were all in the great Market, or place of Aſſembly; ready to give their advice, if it were asked, or to take directions given by the Magiſtrates. All places of moſt importance were ſtuffed with Souldiers: it being uncertain, upon which part *Hannibal* would fall. In the midſt of this Trepidation, there came news, that *Q. Fulvius*, with part of the Army from *Capua*, was haſting to defence of the City. The Office of a Proconſul did expire, at his return home, and entry into the Gates of *Rome*. Wherefore, that *Fulvius* might loſe nothing by coming into the City in time of ſuch need, an Act was paſſed, That he ſhould have equal power with the Conſuls, during his abode there. He and *Hannibal* arrived at *Rome*, one ſoon after another: *Fulvius* having been long held occupied in paſſing over *Vulturnus*; and *Hannibal* receiving impediment in his journey, as much as the Countrey was able to give. The Conſuls, and *Fulvius*, incamped without the Gates of *Rome*; attending the *Carthaginian*. Thither they called the Senate: and as the danger grew nearer and greater; ſo took they more careful and eſpecial order, againſt all occurrences. *Hannibal* came to the River *Anio* or *Anien*, three miles from the Town: whence he advanced with two thouſand Horſe, and rode along a great way under the Walls; viewing the ſite thereof, and conſidering how he might beſt approach it. But he either went, or (as the *Roman* Story ſaith) was driven away, without doing, or receiving any hurt. Many Tumults roſe in this while among the people; but were ſuppreſſed by care and diligence of the Senators. Above the reſt, one accident was both troubleſome, and not without peril. Of *Numidians* that had ſhifted ſide, and fallen (upon ſome diſpleaſures) from *Hannibal* to the *Romans*, there were ſome twelve hundred then in *Rome*: which were appointed by the Conſuls, to paſs through the Town, from the Mount *Aventine*, to the Gate *Collina*, where it was thought that their ſervice might be uſeful, among broken ways, and Garden-walls lying in the Suburbs. The faces of theſe men, and their furniture, wherein they differed not from the followers of *Hannibal*; bred ſuch miſtaking, as cauſed a great uproar among the people: all crying out, that *Aventine* was taken, and the Enemy gotten within the Walls. The noiſe was ſuch, that men could not be informed of the truth: and the ſtreets were ſo

full of Cattel, and Husbandmen, which were fled thither out of the Villages adjoyning, that the passage was stopt up; and the poor *Numidians* pitifully beaten from the house-tops, with stones and other Weapons that came next to hand, by the desperate Multitude, that would have run out at the Gates, had it not been certain who lay under the Walls. To remedy the like inconveniences, it was ordained, *That all which had been Dictators, Consuls, or Censors, should have Authority as Magistrates, till the Enemy departed.* The day following, *Hannibal* passed over *Anien*, and presented Battel to the *Romans*, who did not wisely if they undertook it. It is said, that a terrible shower of Rain, caused both *Romans* and *Carthaginians* to return into their several Camps: and that this happened two days together, the weather breaking up, and clearing, as soon as they were departed asunder. Certain it is, that *Hannibal*, who had brought along with him no more than ten days provision, could not endure to stay there, until his Victuals were all spent. In which regard, the *Romans*, if they suffered him to waste his time and provisions, knowing that he could not abide there long, did as became well-advised men: if they offered to fight with him, and either had the better, or were parted (as is said) by some accident of weather; the commendations must be given to their fortune. The terror of *Hannibal*'s coming to the City, how great soever it was at the first, yet after some leisure, and better notice taken of his Forces, which appeared less than the first apprehension had formed them, was much and soon abated. Hereunto it helped well, that at the same time, the supply appointed for *Spain*, after the Death of the two *Scipio*'s, was sent out of the Town, and went forth at one Gate, whilst the *Carthaginian* lay before another. In all *Panick terrors*, as they are called, whereof there is either no cause known, or no cause answerable to the greatness of the sudden consternation; it is a good remedy, to do somewhat quite contrary to that which the danger would require, were it such, as men have fashioned it in their amazed conceits. Thus did *Alexander* cause his Souldiers to disarm themselves, when they were all on a sudden in a great fear of they knew not what. And thus did *Clearchus* pacifie a fooliſh uproar in his Army, by proclaiming a reward unto him, that could tell who had sent the Ass into the Camp. But in this present Example of the *Romans*, appears withal a great magnanimity: whereby they sustained their reputation, and augmented it no less, than by this bold attempt of *Hannibal* it might seem to have been diminished. Neither could they more finely have checked the glorious conceits of their Enemies, and taken away the disgrace of that fear, which clouded their Valour at his first coming; than by making such demonstrations, when once they had recovered spirit, how little they esteemed him. To this purpose therefore that very piece of ground, on which the *Carthaginian* lay incamped, was sold in *Rome*: and sold it was nothing under the value, but at as good a rate, as if it had been in time of peace. This indignity coming to his ear, incensed *Hannibal* so much, that he made Port-sale of the *Silver-smiths* Shops, which were near about the Market or Common place in *Rome*; as if his own Title to the Houses within the Town, were no whit worse than any *Roman* Citizens could be unto that piece of ground, whereon he raised his Tent. But this counterpractice was nothing worth. The *Romans* did seek to manifest that assurance which they justly had conceived; *Hannibal*, to make shew of continuing in an hope, which was already past. His Victuals were almost spent: and of those ends that he had proposed unto himself, this journey had brought forth none other, than the fame of his much daring. Wherefore he brake up his Camp: and doing what spoil he could in the *Roman* Territory, without sparing religious places, wherein Wealth was to be gotten, he passed like a Tempest over the Countrey; and ran toward the *Eastern* Sea so fast, that he had almost taken the City of *Rhegium* before his arrival was feared or suspected. As for *Capua*, he gave it lost: and is likely to have cursed the whole faction of *Hanno*, which thus disabled him to relieve that fair City, since he had no other way to vent his grief.

Q. Fulvius returning back to *Capua*, made Proclamation a-new, that whoso would yeild, before a certain day, might safely do it. This, and the very return of *Fulvius*, without any more appearance of *Hannibal*, gave the *Capuans* to understand, that they were abandoned, and their case desperate. To trust the *Roman* Pardon proclaimed, every mans conscience of his own evil deserts, told him, that it was a vanity: and some faint hope was given by *Hanno* and *Bostar*, Captains of the *Carthaginian* Garrison within the Town, that *Hannibal* should come again, if means could only be found, how to convey such Letters unto him, as they would write. The carriage of the Letters was undertaken, by some *Numidians*: who running, as Fugitives, out of the Town, into the *Roman* Camp, waited fit opportunity to make an escape thence with their Packets. But it hapned, ere they could convey themselves away, that one of them was detected by an Harlot following him out of the Town; and the Letters of *Bostar* and *Hanno*, were taken and opened, containing a vehement intreaty unto *Hannibal*, that he would not thus forsake the *Capuans* and them. For (said they) we came not hither to make War against *Rhegium* and *Tarentum*, but against the *Romans*: whose Legions whereſoever they lie, there also should the *Carthaginian* Army be ready to attend them; and by taking of such course, have we gotten those Victories at *Trebia*, *Thrasymene*, and *Cannæ*. In fine, they besought him, that he would not dishonour himself, and betray them to their Enemies, by turning an other way; as if it were his only care, that the City should not be taken in his full view: promising, to make a desperate Sally, if he would once more adventure to set upon the *Roman* Camp. Such were the hopes of *Bostar* and his fellow. But *Hannibal* had already done his best: and now began to faint under the burden of that War, wherein (as afterward he protested) he was vanquished by *Hanno* and his Partisans in the *Carthaginian* Senate, rather than by any force of *Rome*. It may well be, as a thing incident in like cases, that some of those which were besieged in *Capua*, had been sent over by the *Hannonians*, to observe the doings of *Hannibal*, and to check his proceedings. If this were so, justly might they curse their own malice, which had cast them into this remedileſs necessity. Howsoever it were, the Letters directed unto *Hannibal*, fell (as is shewed) into the *Roman* Proconsuls hands; who cutting off the hands *Liv. l. 30.*

hands of all ſuch counterfeit Fugitives, as carried ſuch Meſſages, whipt them back into the Town. This miſerable ſpectacle break the hearts of the *Campans*: ſo that the Multitude crying out upon the Senate, with menacing terms, cauſed them to aſſemble, and conſult, about the yielding up of *Capua* unto the *Romans*. The braveſt of the Senators, and ſuch as a few years ſince had been moſt forward in joyning with *Hannibal*, underſtood well enough whereunto the matter tended. Wherefore one of them invited the reſt home to ſupper: telling them, that when they had made good chear, he would drink to them ſuch an Health, as ſhould ſet them free from that cruel revenge, which the Enemy ſought upon their bodies. About ſeven and twenty of the Senators there were, that liking well of this motion, ended their lives together, by drinking Poyſon. All the reſt, hoping for more mercy than they had deſerved, yielded ſimply to diſcretion. So one of the Town-gates was ſet open: whereat a *Roman* Legion, with ſome other Companies, entring, diſarmed the Citizens; apprehended the *Carthaginian* Garriſon; and commanded all the Senators of *Capua* to go forth into the *Roman* Camp. At their coming thither, the Proconſuls laid Irons upon them all: and commanding them to tell what ſtore of Gold and Silver they had at home, ſent them into ſafe cuſtody; ſome to *Cales*, others to *Theanum*. Touching the general Multitude; they were reſerved unto the diſcretion of the Senate: yet ſo hardly uſed by *Fulvius* in the mean while, that they had little cauſe of hope or comfort in this adverſity. *Ap. Claudius* was brought even to the point of Death, by the Wound which he had lately received: yet was he not inexorable to the *Campans*; as having loved them well in former times, and having given his Daughter in Marriage to that *Pacuvius*, of whom we ſpake before. But this facility of his Colleague, made *Fulvius* the more haſty in taking vengeance: for fear, leſt, upon the like reſpects, the *Roman* Senate might prove more gentle, than he thought behoveful to the common ſafety, and honour of their State. Wherefore he took the pains, to ride by night unto *Theanum*, and from thence to *Cales*: where he cauſed all the *Campan* Priſoners to ſuffer Death; binding them to ſtakes, and ſcourging them firſt a good while with rods; after which he ſtruck off their heads.

This terrible Example of Vengeance, which the *Carthaginians* could not hinder, made all Towns of *Italy* the leſs apt to follow the vain hope of the *Campans*: and bred a general inclination, to return upon good conditions to the *Roman* ſide. The *Atellans*, *Calatines*, and *Sabatines*, people of the *Campans*, that in the former change had followed the fortune of *Capua*, made alſo now the like ſubmiſſion, for very fear, and want of ability to reſiſt. They were therefore uſed with the like rigor, by *Fulvius*: who dealt ſo extremely with them all, that he brought them into deſperation. Wherefore ſome of their young Gentlemen, burning with fire of revenge, got into *Rome*: where they found means by night-time, to ſet on fire ſo many houſes, that a great part of the City was like to have been conſumed. The beginning of the fire in divers places at once, argued that it was no caſualty. Wherefore liberty was proclaimed unto any Slave, and other ſufficient reward unto any Freeman, that ſhould diſcover who thoſe Incendiaries were. Thus all came out: and the *Campans*, being detected by a Slave of their own (to whom, above his liberty promiſed, was given about the ſum of an hundred Marks) had the puniſhment anſwerable to their deſerts. *Fulvius* hereby being more and more incenſed againſt this wretched people, held them in a manner as Priſoners within their Walls: and this extreme ſeverity cauſed them at length to become Suppliants unto the *Roman* Senate; that ſome period might be ſet unto their miſeries. That whereupon the Senators reſolved in the end, was worſe than all that which they had ſuffered before. Only two poor women in *Capua* (of which one had been an Harlot) were found not guilty of the late Rebellion. The reſt were, ſome of them, with their Wives and Children, ſold for Slaves; and their Goods confiſcated; others laid in Priſon, and reſerved to further deliberation: but the generality of them, commanded to depart out of *Campania* by a certain day; and confined unto ſeveral places, as beſt liked the angry Victors. As for the Town of *Capua*, it was ſuffered to ſtand, in regard of the beauty and commodious ſite: but no Corporation, or form of polity, was allowed to be therein: only a *Roman* Proveſt was every year ſent, to govern over thoſe that ſhould inhabit it, and to do juſtice. This was the greateſt act, and moſt important, hitherto done by the people of *Rome*, after many great loſſes in the preſent War. After this, the glory of *Hannibal* began to ſhine with a more dim light than before: his Oil being far ſpent; and that which ſhould have revived his flame, being unfortunately ſhed; as ſhall be told in place convenient.

§. XV.

How the Carthaginians, *making a party in* Sardinia, *and* Sicil, *held War againſt the* Romans *in thoſe Iſlands; and were overcome.*

WHilſt things paſſed thus in *Italy*, the Commotions raiſed in *Sardinia* and *Sicil* by the *Carthaginians* and their friends, were brought to a quiet and happy end, by the induſtrious valour of the *Romans*. The *Sardinian* Rebellion was great and ſudden: above thirty thouſand being up in Arms, ere the *Roman* Forces could arrive there to ſuppreſs it. One *Harſicoras*, with his Son *Hioſtus*, mighty men in that Iſland, were the Ringleaders; being incited by *Hanno*, a *Carthaginian*, that promiſed the aſſiſtance of his Countrey. Neither were the *Carthaginians* in this Enterpriſe ſo careleſs, as in the reſt of their main undertakings, about the ſame time. Yet it had been better, if their care had been directed unto the proſecution of that main buſineſs in *Italy*; whereon this, and all other hopes depended. For it would have ſufficed, if they could have hindred the *Romans* from ſending an Army into *Sardinia*. *Harſicoras*, with his followers, might well enough have ſerved to drive out *Q. Mutius*, the Prætor; who lay ſick in the Province; and not more weak in his own Body, than in his Train. But whilſt they ſought revenge of that particular injury, whereof the ſenſe was moſt grievous: they neglected the opportunity of requiting thoſe that had done them wrong, and of the ſecuring themſelves from all injuries in the future. Their fortune alſo in this Enterpriſe was ſuch, as may ſeem to have diſcouraged them from being at the like charge, in caſes of more importance. For whereas they ſent over *Aſdrubal*, ſurnamed *the bald*, with a competent Fleet and Army; aſſiſted in this Expedition by *Hanno*, the Author of the Rebellion, and by

Mago, a Gentleman of the *Barchine* houſe, and near Kinſman to *Hannibal*: it ſo fell out, that the whole Fleet, by extremity of foul weather, was caſt upon the *Baleares*; ſo beaten, and in ſuch evil plight, that the *Sardinians* had even ſpent their hearts, and were in a manner quite vanquiſhed, ere theſe their friends could arrive to ſuccour them.

Titus Manlius was ſent from *Rome* with two and twenty thouſand Foot, and twelve hundred Horſe, to ſettle the eſtate of that Iſland, which he had taken in, and annexed unto the *Roman* Dominion, long before this, in his Conſulſhip. It was a laudable cuſtom of the *Romans*, to preſerve and uphold in their ſeveral Provinces, the greatneſs and reputation of thoſe men, and their families, by whom each Province had been firſt ſubdued unto their Empire. If any injury were done unto the Provincials; if any grace were to be obtained from the Senate; or whatſoever accident required the aſſiſtance of a Patron: the firſt Conqueror, and his Race after him, were the moſt ready and beſt approved means, to procure the benefit of the people ſubdued. Hereby the *Romans* held very ſure intelligence in every Province, and had always in readineſs fit men to reclaim their Subjects, if they fell into any ſuch diſorder, as would otherwiſe have required a greater charge and trouble. The coming of *Manlius*, retained in obedience all that were not already broken too far out. Yet was *Harſicoras* ſo ſtrong in Field, that *Manlius* was compelled to arm his Marriners: without whom he could not have made up that number of two and twenty thouſand, whereof we have ſpoken before: He landed at *Calaris*, or *Carallis*: where mooring his Ships, he paſſed up into the Countrey, and ſought out the Enemy. *Hyoſtus*, the Son of *Harſicoras*, had then the command of the *Sardinian* Army left unto him by his Father, who was gone abroad into the Countrey, to draw in more friends to their ſide. This young Gentleman would needs adventure to get honour, by giving battel to the *Romans* at his own diſcretion. So he raſhly adventured to fight with an old Souldier: by whom he received a terrible overthrow; and loſt in one day above thirty thouſand of his followers. *Hyoſtus* himſelf, with the reſt of his broken Troops, got into *Cornus*, the chief Town of the Iſland: whither *Manlius* purſued them. Very ſoon after this deſeature came *Aſdrubal* with his *Carthaginians*: too late to win all *Sardinia*, in ſuch haſte as he might have done, if the Tempeſt had not hindred his Voyage; yet ſoon enough, and ſtrong enough to ſave the Town of *Cornus*, and to put a new ſpirit into the Rebels. *Manlius* hereupon withdrew himſelf back to *Calaris*: where he had not ſtayed long, ere the *Sardinians* (ſuch of them as adhered to the *Roman* party) craved his aſſiſtance; their Countrey being waſted by the *Carthaginians*, and the Rebels, with whom they had refuſed to joyn. This drew *Manlius* forth of *Calaris*: where if he had ſtayed a little longer, *Aſdrubal* would have fought him out with ſome blemiſh to his Reputation. But the fame of *Aſdrubal* and his Company, appears to have been greater than was their ſtrength. For after ſome trial made of them in a few skirmiſhes, *Manlius* adventured all to the hazard of a battel: wherein he ſlew twelve thouſand of the Enemies; and took of the *Sardinians* and *Carthaginians* three thouſand. Four hours the Battel laſted: and Victory at length fell to the *Romans*, by the flight of the Iſlanders; whoſe courages had been broken in their unproſperous fight not many days before. The Death of young *Hyoſtus*, and of his Father *Harſicoras*, that ſlew himſelf for grief, together with the Captivity of *Aſdrubal* himſelf, with *Mago* and *Hanno*, the *Carthaginians*; made the Victory the more famous. The vanquiſhed Army fled into *Cornus*: whither *Manlius* followed them; and in ſhort ſpace wan the Town. All other Cities of the Iſle that had rebelled, followed the Example of *Cornus*, and yielded unto the *Roman*: who impoſing upon them ſuch increaſe of tribute, or other puniſhment, as beſt ſorted with the nature of their ſeveral offences, or their ability to pay, returned back to *Calaris* with a great booty, and from thence to *Rome*; leaving *Sardinia* in quiet.

The War in *Sicil* was of greater length, and every way more burdenſome to *Rome*: as alſo the Victory brought more honour and profit; for that the *Romans* became thereby not only ſavers of their own, as in *Sardinia*, but Lords of the whole Countrey, by annexing the City and Dominion of *Syracuſe*, to that which they enjoyed before. Soon after the Battel of *Cannæ*, the old King of *Syracuſe* died: who had continued long a ſtedfaſt friend unto the *Romans*; and greatly relieved them in this preſent War. He left his Kingdom to *Hieronymus*, his Grand-child, that was about fifteen years of age; *Gelo*, his Son, that ſhould have been his Heir, being dead before. To this young King his Succeſſor, *Hiero* appointed Fifteen Tutors; of which the principal were *Andronodorus*, *Zoilus*, and *Themiſtius*; who had married his Daughters, or the Daughters of *Gelo*. The reſt were ſuch, as he judged moſt likely to preſerve the Kingdom, by the ſame art, whereby himſelf had gotten, and ſo long kept it. But within a little while, *Andronodorus*, waxing weary of ſo many Coadjutors, began to commend the ſufficiency of the young Prince, as extraordinary in one of his years; and ſaid, that he was able to rule the Kingdom without help of any Protector. Thus by giving over his own charge, he cauſed others to do the like: hoping thereby to get the King wholly into his hands; which came to paſs in a ſort as he deſired. For *Hieronymus*, laying aſide all care of government, gave himſelf wholly over to his pleaſures: or if he had any regard of his Royal Dignity, it was only in matter of exterior ſhew, as wearing a Diadem with ornaments of purple, and being attended by an armed Guard. Hereby he offended the Eyes of his People, that had never ſeen the like in *Hiero*, or in *Gelo*, his Son. But much more he offended them, when by his inſolent behaviour, ſuitable to his outward pomp, he gave proof, that, in courſe of life, he would revive the Memory of Tyrants dead long ſince, from whom he took the pattern of his habit. He grew proud, luſtful, cruel, and dangerous to all that were about him: ſo that ſuch of his late Tutors as could eſcape him by flight, were glad to live in baniſhment: the reſt, being moſt of them put to death by the Tyrant; many of them dying by their own hands, to avoid the danger of his diſpleaſure, that ſeemed worſe than Death it ſelf. Only *Andronodorus*, *Zoilus*, and one *Thraſo*, continued in grace with him, and were his Counſellers, but not of his Cabinet. Theſe, howſoever they agreed in other points, were at ſome diſſenſion about that main point, of adhering, either to the *Romans*, or to the *Carthaginians*. The two former of them, were wholly for the Kings pleaſures, which was ſet on change: but *Thraſo*, having more regard of his honour and profit, was very ear-

earneſt to continue the amity with *Rome*. Whilſt as yet it remained ſomewhat doubtful, which way the King would incline; a Conſpiracy againſt his Perſon, was detected by a Groom of his; to whom, one *Theodorus* had broken the matter. *Theodorus* hereupon was apprehended, and tormented; thereby to wring out of him the whole practice, and the names of the undertakers. Long it was ere he would ſpeak any thing: but yielding (as it ſeemed) in the end, unto the extremity of the torture; he confeſſed, that he had been ſet on by *Thraſo*; whom he appeached of the Treaſon, together with many more, that were near in love or place unto *Hieronymus*. All theſe therefore were put to death, being innocent of the crime wherewith they were charged. But they that were indeed the Conſpirators, walked boldly in the ſtreets, and never ſhrunk for the matter: aſſuring themſelves, that the reſolution of *Theodorus* would yield to no extremity. Thus they all eſcaped, and ſoon after found means to execute their purpoſe. The King himſelf, when *Thraſo* was taken out of the way, quickly reſolved upon ſiding with the *Carthaginians*; whereto he was very inclinable before. Young men, when firſt they grow Maſters of themſelves, love to ſeem wiſer than their Fathers, by taking different courſes. And the liberality of *Hiero* to the *Romans*, in their great neceſſity, had of late been ſuch, as might have been termed exceſſive, were it not in regard of his Providence; wherein he took order for his own eſtate, that depended upon theirs. But the young Nephew, taking little heed of dangers far off, regarded only the things preſent; the weakneſs of *Rome*; the prevalent fortunes of *Carthage*; and the much Money that his Grand-father had laid out in vain, to ſhoulder up a falling houſe. Wherefore he dealt with *Hannibal*: who readily entred into good correſpondence with him; that was maintained by *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, *Carthaginians* born, but grandchildren of a baniſhed *Syracuſian*. Theſe grew into ſuch favour with *Hieronymus*, that they drew him whither they lifted. So that when *Appius Claudius*, the *Roman* Prætor, hearing what was towards, made a motion of renewing the Confederacy, between the People of *Rome* and the King of *Syracuſe*; his Meſſengers were diſmiſſed with an open ſcoff. For *Hieronymus* would needs have them tell him, the order of the Fight at *Cannæ*: that he might thereby learn how to accommodate himſelf: ſaying, That he could hardly believe the *Carthaginians*; ſo wonderful was the Victory as they reported it. Having thus diſmiſſed the *Romans*, he ſent Embaſſadors to *Carthage*, where he concluded a League: with condition, at firſt, that a great part of the Iſland ſhould be annexed to his Dominion; but afterward, that he ſhould reign over all *Sicil*; and the *Carthaginians* reſt ſatisfied, with what they could get in *Italy*. At theſe doings *Ap. Claudius* did not greatly ſtir: partly for the indignities that were offered; partly for that it behoved not the *Romans*, to entertain more quarrels than were enforced upon them by neceſſity; and partly (as may ſeem) for that the reputation, both of himſelf, and of his City, had received ſuch blemiſh, by that which hapned unto him in his journey, as much diſcountenanced him when he came into *Sicil*, and forbad him to look big. The Money that *Hiero* had beſtowed upon the *Romans*, wherewith to relieve them in their neceſſity, this *Appius* was to carry back unto him: it being refuſed by the *Roman* Senate, with greater bravery than their preſent fortune would allow. But inſtead of returning the Money with thanks, as he had been directed, and as it had been noiſed abroad that he ſhould do: the War againſt *Philip*, King of *Macedon* (whereof we have ſpoken before) compelled the *Romans* to lay aſide their vain glory, and ſend word after him, that he ſhould conſign that Money over to *Marcus Valerius*; of whoſe Voyage into *Greece*, the City had not otherwiſe wherewith to bear the charge. This was done accordingly: and hereby *Claudius* (which name in the whole continuance of that Family, is taxed with pride) his Errand was changed, from a glorious oſtentation of the *Roman* Magnanimity; into ſuch a pitiful tune of thankſgiving, as muſt needs have bred ſorrow and commiſeration, in ſo true a friend as *Hiero*; or, if it were delivered after his death, matter of paſtime and ſcorn, in *Hieronymus*, the new King.

But whilſt *Hieronymus* was more deſirous of War, than well reſolved how to begin it: his own Death changed the form of things, and bred a great innovation in the ſtate of *Syracuſe*; which thereby might have proſpered more than ever, had it been wiſely governed. *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, of whom we ſpake before, were ſent about the Countrey with two thouſand men, to ſolicite the Towns, and perſwade them to ſhake off their obedience to the *Romans*. The King himſelf, with an Army of fifteen thouſand Horſe and Foot, went to *Leontium*, a City of his own Dominion: hoping that the fame of his preparation, would make the whole Iſland fall to him in all haſte, and accept him for Soveraign. There the Conſpirators took him on the ſudden, as he was paſſing through a narrow ſtreet; and ruſhing between him and his Guard, ſtruck him dead. Forthwith liberty was proclaimed: and the ſound of that word ſo joyfully anſwered by the *Leontines*, that the Guard of *Hieronymus* had little courage to revenge their Maſters Death. Yet for fear of the worſt, a great largeſs was promiſed unto the Souldiers, with rewards unto their Captains; which wrought ſo effectually, that when many wicked acts of the murdered King were reckoned up, the Army, as in deteſtation of his bad life, ſuffered his Carkaſs to lie unburied. Theſe news ran quickly to *Syracuſe*: whither ſome of the Conſpirators, taking the Kings Horſes, poſted away, to ſignifie all that had paſſed; to ſtir up the people to liberty, and to prevent *Andronodorus*, if he, or his fellows, would make offer to uſurp a Tyranny. The *Syracuſians* hereupon preſently took Arms, and made themſelves Maſters of their own City. *Andronodorus* on the other ſide fortified the Palace, and the Iſland; being yet uncertain what to do; between deſire of making himſelf a Soveraign Lord, and fear of ſuffering puniſhment, as a Tyrant, if his Enterpriſe miſcarried. His Wife *Demarata*, that was the Daughter of *Hiero*, cheriſhed him in his hopes: putting him in mind of that well known Proverb, which *Dionyſius* had uſed; *That a Tyrant ſhould keep his place, till he were haled out of it by the heels, and not ride away from it on Horſe-back.* But fear, and better counſel prevailed ſo far, that *Andronodorus*, having ſlept upon the matter, diſſembled his affections, and deferred his hope unto better opportunity. The next day he came forth, and made a ſpeech unto the People: telling them, That he was glad to ſee, how prudently they behaved themſelves in ſo great a change; that he had ſtood in fear, leſt they would not have contained themſelves within bounds of diſcretion; but rather have ſought to murder all without difference, that any way belonged to the Tyrant; and that

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ſince he beheld their orderly proceeding, and their care, not to raviſh their liberty perforce, but to wed it unto them for ever; he was willingly come to them forth of his ſtrength, and ſurrendred up the charge, committed unto him, by one that had been an evil Maſter, both to him and them. Hereupon great joy was made, and Prætors choſen (as in former times) to govern the City; of which *Andronodorus* was one, and the chief. But ſuch was his deſire of Soveraignty: and ſo vehement were the inſtigations of his Wife; that ſhortly he began to practice with *Hippocrates*, *Epicides*, and other Captains of the Mercinaries: hoping to make himſelf ſtrong, by their help, that were leaſt pleaſed with the change. *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, had been with the *Syracuſian* Prætors, and told them, that, being ſent from *Hannibal* to *Hieronymus*, they according to inſtructions of their Captain, had done him, whilſt he lived, what ſervice they could; and that now they were deſirous to return home. They requeſted therefore that they might be friendly diſmiſſed: and with a Convoy, that might keep them from falling into the hands of the *Romans*, and ſet them ſafe at *Locri*. This was eaſily granted; both for that the *Syracuſian* Magiſtrates were well contented to earn thanks of *Hannibal*, with ſuch a little courteſie; and for that they thought it expedient, to rid their Town quickly of this troubleſome couple; which were good Souldiers, and gracious with the Army, but otherwiſe lewd men. It was not the deſire of theſe two *Sicilians*, to be gone ſo haſtily as they made ſhew: they were more mindful of the buſineſs, for which *Hannibal* had ſent them. Wherefore they inſinuated themſelves into the boſoms of ſuch as were moſt likely to fill the Army with tumult: eſpecially of the *Roman* Fugitives, and thoſe that had cauſe to miſtruſt what ſhould become of themſelves, when the *Romans* and *Syracuſians* were come to agreement. Such inſtruments as theſe, *Andronodorus* had great need of: as alſo of many other, to help him in his dangerous attempt. He found *Themiſtius*, that had married *Harmonia*, the ſiſter of *Hieronymus*, ready to take his part; as being carried with the like paſſions of his own, and of his Wife. But in ſeeking to increaſe the number of his adherents, he revealed the matter to one, that revealed all to the reſt of the Prætors. Hereupon it followed, that he, and *Themiſtius*, entring into the Senate, were ſlain out of hand: and afterward accuſed to the People, of all the evil which they had done, whilſt *Hieronymus* lived, as by his authority; and now ſince attempted, in ſeeking to uſurp the Tyranny themſelves. It was alſo declared, that the Daughters of *Hiero* and *Gelo*, were acceſſary to this dangerous Treaſon: and that the unquiet Spirits of theſe Women, would never ceaſe to work, until they had recovered thoſe Royal Ornaments, and Soveraign Power, whereof their Family was now diſpoſſeſſed. Theſe Daughters therefore of *Hiero* and *Gelo*, were alſo condemned to die: and Executioners preſently ſent by the enraged people, to take away their lives. *Demarata*, and *Harmonia*, had perhaps deſerved this heavy ſentence: but *Heraclea*, the Daughter of *Hiero*, and Wife of *Soſippus*, being altogether innocent, was murdered together with her two young Daughters, in the haſty Execution of this raſh judgment. Her Husband, *Soſippus*, was a lover of the Common-wealth; and in that reſpect ſo hated by *Hieronymus*, that being ſent Embaſſador to King *Ptolomy*, &c. he durſt not return home, but ſtayed in *Ægypt*, as a baniſhed man. This conſideration, when it was too late, together with ſome other pitiful accidents accompanying the ſlaughter, ſo affected the multitude, that (pardoning themſelves) all cryed out upon the authors of ſo foul a Butchery. Being thus incenſed againſt the Senate, and knowing not otherwiſe how to ſatisfie their anger; they called for an Election of new Prætors, in the room of *Andronodorus* and *Themiſtius*, that were lately ſlain: meaning to ſubſtitute ſuch in their places, as the Senators ſhould have little cauſe to like. At the Election were preſent a great rout, not only of the poorer Citizens, but of Souldiers that preſſed into the throng. One of theſe, named *Epicides*, Prætor; another named *Hippocrates*: and the leſs that the old Prætors and Senators approved this nomination, the more eager was the multitude; and by a general cry forced them to be accepted. Theſe being made Prætors, did what they could to hinder the agreement that was in hand, between the *Syracuſians* and the *Romans*. But having ſtriven in vain, and ſeeing that the People ſtood in fear of *Ap. Claudius*, and of *Marcellus*, that was lately come into *Sicil*; they gave way unto the time, and ſuffered the old League of *Hiero* to be re-confirmed; which afterward they purpoſed to diſſolve by practice. The *Leontines* had ſome need of a Garriſon: and to them was ſent *Hippocrates*, the Prætor; attended by ſuch Fugitives, and mercinary Souldiers, as were moſt burdenſome to *Syracuſe*. Thither when he came, he began to do many acts of Hoſtility againſt the *Romans*: firſt in ſecret, afterward more openly and boldly. *Marcellus*, rightly underſtanding the purpoſe of theſe two brethren, ſent word unto the *Syracuſians*, that they had already broken the League: and that the Peace would never be kept ſincerely, until this turbulent pair of brethren were expelled the Iſland. *Epicides*, fearing to ſuſtain the blame of his Brother's proceedings, and more deſirous to ſet forward the War, than to excuſe any breach of peace, went himſelf unto the *Leontines*, whom he perſwaded to rebel againſt the *Syracuſians*. For he ſaid, that ſince they had all of late ſerved one Maſter, there was little reaſon why the *Leontines* ſhould not be enfranchiſed by his death as well as the *Syracuſians*; yea, or much rather, all things conſidered; ſince in their ſtreets the Tyrant was ſlain, and liberty firſt proclaimed. Wherefore, ſince they of *Syracuſe* were not contented, to enjoy the freedom purchaſed among the *Leontines*; but thought it good reaſon, that they ſhould bear Dominion over thoſe that had broken the Chain, wherewith both the one and the other were bound: his advice was, that ſuch their arrogancy ſhould be checked betimes, ere it could get any colour of right by preſcription. Hereunto occaſion was given by one Article of the League, made of late by the *Romans* and *Syracuſians*. For it was agreed, *That all which had been ſubject to* Hiero *and* Hieronymus, *ſhould henceforth be Vaſſals unto the State of* Syracuſe. Againſt this Article, if the *Leontines* would take exception, and thereby challenge their own due; *Epicides* told them, that in this novelty of change, they had fit opportunity to recover the freedom, which their Fathers had loſt not many Ages before. Neither was it unreaſonable, which this crafty *Carthaginian* propounded; if the *Leontines* had been ſubdued by the ſame hand, which took liberty from the *Syracuſians*. But ſeeing they had long ſince yielded unto *Syracuſe*, and been ſubject unto that

that City, by what form ſoever it was governed; this claim of liberty was rather ſeaſonable than juſt. Nevertheleſs the motion of *Epicides* was highly approved: inſomuch that when Meſſengers came ſoon after from *Syracuſe*, to rebuke the *Leontines*, for that which they had done againſt the *Romans*; and to denounce unto *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, that they ſhould get them gone, either to *Locri*, or whither elſe they liſted, ſo that they ſtayed not in *Sicil*: word was returned, That they of *Leontium* had not requeſted the *Syracuſians*, to make any bargains for them with the *Romans*, nor thought themſelves bound to obſerve the covenants, which others without warrant had made in their names. This peremptory anſwer, was forthwith reported unto *Marcellus* by the *Syracuſians*: who offered him their aſſiſtance in doing juſtice upon the *Leontines*, their Rebels; with condition that when the Town was taken, it might be theirs again. *Marcellus* required no better ſatisfaction: but forthwith took the buſineſs in hand; which he diſpatched in one day. At the firſt aſſault, *Leontium* was taken: all, ſave the Caſtle, whereinto *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* fled; and ſtealing thence away by night, conveyed themſelves into the Town of *Herbeſus*. The firſt thing that *Marcellus* did, when he had won the Town, was the ſame, which other *Roman* Captains uſed after Victory; to ſeek out the fugitive *Roman* Slaves and Renegadoes, whom he cauſed all to die: the reſt both of the Townſmen and Souldiers, he took to mercy; forbearing alſo to ſtrip or ſpoil them. But the fame of his doings was bruted after a contrary ſort. It was ſaid, that he had ſlain Man, Woman, and Child, and put the Town to ſack. Theſe news met the *Syracuſian* Army upon the way, as it was going to joyn with *Marcellus*, who had ended his buſineſs before. About Eight thouſand Mercinaries there were, that had been ſent forth of *Syracuſe*, under *Soſis* and *Dinomenes*, two of the Prætors, to ſerve againſt the *Leontines*, and other Rebels. Theſe Captains were honeſt men, and well affected to their Countrey: but the Souldiers that followed them, had thoſe Diſeaſes, with which all Mercinaries are commonly infected. They took the matter deeply to heart, that their fellow-Souldiers (as now they termed thoſe againſt whom they went) had been ſo cruelly butchered: and hereupon they fell to mutiny; though what to demand, or with whom to be angry, they could not tell. The Prætors therefore thought it beſt, to turn their unquiet thoughts another way, and ſet them a-work in ſome place elſe: for as much as at *Leontium* there was no need of their ſervice. So toward *Herbeſus* they marched; where lay *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, the architects of all this miſchief, deviſing what further harm they might do; but now ſo weakly accompanied, that they ſeemed unable to eſcape the puniſhments belonging to their offences paſt. Hereof the two brethren were no leſs well aware: and therefore adventured upon a remedy little leſs deſperate than their preſent caſe. They iſſued forth of *Herbeſus* unarmed, with Olive-branches in their hands, in manner of Suppliants; and ſo preſented themſelves to the Army. Six hundred men of *Creete* were in the Vantguard, that had been well uſed by *Hieronymus*; and ſome of them greatly bound unto *Hannibal*; who had taken them Priſoners in the *Italian* War, and lovingly diſmiſſed them. Theſe *Cretans* therefore welcomed the two brethren, and bad them be of good chear; ſaying, that no man ſhould do them harm, as long as they could uſe their Weapons. Herewithal the Army was at a ſtand; and the rumour of this accident ran ſwiftly from man to man, with general approbation. The Prætors thought to help the matter by Severity; which would not ſerve. For when they commanded theſe two Traitors to be laid in Irons; the Exclamation was ſo violent againſt them, that fain they were to let all alone, and return, uncertain what courſe to take, unto *Megara*; where they were lodged the night before. Thither when they came, *Hippocrates* deviſed a trick, whereby to help himſelf, and better the uncertain caſe wherein he ſtood. He cauſed Letters of his own penning, to be intercepted by ſome of his moſt truſty *Cretans*; directed (as they made ſhew) from the *Syracuſian* Prætors, to *Marcellus*. The Contents hereof were, That *Marcellus* had well done, in committing all to the Sword among the *Leontines*: but that it farther behoved him, to make the like diſpatch of all the Mercinaries belonging to *Syracuſe*; which were offenſive, all of them in general, to the liberty of the City, and the peace with *Rome*. When this counterfeit Epiſtle was openly rehearſed; the uproar was ſuch, that *Soſis* and his fellow-Prætor, were glad to forſake the Camp, and fly for their lives. All the *Syracuſians* remaining behind, had been cut in pieces by the enraged Souldiers, if the two Artificers of the Sedition had not ſaved their lives, rather to keep them as Pledges, and by them, to win their friends within the Town, than for any good will. They perſwaded alſo a miſchievous Knave that had ſerved among the *Leontines*, to juſtifie the bruit of *Marcellus* his cruelty; and to carry home the news to *Syracuſe*, as an Eye-witneſs. This incenſed not only the multitude, but ſome of the Senate; and filled the whole Town with cauſeleſs indignation. In good time (ſaid ſome) was the avarice and cruelty of the *Romans* detected: who, had they in like ſort gotten into *Syracuſe*, would have dealt much worſe; where their greedy appetites might have been tempted with a far greater booty. Whilſt they were thus diſcourſing, and deviſing how to keep out the wicked *Romans*, *Hippocrates*, with his Army, came to the Gates, exhorting the Citizens to let him in, unleſs for want of help, they would be betrayed to their Enemies. The Prætors, with the beſt and wiſeſt of the Senate, would fain have kept him out: but the violence of the Souldiers to force a Gate, was no whit greater than the head-ſtrong fury of thoſe within the Town, that laboured to break it open. So he entred, and immediately fell upon the Prætors, whom (being forſaken by all men) he put to the Sword, and made ſlaughter of them and their followers until night. The next day he went openly to work; and after the common example of Tyrants, gave liberty to all Slaves and Priſoners; and being fortified with adherents of the worſt and baſeſt ſort, made himſelf and his brother Prætors, in Title, but in effect, Lords of *Syracuſe*.

When *Marcellus* was advertiſed of this great alteration, he thought it no time for him to ſit ſtill, and attend the further iſſue. He ſent Embaſſadors to *Syracuſe*, that were not admitted into the Haven, but chaſed out as Enemies. Then drew he near with his Army: and lodging within a mile and an half of the Town, ſent before him, ſome to require a parley. Theſe were entertained without the Walls, by the two new Prætors: to whom they declared, That the *Romans* were

were come thither, not with purpoſe to do hurt, but in favour of the *Syracuſians*, which were oppreſſed by Tyrants; and to puniſh thoſe, that had murdered and baniſhed ſo many of the principal Citizens. Wherefore they required, that thoſe worthy men, their Confederates, which were chaſed out of the Town, might be ſuffered to return and enjoy their own; as alſo that the Authors of the great ſlaughter lately committed, might be delivered up. Hereto *Epicides* briefly anſwered, That if their Errand had been to him, he could have told what to ſay to them: but ſince it was directed unto others, they ſhould do well to return, when thoſe to whom they were ſent, had the Government in their hands. As for the War which they threatned, he told them, they ſhould find by experience, that to beſiege *Syracuſe*, was another manner of work, than to take *Leontium*. Thus he ſent them gone, and returned back into the City. Immediately began the Siege, which endured longer than the *Romans* had expected. The quick and eaſie winning of *Leontium*, did put *Marcellus* in hope, that ſo long a circuit of Walls, as compaſſed *Syracuſe*, being manned with no better kind of Souldiers, than thoſe with whom he had lately dealt, would in ſome part or other, be taken at the firſt aſſault. Wherefore he omitted no violence or terror in the very beginning, but did his beſt both by Land and Sea. Nevertheleſs all his labour was diſappointed, and his hope of prevailing by open force, taken from him by the ill ſucceſs of two or three of the firſt aſſaults. Yet was it not the vertue of the Defendants, or any ſtrength of the City, that bred ſuch deſpair of haſty Victory. But there lived at that time in *Syracuſe*, *Archimedes*, the noble Mathematician; who at the requeſt of *Hiero*, the late King, that was his Kinſman, had framed ſuch Engines of War, as being in this extremity put in uſe, did more miſchief to the *Romans* than could have been wrought by the Cannon, or any inſtruments of Gun-powder, had they in that Age been known. This *Archimedes* diſcourſing once with *Hiero*, maintained, That it were poſſible to remove the whole Earth out of the place wherein it is, if there were ſome other Earth, or place of ſure footing, whereon a man might ſtand. For proof of this bold aſſertion, he performed ſome ſtrange works; which made the King intreat him to convert his ſtudy unto things of uſe, that might preſerve the City from danger of Enemies. To ſuch Mechanical works, *Archimedes*, and the Philoſophers of thoſe times, had little affection. They held it an injury done unto the Liberal Sciences, to ſubmit learned Propoſitions unto the workmanſhip, and gain of baſe handicrafts men. And of this opinion *Plato* was an Author; who greatly blamed ſome Geometricians, that ſeemed unto him to profane their Science, by making it vulgar. Neither muſt we raſhly task a man ſo wiſe as *Plato*, with the imputation of ſupercilious auſterity, or affected ſingularity in his reprehenſion. For it hath been the unhappy fate of great inventions, to be vilified, as idle fancies, or dreams, before they were publiſhed: and being once made known, to be under-valued, as falling within compaſs of the meaneſt wit, and things, that every one could well have performed. Hereof (to omit that memorable Example of *Columbus* his diſcovery, with the much different ſorts of neglect, which he underwent before and after it) in a familiar and moſt homely Example, we may ſee moſt apparent proof. He that looks upon our *Engliſh Brewers*, and their Servants, that are daily exerciſed in the Trade, will think it ridiculous to hear one ſay, that the making of Malt, was an invention, proceeding from ſome of an extraordinary knowledg in Natural Philoſophy. Yet is not the skill of the inventors any whit the leſs, for that the labour of workmanſhip grows to be the Trade of ignorant men. The like may be ſaid of many handicrafts: and particularly in the Printing of Books; which being deviſed, and bettered, by great Scholars and wiſe men, grew afterward corrupted by thoſe, to whom the practiſe fell; that is, by ſuch, as could ſlubber things eaſily over, and feed their Workmen at the cheapeſt rate. In this reſpect therefore, the Alchymiſts, and all others, that have, or would ſeem to have any ſecret skill, whereof the publication might do good unto mankind; are not without excuſe of their cloſe concealing. For it is a kind of injuſtice, that the long Travels of an underſtanding Brain, beſide the loſs of time, and other expence, ſhould be caſt away upon men of no worth, or yield leſs benefit unto the Author of a great work, than to meer ſtrangers; and perhaps his Enemies. And ſurely, if the paſſion of Envy, have in it any thing allowable and natural, as have Anger, Fear, and other the like Affections: it is in ſome ſuch caſe as this; and ſerveth againſt thoſe which would uſurp the knowledg, wherewith God hath denied to endue them. Nevertheleſs if we have regard unto common charity, and the great affection that every one ought to bear unto the generality of Mankind, after the example of him *that ſuffereth his Sun to ſhine upon the juſt and unjuſt*: it will appear more commendable in wiſe men, to enlarge themſelves, and to publiſh unto the World, thoſe good things that lie buried in their own boſoms. This ought ſpecially to be done, when a profitable knowledge hath not annexed to it ſome dangerous cunning, that may be perverted by evil men to a miſchievous uſe. For if the ſecret of any rare *Antidote*, contained in it the skill of giving ſome deadly and irrecoverable poyſon: better it were that ſuch a Jewel remain cloſe in the hands of a wiſe and honeſt man; than being made common, bind all men to uſe the remedy, by teaching the worſt men how to do miſchief. But the works which *Archimedes* publiſhed, were ſuch as tended to very commendable ends. They were Engines, ſerving unto the defence of *Syracuſe*; not fit for the *Syracuſians* to carry abroad, to the hurt and oppreſſion of others. Neither did he altogether publiſh the knowledg, how to uſe them, but reſerved ſo much to his own direction, that after his death more of the ſame kind were not made, nor thoſe of his own making were employed by the *Romans*. It ſufficed unto this worthy man, that he had approved, even unto the vulgar, the dignity of his Science; and done eſpecial benefit unto his Countrey. For to enrich a Mechanical Trade, or teach the art of murdering men, it was beſides his purpoſe.

Marcellus had cauſed certain of his *Quinquereme* Gallies to be faſtened together, and Towers erected on them, to beat the defendants from the Wall. Againſt theſe, *Archimedes* had ſundry devices; of which any one ſort might have repelled the aſſailants: but all of them together ſhewed the multiplicity of his great wit. He ſhot heavy ſtones and long pieces of Timber, like unto the Yards of Ships; which brake ſome of the Gallies by their force and weight. Theſe afflicted

afflicted ſuch as lay far off. They that were come nearer the Walls, lay open to a continual Volly of Shot, which they could not endure. Some with an Iron grapple were taken by the Prow, and hoiſted up; ſhaking out all the men; and afterward falling down into the water. Some by ſtrange Engines were lifted up into the air; where turning round a while, they were broken againſt the Walls, or caſt upon the Rocks; and all of them were ſo beaten, that they durſt never come to any ſecond aſſault. In like ſort was the Land-Army handled: Stones and Timber, falling upon it like Hail; did not only overwhelm the Men, but brake down the *Roman* Engines of battery; and forced *Marcellus* to give over the aſſault. For remedy hereof it was conceived, that if the *Romans* could early before day, get near unto the Walls; they ſhould be (as it were) under the *point blanck*, and receive no hurt by theſe terrible Inſtruments; which were wound up hard, to ſhoot a great compaſs. But this vain hope coſt many of the aſſailants lives. For the ſhot came down right upon them: and beating them from all parts of the Wall, made a great ſlaughter of them, all the way as they fled, (for they were unable to ſtay by it) even till they were gotten very far off. This did ſo terrifie the *Romans*, that if they perceived any piece of Timber, or a Ropes end, upon the Walls, they ran away, crying out, that *Archimedes* his Engines were ready to diſcharge. Neither knew *Marcellus* how to overcome theſe difficulties, or to take away from his Men, that fear; againſt the cauſe whereof he knew no remedy. If the Engines had ſtood upon the Wall, ſubject to firing, or any ſuch annoyance from without; he might have holpen it by ſome device, to make them unſerviceable. But all, or the moſt of them were out of ſight; being erected in the ſtreets behind the Walls; where *Archimedes* gave directions how to uſe them. Wherefore the *Roman* had none other way left, than to cut off from the Town all proviſion of Victuals, both by Land and by Sea. This was a deſperate piece of work. For the Enemies having ſo goodly an Haven; the Sea in a manner free; and the *Carthaginians* that were ſtrong by Sea, willing to ſupply them; were not likely ſo ſoon to be conſumed with famine, as the beſiegers to be wearied out, by lying in Leaguer before ſo ſtrong a City, having no probability to carry it. Yet, for want of better counſel to follow, this was thought the beſt, and moſt honourable courſe.

In the mean while, *Himilco*, Admiral of a *Carthaginian* Fleet, that had waited long about *Sicil*, being by *Hippocrates* advertiſed of theſe paſſages, went home to *Carthage*; and there ſo dealt with the Senate, that five and twenty thouſand Foot, three thouſand Horſe, and twelve Elephants, were committed unto his charge, wherewith to make War upon the *Romans* in *Sicil* by Land. He took many Towns; and many, that had anciently belonged unto the *Carthaginians*, did yield unto him. To remedy this miſchief, and to ſtay the inclination of men, which following the current of *Fortune*, began to turn unto the *Carthaginians*; *Marcellus*, with a great part of his Army, roſe from *Syracuſe*, and went from place to place about the Iſland. He took *Pelorus* and *Herbeſus*, which yielded unto him. He took alſo *Megara* by force, and ſackt it: either to terrifie others that were obſtinate, eſpecially the *Syracuſians*; or elſe becauſe *Rome* was at this time poor, and his Army muſt have ſomewhat to keep it in heart. His eſpecial deſire was to have ſaved *Agrigentum*; whither he came too late; for *Himilco* had gotten it before. Therefore he returned back toward *Syracuſe*; carefully, and in as good order as he could, for fear of the *Carthaginian*, that was too ſtrong for him. The circumſpection that he uſed, in regard of *Himilco*, ſtood him in good ſtead, againſt a danger that he had not miſtruſted. For *Hippocrates*, leaving the charge of *Syracuſe* unto his Brother, had lately iſſued out of the City, with ten thouſand Foot, and five hundred Horſe; intending to joyn his Forces with *Himilco*. *Marcellus* fell upon him, ere either was aware of the other: and the *Romans*, being in good order, got an eaſie Victory, againſt the diſperſed, and half unarmed *Syracuſians*. The Reputation hereof helped a little to keep the *Sicilians* from Rebellion. Yet it was not long, ere *Himilco*, joyning with *Hippocrates*, ran over all the Iſland at his pleaſure; and preſented Battel to *Marcellus*, even at his Trenches; but the *Roman* wiſely refuſed it. *Bomilcar* alſo a *Carthaginian*, entred with a great Fleet into the Haven of *Syracuſe*, and victualled the City. After this, the diſpoſition of the Iſlanders changed ſo again, that although another Legion was come from *Rome*, which eſcaped from *Himilco*, and ſafely arrived at *Marcellus* his Camp: yet many places revolted unto the *Carthaginians*; and ſlew or betrayed the *Roman* Garriſons.

In the midſt of theſe troubles, Winter enforced both parts to take breath a while: and *Marcellus* leaving ſome of his Army before *Syracuſe*, that he might not ſeem to have given over the Siege, went unto *Leontium*; where he lay intentive to all occaſions. In the beginning of the Spring, he ſtood in doubt, whether it were better to continue the laborious work of beſieging *Syracuſe*; or to turn all his Forces to *Agrigentum*, againſt *Himilco* and *Hippocrates*. But it would greatly have impaired his Reputation, if he had gone from *Syracuſe*, as unable to prevail: and he himſelf was of an eager diſpoſition, ever unwilling to give ground, or to quit, as not feaſible, an Enterpriſe, that he had once taken in hand. He came therefore to *Syracuſe*: where though he found all the difficulties remaining as before, and no likelihood to take the City by force or famine; yet was he not without hope, that continuance of time would bring forth ſomewhat, which might fulfil his deſire. Eſpecially he aſſayed to prevail by Treaſon; againſt which no place can hold out. And to this end, he dealt with the *Syracuſian* Gentlemen that were in his Camp; exhorting them to practiſe with their friends that remained in the City. This was not eaſie for them to do; becauſe the Town would hearken to no parley. At length a Slave unto one of theſe baniſhed men, making ſhew to run away from his Maſter, got into *Syracuſe*; where he talked in private with ſome few, as he had been inſtructed. Thus began *Marcellus* to have intelligence within the City: whence the Conſpirators uſed to ſend him advertiſement of their proceedings, by a Fiſher-boat that paſſed forth in the night. But when they were grown to the number of Fourſcore, and thought themſelves able to effect ſomewhat of importance: all was diſcovered; and they, like Traitors, put to death. In the mean while, one *Damaſippus*, a *Lacedæmonian*, that had been ſent out of the

Town, as an Embaſſador to *Philip*, King of *Macedon*, was fallen into the hands of *Marcellus*. *Epicides* was very deſirous to ranſome him: and many meetings were appointed for that purpoſe, not far from the Walls. There one of the *Romans* looking upon the Wall, and wanting the more compendious art of Geometry, fell to numbring the ſtones: and, making an eſtimate of the height, judged it leſs than it had been formerly deemed. Herewith he acquainted *Marcellus*: who cauſing better notice to be taken of the place, and finding, that Ladders of no extraordinary length would reach it; made all things ready, and waited a convenient time. It was the weakeſt part of the Town, and therefore the moſt ſtrongly guarded: neither was there hope to prevail by force againſt *Archimedes*, if they failed to take it by ſurpriſe. But a Fugitive out of the Town brought word, that a great Feaſt was to be held unto *Diana*, which was to laſt three days: and that, becauſe other good chear was not ſo plentiful within the City, as in former times, *Epicides*, to gratifie the People, had made the more large diſtribution of Wine. A better opportunity could not be wiſhed. Wherefore *Marcellus*, in the dead of the feſtival night, came unto the Walls; which he took by *Scalado*. *Syracuſe* was divided into four parts (or five, if *Epipolæ* were reckoned as one) each of which were fortified as diſtinct Cities. When therefore *Marcellus* had gotten ſome pieces, he had the commodity of a better and ſafe lodging, with good ſtore of booty; and better opportunity than before, to deal with the reſt. For there were now a great many, as well of thoſe in *Acradina*, and the Iſland, inner parts of the Town, as of thoſe that were already in the hands of *Marcellus*, that began to hearken unto compoſition; as being much terrified by the loſs of thoſe parts, which the *Romans* had taken and ſackt. As for the Weapons of *Archimedes*, little harm, or none they did, unto thoſe that were ſheltred under ſtrong houſes: although it may ſeem, that the inner Walls were not altogether unfurniſhed of his help; ſince they held out a good while, and were not taken by force. The *Roman* Fugitives, and Renegadoes, were more careful than ever to defend the reſt of the City; being ſure to be rewarded with a cruel death, if *Marcellus* could prevail. *Hippocrates* and *Himilco*, were daily expected; and *Bomilcar* was ſent away to *Carthage*, to bring help from thence. It was not long ere *Hippocrates* and *Himilco* came: who fell upon the old Camp of the *Romans*, whilſt *Epicides* ſallied out of *Acradina*, upon *Marcellus*. But the *Romans* made ſuch defence in each part, that the aſſailants were repelled. Nevertheleſs, they continued to beſet *Marcellus*: whom they held in a manner as ſtreightly beſieged, as he himſelf did beſiege the Town. But the peſtilence at length conſumed, together with the two Captains, a great part of the Army, and cauſed the reſt to diſlodg. The *Romans* were (though ſomewhat leſs) afflicted with the ſame peſtilence, inſomuch that *Bomilcar* did put the City of *Carthage* in hope, that he might be taken where he lay, if any great Forces were ſent thither. This *Bomilcar* wanted no deſire to do his Countrey ſervice: but his courage was not anſwerable to his good will. He arrived at *Pachynus* with a ſtrong Fleet: where he ſtayed; being loth to double the Cape; for that the Winds did better ſerve the Enemy than him. Thither ſailed *Epicides* out of *Syracuſe*: to acquaint him with the neceſſities of the City; and to draw him on. With much intreaty, at length he came forward: but meeting with the *Roman* Fleet, that was ready for him, he ſtood off into the deep; and ſailed away to *Tarentum*, bidding *Sicil* farewell. Then durſt not *Epicides* return into *Syracuſe*, but went to *Agrigentum*: where he expected the iſſue, with a very faint hope of hearing any good news.

The *Sicilian* Souldiers, that remained alive of *Hippocrates* his Army, lay as near as they could ſafely, unto *Marcellus*; and ſome of them in a ſtrong Town three Miles off. Theſe had done what good they could to *Syracuſe*, by doing what hurt they could unto the *Romans*. But when they were informed, that the State of *Sicil* was given as deſperate by the *Carthaginians*: they ſent Embaſſadors to treat of Peace; and made offer to compound, both for themſelves, and for the Town: Hereunto *Marcellus* willingly gave ear: for he had ſtayed there long enough; and had cauſe to fear, that after a little while, the *Carthaginians* might come thither ſtrong again. He therefore agreed, both with the Citizens, and with the Souldiers that lay abroad; That they ſhould be Maſters of their own, enjoying their liberty and proper laws; yet ſuffering the *Romans* to poſſeſs whatſoever had belonged unto the Kings. Hereupon they, to whom *Epicides* had left his charge, were put to death; new Prætors choſen; and the Gates even ready to be opened unto *Marcellus*: when ſuddenly the *Roman* Fugitives diſturbed all. Theſe perceiving their own condition to be deſperate, perſwaded the other Mercinary Souldiers, That the Citizens had bargained only for themſelves, and betrayed the Army to the *Romans*. Wherefore they preſently took Arms, and fell upon the new choſen Prætors; whom they ſlew; and made Election of ſix Captains that ſhould command over all. But ſhortly it was found out, that there was no danger at all to the Souldiers; excepting only the Fugitives. The Treaty therefore was again ſet on foot, and wanted little of concluſion; which yet was delayed, either by ſome fear of the Citizens, that had ſeen (as they thought) proof of the *Roman* avarice in the ſack of *Epipolæ*, *Tyche*, and *Neapolis*, the parts already taken; or by ſome deſire of *Marcellus* to get the Town by force, that he might uſe the liberty of a Conqueror, and make it wholly ſubject unto *Rome*. *Mericus*, a *Spaniard*, was one of the ſix Captains, that had been choſen in the late commotion: a man of ſuch faith, as uſually is found in Mercinaries; holding his own particular benefit above all other reſpects. With this Captain, *Marcellus* dealt ſecretly: having a fit inſtrument, of the ſame Nation, one *Belligenes*; that went in company with the *Roman* Embaſſadors, daily paſſing too and fro. This crafty Agent perſwaded *Mericus*, That the *Romans* had already gotten all *Spain*: and that if ever he purpoſed to make his own fortune good, either at home in *Spain*, or any where elſe; it was now the only time to do it; by conforming himſelf to the will of the *Roman* General. By ſuch hopes the *Spaniſh* Captain was eaſily won: and ſent forth his own Brother among the *Syracuſian* Embaſſadors, to ratifie the Covenant with *Marcellus*.

This under-hand dealing of *Marcellus* againſt the *Syracuſians*, cannot well be commended as honeſt: neither was it afterwards throughly approved at his coming to *Rome*. For the benefits of *Hiero* to the *Romans* had been ſuch, as deſerved not to be requited with the ruine of his Countrey: much leſs, that the miſeries of his people, oppreſſed (though partly through their own folly) by an Army of Mercinaries, ſhould miniſter unto the people of *Rome*, advantage againſt them. The

poor

poor Citizens could not make good their parts against the hired Souldiers; and therefore were fain to yield unto the time; and obey those Ministers of *Hannibal*, that ruled the Army. But as long as they were free after the Death of *Hieronymus*; and now of late, when they had gathered courage by the flight of *Epicides*: it had been their chief care to maintain amity with the people of *Rome*. They had lately slain many the principal of *Epicides* his followers; and many of themselves had also been slain, both lately and in former times, because of this their desire unto the peace. What though it were true, that the Rascality, and some ill advised persons, joyned with the Souldiers in hatred of the *Romans*, by occasion of the slaughter which they heard to be done at *Leontium*, and afterward beheld in those parts of their own City which was taken? Ought therefore the *Roman* General, in a Treaty of peace held with the *Syracusians*, to make a bargain under-hand against them, with a Captain of the Mercinaries? These things were objected against *Marcellus*, at his return home. But the Senators thought it a great deal better, to comfort the *Syracusians* with gentle words, and promises of good usage in time to come; than to restore the booty, and give over the Dominion of a City, so great, wealthy, strong, and many ways important. Nevertheless, if we consider the many inconveniences and great mischiefs, whereunto *Syracuse* was obnoxious, both by evil Neighbours, and by that very form of polity, after which it was governed: we may truly affirm, That it received no small benefit, by becoming subject unto *Rome*. For thereby it was not only assured against all forreign Enemies, Domestical Conspiracies, and such Tyrants as of old had reigned therein: but freed from the necessity of banishing, or murdering the most worthy Citizens; as also from all factions, intestine seditions, and a thousand the like miseries, that were wont to grow out of the jealousie, wherein they held their liberty in vain. Neither enjoyed that City, from her first foundation, any such long time of happiness, as that wherein it flourished, when it rested secure under the protection of *Rome*; and was no more molested by the Disease of ambition; whereof by *Marcellus* his Victory it was throughly cured. But such benefit, arising from wrongs done, serves not to make injustice the more excusable; unless we should approve the answer of that Thief, who being found to have stolen a silver cup from a sick man, said, *He never leaves drinking*.

By the Treason of *Mericus*, the *Roman* Army was let into possession of all *Syracuse*: wherein, the booty that it found, was said to have been no less, than could have been hoped for, if they had taken *Carthage* it self; that maintained War by Land and Sea against them. All the goodly works and Imageries, wherewith *Syracuse* was marvellously adorned, were carried away to *Rome*; and nothing left untouched, save only the houses of those banished men, that had escaped from *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, into the *Roman* Camp. Among other pitiful accidents, the Death of *Archimedes*, was greatly lamented, even by *Marcellus* himself. He was so busie about his Geometry, in drawing Figures, that he hearkned not to the noise and uproar in the City; no, nor greatly attended the rude Souldier that was about to kill him. *Marcellus* took heavily the Death of him; and caused his Body to be honourably buried. Upon his Tomb (as he had ordained in his lifetime) was placed a Cylinder and a Sphere, with an Inscription of the proportion between them; which he first found out. An Invention of so little use, as this may seem, pleased that great Artist better, than the devising of all those Engines, that made him so famous. Such difference is between the judgment of learned men, and of the vulgar sort. For many an one would think the Money lost, that had been spent upon a Son, whose Studies in the University had brought forth such fruit, as the proportion between a Sphere and a Cylinder.

After the taking of *Syracuse*, all the Towns in *Sicil* yielded unto the *Romans*; except *Agrigentum*, and a few places thereabout. At *Agrigentum* lay *Epicides*, with one *Hanno*, a *Carthaginian*, and *Mutines*, an *African*, that was lately sent from *Hannibal*. This *Mutines*, by many good pieces of service, had added some credit to the beaten *Carthaginian* side; and withal made his own name great. By his perswasions, *Hanno* and *Epicides* adventured to meet *Marcellus* without the Town; and not behave themselves as men expecting to be besieged. Neither was he more valiant in counsel, than in execution. Once and again he set upon the *Romans*, where they lay encamped; and drove them fearfully into their Trenches. This bred envy in *Epicides* and *Hanno*: especially in *Hanno*, that having been lately sent from *Carthage*, with commission and authority from the State, thought himself wronged greatly by *Hannibal*; in that he had sent unto him this *Mutines*, to be his Companion, and to take upon him, like as good a man as himself. The indignity seemed the greater, when *Mutines*, being to step aside unto *Heraclea*, for the pacifying of some troubles there among the *Numidians*; advised (as directing *Hanno* and *Epicides*) not to meddle with the Enemy, until his return. So much therefore the rather would *Hanno* fight: and offered battel unto *Marcellus*, before he sought it. It is like, that a great part of the *Roman* Army was left behind in *Syracuse*, as need required: which made the *Carthaginians* the better able to deal with those that came against them. But whatsoever disproportion was between the two Armies; far greater were the odds between the Captains. For howsoever the people of *Carthage* would give authority by favour; yet could they not give worth, and ability, in matter of War. The *Numidians*, having before conceived some displeasure against their Captains: and being therefore some of them gone away to *Heraclea*; were much more offended, when they saw that the vain-glorious Envy of *Hanno* carried him unto the Fight, upon a foolish desire to get Victory, without the help of *Mutines*, their Countreyman. Wherefore they sent unto the *Roman* General, and bad him be confident: for that it was not their purpose to shew themselves his Enemies that day; but only look on, and see the proud *Carthaginians* well beaten, by whom they had been misused. They made good their promise, and had their desire. For *Marcellus* finding likelihood of truth in their message, did so lustily set upon the Enemies, that he brake them at the first charge; and with the slaughter of many thousands, drove them back into *Agrigentum*.

If *Hanno* could have been contented, to follow the directions of one, that was a better man of War than himself, and not have hazarded a battel without need; the *Romans* would shortly have been reduced into terms of great difficulty in their *Sicilian* War. For *Marcellus*, was shortly after to leave the Province; and soon upon his departure, there landed in the Island a supply of Eight thousand Foot, and three thousand *Numidian* Horse, that were sent from *Carthage*. The fame of this

new Army drew many of the *Sicilians* into Rebellion. The *Roman* Army, conſiſting (for the moſt part) of the Legions of *Cannæ*, took it very heinouſly, that no good ſervice done, could bring them into the favour of the Senate; but that, as baniſhed men, they were ſent far from home, and not ſuffered to return back to *Rome* with their General. *Mutines* had pacified his Countreymen the *Numidians*; and, like an honeſt man, did the beſt that he could for thoſe whom he ſerved, without contending againſt the fooliſh pride of *Hanno*; finding that there was a great alteration; and a greater might have been, if the Army lately overthrown had been intire. *M. Cornelius*, the *Roman* Prætor, uſed all diligence, both to pacifie his own men, and to hinder the *Carthaginians*. He recovered thoſe inland Towns that had rebelled: and though he could not hinder *Mutines* from overrunning all the Countrey; yet he hindred the Countrey from revolting unto *Mutines*. Above threeſcore Towns, great and ſmall, the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicil*: of which, *Agrigentum* was the principal; and far bigger than any of the reſt. Thence iſſued *Mutines* as often as he pleaſed, in deſpight of the *Romans*: not only to the ſuccour of his own adherents, but to the great waſte of thoſe that followed the contrary part. But *Hanno*, inſtead of being pleaſed with all theſe good ſervices, was filled more and more with envy, againſt the man that performed them. He had (belike) received inſtructions from old *Hanno* at *Carthage*; not to ſuffer *Hannibal*, or any *Hannibalian*, to have ſhare in the honour of theſe *Sicilian* Wars: which were therefore perhaps the more diligently ſupplied; whilſt *Italy* was neglected, that ſhould have been regarded more than all the reſt. Wherefore, to ſhew his authority, and that it was not in the power of *Hannibal*, to appoint unto him an Aſſiſtant, or Director: he took away from *Mutines* his charge, and gave it to his own Son; thinking thereby to diſcountenance the man, and make him little eſteemed, as one out of Office, among his *Numidians*. But it fell out quite contrary: and this ſpightful dealing, occaſioned the loſs of whatſoever the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicil*. For the *Numidians* were ſo incenſed by the indignity offered unto their Countreyman, being ſuch a brave Commander, that they offered him their ſervice to requite the wrong, and were thenceforth abſolutely at his own diſpoſition. *M. Valerius Lævinus*, the *Roman* Conſul, was newly come into the Province, when this fell out: and with him did *Mutines* enter into intelligence. For he could no longer brook theſe indignities: but being, neither a *Carthaginian*, nor favoured by thoſe that bore all the ſway in *Carthage*; he thought it the wiſeſt way, to play the beſt of his own game, and forſake that City, which was likely to periſh by the evil counſel that governed it. He did not therefore, as his Countreymen had lately done, content himſelf to ſee his Adverſaries reap the bitter fruits of their own malicious over-weening: and to ſuffer that harm, in doing whereof he would not bear a part; but conſpired againſt them, to deliver up *Agrigentum*, and to help to expel them utterly out of *Sicil*. The Conſul was glad of his friendſhip; and carefully followed his advertiſements. Neither was there much cunning needful, to the performance of that which *Mutines* had undertaken. For he, with his *Numidians*, did forcibly ſeize upon a gate; whereat they let in ſome *Roman* Companies, that lay near in a readineſs for the purpoſe. *Hanno*, when firſt he heard the noiſe, thought it had been no worſe matter, than ſome ſuch tumult of the *Numidians*, as he had been well acquainted with of late. But when, making haſte to pacifie the trouble, he ſaw and heard, the *Romans* intermixed, among thoſe diſcontented followers of *Mutines*, forthwith he betook himſelf to flight: and ſaving himſelf, with *Epicides*, in a ſmall Bark, ſet ſail for *Africk*; leaving all his Army and adherents in *Sicil*, to the mercy of the *Romans*, that henceforward continued Maſters of the whole Iſland.

Lævinus, the Conſul, having taken *Agrigentum*, did ſharp execution of juſtice upon all the Citizens. The principal of them he ſcourged with rods, and afterwards beheaded, as was the manner of the *Romans*: all the reſt of them he ſold for Slaves, and confiſcated their goods; ſending home to *Rome* the Money that was raiſed of the booty. This was indeed a time, wherein *Rome* ſtood in no leſs neceſſity of gold than of ſteel: which may have been the reaſon, why *Lævinus* dealt ſo cruelly with the *Agrigentines*. Nevertheleſs, the fame of ſuch ſeverity, bred a terror among all the Dependants of the *Carthaginians*; ſo that in great haſte they ſought to make their peace. About forty Towns yielded themſelves quickly unto the *Romans*; twenty were delivered up by Treaſon; and ſix only ſtaid to be won by force. Theſe things done, *Lævinus* returned home to *Rome*; carrying with him about four thouſand men from *Agatirna*; that were a Company of Out-laws, Bankrouts, and baniſhed men, accuſtomed to live by ſpoil of others, in theſe troubleſome times. He beſtowed them about *Rhegium* in *Italy*, where they might exerciſe their occupation againſt the *Brutians*, a thieviſh kind of people, that were enemies unto thoſe of *Rhegium*, and to the *Romans*. As for *Mutines*, he was well rewarded, and made Citizen of *Rome*: where he lived in good account; accompanying the two *Scipio's* in their journey againſt *Antiochus*, and therein doing (as it is ſaid) very eſpecial ſervice. So by this Enterpriſe of *Sicil*, the *Carthaginians* waſted much of their Forces, that with greater profit might have been employed in *Italy*: leaving yet unto the *Romans*, in the end of this War, the entire poſſeſſion of this Iſland; which they wanted when it began.

§. XVI.

How the War paſſed between the Romans *and* Hannibal *in* Italy, *from the taking of* Capua *to the great Victory at* Metaurus.

SHortly after the winning of *Capua*, *Marcellus* came to *Rome*: where, for his good ſervices done in the Iſland of *Sicil*, he had granted unto him the honour of the leſſer Triumph, which was called *Ovation*. The greater Triumph was denied him: becauſe he had not finiſhed the War, but was fain to leave his Army behind him in the Province. He ſtayed not long in *Rome*, before he was again choſen Conſul, together with *M. Valerius Lævinus*, who ſucceeded him in the government of *Sicil*, and was, at the time of his election, making War againſt King *Philip* in *Greece*. Great complaint was made againſt the Conſul *Marcellus*, by the *Syracuſians*, for that which he had done unto them: they alledging their great friendſhip to the people of *Rome*, in the time of their late King *Hiero*; and affirming, that their City did never willingly break the alliance, excepting when it was oppreſſed by ſuch Tyrants, as were not greater Enemies to *Rome*, than to all good men that lived in *Syracuſe*. The Conſul, on the other ſide, reckoned up the labours and dangers whereunto

whereunto they had put him: willing them to bemoan themſelves to the *Carthaginians* that had holpen them in their neceſſity; and not unto the *Romans*, whom they had kept out. Thus each part having ſome good matter to alledg, the Senate made ſuch an end of the Controverſie, as beſt agreed with the benefit of their own Commonwealth: blaming the too much rigor of *Marcellus*; yet not reſtoring the booty that he had taken, nor making the *Syracuſians* free from their ſubjection; but comforting them, with gentle words, and hopeful promiſes, as hath been ſhewed before. The two new Conſuls, *Marcellus* and *Lævinus*, were appointed to make War, as their lots ſhould fall out; the one in *Italy*, the other in *Sicil*. The Iſle of *Sicil* fell unto *Marcellus*, which Province he willingly changed with his Colleague, to the end that the *Syracuſians* (whoſe cauſe had not as yet been heard in the Senate) might not ſeem hindred by fear, from uttering their grievances freely. Afterwards, when his buſineſs with them was diſpatcht, he gently undertook the patronage of them: which remained long in his Family; to the great benefit of their Countrey in times following. So *Valerius*, the other Conſul, was ſent into *Sicil*, whoſe doings there have been already rehearſed: but *Marcellus* was employed againſt *Hannibal*.

Before the Conſuls departed out of *Rome*, they were much troubled with preſſing of Souldiers to the War; and moſt of all, with getting Marriners for their Navy. They were all of the poorer ſort, that uſed to be employed in Sea-ſervices; eſpecially in rowing. Theſe could not live without preſent wages: neither was there Money enough in the Treaſury to give them pay. Wherefore it was ordained, that they ſhould be ſet out at the expence of private men; who, in this neceſſity of the State, were driven to ſuſtain all publick charges. Hereat the People murmured; and were ready to fall into ſedition, had not the Conſuls deferred the matter unto further conſideration. The Senate could ill tell, what to determine or do, in a caſe of ſuch extremity. For manifeſt it was, that the Multitude had already endured ſo much, as well it could undergo; and ſomewhat more than could with honeſty have been impoſed upon it. Nevertheleſs it was impoſſible to maintain the War againſt the *Carthaginians*, or to keep the *Macedonian* out of *Italy*, without a ſtrong Fleet. Wherefore, ſome were of opinion, That, ſince the common Treaſury was ſo empty, the People muſt be forced, by right or wrong, to take the burden upon them. At laſt the Conſuls began to ſay, That no perſwaſions would be ſo effectual with the people, as good examples: and that if the Senators would follow the Conſuls, like it was, that the People alſo would follow the Senate. Wherefore they propounded, and it was immediately concluded, That every one of them ſhould bring forth, and put into the Treaſury, all the Money that he had; and that no Senator ſhould keep any veſſel of Gold, or Plate whatſoever; excepting one Salt-ſeller, and a Boul, wherewith to make their offerings unto the Gods: as alſo a Ring for himſelf, with ſuch other tokens of ingenuity for his Wife and Children, as every one did uſe, and thoſe of as ſmall value as might be. This advice of the Conſuls was not more thankfully accepted by the Senate, than the ready performance thereof by the Senate was highly applauded, and haſtily followed by the Gentlemen of *Rome*. Neither did the Commonalty refuſe to do that, which their betters had openly done before them. For ſince the publick neceſſity could no otherwiſe be holpen, every one was contented that his private Eſtate ſhould run the ſame fortune with the Common-wealth; which if it ſuffered wrack, in vain could any particular man hope to enjoy the benefit of his proper ſubſtance. This Magnanimity deſerved well that greatneſs of Empire, whereof it was the foundation.

Convenient order being thus taken for an Army and Fleet: *Marcellus* went forth of the City againſt *Hannibal*; and *Lævinus* toward *Sicil*. The Army of *Hannibal* was greatly diminiſhed, by long and hard ſervice: neither did his *Carthaginians* ſeem to remember him, and think upon ſending the promiſed ſupply, or any ſuch proportion as he needed. His credit alſo among his *Italian* friends, was much weakned, by the loſs of *Capua*: which gave them cauſe to look unto themſelves; as if in his help there were little truſt to be repoſed, when they ſhould ſtand in need. This he well perceived; yet could not tell how to remedy. Either he muſt thruſt Garriſons into all Towns that he ſuſpected, and thereby ſo diminiſh his Army, that he ſhould not be able to keep the Field: or elſe he muſt leave them to their own fidelity; which now began to waver. At length his jealouſie grew ſo outragious, that he ſacked, and waſted thoſe places that he was unable to defend: thinking that the beſt way to enrich himſelf; and make unprofitable, to his enemies, the purchaſe from which he could not hinder them. But by this example, many were quite alienated from him; and ſome of thoſe, whom before he had leaſt cauſe to doubt. The Town of *Salapia* yielded unto *Marcellus*: and betrayed unto him a gallant Regiment of *Numidian* Horſe, the beſt of all that ſerved under *Hannibal*; which was a greater loſs than the Town it ſelf. *Blaſius*, the author of this Rebellion, could not bring his deſire to effect, without getting the conſent of one *Daſius*, that was his bitter enemy. Wherefore he brake the matter to this *Daſius* in private; and was by him accuſed unto *Hannibal*. But when he was convented, and charged of Treaſon, he ſo ſtoutly denied it, and by way of recrimination, ſo vehemently preſſed his accuſer with the ſame fault; that *Hannibal* thought it a matter deviſed out of meer Malice; knowing well what enemies they were; and ſeeing, that neither of them could bring any proof of what he affirmed. This notwithſtanding, *Blaſius* did not ceaſe to preſs his adverſary a-new, and urge him from time to time, with ſuch lively reaſons, that he who could not be believed by *Hannibal*, was contented at length to win the favour of *Marcellus*. Preſently after this, the Conſul took by force, *Maronea* and *Meles*, Towns of the *Samnites*: wherein he ſlew about three thouſand of *Hannibal*'s men.

Hannibal could not look to all at once: but was fain to catch advantages where he might get them; the *Romans* now being grown ſtronger in the field than he. The beſt was, that his *Carthaginians*, having wearied themſelves with ill ſpeed in many petty enterpriſes, and laid aſide all this while the care of *Italy*, to follow buſineſs of far leſs importance; had now at length reſolved, to ſend preſently the great ſupply, that had been ſo long promiſed and expected. This if they had done in better ſeaſon, *Rome* it ſelf might have been ſtrucken down, the next year after that great blow received at *Cannæ*. But ſince that which is paſt cannot be amended; *Hannibal* muſt force himſelf to make a good countenance; and tell his followers, that this mighty ſuccour would come time enough. For *Maſaniſſa* was at *Carthage* with five thouſand *Numidians*, ready to ſet ſail for *Spain*: whither when

when he came, it was appointed, that *Asdrubal* ſhould forthwith take his journey into *Italy*; of which there had been ſo long talk. Theſe news did not more comfort *Hannibal* and his followers, than terrifie the *Romans*. Wherefore each did their beſt: the *Romans* to prevent the threatning miſchief, and win as much as they could upon *Hannibal*, before the coming of his Brother: *Hannibal*, on the contrary, to hold his own, and weaken the *Romans* as much as he was able. He had intelligence, that *Cn. Fulvius*, a *Roman* Prætor, lay near unto *Herdonea*, to get the Town by practice. It was not long, ſince, near unto the ſame place, another *Cn. Fulvius* had loſt his Army. Therefore *Hannibal* made great Marches thitherward; and came to *Herdonea* ere *Fulvius* heard news of his approach. As ſoon as he came, he offered battel to the *Roman* Prætor: who accepted it with more haſte than good ſpeed. The *Roman* Legions made good reſiſtance a while, till they were compaſſed round with the *Carthaginian* Horſe. Then fell they to rout; and great ſlaughter was made of them. *Fulvius* himſelf, with twelve *Tribunes* or *Coronels*, were loſt: of the common Souldiers that were ſlain, the number is uncertain; ſome reporting ſeven, others thirteen thouſand. The Town of *Herdonea*, becauſe it was at point to have yielded unto *Fulvius*, *Hannibal* did ſet on fire: and putting thoſe to death that had practiſed with the Enemy, carried away the Multitude; whom he beſtowed among the *Thurians* and *Metapontines*. The Conſul *Marcellus* hearing of this, wrote unto the Senate: and exhorted them to be of a good chear; for that he would ſhortly abate the Enemies pride. He followed the *Carthaginian* apace: and overtaking him at *Numiſtro*, in the Countrey of the *Lucans*, fought with him a battel: which beginning at Nine of the Clock in the morning, laſted until night; and ended, by reaſon of the darkneſs, with uncertain Victory. Afterward *Hannibal* departed thence into *Apulia*: whither *Marcellus* followed him. At *Venuſia* they met, and had many skirmiſhes: but none of importance. *Hannibal* removed often; and ſought to bring the Enemy within danger of ſome ambuſh. But *Marcellus*, though he was very eager of battel, would yet adventure nothing, but by open day-light, and upon fair ground.

Thus paſſed the time away, until *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *Q. Fulvius*, he that lately had taken *Capua*, were choſen Conſuls. *Fabius*, conſidering how much the *Roman* affairs were bettered by the taking of *Capua*, purpoſed that year to beſiege *Tarentum*: which if he could win, like it was, that ſcarce one good City would afterwards remain true to *Hannibal*. Wherefore he vehemently exhorted his Colleague, and *Marcellus*, (to whom was continued the Command of thoſe Legions that ſerved under him the year before) to preſs the *Carthaginian* ſo hard, as he might have no leiſure to help *Tarentum*. *Marcellus* was very glad of this charge: for he thought no *Roman* fitter than himſelf, to deal with *Hannibal* in open Field. He followed him therefore to *Cannuſium*, and thence from place to place: deſiring ever to come to battel, but upon equal terms. The *Carthaginian* had not mind to hazard much in fight: but thought it enough to entertain his Enemy with skirmiſh; as being deſirous to keep his Army ſtrong until the coming of *Aſdrubal*. Yet could he not avoid the importunity of *Marcellus*; nor brook the indignity of being daily braved. He therefore bad his Men to be luſty, and to beat ſoundly this hot-ſpirited *Roman* Captain, that would never ſuffer them to be at quiet, until they once had cooled well his courage, by letting him blood. Hereupon followed a battel: wherein *Hannibal* had the victory; took ſix Enſigns, and ſlew of the *Romans* almoſt three thouſand, among which were ſome of mark. *Marcellus* was ſo impatient of this diſhonour, that he rated his men as Peaſants, and baſe Cowards: telling them, that they were the firſt of the *Roman* Legions, which had been beaten by *Hannibal*, by plain force and manhood; without being circumvented by any ſtratagem. With theſe, and many other the like words, which they were aſhamed to hear, he did ſo vex them, that thinking themſelves better able to endure any violence of the Enemy, than ſuch diſpleaſure of their General; they beſought him to pardon them, and lead them forth once again to fight. He did ſo: and placing thoſe Companies formoſt, that had loſt their Enſigns the day before, bad them be careful to win a victory; whereof the news might be at *Rome*, before the report of their ſhameful overthrow. *Hannibal* was angry, to ſee that nothing could make this Enemy quiet: and therefore was ready to fight again; ſince all other Motives continued the ſame, and his Men had been heartned by the late victory. But the *Romans* were ſtirred up with deſire of revenge, and of repairing their honour loſt, which affections gave a ſharp edg unto their valour: whereas the *Carthaginians* were grown dull, and weary, by ſeeing themſelves diſappointed of their hope: and the Enemy, notwithſtanding their late victory, as ready to moleſt them as before. In this ſecond battel *Marcellus* got the victory: which he purchaſed at ſo dear a rate, that neither he, nor *Hannibal*, had great cauſe to vaunt the ſecond night. For if eight thouſand of the *Carthaginians* were ſlain, and three thouſand of the *Roman* ſide, in this next battel, the difference was no greater, than even to recompence the late received overthrow: eſpecially ſince the number of the *Romans* that were wounded, was ſo great, as diſabled *Marcellus* from purſuing *Hannibal*; who diſlodged by night. Nevertheleſs it ſufficed, that *Fabius*, the Conſul, hereby got leiſure to follow his buſineſs at *Tarentum*, without any diſturbance. *Q. Fulvius*, the other Conſul, about the ſame time, took in many of the *Hirpines*, *Lucans*, and *Volſcentes*, that willingly yielded themſelves, and betrayed the Garriſons of *Hannibal* that lay in their Towns: whom *Fulvius* entertained in loving ſort; gently rebuking them for their Errors paſt, without puniſhing thoſe that had been authors, or buſie doers in the Rebellion. That rabble of *Sicilian* Thieves, which *Lævinus* had lately brought from *Agaterna*, was then alſo ſet on work to beſiege *Caulonia*, a Town of the *Brutians*: and nothing was omitted, that might ſerve to divert *Hannibal*, from the ſuccour of *Tarentum*.

Q. Fabius, the Conſul, having taken *Manduria*, a Town of the *Salentines*, ſate down before *Tarentum*: making all preparation that ſeemed needful to carry it, either by aſſault, or long Siege. Of the Garriſons in the Town, a good part were *Brutians*, placed there by *Hannibal*, under a Captain of their own Nation. This Captain fell in love with a *Tarentine* Wench; whoſe brother ſerved under *Fabius*. Hereof, ſhe gave notice by Letters to her brother, as thinking belike to draw him from the *Roman* ſide; by telling him how rich, and of what great account her lover was. But her brother made the Conſul acquainted with theſe news: and ſaid, that if the *Brutian* were far in love, he might perhaps be won, by intreaty of his Miſtreſs, to do what ſhe would have him. The Conſul hearing this: and finding likelihood in the matter,

matter, willed his Souldier to convey himself into the Town as a Fugitive, and try what good might be done. It fell out according to his desire. The Souldier grew acquainted with this *Brutian* Captain: and partly by his own perswasions, partly by the flattering entreaty of his Sister; wan him to betray the Town to the *Romans*. When they had agreed upon the business, and resolved how to order it; the same Souldier got out of the Town by night, and acquainted the Consul with his proceedings: telling him, in which part that *Brutian* kept Watch, and what might conveniently be done. So in the night-time, *Fabius* gave an alarm to the City; especially about those parts of the Wall, which were farthest from the place where he meant to enter. The Captains in the Town prepared to make resistance in those places, where the noise did threaten them with greatest likelihood of danger. But *Fabius* himself, with the choice of his Men, came in great silence to the quarter of the *Brutians*: who being wrought by their Captain, helped the *Romans* to get up, and break open the next gate; whereat the Army was let in. The *Tarentines*, and *Carthaginian* Souldiers, made head against *Fabius* in the Market-place: but (as it hapneth in like cases, where the main confidence is already taken away) not very obstinately. *Nico*, *Democrates*, and *Philomenes*, with those that before had let in *Hannibal*, used now the last of their courage, in dying against the *Romans*. *Carthalo*, who commanded the Garrison within the Town, offered himself prisoner: hoping to be well used, because of hospitality that had passed between his Father and the Consul. But he was slain by the way, ere he could come at *Fabius*. The *Romans* did put all indifferently to the Sword: in such sort, that they spared few of the *Brutians*. This slaughter of the *Brutians* was thought to have been made by appointment of the Consul, to the end that he might seem to have won the Town by force, and not by Treason: though he thereby failed of his purpose; and neither had the glory which he expected, nor preserved his reputation of faithful dealing, and keeping his word. The booty found in *Tarentum* was very great: whereof the *Roman* Treasury, whither it was carried, had great need. As for the Imageries, and other curiosities that were in the City, *Fabius* was contented to let them alone: and being told of some Idols, that seemed worthy to be carried away, being very goodly pieces, in such habit and posture as if they were fighting: he said, let us leave unto the *Tarentines* their angry Gods.

Hannibal being gotten clear from *Marcellus*, fell upon those that besieged *Caulonia*. They fled at his coming: but he was so near, that they were fain to betake them to a Hill; which served to no other purpose, than to bear off the first brunt. There they defended themselves a little while, and then they yielded. When this business was done, he hasted away to relieve *Tarentum*. But when he came within five miles of the City, he had news that it was lost. This grieved him: yet he said no more than this; *The* Romans *have also their* Hannibal; we have lost *Tarentum* in such sort as we got it. That he might not seem to turn back amazed, or in any fear of the victorious Consul; he incamped a few days together, so near as he was unto *Tarentum*: and thence departing to *Metapontum*, bethought himself how to take *Fabius* in a trap. He caused the chief of the *Metapontines* to write unto *Fabius*, and offer to betray into his hands, the *Carthaginian* Garrison; with condition, that he should in that respect, forgive them all offences past. These Letters were sent by two young men of the same City: who did their Errand so well, that the Consul wrote back by them unto the *Metapontines*, and appointed the day, when they should expect him. Hereof *Hannibal* was exceeding glad: and at good leisure, made ready his Ambushes for the wary *Fabius*. But whether some secret notice of the Plot were given; or whether indeed (as it is related) some tokens in sacrificing, terrified the superstitious *Roman*; the journey to *Metapontum* was deferred. Hereupon the same two Messengers were employed again: but being apprehended, and threatned with torture, they discovered all.

This year was happy to the *Romans*, in all their Wars: for they got every where, save only at *Caulonia*; where they lost a Company of such lewd fellows, that it may seem good fortune, to have so been rid of them. But their common poverty, and disability to maintain their charge, continued, and grew greater than it was before. Thirty *Roman* Colonies were then in *Italy*: of which, Twelve refused to contribute any longer to the Wars. For it was considered, that the Legions of *Cannæ*, and those unhappy Companies, that had been beaten under the one and the other *Cn. Fulvius*, were transported into *Sicil*; where they lived, in a sort, as banished men. This grieved their friends at home, and made them reckon up the more diligently those other miseries which they daily felt. Ten years together they had been exhausted with levies of Men, and impositions of Money: in every of which years, they had received some notable overthrow. In this case the least that they could fear; or rather the best which they could hope, was, to fall into the hands of the Enemy to be made prisoners. For *Hannibal* did gently send home their people that was taken by him: whereas the *Romans* did banish from their homes those that had escaped. It was therefore likely to come to pass within a while, that they should be all consumed: since new Souldiers were daily pressed forth of their Towns; and the old ones never did return. Such talk was frequent among those of the Colonies: especially where they that were transported into *Sicil*, had most compassionate friends. Wherefore it was concluded by the people of *Ardea*, *Sutrium*, *Alba*, and other good Towns, to the number of Twelve, That they should boldly deny unto the *Romans*, their farther help. This was thought the likeliest way to obtain peace: whereof otherwise they saw little hope, so long as *Hannibal* lived. When the Consuls heard the Embassadors of these Towns make such declaration, and protest their disability of giving any farther help; they were much amazed. They willed the Embassadors to return home, and bring a better answer; forasmuch as this, was none other than Treason: they bad them to consider, that their people were not *Campans*, or *Tarentines*, but the off-spring of the *Romans*; and no less partakers of the Empire, than they that inhabited the Mother-City. But all would not serve: the Embassadors continuing to protest, that they had already done what they could; and that they had remaining, neither Men, nor Money. It was well for the *Romans*, that the other Eighteen Colonies did not imitate these Twelve; but shewed themselves willing to undergo whatsoever should be laid upon them, without shrinking under the burden. This their offer was so highly pleasing to the Consuls, that the Embassadors of those faithful Colonies, were brought unto the Senate, and produced into the Assembly of the people: where, with commemo-

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ration of all their former good ſervices, this their preſent love unto the State was magnified, and thanks accordingly beſtowed upon them; with promiſe, that it ſhould not be forgotten. As for the Embaſſadors of thoſe Twelve Colonies, that refuſed to contribute; it was thought beſt, neither to retain them in the City, nor yet to diſmiſs them, nor to take any notice of them at all; but leave them to their own conſideration of their ill deſerving.

It may greatly be doubted, what the Example of theſe Twelve People would have wrought, in thoſe that were ſo willing to help the State, if *Aſdrubal* had been then coming into *Italy*. For then muſt the *Romans* have betaken themſelves wholly to their own defence; whereas now, to the great comfort of their Subjects, they employed their forces in the conqueſt of *Italy*, with hopeful and fortunate ſucceſs. Nevertheleſs, they were fain to open their moſt privy Treaſury; and thence take out the Gold, that had been laid up to ſerve them in caſes of greateſt extremity. Of the Money thus extracted, one quarter was delivered to *Fabius* the Conſul, to ſet him well out againſt the *Tarentines*: all the reſt was ſent into *Spain* to *Scipio*, for the maintenance of his Army; and to provide, that *Aſdrubal* might not paſs from thence into *Italy*. It is likely that *Fabius* did not ſpend all his Money; finding ſuch eaſie ſucceſs at *Tarentum*, as was ſhewed before. But to ſtop the journey of *Aſdrubal*, neither the Money ſent into *Spain*, nor any victories won by *Scipio* could ſuffice. Nevertheleſs it fell out happily for the people of *Rome*, that this year, and the next, were ſpent before his coming; and they better prepared, than at leſs warning they could have been, to entertain him. Here it were not amiſs to note, That ſince the *Romans*, being in ſo great neceſſity of Money, were driven to furniſh the Army in *Spain*, with the greateſt part of all their ſtock that was left: it muſt needs be, that either the booty taken in *New Carthage*, was far leſs than fame had reported it; or elſe that *Scipio* had not as yet won it: howſoever *Livy* rather inclines to thoſe, who ſay that he got it ſoon after his arrival.

M. Claudius Marcellus, and *T. Quintius Criſpinus*, were choſen Conſuls after *Fabius* and *Fulvius*. In their year it was, that *Aſdrubal* took his journey out of *Spain*, though he came not into *Italy* until the year following. After the great battel at *Cannæ*, *Hannibal* had loſt much time about *Cumæ* and *Naples*, in ſeeking to make himſelf Maſter of a good Haven, for the landing of thoſe ſuccours that were promiſed from *Carthage*. The hope that he repoſed in *Philip*, cauſed him to turn his principal care to the *Eaſtern* parts of *Italy*; where he made ready a fair entrance for the *Macedonian*, if he had been ready to come. But ſince this hope was vaniſhed, and the long promiſed ſuccour of *Aſdrubal* was (though far later than had been expedient) ready to arrive: he began to deal with the people of *Hetruria*, through whoſe Countries his brother was to paſs, that therein he might make a party againſt the *Romans*. The loſs of *Capua*, *Tarentum*, and many other Towns, might have terrified all other of the *Italian* Towns, from hearkening to any ſolicitation of the *Carthaginians*. Yet the poverty of the *Romans*, and the wearineſs of their adherents, together with the fame of a greater Army coming, than that which *Hannibal* brought into *Italy*; did embolden many of the *Hetrurians*, eſpecially the *Aretines*, to take ſuch counſel as they thought moſt expedient for themſelves; without regard of their fidelity to *Rome*. The *Roman* Senate, hearing the rumour of their Conſpiracy, ſent *Marcellus*, the new choſen Conſul, into *Hetruria*: whoſe coming did ſo terrifie them, that they reſted quiet for a while. All the year following they were deviſing how to break out: as contrariwiſe the *Roman* Proprætors; partly by terror of ſevere judgments and inquiſitions; and partly by the force of two or three Legions, with which they viſited all ſuſpected places, kept them honeſt againſt their wills; and took many Hoſtages for better aſſurance. The two Conſuls had an earneſt deſire, to make ſtrong War upon *Hannibal*, without more temporiſing: perſwading themſelves, that in battel they ſhould be too ſtrong for him. *Criſpinus* had further his particular deſire, to make his Conſulſhip notable by the winning of ſome good Town: as *Fulvius* and *Fabius* had gotten honour by *Capua* and *Tarentum*. Therefore he went about the Siege of *Locri*; one of the beſt Cities which the *Carthaginian* then held in *Italy*: and brought thither all ſorts of Engines; ſending for a Fleet out of *Sicil* to help him. But *Hannibal* was not ſlow to relieve the City: the fame of whoſe approach, made *Criſpinus* deſiſt from his Enterpriſe, and retire unto his Colleague, that lay at *Venuſia*. Thither followed *Hannibal*; to whom the Conſuls daily offered battel. This great man of War had no need to ſtand upon his Reputation: which was already ſo confirmed, that his refuſing to fight, was not likely to be aſcribed unto fear; but rather deemed as part of his wiſdom. He entertained the Conſuls with many light skirmiſhes, and ſought to take them at ſome advantage; reſerving his own numbers as full as he could, unto a time of greater employment. In this lingring manner of War, *Marcellus* took no pleaſure: but ſought to compel the Enemy to battel, whether he would or no. The Admiral of the *Roman* Fleet about *Sicil*, *L. Cincius*, was commanded again to aſſail the Town of *Locri*: which might well enough be forced, if *Hannibal* continued as he began, to trifle away the time at *Venuſia*. To the ſame purpoſe a part of the Garriſon that lay in *Tarentum* was appointed to go by Land to the aſſiſtance of *Cincius*. But *Hannibal* had an eye behind him. He laid an ambuſh in the way, between *Tarentum* and *Locri*, whereinto the *Romans* fell: and having loſt above three thouſand of their company, were well glad, the reſt of them, to quit their Enterpriſe, and ſave their own lives within *Tarentum*. As for the Conſuls, it was the deſire of *Hannibal*, to waſte their Army by little and little: which to do, he neglected no advantage. There lay between him and them an Hillock, over-grown with Wood, that ſeemed fit to cover a number of men: who lying there undiſcerned, might fall upon ſuch, as ſhould ſtraggle from the *Roman* Camp; and cut them off. Therefore he ſent thither by night ſome Companies of *Numidians*: whom he willed to keep themſelves cloſe, and attend their beſt advantage. To this piece of ground, the Conſuls thought it fit to remove their Camp: *Marcellus* thinking that he never lay near enough unto *Hannibal*. Thither therefore both of them rode, to view the place, accompanied with the Son of *Marcellus*, a few Colonels, and other principal men, and not many more than two hundred Horſe, moſt of them *Hetrurians*. The *Numidian* Centinel gave warning of their approach to his fellows; who diſcovered not themſelves, until they had ſurrounded the Conſuls and their Train. The Conſuls, as neceſſity compelled them, defended themſelves: hoping to be quickly relieved from their Camp, that was near at hand. But the *Hetrurians* ran away from them at the firſt: and left them in that great danger, to the

the weak assistance of no more than Forty Horsemen, that were of the Colony of *Frægellæ*. These *Fregellans* abode by the Consuls; and did what they could to have brought them safe off. But when *Marcellus* was stricken through with a Launce, and fell down dead; then began every one to shift for himself, and escape as they might. *Crispinus*, the other Consul, had his deaths wound, being stricken with two Darts; and young *Marcellus* was likewise wounded; yet these two recovered their Camp. The rest of the Colonels and Officers, together with the Lictors that carried the bundels of Rods and Axes before the Consuls, were all slain or taken. To the dead body of the Consul *Marcellus*, *Hannibal* gave honourable Funeral, according to the custom of those times: and bestowing his ashes in a Silver Pot, covered it with a Crown of Gold, and so sent them to young *Marcellus*, to be by him interred, where he thought good.

Presently after this, *Crispinus* bethought himself, how that the Signet-Ring of *Marcellus*, was fallen into the custody of *Hannibal*; who might use it to his own purposes, ere that which had hapned were well known abroad. Wherefore he sent word unto all the Towns about, that his Colleague was slain, and that *Hannibal* had gotten his Ring: wishing them in that regard, to give no credit unto any Letters therewithal signed. This providence of *Crispinus*, was not more than requisite. For his Messenger was but a little before come to *Salapia*, when another Messenger arrived there sent from *Hannibal*, bringing Letters in the name of *Marcellus*, and sealed with the captive Ring: whereof the Contents were, That it was his purpose to come the same night unto *Salapia*; where he willed, that the Souldiers of the Garrison should be in a readiness, for such employment as he should think needful. The device was plain: and no less plain was the revengeful mind, which he bare against that City; because of his brave *Numidian* Companies, that had therein been betrayed. The *Salapians* hereupon bethought themselves, how to take their Enemy in his own snare. They sent back the Messenger, which was a *Roman* Fugitive, without letting him perceive any sign of distrust in them. This done, they prepared all things in a readiness, for the entertainment of such a friend. Late in the night he came thither, with a Troop of *Roman* Fugitives, armed *Roman* like, leading the way. These all talking *Latin* together, called unto the Watch, and bad open the Gate; for the Consul was there. The Gate was opened, fair and leisurely, and the Port-cullis drawn up no higher than needs it must be, to let them enter. But when six hundred of them were gotten in, down fell the Port-cullis again: and they that thought to have taken others, were taken themselves; being laid at on all hands by the *Salapians*, that quickly made an end with them.

Hannibal being thus over-reached with this stratagem, hasted away to *Locri*; whereunto *Cincius* the Admiral of the *Roman* Fleet about *Sicil*, did lay hard Siege. The first appearance of the *Numidians*, *Hannibal* his Vantcurrors, made the *Romans* in all confused haste, run to their Ships: leaving all their Engines, and whatsoever was in their Camp, to the Enemies disposition.

The *Roman* Senate, hearing of these accidents, sent unto *Crispinus*, the surviving Consul, and requested him to name a Dictator: that might take charge of the Common-wealth, and dispatch the Election of new Magistrates, with other business; whereunto himself was disabled by his hurts. He did so: and soon after died. Then was it thought needful, that new Consuls should be chosen out of hand: forasmuch as two *Roman* Armies lay so near unto the Enemy, without any General. Especially it was desired, that Election should be made of such men, as were not only valiant, but well advised: since the best, and most fortunate of their great Darers, *M. Marcellus*, by losing himself so strangely, had given them a fair warning, not to commit their Army unto rash heads. Among those that stood for the Consulship, *C. Claudius Nero* was the most eminent. He was of great Nobility, a good Souldier, and one, whose many services in this present War, did forcibly commend unto the place. Yet he seemed a little too violent; and one, whose Temper needed the allay of a more staid Wit. The *Fathers* therefore endeavoured to joyn unto him in the Consulship *M. Livius*: one that had born the same Office, long before. This *M. Livius* had been Consul with *L. Æmylius Paulus*, in the year foregoing the beginning of this War. After their Consulship, wherein they did good service, they had both of them been called into judgment by the People: and this *Livius* condemned, *Æmylius* hardly escaping. Though it hath been once already noted, yet I cannot forbear to remember it again; how it pleased God to upbraid the unthankful *Romans*, with the malicious judgment, given by their Multitude upon honourable men. For in the battel of *Cannæ*, it was apparent, what lamentable effects, the Memory of their injustice wrought: when *L. Æmylius* rather chose to yield to the froward ignorance of his Colleague; and afterward to die in the greatest overthrow that ever fell upon the State of *Rome*, than by resisting the pernicious courses of *Terentius Varro*, to cast himself a-new upon the danger of the popular fury. As for *M. Livius*, he is even now ready, and will so continue, to tell the People of their faults in a diverse manner. Eight years together after his condemnation had he been absent out of the City, and lived in his Countrey Grange; vexing himself with the indignity of his condemnation. *Marcellus* and *Lævinus*, being Consuls two or three years ago, had brought him into *Rome*: where he lived private, in discontented sort, as might appear, both by his carelesness in apparel, and by the wearing of his long hair and beard; which in that age were the badges of men afflicted. Very lately he was compelled by the Censors to Poll his hair, and come into the Senate: where he used to sit silent, and signifie his assent or dislike to what was proposed; either in short formal words, or in passing from side to side, when the House was divided. At length it hapned, that in some business weightily concerning one that was his Kinsman, he stood up, and made a set speech: whereby he drew all the *Fathers* to attention; and bad them enquire of him, and take better notice what he was, and what he had been. The Senate was much altered since he had left it; many brave men were lost; new ones were chosen; such as rather served to fill up the number, than to answer to the dignity of the place: and they that were left of ancient standing, had even spent their Vertues to no great effect. Wherefore, all began to say, that it was great pity, so worthy and able a man as this *Livius*, had been all this while forgotten; one, of whom the Common-wealth stood in great need, yet had not used, in this dangerous War. Now seeing that the Consuls ought, one of them, to be chosen a *Patrician*, the other, of necessity a *Plebeian*: and since, neither *Fabius*, nor *Valerius Lævinus*, being both of them *Patricians*, could be joyned with *Claudius*

Nero: every one was of opinion, that there could not be choſen and coupled together, two fitter men than *C. Claudius*, and this *Marcus Livius*. But *Livy* would not endure to hear of this. He ſaid, it was unreaſonable, that one condemned as a diſhoneſt man, ſhould afterwards be choſen Ruler of the City. If they had done ill to truſt him with one Conſulſhip, what meant they then to offer him another? With theſe, and the like phraſes, he reſiſted their deſires: till by perſwaſions, and Examples rehearſed, of ſuch as had patiently digeſted injuries done by the People, and repayed good for evil; he was contented to accept the honour.

Here we may behold a true figure of that Emblem, with which *Themiſtocles* checked the ingratitude of the *Athenians*: reſembling himſelf to a Plane-tree, the branches and boughs whereof men break in fair weather; but run under it for ſhelter in a ſtorm. Such unthankfulneſs, to well-deſerving men, is not rarely found in the outragious Multitude. Neither was the late Example hereto much unlike, of *Philip* the Second, King of *Spain*, his dealing with the Duke of *Alva*. For although he had committed the Duke to Priſon, upon ſome ſmall offence conceived, without all regard of his former deſerts: yet when his intended conqueſt of *Portugal*, required the ſervice of a man, more than ordinarily ſufficient; he ſtood no longer upon the ſcanning of late diſpleaſures; but employed the ſame Duke, whom he had newly diſgraced. Thus is wiſdom often taught by neceſſity.

It was a dangerous year toward, when *C. Claudius Nero*, and *M. Livius* were choſen Conſuls. *Aſdrubal* was already come into *France*, and waited only to have the ways of the *Alpes* thawed by warm weather, for his paſſage into *Italy*. The *Romans* uſed at this time the ſervice of three and twenty Legions: and wanted not employment, for many more, if they had known how to levy and maintain them. Of theſe which they had, four ſerved in *Spain*, two in *Sicil*, and two in *Sardinia*; the reſt were ſo diſpoſed, in ſeveral parts of *Italy*, where need ſeemed to require, that only two Legions were left to each of the Conſuls. But the Conſuls were men of execution, and would not be tied to the punctual obſervance of what the Senate thought fit. *M. Livius* would not ſtir out of *Rome*, againſt ſo mighty a power as followed *Aſdrubal*; until he had firſt obtained, that he might carry with him as many as could well be ſpared from other employments; and thoſe, or the moſt of them, choſen Companies. It was true, that two Legions, appointed to ſerve under *Lucius Porcius*, a Prætor of that year, among the *Ciſalpine Gaules*, might be reckoned as an additament to the Forces of *Livius*; to whom the War againſt *Aſdrubal* was allotted. So might alſo two other Legions, that were among the *Salentines*, near unto *Tarentum*, under another of the Prætors, be accounted a part of *Claudius* his Army, that was ſent againſt *Hannibal*. Nevertheleſs the Conſuls, by the eſpecial inſtance of *Livy*, did obtain, that all might be left to their own diſcretion. For news came, that *Aſdrubal* was already paſſing the *Alpes*; the *Ligurians*, who dwelt in the Countrey about *Genua*, with their Neighbour people, were in readineſs to joyn with him; and *L. Porcius* ſent word, that he would adventure no further, than he ſafely might. When all was ordered, as themſelves thought beſt, the two Conſuls went forth of the City, each his ſeveral way. The People of *Rome* were now quite otherwiſe affected, than they had been, when *L. Æmylius Paulus*, and *C. Terentius Varro*, were ſent againſt *Hannibal*. They did no longer take upon them, to direct their Generals, or bid them diſpatch, and win the Victory betimes; but rather they ſtood in fear, leſt all diligence, wiſdom, and valour, ſhould prove too little. For ſince few years had paſſed, wherein ſome one of their Generals had not been ſlain; and ſince it was manifeſt, that if either of theſe preſent Conſuls were defeated, or put to the worſt, the two *Carthaginians* would forthwith joyn, and make ſhort work with the other: it ſeemed a greater happineſs than could be expected, that each of them ſhould return home Victor; and come off with honour, from ſuch mighty oppoſition, as he was like to find. With extreme difficulty had *Rome* held up her head ever ſince the battel of *Cannæ*: though it were ſo, that *Hannibal* alone, with little help from *Carthage*, had continued the War in *Italy*. But there was now arrived another Son of *Amilcar*; and one, that in his preſent Expedition, had ſeemed, a man of more ſufficiency than *Hannibal* himſelf. For, whereas in that long and dangerous March, through barbarous Nations, over great Rivers and Mountains, that were thought unpaſſable, *Hannibal* had loſt a great part of his Army: this *Aſdrubal*, in the ſame places, had multiplied his numbers; and, gathering the people that he found in the way, deſcended from the *Alpes* like a rowling Snow-ball, far greater than he came over the *Pyrenees*, at his firſt ſetting out of *Spain*. Theſe conſiderations, and the like, of which, fear preſented many unto them; cauſed the People of *Rome*, to wait upon their Conſuls out of the Town; like a penſive Train of Mourners: thinking upon *Marcellus* and *Criſpinus*, upon whom in the like ſort they had given attendance the laſt year, but ſaw neither of them return alive, from a leſs dangerous War. Particularly, old *Q. Fabius* gave his accuſtomed advice to *M. Livius*, that he ſhould abſtain from giving, or taking battel, until he well underſtood the Enemies condition. But the Conſul made him a froward anſwer, and ſaid, That he would fight the very firſt day: for that he thought it long, till he ſhould either recover his honour by victory; or by ſeeing the overthrow of his own unjuſt Citizens, ſatisfie himſelf with the joy of a great, though not an honeſt, revenge. But his meaning was better than his words.

Of the overthrow that *Aſdrubal* received in *Spain*, by *Scipio*, a little before he took his journey into *Italy*; ſuch mention hath already been made, as agreed with the report of that noble Hiſtorian *Livy*. Yet I think it not amiſs to add in this place, what may be gathered out of the remaining fragments of *Polybius* his hiſtory, concerning that accident. *Aſdrubal* had wreſtled with many difficulties in *Spain*, by reaſon of thoſe Captains that were ſent from the City of *Carthage*, to joyn with him in the adminiſtration of that Province: they being, as it may ſeem, of the *Hannonian* faction; which is to ſay, thus far forth Traitors, that they preferred the advantage of their own ſide, before the good of their Commonwealth. In what particulars they wronged this worthy Son of *Amilcar*, and how they hindered his courſes undertaken, it cannot be known: ſince of thoſe books, wherein *Polybius* hath exactly handled theſe matters, there are to us remaining, only a few broken pieces. But by the ſpightful dealing of *Hanno*, in *Sicil*, with *Mutines*, a better man of War than himſelf, whom *Hannibal* had ſent into the Iſland; we may conceive, that againſt the brother of *Hannibal*, it was thought needful, by theſe miſchievous Partiſans of *Hanno*, to uſe the violent oppoſition of more

Excerp. E. Polyb. lib. 10. & 11.

more earneſt Malice. Nevertheleſs *Aſdrubal* was a good *Patriot*: and therefore endured patiently ſuch indignities as *Mutines* could not long digeſt. His Journey into *Italy* being reſolved upon; he lay with part of the Army at *Betula*, not far from the Mines of Silver; whence he was to furniſh his Expedition. Thither came *Scipio*; and drave him out of his Camp, though he were ſtrongly lodged, before the other *Carthaginian* Captains could, or would, come to his aſſiſtance. The overthrow ſeems not to have been ſo great, as it muſt have been ſuppoſed, if no way lay open to thoſe that fled. Rather it appears, that *Aſdrubal* dealt like a provident man: and ſeeing that his Camp was likely to be forced, ſent away all his Money, with his Elephants before him: but ſtaid behind himſelf to ſuſtain the *Romans* a while, until his Carriages might be out of danger. Herein he had his deſire. Afterwards, he gathered his broken Troops together; and retired in ſuch ſort, that *Scipio* thought it not good to purſue him; and ſo paſſed over *Tagus*. Then taking unto him the Forces aſſigned for his Expedition, he marched away toward the *Pyrenees*: leaving the care of *Spain* unto his brother *Mago*, and to *Aſdrubal*, the Son of *Geſco*, that thought himſelf the fitteſt man for the adminiſtration thereof. Fain would *Scipio* have ſtopped him on his journey, by ſending to defend againſt him the ordinary way of the Mountains. But whether *Aſdrubal* took another way, or whether he forced the Guards that *Scipio* had ſet to keep the *Pyrenees* (as the defence of hard paſſages commonly ſorts to no good effect) he was not letted in his Voyage by any ſuch impediment. Coming into *Gaule*, and following the ſteps of his brother *Hannibal*: he found the Nations that lay in his way, ſo well affected, either to him or to his Money, that no paſſages were defended againſt him, nor any ſort of reſiſtance made; but he, and his Army, well entertained, and their numbers much increaſed, by acceſs of ſuch as were deſirous to take his pay. Of theſe he had the better choice: for that he was driven to Winter in their Countrey, whilſt that the paſſages of the *Alpes* were cloſed up with Ice and Snow. The Mountains likewiſe, that had ſo greatly moleſted *Hannibal* in his journey over the *Alpes*, were eaſily won to take part with *Aſdrubal*, when he travelled through their Countrey. For theſe poor men, at the firſt coming of *Hannibal*, were verily perſwaded, that it was his purpoſe to rob them of their Cattel, and to make ſpoil of that little Wealth, which they had painfully ſcraped together out of the deſolate Rocks. But now in proceſs of time they were better informed. Therefore underſtanding, that there were two mighty Cities, far disjoyned aſunder, which made War upon each other, by Land and Sea: and that the *Alpes* did only lie in their way; they gladly condeſcended, to take their part in the fortune of the Invaders. The like affection, upon greater cauſe, was afterward found in the *Ciſalpine Gaules*. The *Ligurians* alſo joyned with *Aſdrubal*: and ſo would the *Hetrurians* have done, if he had arrived in their Countrey. There was no other *Roman* Army near, than *L. Porcius*, with his two Legions; of whom there was no great fear. Therefore did *Aſdrubal* ſet upon *Placentia*, a *Roman* Colony: in hope to make his coming the more terrible, by the deſtruction of that Town. But there he loſt a great deal of time, and finally was driven to quit the Enterpriſe: by undertaking which, he gave the *Roman* Conſuls leiſure, to make ready for him; and cauſed his brother *Hannibal* (who upon the firſt bruit of *Aſdrubal* his ſo timely, and eaſily paſſing the *Alpes*, was about to leave his wintring Camps, and go forth to meet with him) to ſit ſtill a while, as well aware, that *Placentia* would not be taken in haſte.

C. Claudius Nero, the *Roman* Conſul, made what ſpeed he could, to meet with *Hannibal*, and ſtop him from joyning with his brother. He had about forty thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe: with which he daily offered battel to the *Carthaginian*; and had of him the better in many skirmiſhes. *Hannibal* was once driven to make a tedious March from the borders of the *Salentines* and *Apulians*, into the Countrey of the *Brutians*, there to increaſe his Forces; which were otherwiſe too weak for the journey intended. Afterward coming to *Grumentum*, a Town of the *Lucans*; he there fought unproſperouſly with *Nero* the Conſul. Nevertheleſs he got off, and marched away to *Venuſia*. But *Nero* followed him; and had there again the better of him. Wherefore he was driven to return to *Metapontum*: where joyning with *Hanno*, that had made ready a good Army, he aſſayed again to make way by force to his brother. So he paſſed onward, and came again to *Venuſia*, having *Nero* ſtill at his heels. Thence went he over the River *Aufidus*, to *Canuſium*; where he ſat down, not far from the place in which he had obtained his moſt memorable Victory. There alſo did *Nero* ſit down by him: and both of them reſted, without making offer to fight. It ſeemed perhaps unto *Hannibal*, who knew the Countrey very well, that his brother might, with little impediment, overcome the way to *Canuſium*: where if he could once again deal with both the Conſuls, and all the *Roman* Forces together, he had reaſon to hope for ſuch another Victory, as once he had gotten in the ſame open Countrey. If this had ſo fallen out, *Rome* would have been undone for ever. But the *Carthaginians* ſhould not have needed to wiſh any ſecond Victory, in the naked Champans about *Cannæ*; if ſuch an Army, as this which *Aſdrubal* now brings, had come to ſecond *Hannibal*, when he was in his full ſtrength; and the *Romans* not able to keep the field. Wherefore this worthy General had good reaſon afterward to ſay, that *Hanno* was the man, who by delaying the ſupply, did beat him out of *Italy*; which elſe no power of the *Romans* could have done.

Whilſt *Nero* waited upon the *Carthaginians*, and thought it enough to hinder them from meeting with the Army that was coming to their ſuccour: he was advertiſed of *Aſdrubal* his approach; by Letters and Meſſengers intercepted, as they were going to *Hannibal*. Theſe gave notice, that *Aſdrubal* had left the Siege of *Placentia*, and drew onwards apace: being already come within two hundred miles of his brother; notwithſtanding all oppoſition that could be made by *Livy* the Conſul. Of theſe news *Claudius Nero* was nothing joyful. For if *Hannibal* could once be joyned as head, unto that great body of an Army, which *Aſdrubal* brought with him: it was moſt apparent, that howſoever the fortune of *Rome* ſhould avoid, for the preſent, any great calamity; yet the very continuance of ſo ſtrong a War at home, would enforce the *Latines*, and other faithful Aſſociates, to faint under the burden; as twelve of the thirty *Roman* Colonies had already done. Wherefore he reſolved, that it were better to make any deſperate adventure, than to ſuffer the conjunction of two ſuch malevolent Planets: whoſe peſtilent influence, if not on the ſudden, yet within few years, was like to work moſt lamentable effect. It ſeemed apparent, that his Colleague was una-

ble to ſtay the progreſs of *Aſdrubal*: neither were there any good Legions in a readineſs, that could do ſervice in ſuch a needful caſe; excepting thoſe that were already employed under the two Conſuls. Hereupon he concluded, that it was not expedient for him to tie himſelf to his own charge, which was the War againſt *Hannibal*: but rather that it behoved him, to help where more neceſſity required; and to carry part of his Forces unto his Colleague. This could not be without much danger. Yet ſince the meeting of the two *Carthaginian* brethren, was far more dangerous to the *Roman* Commonwealth; it ſeemed the beſt way to put Fortune in truſt with that which was of the leſs importance. Six thouſand Foot, and a thouſand Horſe he therefore took, that were the very choice of his Army: and making ſhew, as if he would only ſtep aſide, to do ſome ſmall piece of ſervice near at hand; away he poſted as faſt as he could, to aſſiſt his fellow-Conſul. His Meſſengers ran before him, to give warning to all Towns by which he was to paſs, that they ſhould be ready to meet him, with Victuals, and all other neceſſaries for his Army. *Livius*, the other Conſul, at that time, lay encamped near unto *Sena Gallica*; and *Aſdrubal* within half a mile of him. In ſix days *Nero* had finiſhed his journey thither; and when he drew near, ſent Meſſengers before him, to give notice of his coming. *Livy* thought it fitteſt that he ſhould ſtay in ſome place of covert until dark night, and then enter ſecretly into the Camp: leſt the Enemy, perceiving this acceſs of ſtrength, ſhould accordingly frame his counſels. This was done: and a token given, that the Colonels, Captains, and all Souldiers, as well Horſe as Foot, that *Nero* had brought with him, ſhould be lodged and entertained by men of their own ſort. Their Company was ſomewhat encreaſed by Voluntaries that joyned with them on the way. Nevertheleſs, it was not needful, that the Quarter which received them, ſhould be enlarged, ſince they had brought with them nothing but their Arms. The next day they held a Counſel of War: wherein ſome were of opinion, that it was beſt for theſe new-arrived Companies, to refreſh themſelves a few days after their weary journey, before they ſhould be drawn forth to battel. But againſt this, *Nero* was very earneſt: and beſought his Colleague, to make uſe of him out of hand; that he might betimes return to his own Camp, ere *Hannibal* ſhould have notice of his abſence. The Souldiers alſo of *Nero*, were full of Spirit; perceiving that the honour of the Victory was like to be theirs: foraſmuch as the battel would not have been undertaken, without this their coming to help. Finally, it was agreed when the Counſel brake up, that the ſign of battel ſhould be hung out; which was commonly a Purple Coat over the General's Pavillion.

Aſdrubal was no leſs willing than the *Romans* to come to battel: having long deſired it, and hitherto not found occaſion before. But when he had put his Men in order, and was riding before the head of his Army, to behold the Enemies countenance; it ſeemed to him, that they were more than they had been; and ſome of their Arms and Horſes, looked as though they had wanted dreſſing, after a long journey. Hereupon he began to withdraw his Army back into the Camp: and gave order, that if no Priſoners could be taken, by whom he might be certified of the truth; yet ſhould there good obſervation be made, whether the Enemies Camp were enlarged, or no; or what other alteration could be noted, that might ſhew their Forces to be increaſed. The Camp, as hath been ſaid, was not extended: but the Trumpet, that ſounded only once in the quarter of *L. Porcius* the Prætor, did now, contrary to former cuſtom, ſound twice in the quarter of *Livius* the Conſul. Hereat *Aſdrubal* greatly muſed: and being well acquainted with the *Roman* Orders; held this for a ſure token, that the other Conſul was there arrived. How this might be, if *Hannibal* were alive, and in good caſe, he was not able to conjecture: but thought it the beſt way, to go leiſurely to work, till he might be better informed. Upon confidence in his own Forces, he had not cared hitherto, how near he lay to the *Romans*; nor troubled himſelf perhaps with over-ſtrongly fortifying his own Camp. Yet when he now perceived, that ſomewhat was fallen out beſide his expectation; he changed his reſolution; and held it no diſhonour to remove a little further off. So he diſlodged ſecretly by night: intending to get over the River *Metaurus*; whereby to keep himſelf as long as he could, from neceſſity of battel. But whether it were ſo, that his guides did ſteal away from him in the dark, ſo that he could not find the way to the Foords; or whether his Carriages were too heavy, and hindred his ſpeed: far he had not gone, ere the Conſul *Nero* was at his heels with all the *Roman* Horſe, and ſtayed him from paſſing any further. Soon after came *L. Porcius* with the light Armature: whom the other Conſul followed anon with all the Legions, in good order, and ready for battel. *Aſdrubal*, ſeeing himſelf overtaken with neceſſity to fight, omitted no care and circumſpection. His *Gaules*, in whom he repoſed leaſt confidence, he placed in his left wing upon a Hill, which the Enemy ſhould not, without much difficulty, be able to climb: in the right wing he ſtood himſelf, with his *Africans* and *Spaniards*: his *Ligurians* he placed in the midſt; and his Elephants he beſtowed in the front of his battels. On the *Roman* ſide, *Nero* had the leading of the right wing, *Livius* of the left, and *Porcius* of the battel. Both *Romans* and *Carthaginians* well underſtood, how much depended upon the fortune of this day; and how little hope of ſafety there was unto the vanquiſhed. Only the *Romans* herein ſeemed to have had the better in conceit and opinion; That they were to fight with men deſirous to have fled from them. And, according to this preſumption, came *Livius* the Conſul with a proud bravery, to give charge on the *Africans*: by whom he was ſo ſharply entertained, that the Victory ſeemed very doubtful. The *Africans* and *Spaniards* were ſtout Souldiers; and well acquainted with the manner of the *Roman* fight. The *Ligurians* alſo were a hardy Nation, and not accuſtomed to give ground; which they needed the leſs, or were able now to do, being placed in the midſt. *Livius* therefore, and *Porcius*, found ſtrong oppoſition: and with great ſlaughter on both ſides, prevailed little or nothing. Beſides other difficulties, they were exceedingly troubled by the Elephants, that brake their firſt ranks; and put them in ſuch diſorder, as the *Roman* Enſigns were driven to fall back. All this while *Claudius Nero*, labouring much in vain againſt a ſteep Hill, was unable to come to blows with the *Gaules*, that ſtood oppoſite unto him, but out of danger. This made *Aſdrubal* the more confident; who ſeeing his own left wing ſafe, did the more boldly and fiercely make impreſſion on the other ſide, upon the left wing of the *Romans*. But *Nero*, perceiving that the place wherein he ſtood, was ſuch as would compel him to remain idle till the fight were ended, took a part of his Forces, and led them round behind the

the Forces of *Porcius* and *Livius*: which having compaſſed, he fell upon *Aſdrubal*, and charged him in the Flank. Here began the Victory to be manifeſt on the *Roman* ſide. For *Nero*, finding none to reſiſt him in Front, ran all along the depth of *Aſdrubal* his battel: and falling upon the Skirts thereof, diſordered the Enemies, and put all to rout. Of the *Spaniards* therefore and *Africans*, that were laid at on every ſide, the greateſt part was ſlain. The *Ligurians* and *Gaules* eſcaped as they could: and ſaved themſelves by timely flight. Of the Elephants, four were taken alive: the reſt were ſlain; ſome by the Enemies Weapons, others by their own Guides that rode them. For when any of them, being ſore wounded, began to wax unruly, and ruſh back upon their own battels following them: the guide had in readineſs a Mallet, and a Chizzel, wherewith he gave them a ſtroke between the Ears, in the joynt of the neck, next unto the head; wherewith he killed the beaſt upon the ſudden. This ſpeedy way of preventing ſuch harm as the Elephants, being hurt, were wont to do to the Squadrons following them, is ſaid to have been the Device of *Aſdrubal* himſelf; who died in this Battel.

Great commendations are given to *Aſdrubal*, both by *Polybius*, and by *Livy*. He is ſaid at all times to have ſhewed himſelf worthy of *Amilcar* his Father, and *Hannibal* his Brother; to have ſtriven with great patience, againſt many difficulties, whereinto he fell by the means of thoſe Captains that were ſent from *Carthage* into *Spain*; to have performed in this laſt battel all duties of a worthy General; and finally, when he ſaw the loſs irreparable, to have ridden manfully into the thickeſt of his Enemies; where fighting bravely, he was ſlain. Of the number that died with him in this battel, the report of *Livy*, and of *Polybius*, do very much diſagree. For *Livy* ſaith, that the *Carthaginians* had no leſs an overthrow, than was that which they gave to the *Romans* at *Cannæ*; that fifty ſix thouſand of them were ſlain, five thouſand and four hundred taken Priſoners, and above four thouſand *Roman* Citizens, whom they had Captives with them, delivered, and ſet at liberty. He ſaith alſo, that of the *Romans* and their Aſſociates, there were ſlain eight thouſand: and of the booty, that it was exceeding great; not only in other kinds, but in gold and ſilver. Concerning the booty, *Polybius* hath no mention of it. Likely it is to have been as rich as *Livy* reporteth it; for *Aſdrubal* came well ſtored with money. But *Polybius* (who had no deſire to make this battel of *Metaurus* a parallel unto that of *Cannæ*) reports no more than about ten thouſand of the *Carthaginian* ſide, and two thouſand of the *Roman* to have been ſlain. The number of the Priſoners he doth not mention: but only ſaith, That ſome of the *Carthaginian* Princes were taken alive; and that all the reſt died in the battel. Whereby it may ſeem, that they were all *Barchines*: foraſmuch as they preferred the honour of themſelves, and of their Countrey, above their lives.

The joy of this Victory was no leſs in *Rome*, than had been the fear of the event. For ever ſince it was known in what ſort *Nero* had left his Army, the whole City was troubled, as much as lately at *Hannibal* his coming thither. Men thought it ſtrange, that the Conſul ſhould make ſuch a great adventure, as thus to put the one half of all the *Roman* Forces, unto hazard of the Dice. For what if *Hannibal* ſhould chance to have notice of this his departure; and either purſue him, or ſet upon the Army that ſtayed behind, much weakned, and without a General? Thus did they talk: yet reſerving their cenſure unto the ſucceſs, with liberty to approve or condemn, according to the iſſue. In the mean while the People filled the Market-place; the Women ran to the Temples, with Vows and Prayers; and the Senators were daily in Counſel, waiting ſtill ready at hand upon the Magiſtrates: as if ſome great matter were likely to fall out, that would require every ones help. In brief, they were all ſo full of Melancholly, that when firſt news of the Victory came, there were not many that would believe it. Afterwards, when Meſſengers arrived from the Conſuls, with Letters containing all that had paſſed: there was not only great and joyful concourſe of all ſorts of men unto the Temples, but the very face of the City was altered; and men from thenceforth began to follow their private buſineſs; making contracts one with another (which they had long forborn to do) and attending their own affairs in ſuch wiſe, as if *Hannibal* were already driven out of *Italy*.

Nero returning to his Camp, threw forth openly the head of *Aſdrubal* before the *Carthaginians*: and producing his *African* Priſoners bound; ſent two of them looſe to give *Hannibal* notice of what had hapned. Theſe two Priſoners might have ſerved well enough to certifie *Hannibal* of this miſadventure, without doing wrong to the dead body of *Aſdrubal*: eſpecially ſince *Hannibal*, in honourable, and far different manner, had given burial to *Gracchus* and *Marcellus*; yea, to all the *Roman* Generals, whoſe Carkaſſes fell into his hands. But it may ſeem, that howſoever the People of *Carthage*, wanted much of the generous diſpoſition, which was found among the *Romans*, in their love unto the Commonweal; yet in dealing with Enemies, they were far more civil, and leſs prone to the inſolency of revenge. The beſt Excuſe of this outrage done by *Nero*, is, that he hoped much more by the ſudden terror of ſuch a Spectacle, than by the ſimple relation of that which had paſſed, to make a deep impreſſion of fear into the *Carthaginians*. It may alſo be ſaid, That he forgot himſelf, being over-joyed with the greatneſs of his proſperity. For it was the battel of *Metaurus* that weighed down the ballance, and turned the Tide of the *Roman* fortune: which being then at the loweſt Ebb, ceaſed not afterwards to flow, till it could not be contained within any banks. *Hannibal* having loſt in this unhappy fight (beſides that worthy Gentleman his Brother) all the hope that ſo long ſuſtained him in *Italy*, withdrew himſelf into the Countrey of the *Brutians*: and thither he cauſed all the *Lucans*, that were of his party, to remove; as likewiſe all that dwelt in *Metapontum*. For he wanted men to defend ſo many places as he held at the preſent, becauſe they lay too far aſunder. Wherefore he drew them all into a leſſer compaſs in the utmoſt corner of *Italy*; it being a Countrey of much faſtneſs, and the people exceedingly devoted to his ſervice. In this buſineſs *Nero* gave him no memorable impediment: either becauſe *Hannibal* was too ſtrong for him, having all his Forces united; or becauſe it is likely that this remove of the *Lucans* and *Metapontines*, was not before the end of Summer, when their Harveſt was gathered in; at what time the Senate called him home to *Rome*. *M. Livius*, the other Conſul, tarried among the *Ciſalpine Gaules*, until the end of Summer; there to ſet things in ſuch order as he thought requiſite: which done, he wrote unto the Senate, that there was no more need of him and his Army in that Province; but that *L. Porcius*, with the two Legi-

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ons that were there before, might very well discharge the place. For this cauſe, he deſired leave to return home; and that he might bring his Army with him. The Senate well underſtood his meaning: which was to have the honour of a Triumph, as he well deſerved. But foraſmuch as it was well known, what intereſt *Nero* had in the late Victory: order was given, that not only *Livy*, with his Army, ſhould come home; but likewiſe *Nero*; though leaving his Army behind him, to confront *Hannibal*. So the honour of Triumph was granted to them both: in the pomp whereof *Livy* made the greater ſhew, as riding in a Chariot, and followed by his Souldiers; becauſe in his Province, and upon his day of command, the Victory was gotten; his Army alſo being preſent at the Triumph. But *Nero*, that rode on Horſeback, and without ſuch attendance, was the more extolled both by the People and Souldiers: by whom, the Victory was in a manner wholly aſcribed unto his great worth. Neither wanted *L. Veturius Philo*, and *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, Lieutenants to the Generals, the due acknowledgment of their good ſervice. For they were commended unto the People, as men worthy to be choſen Conſuls: and Conſuls they were choſen for the year following. But nothing was done by them, worthy of memory, in their Conſulſhip. Neither indeed from this year, which was the Thirteenth of the preſent War, until the Eighteenth year, wherein it ended, was there any matter of importance wrought in *Italy*; ſave only the taking of *Locri* from the *Carthaginians* by ſurpriſe. For *Hannibal* wanted ſtrength, wherewith to make any great offer: and the *Romans* had little mind to provoke him; but thought it well that he was quiet. Such opinion had they conceived of him, that though all about him went to ruine, yet in him alone they thought there was force enough to hold himſelf upright. And ſurely very notable are the commendations given unto him by *Polybius*; whom *Livy* therein follows: That making War upon a People, of all other the moſt warlike, he obtained ſo many Victories by his own good conduct: and that leading an Army, compounded of ſo many ſundry Nations, *Africans*, *Spaniards*, *Gaules*, *Carthaginians*, *Italians*, and *Greeks*, which were, neither in Language, Laws, Conditions, or any other thing, one like to another; he held them all in ſuch good order, that they never fell to Sedition among themſelves, or againſt their General. But that which *Livy* adds hereto, is yet perhaps of greater admiration: That he ſuſtained his Army, without help from other places, from this time forward, upon the hungry ſoil of the *Brutians*: which, when it was beſt manured in time of peace, could hardly ſuffice to nouriſh the Inhabitants. It is therefore apparent, that by his proper worth and vertue, he kept his Army in ſuch order and obedience, rather than by any greatneſs of reward and booty: ſince after the death of *Aſdrubal*, he made no invaſion upon the wealthier parts of *Italy*; but held himſelf ſtill among the poor *Brutians*. Where we muſt leave him until he be drawn into *Africk* by *Scipio*; whoſe doings will henceforth entertain, and lead us unto the end of this War.

§. XVII.

How P. Cornelius Scipio *the* Roman, *made entire conqueſt of* Spain.

I.

How the Carthaginians *were driven by* Scipio *from the Continent into the Iſle of* Gades.

MAGO, and *Aſdrubal*, the Son of *Geſco*, took upon them the charge of *Spain*, when *Aſdrubal*, the Son of *Amilcar*, departed thence into *Italy*. Theſe agreed together, that *Mago* ſhould make a Voyage to the *Baleares*; there to levy a ſupply of men: and *Aſdrubal* withdraw himſelf into *Luſitania* (which is now *Portugal*) whither the *Romans* had ill means to follow; being altogether unacquainted in thoſe parts. *Mago* had ſoon ended his buſineſs, and returned into *Spain*: where he met with one *Hanno* (the ſame perhaps that had lately been employed in *Sicil*) who brought new Forces out of *Africk*, and came to ſucceed in place of *Aſdrubal* the *Barchine*. It is not unlikely that *Spain* was now the better, and more readily furniſhed with men, and all things needful from *Carthage*; when that Son of *Amilcar*, whoſe authority had been greateſt, was thence departed. For hereby might the factious diligence of old *Hanno* approve it ſelf, againſt that noble race of Warriors; when it ſhould appear, that things did proſper much the better by being left unto the handling of other men. Whether it were upon deſire to make good ſome ſuch opinion raiſed of him at home, or whether upon confidence in the forces that he brought over: *Hanno* took the Field, and led *Mago* with him; as purpoſing afreſh to ſet upon the *Romans*. So he entred into the Countrey of the *Celtiberians*, not very far from *New Carthage*: where, by Money, and other perſwaſions, he levied above nine thouſand men.

P. Scipio in the mean while contained himſelf in the *Eaſtern* parts of *Spain*: attentive, as it may ſeem, to the proceedings of *Aſdrubal*, the Son of *Amilcar*; againſt whom, he is reported by ſome Writers, to have ſent part of his Forces into *Italy*, to the aſſiſtance of *C. Claudius Nero*, and *M. Livius*, the Conſuls. But hearing of the levy made by *Hanno* and *Mago*, among the *Celtiberians*: he ſent *M. Syllanus*, the Proprætor, with ten thouſand Foot, and five hundred Horſe. *Syllanus* got intelligence by ſome Fugitive *Celtiberians*, who became his guides, that their Countreymen encamped apart from the *Carthaginians* in great diſorder: as men fearing no danger, becauſe they were at home. Wherefore as cloſely as he was able, he drew near to theſe *Celtiberians*: and falling upon them on the ſudden, gave them ſuch an overthrow, that *Hanno* and *Mago* coming to their ſuccour, inſtead of heartning and re-enforcing them, became partakers of the loſs. *Mago* ſaved himſelf, with all the Horſe, and old Companies of Foot, which were about two thouſand: and in ten days journey brought them ſafe to *Adrubal*. The reſt of the *Africans* were either ſlain or taken: among whom, *Hanno* had the ill luck to be taken Priſoner; though he kept himſelf out of the fight until all was loſt. As for the *Celtiberians*, they knew better how to make ſhift; and ſaved moſt of themſelves by running into the Woods.

It could no otherwiſe be, but that *Scipio* was much troubled with the danger wherein *Italy* ſtood,

ſtood, by the coming thither of *Aſdrubal*. Ten thouſand Foot, and Eighteen hundred Horſe, he did therefore ſend out of *Spain* (as it is reported by ſome Authors) to the defence of his own Countrey: or was perhaps about to ſend them; and thereupon remained at *New Carthage*, intentive to the neceſſity and ſucceſs of his Countreymen at home. But when he had word of the great Victory at *Metaurus*, which fell out long before the end of this Summer, then might he well adventure, to take in hand the entire conqueſt of *Spain*; which muſt needs be much alienated from the *Carthaginians*, by the report of ſuch an overthrow. The *Spaniſh* Souldiers that ſerved under *Hannibal*, and thoſe that had been ſent over into *Africk*; were as pledges heretofore, by whom their Countrey was held obnoxious to the *Carthaginians*. But when it was noiſed abroad, That all which had followed *Aſdrubal* into *Italy*, were fallen into the hands of the *Romans*; and that *Hannibal*, with his Army, was cloſed up in a ſtreight, whence he could not get out: then did it greatly behove the *Spaniards* to conform themſelves unto the Will of the Victors. That it was the ſucceſs of things in *Italy*, which gave ſuch confidence unto *Scipio*, it is the more probable, becauſe he took not this great Enterpriſe in hand, until the Summer was almoſt ſpent. *Aſdrubal* therefore uſed the benefit of the ſeaſon; and by diſpoſing his Army into many Garriſons; hindred the Enemy from doing any great Exploit before Winter. So the very length of way, and the time of the year, cauſed *Scipio* to return back: without any other matter performed, than that his Brother, *L. Scipio*, took by aſſault the Town of *Oringis*.

Againſt the next years danger, *Aſdrubal* prepared a great Army: and ſpared not coſt, nor travel in ſtrengthning himſelf, for the trial of his laſt fortune in *Spain*. With ſeventy thouſand Foot, four thouſand Horſe, and two and thirty Elephants, he took the Field: which number I believe that he could hardly have raiſed, without boldly denying the truth of thoſe reports that came from *Italy*. *Scipio* thought his *Roman* Legions too weak to encounter with ſuch a Multitude. Wherefore he judged it needful to uſe the help of his *Spaniſh* friends. But the Death of his Father and Uncle, that were caſt away by the Treaſon of ſuch falſe *Auxiliaries*; made him on the other ſide very doubtful, of relying upon thoſe, that might perhaps betray him in his greateſt need. Yet ſince one *Colchas*, that was Lord of Eight and twenty Towns, had promiſed him the laſt Winter; to raiſe three thouſand Foot, and five hundred Horſe for his ſervice: he reſolved to make uſe of thoſe, and ſome few others, that might help to make a ſhew, and yet not be able to do great harm; if they would revolt. So with five and forty thouſand Foot, and three thouſand Horſe, he ſought out the Enemy; near to whom he incamped. At his firſt coming, *Mago* and *Maſaniſſa* fell upon him; with hope to take him unprepared, whilſt he was making his lodgings. But he laid certain Troops of Horſe in covert: which breaking upon them unexpected, cauſed them to fall off. They made at firſt an orderly Retreat: but being more hardly preſſed, they ſhortly betook themſelves to plain flight. After this Encounter, which added ſome courage to the *Romans*, and abated the preſumption of the *Carthaginians*: there were daily skirmiſhes between the Horſe, and light Armature, on both ſides; wherein was nothing done of importance. *Aſdrubal* drew forth his Army, and arranged it before his Trenches: the like did *Scipio*; each of them to ſhew that he durſt fight; yet not proceeding any further. Thus they continued many days: *Aſdrubal* being ſtill the firſt that iſſued forth in the morning; and the firſt that, in the evening, withdrew himſelf into his Trenches. The *Spaniſh Auxiliaries* were placed on both ſides in the Wings; the *Carthaginians* were in the midſt, with their Elephants before them; and oppoſite to theſe on the other ſide were the *Roman* Legions. When they had in this order confronted one another, though at far diſtance, many days together: it grew to be the common opinion, that they ſhould ſhortly meet in the ſame form; and be matched on each part, with the Enemies, long before deſigned. But *Scipio*, when he purpoſed indeed to fight, altered the form of his Army; and withal, came forth earlier than he had been wont. He cauſed his Men, and Horſes, to be well fed betimes in the morning, before day: and then ſent forth his Horſe and light Armature, to train out the *Carthaginians*, with their bellies empty: uſing herein the ſame trick, whereby he might remember, that *Hannibal* had beaten his Father in the battel of *Trebia*. His *Roman* Legions he beſtowed in the Wings; his *Spaniards* in the battel. *Aſdrubal* ſent forth his Horſe in all haſte, to entertain the *Romans*; whilſt he himſelf arranged his men, in their wonted order, at the Hill foot, upon which he incamped. In the skirmiſhes of the Horſe it could not be diſcerned which part had the better: ſince being over-preſſed on either ſide, they had a ſafe Retreat unto their Foot; and one Troop ſeconding another by courſe, returned to charge. This Fight was protracted by *Scipio* to a great length: becauſe his Men, having well fed themſelves, were like to hold out better than the Enemy. But about noon he cauſed his Wings to advance a good pace; leaving their battel of *Spaniards* far behind them; that came on leiſurely, according to direction. The *Spaniſh* Mercinaries, that ſtood in *Aſdrubal* his Wings, were no way comparable, ſave only in number, to the *Latin* and *Roman* Souldiers, that came againſt them; for they were freſh Souldiers, levied in haſte; and fighting only in reſpect of their pay. Being therefore charged in front by the Legions, and in flank, at the ſame time, by the *Roman Velites*, and by ſome cohorts, that were appointed to wheel about for the ſame purpoſe: they were ſorely preſſed; and with much difficulty made reſiſtance. The *Carthaginians* would fain have ſuccoured them; but that they durſt not ſtir out of their places, becauſe of the *Spaniſh* battel which was coming againſt them; though it were as yet far off. Thus the beſt part of *Aſdrubal* his Army ſtood idle, until the Wings were broken. For, had he adventured to meet with the *Spaniards*, he muſt have caſt himſelf into the open ſpace that lay before him, between the *Roman* Wings: to the depth whereof when he had arrived, he ſhould have found himſelf incloſed in ſuch ſort, as was the Conſul *Paulus* at the battel of *Cannæ*. Wherefore he did only employ his Elephants; which did, according to their manner, no greater harm to his Enemies, than to his Friends. When they were chafed with Wounds, they could no longer be ruled by their guides: but ran, as chance led them, and troubled both parts; or thoſe perhaps the more, that were the more unwilling to kill them. In proceſs of the fight: the *Romans*, who had well refreſhed their bodies in the morning, endured luſty; when the others began to faint with travel, and heat of the day. Wherefore perceiving their advantage, they followed it the more hotly: and gave not over,

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till they had forc'd the Enemy to change his pace, and run from him. *Aſdrubal* did his beſt to have made an orderly Retreat; and afterward again, to have cauſed his men to turn head, at the Hill foot. But the *Romans* would not ſuffer the Victory to be ſo extorted from them: neither was it eaſie to put freſh courage into the vanquiſhed; led by the obſtinate paſſion of fear, which hearkens to no perſwaſion. The Camp of *Aſdrubal* had that day been taken, if a ſtorm of Rain, which fell violently on the ſudden, and bred ſome ſuperſtition in the *Romans*, had not cauſed them to give over.

The ſame night, *Aſdrubal* gave no reſt to his men: but cauſed them, hungry, and over-laboured as they were, to take pains in fortifying the Camp; wherein he feared to be aſſaulted. But little aſſurance could he have in the ſtrength of his Trenches, when he had loſt the hearts of his *Spaniſh* Souldiers. One *Attanes*, that was Lord of the *Turdetani*, fled from him to the *Romans*, with a great Band of his Subjects: many followed this Example; and ſoon after, two ſtrong Towns were yielded up to *Scipio*, and the Garriſons betrayed. It ſeems, that the perverſe fortune of this late battel, whereupon *Aſdrubal* had ſet his reſt; bred in the *Spaniards* a diſpoſition, to believe the more eaſily thoſe reports which they heard from *Italy*. For henceforward, they never did good office to the *Carthaginians*. *Aſdrubal*, perceiving this, withdrew himſelf, and marched away, faſter than an ordinary pace, toward the Ocean Sea. *Scipio* followed the next morning: and overtaking the *Carthaginians* with his Horſe, cauſed them ſo often to make ſtand, that they were at length attached by the *Roman* Legions. Here began a cruel ſlaughter: for there was no reſiſtance made, but all fell to rout, ſave only ſeven thouſand, that with *Aſdrubal* himſelf, recovered a very ſtrong piece of ground, which they fortified in haſte. This place he made ſhift a while to defend: but wanting there neceſſaries to ſuſtain himſelf long, he was forſaken by ſome of thoſe few, that continued hitherto partakers of his fortune. Wherefore he reſolved to make ſhift for one: and ſtealing from his Company by night away to the Seaſide, that was not far thence; he took ſhipping, and ſet ſail for *Gades*. When *Scipio* underſtood that *Aſdrubal* was thus gone: he left *Syllanus* with ten thouſand Foot, and a thouſand Horſe, to beſiege their Camp (which was not taken in haſte; for *Mago* and *Maſaniſſa* ſtayed in it) whilſt he with the reſt of the Army, did what was needful in the Countrey abroad. It was not long, ere *Mago* and *Maſaniſſa* followed *Aſdrubal* to *Gades*: and their Army diſperſed it ſelf; ſome flying over to the *Romans*; other taking what way they liked. So upon all the Continent of *Spain*, there were only three Towns left, *Illiturgi*, *Caſtulo*, and *Aſtapa*, that made countenance of War againſt the *Romans*: of which only *Caſtulo* had in it a *Carthaginian* Garriſon; conſiſting of ſuch as had ſaved themſelves by flight, in the late overthrows. Hereby it ſeems, that the report of thoſe Hiſtorians was ill grounded, who ſaid, that *Caſtulo* yielded long ſince unto the *Romans*; though *Hannibal* took a Wife in that City. For this was one of the laſt three Towns that held out, on the *Carthaginian* ſide. *Illiturgi* had ſometimes been inclinable to the *Romans*; if not altogether at their devotion. Yet after the Death of the two elder *Scipio's*, following too earneſtly the *Carthaginian* fortune; it not only rebelled; but with great cruelty betrayed, and ſlew the poor men that eſcaped thither from the overthrows. *Aſtapa* was a Town that had ſtill adhered to the *Carthaginians*; and, which was worſe, had thriven by ſpoil of the *Romans* and their Confederates. Wherefore (though not until the next year) *Scipio* went againſt theſe, and took himſelf *Illiturgi* and *Caſtulo*: *Illiturgi* by aſſault, and with a general ſlaughter of the Inhabitants; *Caſtulo*, by Treaſon of one *Cerdubellus*. *Aſtapa* was taken by *Lucius Marcius*; or rather deſtroyed by the Inhabitants. For a great pile of wood was raiſed in the Market-place: whereinto was thrown all the gold and ſilver, with whatſoever elſe was precious; the women and children ſtanding by it under a ſure guard; that ſhould kill and burn them if the *Romans* got into the Town. This proviſion being made: all the Inhabitants that could bear arms, ruſhed forth deſperately: and fell upon the *Roman* Camp; where ſtriving beyond their power, they were every one ſlain. Then was the Town forthwith ſet on fire, by thoſe that had taken charge to do it: and many of the *Romans* conſumed with the flame; whilſt they ruſhed over-haſtily to catch the gold and ſilver, which they ſaw lying on the pile ready to melt.

Aſdrubal, being beaten into the Iſland of *Gades*, found no cauſe of long ſtay there: but returned home to *Carthage*, with ſeven Gallies: leaving *Mago* behind him, to wait upon occaſion, if any ſhould be offered. He viſited in his way home, *Syphax*, King of the *Maſæſili*, a people of the *Numidians*, hoping to win him to the friendſhip of the *Carthaginians*. But he met with *Scipio*, as it were with his evil *Angel*, in the Kings Port: who, landing at the ſame time, carried *Syphax* quite another way. For *Scipio*, having driven the *Carthaginians* out of *Spain*, did forthwith bethink himſelf, how to finiſh the War, by putting them to the like diſtreſs in *Africk*. Hereunto it ſeemed, that the help of *Sypax* would be much available: a King that had many times fallen out with the *Carthaginians*, and ſuſtained much hurt by their procurement; of which in all likelihood he might eaſily be moved to ſeek revenge. He had alſo been beholding to *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, that ſent him over a Captain into *Africk*; who inſtructed him ſo well in marſhalling his Forces, as he thereby often became victorious. Upon theſe reaſons the *Numidian* King ſent Embaſſadors to *Rome*, and made League with the City, in a time of great extremity. So that hereby *P. Scipio* conceived hope of laying a good foundation to the War, which he intended in *Africk*; upon the friendſhip of this ill Neighbour to the *Carthaginians*. For which cauſe he ſent over *C. Lælius* his Embaſſador, to deal with *Syphax*: who declaring, that the *Carthaginians* did very ill in *Italy*, and had nothing now at all to do in *Spain*; eaſily perſwaded the King to take part with thoſe that had the better, and were without queſtion his better friends. Only *Syphax* requeſted, that the *Roman* General ſhould viſit him in perſon, to conclude the League; by which he was to enter into conditions of more importance, than in any former Treaty. Hereto *Scipio* condeſcended; thinking the friendſhip of ſo great a King, that was Neighbour to *Carthage*, and not far diſtant from *Spain*, well worthy of the adventure. So with two *Quinquereme* Gallies he took Sea: and arrived in the Kings Port, at the ſame time, with *Aſdrubal*. This would have been very dangerous to him, had he been diſcried by his Enemies further at Sea: but in the Haven, they forbare to make offer one upon the other. *Syphax* might well be proud; ſeeing at one time, two ſuch Captains of two moſt powerful Cities, came to deſire his friendſhip.

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He would have brought them to treat of peace: but the *Roman* excuſed himſelf, by want of ſuch commiſſion from the Senate. He feaſted them together: and ſhortly diſmiſſed *Scipio*, with whom he readily entred into covenant; which in time of performance, he as readily brake.

†. II.

Funeral Games held by Scipio. *A Duel between two* Spaniſh *Princes. A Digreſſion, concerning Duels.*

Scipio returning into *Spain*, and reſting that Winter, took vengeance the next year, upon thoſe of *Illiturgi*, *Caſtulo*, and *Aſtapa*, as hath been ſaid before. The Conqueſt of the Countrey being then in a manner at an end: he performed at *New Carthage*, with great ſolemnity, ſome Vows that he had made; and honoured the memory of his Father and Uncle, with Funeral games, eſpecially of thoſe that fought at Sharp, according to the manner of the times. Neither was it needful, that he ſhould trouble himſelf with preparing Slaves for that ſpectacle, to hazard their lives, as was uſed in the City of *Rome*: for there were enough, that either offered themſelves as Voluntaries, or were ſent from their Princes, to give proof in ſingle combat, of the valour that was in their ſeveral Countries. Some alſo there were, that being in contention, which they could not, or would not otherwiſe end, agreed to refer the deciſion of their Controverſies, to trial of the Sword, in ſingle fight. Among theſe, the moſt eminent, were, *Corbis*, and *Orſua*, Couſin-germans: that contended for the principality of a Town called *Ibes*. *Corbis* was the elder, and the elder brother's Son: wherefore he claimed the Lordſhip, as eldeſt of the Houſe, after the manner of our *Iriſh Taniſtry*. But the Father of *Orſua* ſtood lately ſeized of the Principality: which though himſelf received by the Death of his elder brother; yet this his Son would not let it go back; but claimed to hold it as Heir unto his Father, and old enough to rule. Fain would *Scipio* have compounded the matter. But they anſwered peremptorily, That all their friends, and kindred, had already laboured in vain, to take up that quarrel; and that neither God, nor Man, but only *Mars*, their God of battel, ſhould be Umpire between them. So they had their wills: and the elder, who was alſo the ſtronger, and more skillful at his Weapon, eaſily vanquiſhed the fool-hardineſs of the younger.

Such Combats have been very ancient; and perhaps more ancient, than any other kind of fight. We read of many performed before the War of *Troy*, by *Theſeus*, *Hercules*, *Pollux*, and others: as alſo of two at the War of *Troy*; the one between *Paris* and *Menelaus*; the other between *Hector* and *Ajax*. Neither want there Examples of them among the *Hebrews*: whereof that between *David* and *Goliah*; and others performed by ſome of *David*'s Worthies, againſt thoſe that challenged them; are greatly celebrated. Unto the ſame kind appertains the fight, between twelve of the Tribe of *Juda*, and as many of the *Benjamites*. The *Romans* had many of them: whereof that was principal, in which they ventured their Dominion upon the heads of three brethren the *Horatij*, againſt the three brethren *Curiatij*, that were *Albans*. The Combat of *Manlius Torquatus*, and ſhortly after, of *Valerius Corvinus*, with two Champions of the *Gaules*, which challenged any *Roman*; were of leſs importance, as having only reference to bravery. In *England* there was a great Combat fought, between *Edmond Ironſide* and *Canutus* the *Dane*, for no leſs than the Kingdom. The uſe of them was very frequent in the *Saxon* times; almoſt upon every occaſion, great or ſmall. In the Reign of *Edward* the Third, who ſuſtained the party of *Mountfort* againſt the *Earl of Bloys*, contending for the Dutchy of *Britain*; there was a fight, for honour of the Nations, between Thirty of the *Britains*, and Thirty *Engliſh*: two of which *Engliſh*, were *Calverly*, a brave Captain, and that Sir *Robert Knolles*; who afterwards became a renowned Commander in the *French* Wars, and did highly honour his blood, whereof the Lord *Knolles* is deſcended. It were infinite to reckon the Examples of the like, found in *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Italian* Hiſtories. Moſt of them have been Combats of bravery, and of *gayeté de cure*, as the *French* term it; for honour of ſeveral Nations; for love of Miſtreſſes; or whatſoever elſe gave occaſion unto men, deſirous to ſet out themſelves. But beſides thoſe of this ſort, there are two other natures of Combats; which are, either upon accuſation for life; or upon trial of Title and Inheritance, as in *Writ of Right*. And of this latter kind was that, of which we ſpake even now, between *Corbis* and *Orſua*. Unto theſe (methinks) may be added, as of different condition from the reſt, the Combat upon Wager; ſuch as were that between *David* and *Goliah*; or that between the *Horatij* and *Curiatij*: in which, without regard of Title, the Dominion of Nations, one over the other, is adventured upon the head of Champions. Upon an accuſation for life, there was a Combat appointed between the Lord *Henry* of *Boulinbrook*, Duke of *Hereford*, and *Moubray*, Duke of *Norfolk*. There was a Combat performed by Sir *John Anſley*, and one *Cattrington*: whom *Anſley* charged with Treaſon; and proved it upon him, by being victorious. The like was fought between *Robert* of *Mountfort*, and *Henry* of *Eſſex*. The like alſo between a *Navarrois*, and one *Welch*, of *Grimsby*, whom the *Navarrois* accuſed of Treaſon: but, being beaten in fight, confeſſed that he had belied him; and was therefore drawn and hanged. Whether our trial by battel do determine, that the falſe accuſer, if he be vanquiſhed, ſhall ſuffer the puniſhment which had been due to the offender, if the accuſation had been proved, I cannot affirm. But we every where find, That if he which is accuſed of Treaſon, or, according to the Cuſtoms of *Normandy*, of Murder, Rape, or burning of Places (offences puniſhed by Death) be overcome, he ſhall ſuffer the pains appointed for thoſe Crimes. In Combats for trial of *Right*, it is not ſo: neither is the Appellant or Defendant bound to fight in perſon, but he may try it by his Champion; as did *Paramor* and *Lowe*, or offered to do, in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. And in this caſe, he that is beaten, or yieldeth, loſeth only his cauſe, not his life. Neither are the Combats, upon accuſation, or trial of right, fought in open field, as are thoſe of bravery; but in *campe cloſe*; that is, within Rails. Now this trial by Combat was ſo ordinary in *France*, before the time of St. *Lewes*, and *Philip the fair*, his grand-child, as every Lord of Fee, Eccleſiaſtical or Temporal, had power to grant it within his own Juriſdiction. And it ſeemeth, that the *French* Kings, and other Lords, made their profit hereby. For in the * *Memorials of the Chamber of Accompts*, is found an Article to this effect: That if a Combat were once accepted, and after, by conſent of the Lord, were ta-

A°. 21. *Ric.* 2di

A°. 3. *Ric.* 2di

A°. 9. *Hen* 2di

* *Si homines de Loraico Vadia Duelli temerè dederint, &c.*

ken up, each of the parties ſhould pay two ſhillings ſix pence; but if it were performed, then ſhould the party vanquiſhed forfeit an hundred and twelve ſhillings. And upon this Cuſtom grew the *French* Proverb, which they uſe when any man hath had an hard or unjuſt judgment; ſaying, that *he was tried by the Law of* Loray, *or* Berne; *ou le battu paye l'amende*, where he that is beaten gives the recompence. Of theſe frequent trials by battel, that great learned man *Yuo*, Biſhop of *Chartres*, did often complain, and ſpecially againſt the *French* Church-men: as appears by * his Letters to the Biſhop of *Orleans*, to the Arch-deacon of *Paris*, to *Rembert*, Arch-biſhop of *Sens*, and to others; wherein he rebukes the judgment of their Churches, that had ratified ſuch Challenges of Combat. But this liberty, and kind of trial, was retrencht by Saint *Lewes*, and *Philip the fair*; ſo that no man ſhould decree, or grant it, ſave the King himſelf. It hath ſince been granted, though more ſparingly, by the *French* Kings; as to the Lord of *Carouges* againſt *Jaques le Gris*; and to *Julian Romero*, the *Spaniard*, againſt *Moro*, his Countreyman: wherein Sir *Henry Kneuet*, Father of the Lord *Kneuet* now living, was Patron to *Romero*, that had the Victory, and laſtly to the Lord of *Chaſt*. Now in thoſe Challenges, upon accuſation of Treaſon, Murder, or other offence deſerving death, (and in thoſe only) the Rule held; That *le defendeur eſtoit tenu de propoſer ces deffenſes per une dementir*; *The Defendant was bound to plead not guilty, by giving the accuſer the Lie*: otherwiſe it was concluded, that the Defendant did *taiſiblement confeſſer le crime*; *ſilently confeſs the crime*. But after ſuch time as *Francis* the *French* King, upon ſome diſpute about breach of Faith, had ſent the *Lie* unto the Emperor *Charles* the fifth, thereby to draw him to a perſonal Combat: every petty Champion in *France*, in imitation of their Maſter, made the giving of the *Lie* Mortality it ſelf; holding it a matter of no ſmall glory, to have it ſaid, That the meaneſt Gentleman in *France*, would not put up, what the great Emperor, *Charles* the fift, had patiently endured.

* *clerici veſtri nuper ad nos revertentes, qui cauſæ Comitis* Theobaldi Aurelianis *interfuerunt, retulerunt nobis, quod quidam miles Domini* Rodulphi *quendam militem Comitis ad Monomachiam provocaverit, & hanc provocationem Eccleſiæ veſtræ judicio confirmaverit, &c.*

From this beginning is derived a Challenge of Combat, grounded upon none of thoſe occaſions that were known to the Ancient. For, the Honour of Nations, the Trial of Right, the Wager upon Champions, or the Objection and Refutation of capital Offences, are none of them, nor all of them together, the argument of half ſo many Duels, as are founded upon meer private Anger, yea, or upon matter *ſeeming* worthy of anger in the opinion of the Duelliſts. So that in theſe days, wherein every man takes unto himſelf a Kingly liberty, to offer, accept, and appoint perſonal Combats; the giving of the *Lie*, which ought to be the Negation only in accuſations for life, is become the moſt fruitful root of deadly quarrels. This is held a word ſo terrible, and a wrong ſo unpardonable, as will admit no other recompence, than the blood of him that gives it. Thus the faſhion, taken up in haſte by the *French* Gentlemen after the pattern of their King, is grown to be a Cuſtom: whence we have derived a kind of Art and Philoſophy of quarrel; with certain grounds and rules, from whence the points of honour, and the dependencies thereof, are deduced. Yea, there are (among many other no leſs ridiculous) ſome ſo myſtical curioſities herein, as that it is held, a far greater diſhonour, to receive from an Enemy a ſlight touch with a Cane, than a ſound blow with a Sword: the one, having relation to a Slave; the other to a Souldier. I confeſs, that the difference is pretty: though, for mine own part, if I had had any ſuch Italionated Enemy in former times, I ſhould willingly have made with him ſuch an exchange; and have given him the point of honour to boot.

But let us examine indifferently the offence of this terrible word, the *Lie*; with their conditions, who are commonly, of all other, the moſt tender in receiving it. I ſay, that the moſt of theſe, who preſent death on the points of their Swords to all that give it them; uſe nothing ſo much in their converſation and courſe of life, as to ſpeak and ſwear falſly. Yea, it is thereby, that they ſhift and ſhuffle in the World, and abuſe it. For how few are there among them, which, having aſſumed, and ſworn to pay the Monies, and other things they borrow, do not break their word and promiſe, as often as they engage it? Nay, how few are there among them, that are not *Liers by Record*, by being ſued in ſome Court or other of Juſtice, upon breach of Word, or Bond? For he which hath promiſed, that he will pay Money by a day; or promiſed any thing elſe, wherein he faileth; hath directly lied to him, to whom the promiſe hath been made. Nay, what is the profeſſion of love that men make now-a-days? What is the vowing of their ſervice, and of all they have, uſed in their ordinary Complements, and (in effect) to every man whom they bid but good morrow, or ſalute, other than a courteous and courtlike kind of lying? It is (ſaith a wiſe *Frenchman*, deriding therein the Apiſh Cuſtom of his Countrey) *une marché & complot fait enſemble the ſe moequer, mentir, & piper les uns les autres*; *A kind of Merchandiſe, and complot made among them, to mock, belie, and d ride each other*: and ſo far now a-days in faſhion, and in uſe; as he that uſeth it not, is accounted either dull, or Cynical. True it is notwithſtanding (omitting the old diſtinctions) that there is great difference between theſe mannerly and complemental lies, with thoſe which are ſometime perſwaded by neceſſity upon breach of promiſe; and thoſe which men uſe out of cowardize and fear: the latter confeſſing themſelves to be in greater awe of men, than of God; a Vice, of all other, ſtiled the moſt villainous. But now for the *Lie* it ſelf, as it is made the ſubject of all our deadly quarrels in effect: to it I ſay, That who ſo gives another man the *Lie*, when it is manifeſt that he hath lied, doth him no wrong at all; neither ought it to be more heinouſly taken, than to tell him, that he hath broken any promiſe which he hath otherwiſe made. For he that promiſeth any thing, tells him, to whom he hath promiſed, that he will perform it; and, in not performing it, he hath made himſelf a Liar. On the other ſide, He that gives any man the *Lie*, when himſelf knows, that he, to whom it is given, hath not lied; doth therein give the Lie directly to himſelf. And what cauſe have I, if I ſay, that the Sun ſhines, when it doth ſhine, and that another fellow tells me, I lie, for it's mid-night; to proſecute ſuch an one to death, for making himſelf a fooliſh Ruffian, and a Liar in his own knowledg? For he that gives the Lie in any other diſpute, than in defence of his Loyalty, or Life, gives it impertinently, and Ruffian-like. I will not deny but it is an extreme rudeneſs to tax any man in publick with an untruth: (if it be not pernicious, and to his prejudice againſt whom the untruth is uttered) but all that is rude, ought not to be civilized with death. That were, more to admire and imitate a *French* Cuſtom, and a wicked one, than to admire and to follow the counſel of

of God. But you will ſay, That theſe diſcourſes ſavour of cowardize. It is true, if you call it cowardize, to fear God or Hell: whereas he that is truly wiſe, and truly valiant, knows that there is nothing elſe to be feared. For againſt an Enemies Sword we ſhall find ten thouſand Seven-penny-men (waged at that price in the Wars) that fear it as little, and perchance leſs, than any profeſt Sword-man in the World. *Diligentiſſima in tutela ſui Fortitudo*; *Fortitude is a diligent preſerver of it ſelf.* It is (ſaith *Ariſtotle*) a mediocrity between doubting and daring. *Sicut non Martyrem pœna: ſic nec fortem pugna*; *ſed cauſa: As it is not the puniſhment that makes the Martyr*; *ſo it is not fighting that declares a valiant man*; *but fighting in a good cauſe.* In which whoſoever ſhall reſolvedly end his life, reſolvedly in reſpect of the cauſe, to wit, in defence of his Prince, Religion, or Countrey: as he may juſtly be numbred among the Martyrs of God; ſo may thoſe that die with malicious hearts, in private Combats, be called the Martyrs of the Devil. Neither do we indeed take our own revenge, or puniſh the injuries offered us, by the death of the injurious. For the true conqueſt of revenge is, to give him, of whom we would be revenged, cauſe to repent him: and not to lay the repentance of another mans death on our own conſciences; *animaſq; in vulnere ponere*; *And to drown our Souls in the Wounds and Blood of our Enemies.* Hereupon you wil again ask me, if I condemn in generous and noble Spirits the defence of their honours, being preſt with injuries? I ſay, that I do not; if the injuries be violent. For the Law of Nature, which is a branch of the eternal Law: and the Laws of all Chriſtian Kings and States, do favour him that is aſſailed, in the ſlaughter of the Aſſailant. You will ſecondly ask me, Whether a Noble man, or a Gentleman, being challenged by *Cartel*, by one of like quality, be not bound, in point of honour, to ſatisfie the challenger in private Combat? I anſwer, that he is not: becauſe (omitting the greateſt, which is the point of Religion) the point of the Law is directly contrary and oppoſite to that, which they call the point of honour; the Law which hath dominion over it, which can judge it, which can deſtroy it; except you will ſtile thoſe Acts honourable, where the Hang-man gives the Garland. For, ſeeing the Laws of this Land have appointed the Hang-man to ſecond the Conqueror; and the Laws of *God* appointed the *Devil* to ſecond the conquered dying in malice: I ſay, that he is both baſe, and a fool, that accepts of any *Cartel* ſo accompanied. To this perchance it will be anſwered, That the Kings of *England*, and other Chriſtian Kings, have ſeldom taken any ſuch advantage over men of quality; who upon even terms have ſlain their private Enemies. It is true, that as in times of trouble and combuſtion they have not often done it; ſo did our Noble men and Gentlemen in former Ages, in all important injuries, ſue unto the King, to approve themſelves by battel and publick combat. For as they dared not to brave the Law: ſo did they diſdain to ſubmit themſelves to the ſhameful revenge thereof; the ſame revenge (becauſe it deteſteth Murder) that it hath declared againſt a common Cut-purſe, or other Thieves. Nay, let it be granted that a Pardon be procured for ſuch offenders; yet is not the Man-ſlayer freed by his Pardon. For theſe two remedies hath the party grieved notwithſtanding; that is, to require juſtice by Grand-Aſſize, or by Battel, upon his Appeal, which (ſaith Sir *Thomas Smith*) is not denied; and he further ſaith (for I uſe his own words) That if the Defendant (to wit, the Man-ſlayer) be convinced either by Great Aſſize, or by Battel, upon that Appeal; the Man-ſlayer ſhall die, notwithſtanding the Princes Pardon. So favourable (ſaith the ſame learned Gentleman) are our Princes, and the Law of our Realm, to Juſtice, and to the puniſhment of blood violently ſhed. It may further be demanded, how our Noblemen and Gentlemen ſhall be repaired in Honour, where an Enemy, taking the ſtart either in words or blows, ſhall lay on them an infamy unſufferable? I ſay, that a Marſhal's Court will eaſily give ſatisfaction in both. And if we hold it no diſgrace to ſubmit our ſelves, for the recovery of our Debts, Goods, and Lands and for all things elſe, by which the lives of our ſelves, our Wives, and Children, are ſuſtained, to the Judges of the Law; becauſe it may be Fellony, to take by violence even that which is our own: why ſhould we not ſubmit our ſelves to the Judges of Honour in caſes of Honour; becauſe to recover our reputation by ſtrong hand, may be Murder? But yet again it may be objected, That the loſs of Honour ought to be more fearful unto us, than either the loſs of our Goods, of our Lands, or of our Lives; and I ſay ſo too. But what is this honour, I mean honour indeed, and that which ought to be ſo dear unto us, other than a kind of hiſtory, or fame following actions of vertue, actions accompanied with difficulty or danger, and undertaken for the publick good? In theſe he that is imployed and truſted, if he fail in the performance, either through cowardize, or any other baſe affection; it is true that he loſeth his honour. But the acting of a private combat, for a private reſpect, and moſt commonly a frivolous one, is not an action of vertue; becauſe it is contrary to the law of God, and of all Chriſtian Kings: neither is it difficult, becauſe even and equal in perſons and arms: Neither for a publick good, but tending to the contrary; becauſe the loſs or mutilation of an able man, is alſo a loſs to the Commonweal.

Sir *Thomas Smith* in his Com. wealth of *Engl.*

Now that a Marſhal of *England* hath power to ſave every mans fame and reputation, as far as reputation may ſuſtain injury by words, I think no man doubteth. For to repent us of any ill words that we have given, and to confeſs that we have done him wrong to whom we have given them, is a ſufficient ſatisfaction; and as it may fall out, more than ſufficient. For he that gives ill words in choller, and ſuddenly denies them, or repents himſelf of them upon adviſement; hath the diſadvantage in point of reputation. Concerning blows, which are indeed not to be given but to thoſe that are ſervile, whether ſufficient recompence will be made for them, it ſhall appear by a notable Example of a moſt worthy Gentleman, *Mounſieur du Pleſſis*, that was ſtricken in *France* not long ſince, by a Baron of the ſame Nation. The ſatisfaction which was given him by a judgment of the Conſtable, and Marſhals of *France*, was this: In the open Court, wherein the Conſtable gave judgment, *M. de Pleſſis* was ſet in a Chair under the degrees where the Conſtable and Marſhals ſate: the Baron, who had given him the blow, did kneel before him on both his knees, holding in his right hand a Sword, with the point towards himſelf, and in his left hand the like Cudgel, or Baſtinado, wherewith he had ſtricken *M. de Pleſſis*; both which Weapons he delivered into *Pleſſis* hands, ſubmitting himſelf to ſuch revenge, as it ſhould pleaſe him to take with either of thoſe Weapons; the Conſtable and Marſhals having formerly left it to the will of *Pleſſis* to uſe his own diſcretion in the revenge of his own wrongs. Now

whether the Baron had reaſon to pleaſe himſelf, as one before-hand in point of honour, who ſtruck *M. de Pleſſis*, like a Ruffian, coming behind him, and (having advantage of company, and his Horſes ready) ſhifted himſelf away on the ſudden; but being afterward taken, was taught to repent himſelf in this ſhameful manner; or whether *Monſieur de Pleſſis* (of whoſe valour no man doubted) had not far juſter cauſe to reſt ſatisfied, ſince he might at his pleaſure have beaten or wounded his Enemy, but forgave him; let any wiſe man judg. To this if it be ſaid, That the Baron was conſtrained to make his ſubmiſſion; that his repentance was enforced, and not voluntary; and therefore no diſgrace unto him: I anſwer, that one may ſay as well, that it is no diſgrace to a Thief, when he is brought to the Gallows, to repent him of the Robberies by him committed, becauſe his repentance alſo is conſtrained. And it is true, that enforced repentance is no diſgrace, in reſpect of the force, but in reſpect of the fact: which (but for our ſins to God) makes all repentance ſhameful; becauſe all forced repentance is inflicted upon us for ſomewhat unworthy of a Gentleman, and of an honeſt man. Nay, voluntary repentance it ſelf, as it hath relation to men, ariſeth either out of the fear of the ill that may befall us, or out of the acknowledgment of our own weakneſs. Certainly, as wiſe men, and valiant men, do rather deride petty injuries, or ſudden injuries, that are not offered from malice fore-thought, than revenge them: ſo men, apt to quarrel, do commonly ſuſpect their own valour; and rather deſire, that thereby the World ſhould believe them to be of great daring, than know any ſuch reſolution in themſelves. For he that knows himſelf indeed to be a valiant man, ſcorns to hunt after the opinion.

Now the ſame power which the Conſtable and Marſhals of *France* have, hath alſo a Marſhal of *England*, or his Deputies; by whoſe judgment, in all diſputes of honour, every mans reputation may be preſerved; we may therefore as well ſubmit our ſelves to the Judges of honour, in all diſputes of honour, as we do ſubmit our ſelves in all controverſies of livelihood and life, to the Judges of the Law. And, out of doubt, the inſtitution of this Court of Chivalry in *England*, in *France*, and elſewhere, was no leſs charitable than politick. For the blood of man, violently ſpilt, doth not bring forth *Honey-bees*, as that of Bulls doth, which ſting but the fingers, or the face: but it produceth that monſtrous Beaſt, *Revenge*; which hath ſtung to Death, and eaten up of ſeveral Nations, ſo many noble Perſonages, as there is nothing more lamentable; nor more threatning the Wrath of God upon ſupreme Governors, than the permiſſion.

His Majeſty therefore (which *Henry* the Fourth of *France* alſo endeavoured) hath done a moſt Kingly and Chriſtian-like deed in *Scotland*, which the moſt renowned of all his Predeceſſors could never do? in beating down, and extinguiſhing, that hereditary proſecution of Malice, called *the deadly feud*; a conqueſt, which ſhall give him the honour of Prudence and Kingly Power, for evermore. And we have cauſe to hope, that his Royal care ſhall be no leſs happy in preventing the like miſchief, which threatens *England*, by the audacious, common, and brave, yet outragious vanity of Duelliſts.

Unto this that I have ſpoken of lying, and of man-ſlaughter, it muſt be added, That each of theſe are of great Latitude, and worthy of reproof and vengeance proportionably, more or leſs, in their ſeveral degrees. There is much difference between Lies of neceſſity, upon breach of promiſe, or complemental lies; and ſuch pernicious lies, as proceed from fear and cowardize, or are uttered by falſe Witneſſes: the former ſort, being excuſable by weakneſs or levity; the latter, being altogether deteſtable. No leſs, if not more, difference there is, between killing of a man in open field, with even Weapons; and that killing, which the Scriptures call *killing by guile, dolo* or *per inſidias*; though our Laws do not much diſtinguiſh them in puniſhment. For in the latter, God, forſaking his own priviledg, commandeth, that the *guileful* Murderer be drawn by force, from the protection of his Altar. Neither is every guileful murder performed by the Sword, nor by *overt* violence: but there is a guileful murder alſo, by poyſoning; and by the pen, or by practice. For ſuch diſtinction is found, between coming *preſumptuouſly* upon a man, *to ſlay him with guile*, and *lying in wait for blood, privily, for the innocent, without a cauſe*, upon hope of ſpoil, after ſuch manner as *the net is ſpread before the eyes of the birds*. *Francis* the firſt, *Queen Mary* of *England*, and the King's Majeſty now reigning, have given notable teſtimony of their Juſtice, upon three Noble men, who committed *guileful* murder. Of the firſt kind, King *Francis* upon the Lord of *Talard*: who being (ſaith the *French* Hiſtorian) *de haute & ancienne lignee, & ſupporte de pluſieurs grandes alliances*; *who being of high and ancient linage, and ſupported by divers great alliances*, of which the Cardinal of *Bellay* (in eſpecial favour with the King) was one, was notwithſtanding delivered over into the hands of the Hang-man. *Queen Mary*, upon a Noble man of her own Religion, and in many other reſpects very dear unto her. *His Majeſty*, upon a Baron of *Scotland*; whoſe houſe was no leſs ancient and faithful, than himſelf valiant, and greatly friended both at home and abroad. Of killing guilefully by poyſon, and of puniſhment following ſuch wicked Artiſans, every Age hath had too many Examples. Of guileful killing by the *pen* (that I may not ſpeak of any *Engliſh* Judge) the Author of the *French Recherches* gives us two notable inſtances: the one of *des Eſhars*, who (ſaith *Paſquire*) *fit mourir Montaigu grand Maiſtre de France, pour contente l' opinion de celuy dont il eſtoit lors idolaſtre; & Dieu permit que depuis il fut pendu & eſtrangle*; *Who cauſed* Montaigu, *great Maſter of* France, *to die, to content his mind* (to wit, the Duke of *Burgoyn*) *whom at that time* Eſhars *worſhipped as his Idol: but God permitted, that he himſelf was ſoon after hanged and ſtrangled*. The other was of the Great *Francis* the firſt, upon his Chancellor *Poyet*: who, to ſatisfie the King's paſſion, practiſed the deſtruction of the Admiral *Chabot*, a man moſt nobly deſcended, and of great ſervice. For as in other men, ſo in Kings, the paſſion of love grows old, and wears out by time. So the King's affection being changed towards the Admiral, he charged him with ſome Offences which he had formerly committed. The Admiral, preſuming upon the great good ſervice which he had done the King in *Piemont*, and in the defence of *Marſeilles* againſt the Emperor, gave the King other language than became him; and deſired nothing ſo much as a publick trial. Hereupon the King (it being eaſie to provoke an ill diſpoſition) gave Commiſſion to the Chancellor, as Preſident, and other Judges, upon an information of the King's Advocate, to queſtion the Admiral's life. The Chancellor, an ambitious man, and of a large conſcience, (which is rare in men towards the Law) hoping highly

Exod. 21.

Exod. 21. v. 14. Pro. 1. 11.

Lib. 5. ch. 12. & ch. 11.

to

to content the King; wrought with ſome of the Judges with ſo great cunning; with others, with ſo ſharp threats; and with the reſt, with ſo fair promiſes; as, albeit nothing could be proved againſt the Admiral, worthy of the Kings diſpleaſure; yet the Chancellor ſubſcribed, and got others to ſubſcribe, to the forfeiture of his Eſtate, Offices, and Liberty; though not able to prevail againſt his Life. But what was the Chancellors reward (the King hating falſhood in ſo great a Magiſtrate) other than his own degradation, arraignment, and condemnation? *Belle leçon certes (ſaith Paſquire) à tout Juge pour demourer touſiours enſoy, & ne laiſſer fluctuer ſa conſcience dedans les vagues d' vne imaginaire faveur, qui pour fin de ieu le ſubmerge; A fair leſſon to all Judges, to dwell always in themſelves, and not to ſuffer their conſciences to float upon the waves of imaginary favour, which in the end overwhelms them.* And as for the Admiral: though it might have been anſwered unto his friends, if any bewailed his calamity, as undeſerved, that he was tried, according to his own deſire, by the Laws of his Countrey, and by the Judges of Parliament; yet the King's Juſtice, ſurmounting all other his Paſſions, gave back unto him his Honour, his Offices, his Liberty, and his Eſtate.

†. III.

The laſt Acts of Scipio *in* Spain. *His return to* Rome, *where he is choſen Conſul.*

THE laſt buſineſs that troubled *Scipio* in *Spain*, grew by the Rebellion of the People, and Mutiny of his Souldiers. He fell dangerouſly ſick, in ſuch ſort, that the rumor of his Death ran currant throughout *Spain*. This encouraged *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, petty Kings, that had forſaken the *Carthaginians*, and followed *Scipio* a-while before, to take Arms againſt the *Romans*. They were vainly perſwaded, that after the *Carthaginians* were driven out, they themſelves ſhould become the mightieſt in all *Spain*. But ſeeing now, that things were no way anſwerable to the greatneſs of their hopes, they thought it beſt, to take the preſent advantage, and hammer out their own fortunes. So they raſhly fell upon the *Sueſſetani* and *Sedetani*, Confederates of the *Romans*, and waſted their Countrey. Part of the *Roman* Army lying at *Sucro*, inſtead of making head againſt theſe Rebels, grew to be affected with the like diſtemper. They had not reaped ſuch profit of their *Roman* Conqueſts, as might ſatisfie their deſires; or as they thought eaſie to be gotten, if they might be their own Carvers. Wherefore, when the Death of *Scipio* was reported; they thought, that the time ſerved very well, to enrich themſelves with ſpoil of the Countrey. Many outrages they committed: and, which was greateſt of all, driving away their Colonels, that ſhould have bridled their fury; they choſe out of their own number, two baſe fellows, *Albius Calenus*, and *Atrius Umber*, to be their Commanders. Theſe took upon them all the Enſigns of Proconſuls, or Proprætors; as if this their Election had been like to that, wherein *Lucius Martius* was choſen by the Souldiers, after the Death of the two *Scipio's*. But whilſt they were deviſing, what Exploits they might do, for the enriching of themſelves, in a time of ſuch combuſtion, as was expected; there arrived more certain news, that *Scipio* was both alive, and in good health. There came alſo new Colonels, ſent unto them from their General: who mildly rebuking their want of conſideration, and ſeeming to be glad, that they had no further over-ſhot themſelves, led them to *Carthagena*, there to receive their pay. Before their coming, *Scipio* had reſolved to do exemplary Juſtice on the principal Offenders; and to put the whole Multitude of them in fear of what they had deſerved. Therefore he cauſed *Syllanus*, to make ready the Companies which lay before in the Town, as it were to make an Expedition againſt *Mandonius*, and *Indibilis*; He cauſed *Albius* and *Atrius*, with ſome thirty other of their Complices, to be ſecretly apprehended in their Lodgings; He called the Mutiners to aſſembly; and having them unarmed as they were, encircled round by *Syllanus*, and his Companies, prepared for the purpoſe; he bitterly inveighed againſt them all, as Traitors. This done, *Albius*, and *Atrius*, with the other Priſoners, were haled to the ſtake; where they were whipt, and beheaded, as was the *Roman* Cuſtom toward ſuch offenders. The reſt of the Souldiers, to the number of eight thouſand, were cauſed to take their Oath of Obedience a-new; and received every man his pay when he was ſworn.

Mandonius and *Indibilis*, continued in Arms; notwithſtanding that they had certain word of *Scipio* his life and health. Well they could have been contented to be quiet: but by the ſeverity uſed to the *Roman* Souldiers; they ſtood in fear, as being *Spaniards*, and greater Offenders, of harder meaſure. *Scipio* went againſt them; and found them in a Valley, that was ſcarce large enough to hold all their Army. In the entrance thereof he fought with them: and ſending *Lælius*, with all his Horſe, to fetch a compaſs about the Hills, and charge them in Rear; he overthrew them. *Indibilis* and *Mandonius* had after this no hope remaining, to preſerve themſelves and their Eſtates, otherwiſe than by making ſubmiſſion. *Mandonius* therefore came to *Scipio*: and humbly craving pardon, both for himſelf, and for his brother *Indibilis*, obtained his requeſt; yet ſo, that they were taught to acknowledg themſelves leſs free Princes than they formerly had been.

Afterward *Scipio* went toward *Gades*: and was met on the way by *Maſaniſſa*; who ſecretly promiſed to do him all ſervice, if the People of *Rome* would ſend him to make War in *Africk*. Unto *Mago*, that lay in *Gades*, came directions from *Carthage*; that letting all care of *Spain* alone, he ſhould thence depart with his Fleet into *Italy*; and there wage an Army of *Gaules*, and *Ligurians*, to joyn with *Hannibal*. For this purpoſe, was Money ſent unto him from *Carthage*: and he himſelf laid hold upon all that he could find in the Town of *Gades*; without ſparing either private men, the common Treaſury, or the Temples. In his Voyage thence, he landed at *Carthagena*: hoping to have taken it by ſurpriſe. But he failed in the attempt; and was ſo beaten to his Ships, that he returned back to repoſe himſelf a while at *Gades*. The *Gaditanes*, offended with the Robberies and Spoil that he had made at his taking leave of them, would not ſuffer him to enter again into their City. By this he foreſaw, that it would not be long ere they became *Roman*. Wherefore ſending Meſſengers into the Town, to complain of this uncourteous dealing, he allured their Magiſtrates forth unto him; whom, notwithſtanding all the Excuſe that they could make, he whipt, and crucified. This done, he followed his former intended Voyage; bidding *Spain* farewell for ever.

The

The Isle and City of *Gades*, was yielded to the *Romans*, presently after the departure of *Mago*. Then did *Scipio* deliver up the Province, to those that were sent from *Rome* to succeed him therein: and himself with ten Ships returned home. At his coming to *Rome* he made suit for the honour of a Triumph. But it was denied him: for that it had as yet been granted unto no Proconsul; excepting to such, as received that dignity after a Consulship, as it were by prorogation. But to make amends for this repulse: the election of new Consuls being then in hand, by general voyce of the City *P. Cornelius Scipio* was chosen Consul; and *P. Licinius Crassus* joyned with him. This *Crassus*, being high Priest, or Bishop of the *Romans*; might not, by the custom of those times, go far from the City; as being to intend the matters of their superstition: though *Cæsar*, and others, who in ages following held the same Office; were staied by no such religious impediment, from being far, and long absent. Hereby it came to pass, that *Scipio* desiring to have the War transferred into *Africk*, was in no danger to lose that honourable charge, by any mischance of lot, in the division of Provinces; for that his Colleague was not capable of employment so far off,

§. XVIII.

Scipio *obtaines leave to make War in Africk. His preparations. Of* Masanissa *who joyned with* Scipio. *The victories against* Asdrubal *and* Syphax.

Pub. Cornelius Scipio, and *P. Licinius Crassus*, entring into their Consulship, held a meeting of the Senate in the Capitol: wherein it was decreed, that *Scipio* should be allowed, to bestow part of the Money which he had brought out of *Spain* into the Treasury; upon the setting forth of solemn Plays, that he had vowed to make, whilst he was busied in his *Spanish* Wars. This helped well to revive the Memory of his Victories already gotten; and to give hope unto the People of greater victories in the War, which he intended to make in *Africk*. To the same purpose, did the *Spanish* Embassages avail much in the Senate, especially that of the *Saguntines*: who magnified his actions, highly and deservedly; saying, That they were the most happy of all their Countrymen, since they being present, had seen him chosen Consul, and should carry home such joyful newes. The *Saguntine* Embassadours, were lovingly entertained by the Senate; as their faith to *Rome*, though costly it were both to them, and to the *Romans*, had well deserved. Nevertheless, when *Scipio* proposed, that *Africk* might be decreed unto him for his Province: there wanted not many, even of the Principal Men, that vehemently gainsaid him. Of these was *Q. Fabius Maximus* the chief: who seems to have been troubled with that disease; which too often causeth men renowned for long approved vertue, to look asquint upon the actions of those, that follow them in the same kind. He alledged many reasons against the purpose of the Consul: whereof the chief were, That the Treasury was unable to sustain the charges of a War in *Africk*; and that it was extremly perillous to hazard so great forces, where they could not at pleasure be recalled, unto the defence of *Rome* it self, if need required. Hereunto he added many words concerning the danger wherein *Italy* stood, not only of *Hannibal*, but of *Mago* his Brother, that was arming the *Ligurians*: as also concerning the honour of the Consul; which would (he said) be greater in setting *Italy* free from Enemies, than it could be in doing any harme to *Africk*. Neither did he forget, both to elevate the *Spanish* Wars, as of less moment than the intended voyage against *Carthage*; nor withal to lay great blame upon *Scipio*, for having suffered *Asdrubal* to pass into *Italy*: shewing, that it was greatly to be feared, least the like might happen again; and that a new Army, notwithstanding the good success of *Scipio* (if it hapned to be good) might be sent from *Carthage*, to the utter endangering of *Rome*, whilst the *Roman* forces were employed abroad. But the main point which he urged, was, That neither the Senate had ordained, nor the People commanded, *Africk* to be that year a Province: which the Consul nevertheless propounded in such wise, as if it were a matter already concluded, and no longer to be argued. *Scipio* on the other side, insisted upon this one point; That it was better to make an offensive, than a defensive War: especially against such as the *Carthaginians*; who being ill provided of able men at home, did furnish themselves by help of Money, with levies made abroad. As for the care of *Italy*, he doubted not, but *P. Licinius* his Colleague, would be as well able to discharge it now, as others had done in times of greater danger. So promising to draw *Hannibal* into *Africk*, for defence of his own home: and taxing as civilly as he could, the envy of *Fabius*, which withstood such a gallant enterprise; he proposed the matter again unto the Senate. Much alteration there was about the manner of his proceeding: forasmuch as it was noised abroad, that if he could not bring the Senate to his mind, he would carry it by the People. This offended many of the Ancients: who resented in this honorable man a little spice of that arrogancy, which, in following ages, grew to be much hotter in those that had commanded long abroad. But in conclusion, *Scipio* referred himself wholly unto the Senates good will and pleasure; whereby he obtained thus much, That the Isle of *Sicil* might be appointed unto him for his Province; with leave to pass over into *Africk*, if he found it expedient.

Want of Money, and no great liking to his voyage, made the *Roman* Senate have little care to furnish out *Scipio* to the War, by him intended upon *Africk*. Herewithal it fell out, that *Mago*, coming on the suddain from the *Baleares* to *Genua*, and winning the Town, bred a fear of no less terrible invasion upon *Italy*, than that which *Asdrubal* had lately made. He could not indeed raise any great Army of the *Ligurians*; for that he found them distracted with civil Wars. Therefore he was driven to make choice of his party; and to help those whom he thought fittest for his turn, against the others. This troublesom business, though it occupied more of his time, than he could willingly have spared: yet it got him reputation by his victories; and made the unsteady *Gaules* ready to enter into his pay. Hereupon the dispersed Legions of the *Romans*, that under Proconsuls, and Prætors, lay ready to be employed where need should require; were directed unto the borders of *Lombardy*, and *Liguria*, there to make head against *Mago*. But all his menaces passed away in vapour. For a fleet, either coming to his aid from *Carthage*, or by him sent thither (the report is uncertain) loaden with the booty that he had taken; fell into the hands of the *Roman* Prætor, that governed in *Sardinia*. This did much disable him: and though after a while, there came letters from *Carthage*, together with store of Money, heartning him in his proceedings: yet some impediments which he found, and that fatal voyage of *Scipio* into

into *Africk*, disturbed all; and made him be recalled home.

Against *Hannibal*, was nothing done this year. Neither was any thing done by him, of which the *Roman* Historians have been pleased to take notice. Only it is said, that he spent the Summer by the Temple of *Juno Lacinia*, where he raised an Altar, with a huge Title of all that he had performed, graven in *Punik*, and *Greek* letters. Such accompt of winnings past, is commonly in Gamesters that are at the height of their fortune, a cause of remission, and carelesness; in those that are upon the losing hand, a cause both of the same for the present, and shortly after of dejection, when they find a notable change. A great pestilence, infesting both the *Carthaginian*, and the *Roman* Camp, is said to have been the occasion of this years idleness: which fell not out much amiss for the City of *Rome*, that was marvelously empoverished by this War; and had already tried the utmost way to defray the charges, which grew insupportable. To relieve the present necessity, it was well thought upon, that a great part of *Campania* (not many years since confiscated) should be sold, or let out: in which bargain, that the City might receive no loss; the tenth part of the fine was ordained as a reward, unto the detectors of Lands concealed.

Of this, or other Money, none was given to *Scipio*. Neither was he allowed to make press of Souldiers for his *African* voyage; neither did he overmuch labour to obtain it. That which the Senate refused, the People did for him: or rather they did it for themselves; that were therein wiser than the Senate. It is usually found in Councels of Estate; that the busie, or obstinate heads of a few, do carry all the rest. And many times, men make a surrender of their own judgments, to the wisdom that hath gotten it self a name, by giving happy direction in troubles forepast. Therefore, he that reposeth himself upon the advice of many, shall often find himself deceived: the counsel of those many being wholly directed by the temper of a few, that over-sway the rest. *Q. Fabius* was accounted the Oracle of his time: for his wary nature sorted well with the business, that fell out in the chief of his employment. Unto him therefore *Q. Fulvius* adhered, with other of the Senators, that were grown old in following one course; from which they could not shift, as the change of times required. But the People (who though they could not well advise, and deliberate, yet could well apprehend) embraced the needful resolution of *Scipio*: in such sort, that besides his *Roman* forces, he had from divers parts of *Italy* about seven thousand Voluntaries. He had also provision from the several Towns; Corn, Iron, Canvas for Sails, Axes, Beed-hookes, Hand-mills, and the like implements, Fir for building of Ships, many thousands of Targets, Helmets, and Spears of all kinds: every place furnishing him with that commodity, which it best could afford. Unto this willingness of the People, the diligence of *Scipio* was correspondent. In the compass of five and forty days, he had both fell his Timber, built, and launched, twenty *Triremes*, and ten *Quinqueremes* Gallies; wherewith he transported his Army into *Sicil*. In *Sicil* he found, besides other forces, two Legions, that had served at *Cannæ*: which were old Souldiers, and (as he himself well knew) not guilty of the overthrow; for which they had long undergon a heavy censure. They had served under *Marcellus*, and *Lævinus*, at the taking of many Cities, and strong pieces: in which regard, they were like to be of good use to him in *Africk*; where would be store of such employment. For increasing the number of his Horse, he pressed three hundred *Sicilians*, all wealthy young Men, and such as loved well their ease. These he afterward discharged from the War, highly to their contentment: but with condition, that they should deliver their Horse and Arms, to as many *Roman* Gentlemen; which he brought over with him for the purpose. Whilst he was providing, to have things in a readiness for *Africk*; the banished *Locrians* that followed the *Roman* side, made him acquainted with an intelligence, whereby they hoped to recover their City. Some handicrafts Men, that wrought for the *Carthaginians* in one of the Citadels of *Locri* (for there were two in the Town) being taken Prisoners by the *Romans*, promised to betray the place, if they might be ransomed, and rewarded. *Scipio* being advertised of this, gave order to have the attempt made by night: which happily succeeded; and that Citadel was surprised. The other Citadel was strongly defended by the *Carthaginian* Garrison: which sent to *Hannibal* for aide. The *Romans* in like sort, fearing least their own paucity should make them too weak for *Hannibal*, craved help of the Consul *Scipio*. The Townsmen, were doubtfully affected: but the best, and most of them inclining to the *Romans*, kept *Hannibal* out; whom the coming of *Scipio* caused thence to depart; and caused likewise the *Carthaginian* Garrison to abandon the other Citadel. Many outrages were committed by the *Roman* Souldiers, that were left by *Scipio* in custody of the Town. Wherefore a vehement complaint was made by the *Locrians* unto the *Roman* Senate; not only against those of the Garrison, but much more against *Pleminius* the Captain, who gave bad example, and was worse than all the rest. Besides many Murders, Robberies, Rapes, and other Villanies: the Temple of *Proserpina*, that had a great fame of sanctity, was spoiled by these barbarous Thieves. The *Locrians* therefore advised the Senate, to make present amends to the Goddess for this Sacriledge: saying, that the like had never been committed, without notorious vengeance by her taken upon the Authors. The Senate gave good ear to this complaint; comforted the *Locrians*, and redressed the injuries done unto them; sent for *Pleminius*, with other principal the offenders, whom they cast into Prison, and used according to their deserts: as also they restored unto *Proserpina* her Money twice told. But old *Q. Fabius* was not herewithal contented. He laid much of the blame upon *Scipio*, that had placed such a man in *Locri*; and had not carefully harkned to the complaints made against him, but suffered him to run on in these his wicked courses. By the sharp invective that *Fabius* made, others took courage to speak what they pleased: as well against the demeanor of *Scipio*, as against the dissolutness of his Army; which lay, as they said, idle in *Sicil*, neither mindful of any service toward, nor fit for it if need should require. Finally, things were so far urged, that ten Legates were sent over into *Sicil*, together with the Prætor appointed for that Island; two of the *Tribunes*, and one of the *Ædiles*; who should examin these matters; and either cause the General to return into *Italy*, or continue him in his charge, as they thought fit. The end of all was: they found him so well prepared against *Carthage*, as that they hastned him on his Journy; and gave him high commendations at their return.

Scipio had already employed *Lælius* in *Africk*; rather to make discovery, than to work any other great effect of War. He took a great booty: and struck

ſtruck no little terrour into the *Carthaginians*; who ſaw their affairs to be upon terms of change. But the greateſt fruit of his Journy was, That ſpeaking with *Maſaniſſa*, he well informed himſelf of the ſtate of *Africk*; and knew what was to be expected of thoſe two Kings, that had promiſed to joyn with the *Romans* at their landing.

Concerning *Maſaniſſa* his revolt from the *Carthaginians*, and his compact made underhand with the *Romans*: *Livy* doth profeſs, That there was no ſuch evident cauſe thereof at the preſent; but that the long continuance of his faith and conſtancy, in following times, muſt help to prove, that this his change was not without ſome good cauſe. But *Appianus* (an Hiſtorian far inferiour to *Livy*, both in Worth and Time) gives one reaſon ſo propable of this, and many accidents thereto belonging, as that it carries with it a great appearance of neceſſary truth. Only the doubt is, How it could any way come to paſs, that the knowledge of ſuch a matter ſhould have eſcaped the diligence of *Livy*, if it had been true: unleſs we ſhould believe, that he wilfully forbare to rehearſe a Tragedy; the ſorrow whereof would cauſe Men to think amiſs of *Scipio*. Howſoever it was, thus * *Appian* tells it: and many circumſtances of things done confirm it. *Aſdrubal*, the Son of *Geſco*, had a fair Daughter, whom both King *Syphax* and *Maſaniſſa* loved. *Maſaniſſa*, being brought up at *Carthage*, and being withal a goodly Gentleman of Perſon, and excellent in qualities, was choſen by *Aſdrubal* to be his Son in Law. When the Virgin was betrothed unto him, he went into *Spain*, and there did great ſervice. But afterwards, the *Carthaginian* Senate thought the Marriage of *Aſdrubals* Daughter to be a matter of State: and beſtowed her upon *Syphax*; without ſtanding to acquaint her Father or *Maſaniſſa* therewithal. This they did, for that *Syphax* was the more mighty Prince; and for that the indignity of the repulſe, had made him become their Enemy. Hereof *Maſaniſſa* was advertiſed: and forthwith entred into intelligence with *Scipio*, ſecretly as he thought; yet not ſo ſecretly but that ſome notice was taken of it: which would have coſt him his life, had he not with great circumſpection conveighed himſelf home into his Fathers Kingdom. Thus far forth we may believe *Appianus*: all the narration well cohering with things paſt, and following. Only it ſeems, that howſoever *Sophonisba* the Daughter of *Aſdrubal*, was promiſed by the *Carthaginians* unto *Syphax*: yet ſince this their courteſie proceeded from fear, He thought it wiſdom to continue and increaſe the ſame their fear, by making fair promiſes to the *Romans*; until *Aſdrubal had ſent for his Daughter* from *Carthage*, and the Marriage was conſummated. In other matters concerning the War it ſelf, wherein *Appian* differs much from *Livy*, and from *Polybius*, whom (as appears by the broken pieces of his works remaining) *Livy* did follow; it will be no offence, to take little heed unto his reports.

Maſaniſſa was the Son of *Gala*, a King of the *Numidians*: whoſe Father dying, the Crown deſcended, by order of the Country, unto *Deſalces* the Brother, not unto *Maſaniſſa* the Son. But this Uncle of *Maſaniſſa* ſhortly died: and his elder Son, who took poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, was vanquiſhed, and ſlain in Battel by a Rebel, that made himſelf Protector over the younger which was a Child. The Traitor fortified himſelf againſt *Maſaniſſa*, whoſe return he feared; by Alliances with the *Carthaginians* and *Syphax*. But all would not ſerve: He, and his Pupil, were diſpoſſeſſed of their Eſtates by *Maſaniſſa*; that was a skilful Warriour, and well beloved for the Memory of his Father *Gala*. The *Carthaginians* in reaſon ſhould have been glad, that *Maſaniſſa*, who had done them notable ſervice, was thus confirmed in his Eſtate: had they not been guilty of the injury by them done unto him; whilſt his Uncle or Couſen reigned, and he ſeemed unlikly to ſtand them in any ſtead. But *Syphax*, by their procurement, and perhaps by his own malice towards his Corival, Warred upon him; and overcharging him with numbers, drave him out of his Kingdom. Nevertheleſs *Maſaniſſa* ſtill retained the hearts of his People: and thereby remained ſtrong enough, to infeſt both *Syphax* and the *Carthaginians*; though he was often put in diſtreſs, by great forces that were ſent againſt him. He therefore keeping much about the leſſer *Syrtis*, between the borders of the *Carthaginians* and the Nation of the *Garamants*, expected the coming of the *Romans*: yet ſo, as he made long roads over all the Country, even as far as to *Hippo*; and when *Lælius* arrived thereabouts, exhorted and encouraged him, to haſten on *Scipio* to the invaſion of *Africk*.

But *Syphax*, in whoſe great aid and ſuccour was repoſed more hope of good ſucceſs, than could be expected from the good will of poor *Maſaniſſa*; ſent an Embaſſage into *Sicil* about the ſame time, which was little pleaſing unto *Scipio*. He excuſed himſelf of his promiſe lately made: and ſignified his alliance with the *Carthaginians*; adding, That he could not choſe but fight for the defence of *Africk*, wherein he was born and Reigned; and for defence of his beloved Wives Country, if it were invaded. Nevertheleſs he promiſed to remain a Neuter; ſo long as the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* held War abroad, far enough from *Africk*, as hitherto they had done. This meſſage haſtned *Scipio* in his Expedition, much more than any perſwaſion could have done. For the promiſed aſſiſtance of *Syphax* had not a little advanced his enterpriſe; in procuring both the aſſent of the Senate, and the forwardneſs of many Adventurers. Leſt therefore the failing of this hope, ſhould work too great a change in common opinion; He thought it the beſt way, to prevent all diſcourſe, and ſet the War undertaken immediately on foot. The Embaſſadours he diſmiſſed in all haſte, with Letters to their King: wherein he willed him to conſider, that what he had promiſed he had alſo ſworn; and therefore ſhould do well to make it good. Having ſent them away, He called his Souldiers together, and bad them make ready for the voyage; which he intended no longer to defer. For, ſaid he, *Maſaniſſa* hath been with *Lælius*: and *Syphax* hath newly ſent to me; greatly wondering upon what I ſhould thus ſtay; and ſaying, that they will provide for themſelves, if I fail their expectation by tarrying any longer. This fine tale prevented all further inquiſition, that might elſe have been made concerning the meſſage of theſe Embaſſadours; whoſe followers had been ſeen walking up and down *Syracuſe*. And leſt any thing ſhould afterwards break out, that might hinder the buſineſs, *Scipio* immediately ſent about his Fleet unto *Lilybæum*: and requeſting by Letters *M. Pomponius*, that was Prætor in *Sicil*, to meet him there; haſted thither with his Army. At *Lilybæum* he agreed with the Prætor, about the diviſion of the Legions between them; which to leave behind for defence of the Iſland; and which to carry with him into *Africk*. What numbers he tranſported, it is not certain: ſome Hiſtorians reckoning only ten thouſand foot, and two and twenty hundred Horſe; others increaſing them to five and thirty thouſand, Horſe and Foot. Concerning his directions for embarking, and other matters belonging

* *Appian. Alexan. de Bell. Punic.*

Liv. l. 28.

Liv. lib. 29.

longing to their course, I hold it needless to set them down: since they were points of ordinary care, and which it is like that neither he, when he took his voyage into *Spain*, nor others upon like occasions, have omitted; they being also word for word, set down by an Historian, who borrowed them from *Livy*, and fitted them to a Prince of later age.

This *Roman* Army landed in *Africk*, near unto a Fore-land then called *the fair Promontory*; which how far it was from *Carthage*, or toward what point of the Compass I cannot precisely affirm; because it is uncertain, whether it were that Cape or Head-land which bore the name of *Mercury*, and lay to the North-east of *Carthage*, or whether that of *Apollo*, which lay Northerly from *Carthage*, and by West. The coming of *Masanissa* unto *Scipio* at his first arrival, helps to confirm the opinion of *Xylander*: who thinks the *fair Promontory* to have been the same, that was also called *Mercuries Cape*, since with little difficulty *Masanissa* might come thither from the lesser *Syrtis*, whereabout was his common abiding. But forasmuch as without any memorable impediment, soon after his arrival, *Scipio* encamped before *Utica*, that stood Westward from *Carthage* beyond the River *Bagradas*: it may rather seem, that he landed within the Promontory of *Apollo*; whence the way to *Utica* was not long. This is also strongly proved: for that out of *Carthage* were sent, the next day, five hundred Horse to trouble him in his disembarking. Neither was it so hard for *Masanissa*, that roved about the Country with a Troop of Horse, to find out the *Romans*, though they landed far from the place to the which he usually resorted, like as before he had met with *Lælius* at *Hippo*: that was farther off: as it would have been for *Scipio*, with his Army and Carriages, to over-come the trouble of a long journey, and fetch a great compass to *Utica* by Land; when he might have disembarked nearer unto it. Nevertheless it may pass as a conjecture, That *Scipio* came first of all to *Emporia*, a plentiful Region about the lesser *Syrtis*; since he gave charge to the Masters of his Ships, at the setting forth from *Lilybæum*, to shape their course for that coast. The Country thereabout was very rich, and fit for sustenance of an Army: neither were the Inhabitants warlike, or well provided to make resistance. Thus much perhaps *Masanissa* had signified unto *Lælius*, when he spake with him at *Hippo*; thinking that the *Romans*, howsoever they made brave promises, would not come strong enough to fight *at head*. But when he saw their Fleet and Army to be such, as not only served to invade the Lands of *Carthage*, but threatned a Conquest of the City, and whole Estate; then might he better advise them to set Sail for *Utica*, and make War upon the Enemies at their own Doors.

The *Carthaginians* had at that time neither any Captain of great worth at home, nor better Army than of raw Souldiers; that were levied, or to be levied in haste. *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisco*, the same that had lately been chased out of *Spain* by *Scipio*, was their best man of War. And good enough perhaps he was thought by *Hanno* and his Fellows, of whose Faction he was: or if ought were wanting in him, yet his Riches and Nobility, together with the affinity of King *Syphax*, made him passable. He was at that present with the King his Son in Law, working him (no doubt) against the *Romans*: when Letters were brought from *Carthage*, both to *Syphax* and to him, informing them of the Invasion: entreating the one of them to give assistance; and commanding the other to make his repair unto the City, where he was chosen General. But ere these could be ready, *Scipio* had beaten the Troop of *Carthaginian* Horse, that were sent out of the City to disturb his landing; and slain *Hanno* a young Gentlemen, that was their Leader. He had also taken and sacked a Town of the *Carthaginians*: wherein, besides other booty, he took eight thousand Prisoners; all which he conveighed aboard his Hulks or Ships of burden, and sent them back loaden into *Sicil*. He took likewise a Town called *Salera*; which he held and fortified. In *Salera* lay another *Hanno*, with four thousand *Numidian* Horse: whose service being fitter for the Field, than for defence of walled places; made *Scipio* to perceive the unskilfulness of their Leader, that had thus housed them. Wherefore he sent *Masanissa* before him: who rode up to the Gates; and, by making a Bravado, trained out the improvident *Hanno* so far, that he drew him unto a place, where the *Romans* lay in wait for him. The victory was easily gotten; and *Hanno* either taken or slain. With those that fled, the *Romans* entred *pell-mell* into the Town; which presently they made their own. Thence went *Scipio* to *Utica*, a City of great importance, * of which mention hath been formerly made; and sate down before it. Forty days he spent about it: assailing it both by Land and Sea, and using all his Engines of Battery, whereof he had plenty; yet was in no likelihood of prevailing. And now the Summer was quite spent: so that it was time for him to choose a place, and fortifie his Winter Camp; which must be well stored against the year following. Whilst thus necessity urged him to leave *Utica*: and shame of taking the repulse in his first great enterprise, rather than any hope of better success, caused him to stay there: *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* gave him the honour of a fair pretence to leave the siege. *Asdrubal* had made a Levy of thirty thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse; yet adventured not with this ill-trained Army to draw near unto the *Romans*, before the coming of *Syphax*. *Syphax* brought with him unto *Carthage* fifty thousand Foot, and ten thousand Horse: which joyning unto the Forces of *Asdrubal*, they marched bravely toward *Scipio*; who thereby took occasion to dislodge. He chose for his Winter-camp the banks of an In-let, that had good harbour for his Navy. His Foot-men he lodged on a Promontory, joyning to the Continent by an Arm of Land: his Horse-men he bestowed upon lower ground, on the other shore: in the bottom of the Creek he mored his Ships; and there he quartered the Mariners, with all that belonged unto the Fleet. The whole Camp he strongly fortified; and so attended the season of the year, when it should serve him again to fight. Of Cattle and other Booty *Masanissa* had brought in great store; by driving the Country, before the coming of *Asdrubal* and *Syphax*. Corn also he had gotten some: and great store was sent him from *Sicil* and *Sardinia*. Likewise Apparel for his Souldiers, was sent from home, or from *Sardinia*: though scarce enough to serve turn; for that it was a matter of more cost. The Ships that brought these things, he freighted homewards with such part of his Booty, as he could best spare; especially with Captives, to be sold for Slaves. *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* encamped near unto *Scipio*: not so strongly fortifying themselves, as did the *Romans*; either for that they wanted the severe institution, which the *Romans* used in discipline of War; or for that they presumed upon their multitude, against which they found in *Scipio* no disposition to issue forth of his strength, and fight. So the Winter passed without action.

* *Lib.* 5. *cap.* 2. §. 3.

When Spring drew near; *Scipio* thought it good to aſſay his old friend the *Numidian* King, if perhaps he might be won by perſwaſions to forſake the *Carthaginians*. It was conſidered, that thoſe *Barbarians* were naturally unconſtant; and particularly, that *Syphax* had given proof before this of his much levity. It might therefore be hoped, That having wearied himſelf, by lodging a whole Winter in the Camp: and being peradventure no leſs weary with latiety of his wife, who had cauſed him to enter into this war: He might be moved with a little entreaty, to with-draw himſelf home into his Kingdom, and reſt a *Neuter*. But it is not unlikely, that ſuch a friend as this King, had been highly entertained and honoured in the City of *Carthage*, which was near at hand, as often as during this Winter it had pleaſed him, or as he had been invited, to make a ſtep thither and repoſe himſelf a while: his wife Queen *Sophonisba* lying alſo there at the ſame time, to cheriſh him in his reſolution. Howſoever it were, *Syphax* did only make an overture of peace: propounding it as reaſonable, That *Hannibal* ſhould be recalled out of *Italy* by the *Carthaginians*: and that the *Romans* in like ſort ſhould quietly depart out of *Africk*; and ſo make an end of the War, wherewith now both *Africk* and *Europe* were diſquieted. Unto this would not *Scipio* at the firſt give ear: yet being preſſed earneſtly by many Meſſages from *Syphax*, and deſiring to continue the inter-courſe of Embaſſadors: He began to make ſhew, as if he would conſider of the motion. He was given to underſtand by thoſe whom he had ſent unto the King, That their Enemies had their Camps without any great defence of earth, full of woodden Cabbins, and covered with Boughs: and that the *Numidians*, ſuch of them as came firſt with *Syphax*, uſed coverings of Mats and Reeds; others that came later, had thatched their Lodgings with dry Boughs and Leaves: under which they lay careleſly without their Trenches. Upon this advertiſement he berhought himſelf, That it would not be hard for him to ſet their Camps on fire; and thereby give them a notable overthrow. Without help of ſome ſuch ſtratagem, he foreſaw that it would be a work of great difficulty for him, to proceed in his Wars when time ſhould ſerve. It was a plain open Country wherein he lay: and the Enemies had great advantage of him in number, eſpecially in Horſe; which upon ſuch ground, could not be reſiſted by the *Roman* Legions. The longer therefore that he thought upon the matter, the more needful he found it for himſelf, to make ſome ſudden attempt upon their Camp. To this end he ſent many Embaſſadors, under pretence of treating about the Peace; but indeed of purpoſe to diſcover all that concerned the intended ſurpriſe. With theſe Embaſſadors he ſent, as Attendants, many old Souldiers diſguiſed like ſlaves; that wandring (as it were) idly up and down the Camp, might obſerve the ways and entrances, with whatſoever elſe was needful. When he had learned as much as he deſired: upon the ſudden he ſent word to *Syphax*, that it was vain to hold any longer Treaty, foraſmuch as he could not get the conſent of his Council of War; without whoſe approbation, all that himſelf could do was no more than the good Will of one man. This he did, to the end, that without any breach of Faith, he might put his deſign in execution. The Truce being thus cut off: *Aſdrubal* and *Syphax* were very penſive; as having lately perſwaded themſelves, that their trouble was almoſt at an end. But ſince it could be no better: they began to deviſe, by what Art they might draw *Scipio* out of his Camp; and provoke him to Battel in thoſe Plains. This if they could do; they hoped to make his Council of War repent as greatly the refuſal of Peace, as did *M. Atilius* after the like preſumption. But if he ſhould refuſe to come forth of his Trenches: what elſe remained than to beſiege him? which they themſelves were well able to do by Land; and the *Carthaginian* Fleet ſhould do by Sea, that was making ready for the purpoſe. By ſuch diſcourſes theſe two comforted themſelves; recompencing in conceit the loſs of their hopes paſt, with that of Victory to come. But herein they were extreamly and worthily diſappointed: for that, conſulting about the future, they provided not againſt preſent danger; but continued in the ſame negligence, which was grown upon them by the long diſcourſe of Peace. As for *Scipio*, he was not idle but made preparation out of hand; as it were to do ſomewhat againſt *Utica*. Two thouſand Souldiers he had made ready; and appointed to take the ſame piece of Ground, whereon he lay againſt *Utica* before. This he did, partly to keep ſecret that which he had in hand, leſt being ſuſpected by his own Souldiers, the Enemy might happen to have notice of it; partly to hinder thoſe of *Utica* from ſetting upon the few, that he purpoſed to leave behind him in his Camp. He cauſed his Men that night to ſup well and betimes; that they might be ready for the Journey. After ſupper, he appointed ſuch Companies as he thought fit, unto the defence of his Camp; all the reſt of his Army he led forth, about nine of the clock at night. The *Carthaginians* lay from him ſeven miles and an half: whom he purpoſed to undertake himſelf with the one half of his Army: the other half he committed unto *Lælius* and *Maſaniſſa*, whom he ſent before him to ſet upon the Camp of *Syphax*, that was farther off. It was his meaning that the Camp of *Syphax* ſhould be on a light fire, ere he would meddle with the *Carthaginians*. For the fire might ſeem to have taken hold by caſualty upon the *Numidians*, that lay farther off: whereas if it firſt appeared in the Camp of *Aſdrubal*, it would be ſuſpected as the doing of Enemies; and give *Syphax* warning to look unto himſelf. To this end therefore *Scipio* marched fair and ſoftly: that *Lælius* and *Maſaniſſa*, who had a longer journey, and were to fetch a compaſs about for fear of being diſcovered, might have time to get before him, and do their feat. It was about two or three of the clock in the morning, when the Camp of *Syphax* began to blaze: which not only the *Numidians*, but their King himſelf, imputed unto caſualty; as thinking themſelves ſafe enough from Enemies, for that the *Carthaginians* lay interpoſed between them and the danger. Wherefore as if there were no more to do, ſome, ſtarting half aſleep; and others, that had ſitten up late at drinking; ran out of their Cabbins to quench the fire. But ſuch was the tumult, that they neither could rightly underſtand in what caſe they were; nor give remedy to the miſchance, as it was ſuppoſed. Many were ſmothered, and burnt in the flame, which grew greater and greater: many, leaping into the Trenches for fear of the ſudden miſchief, were trampled to death by the multitude that followed them. They that eſcaped the fire fell upon the Enemies Sword, which was ready to receive them. Eſpecially *Maſaniſſa*, that beſt knew the Country, did great execution upon them; having laid all the ways, by which he foreſaw that they would ſeek to eſcape. The *Carthaginians* perceiving this fire, thought none other than that it was a pitiful miſchance: ſo that ſome ran out to help the poor *Numidians*; carrying only what would ſerve to quench the fire.

fire. Others ran up to the Rampart: where fearleſs of any danger towards themſelves, they ſtood beholding the greatneſs of the flame, and lamenting the misfortune. This fell out right as *Scipio* would have it. He therefore loſt no time: but ſetting upon thoſe that were running towards the *Numidians*, he killed ſome, and purſued the reſt back into their Camp; which in a little while he made to burn as bright, as did that of *Syphax*. *Aſdrubal* ſeeing this, and knowing that the *Romans* were there, did not ſtand to make reſiſtance, but ſhifted only for himſelf, and eſcaped with a few of his horſe about him. If *Hannibal*; or any of the *Barchine* faction, had been taken in ſuch a manner: it is more than probable, that old *Hanno* would have judged him worthy to be crucified. It would then have been ſaid, that with leſs than one half of thirty thouſand men, he might at leaſt have given ſome bad recompence, to them that were taking pains in kindling theſe fires, had he not been only careful how to ſave his own fearful head. Nevertheleſs *Polybius* acknowledgeth, and it is moſt likely to have been true, That if *Aſdrubal* or any of thoſe about him, would have ſtriven to ſhew valour, when the Camp was once on fire: He ſhould not thereby have done any manner of good; becauſe of the tumult and conſternation. I ſhall not need to tell what a fearful thing it was, to hear the cryes of ſo many thouſands that periſhed by fire and ſword, or to behold the cruel flame that conſumed them; which (as *Polybius* affirms) none *that hath being* is able to deſcribe. It is enough to ſay, That of thoſe many thouſands very few did eſcape; which accompanied *Aſdrubal* and *Syphax* in their ſeveral ways to flight. Beſides theſe alſo there were ſome ſcatterers, eſpecially of the *Numidians*, that ſaved themſelves in the dark: but they were not many; as after ſhall appear. Surely it muſt needs have been very hard to tell, how many were burnt or otherwiſe made away; and what numbers eſcaped in the dark of night. Wherefore *Livy*, who in the reſt of this Relation, as often elſewhere, doth follow *Polybius*; may ſeem to have followed ſome leſs worthy Author, and him no good Arithmetician, in caſting up the ſum. For he reckons only two thouſand Foot, and five hundred Horſe, to have eſcaped; forty thouſand to have periſhed by ſword or fire; and above ſix thouſand to have been taken Priſoners: the whole number of all which together, is far ſhort of fourſcore and thirteen thouſand, which were in theſe two Camps.

Excerpt. è Pol. lib. 14.

Aſdrubal, putting himſelf into the next Town that was very ſtrongly fortified; thought there to find the *Romans* work; until the *Carthaginians* at good leiſure might repair their Army. He had with him no more than two thouſand Foot, and five hundred Horſe: which he thought ſufficient to defend the Town; if the Townſmen would not be wanting to themſelves. But he found the Inhabitants of the place, very earneſt in contention, whether it were better to fight or to yield. Unto this Diſputation, he well foreſaw that the arrival of *Scipio* would ſoon give an end. Wherefore, leſt they ſhould lay hold upon him, and ſeek the Victors favour by delivering him up; he ſhrunk away betimes and made all haſte to *Carthage*. As for the Town, which he left, it opened the Gates to *Scipio*, at his firſt coming: and thereby preſerved it ſelf from all manner of loſs. The two next Towns adjoyning would needs be valiant, and make countenance of War: but their ſtrength not being anſwerable, they were ſoon taken by *Scipio*; who abandoned them to the pleaſure of his Souldiers. This done, he returned to the ſiege of *Utica*.

The *Carthaginians* were ſore troubled, as they had good reaſon; when, in ſtead of either Peace or Victory, which they lately hoped for, they heard news of ſuch a lamentable overthrow. Neceſſity enforced them to make haſty proviſion for the future: but how to do it, few of them ſaw any means. Some gave advice to crave peace of *Scipio*: others to ſend for *Hannibal* out of *Italy*; but the moſt, and they which finally prevailed, were of opinion; That notwithſtanding the loſs of this Army, they might well defend themſelves againſt the *Romans*, by raiſing new forces: eſpecially if *Syphax*, would not leave them. It was therefore concluded, That they ſhould bend all their care this way: levying in all haſte another Army; and ſending Embaſſadors to deal with *Syphax*, who lay then at a Town called *Abba*, not paſſing eight miles from *Carthage*. Immediately the fame their unfortuuate Commander, *Aſdrubal* the Son of *Giſco* was imployed to make new levies of Men: and Queen *Sophoniſba* went forth with Embaſſadors to her Husband *Syphax*; who having gathered together as many as he could, of his Subjects that had eſcaped from the late ſlaughter, was thinking to return into his own Kingdom. *Sophoniſba* laboured ſo with her Husband, that at length ſhe won him to her own deſire. And it fell out at the ſame time that four thouſand *Spaniards*, waged by the *Carthaginians*; were brought over to ſerve in *Africk*. Of theſe were made ſuch brave reports; as if their courage, and the Arms which they uſed, were not to be reſiſted. Even the multitude within *Carthage* believed theſe tales, and were more glad than they had cauſe to be; which is great wonder, ſince in one Age, the whole Country of *Spain* had been twice conquered, firſt by the *Carthaginians* themſelves, and after by the *Romans*. But with *Syphax* theſe Tales prevailed much: which the *Carthaginian* Embaſſadors helped with a lye; ſaying that there were come ten thouſand of theſe terrible *Spaniards*. Upon this confidence the people of *Carthage* and their friends, gathered ſuch ſpirit, that in thirty days they made up an Army conſiſting well near of thirty thouſand men; reckoning the *Spaniards*, and *Syphax* with his *Numidians*, in the number. So they encamped in a Region called *the great Fields*, about five days journey from *Utica*. *Scipio* hearing of this came from *Utica* thither, to viſit them: leaving behind him his impediments, with ſome part of his Army; to make a ſhew of continuing the Siege. Two or three days, after the meeting of both Armies, paſſed away in skirmiſh; without any great thing done. It had now been time for *Aſdrubal* to follow the Example of the *Roman*, *Fabius*; and ſeek to weary out the Enemy by delays. But either (which is likely) he was a far worſe Commander, or elſe it was not in his power, to give ſuch directions as beſt pleaſed himſelf. The fourth day the Armies met in Battel: wherein the *Romans* were marſhalled by *Scipio* after their wonted manner; having their *Italian* Horſe in their right wing; and *Maſaniſſa* with his *Numidians* in the left. On the contrary ſide, *Aſdrubal* and his *Carthaginians* had the right wing; *Syphax* the left, and the *Spaniards* the Battel. The Victory was gotten without many blows: for the untrained followers of *Syphax* and *Aſdrubal*, could not ſuſtain the firſt charge of the *Italians*, or of *Maſaniſſa*. Only the *Spaniards* fought a long time, even till they were all in a manner ſlain: rather as men deſperate, and not hoping for mercy, ſince they were thus come over to fight againſt *Scipio*, who had otherwiſe deſerved of them; than upon any likelihood or conceit of Victory. This their obſtinacy was beneficial unto thoſe that fled; for that it

hindered the *Romans* from making any great purſuit. Hereby *Aſdrubal* and *Syphax* eſcaped: *Aſdrubal*, to *Carthage*; and *Syphax* home, to his own Kingdom: whither his Wife was either gone before, or immediately followed him.

Scipio, having thus gotten the maſtry of the field, took counſel about the proſecution of the War. It was reſolved upon, as the beſt courſe, That he himſelf, with part of the Army, ſhould attempt the Cities round about him: and that *Maſaniſſa*, with his *Numidians*, and *Lælius*, with ſome of the *Roman* Legions, ſhould follow after *Syphax*, not permitting him to take reſt within his own Kingdom, where eaſily elſe he might repair his forces, and put them to new trouble. This advice it ſeems that *Maſaniſſa* gave: who knew beſt the quality of the *Numidians*; and what good might be done among them, by the reputation of a Victory. The leaſt that could be expected, was his reſtitution into his own Kingdom, uſurped by *Syphax*: which to accompliſh, it no leſs concerned the *Romans* at the preſent, than it did himſelf. According to this order concluded, *Lælius* was ſent away with *Maſaniſſa*: and *Scipio* ſtayed behind; carrying the War from Town to Town. Many places yielded for fear: many were taken by force: and all the Subjects of *Carthage* wavered in their fidelity; as if the time were now come, wherein they might take notice of thoſe unreaſonable burdens, which their proud Maſters had laid upon them, for maintenance of the War in *Spain* and *Italy*. What to do in this caſe, the *Carthaginians* could hardly reſolve. Fortune was their Enemy: they had loſt their Armies, and many of their Towns: neither durſt they make bold to trouble their own Subjects with any violent exaction of Men or Money; who nevertheleſs of their own free will were likely to give little help. Very much it grieved them, to ſend for *Hannibal* out of *Italy*: yet ſince there was no other hope remaining, than in him and his good Army; it was decreed, that Embaſſadors ſhould be forthwith ſent to call him home. Some there were that gave advice, to ſet out a Fleet againſt that of *Scipio*; that rode before *Utica*, weakly manned, and eaſie to be taken, whilſt *Scipio* himſelf was buſied in the Inland Countries. Some were of opinion, That it ſhould be their principal care, to fortifie by all means the City of *Carthage*: upon the ſafety whereof they ſaid, that all depended; adding, that whilſt they were true, and at unity among themſelves, they might well enough ſubſiſt, and expect thoſe opportunities, with which Fortune (doubtleſs) would preſent them. Theſe counſels were not rejected: but order was forthwith taken, both for all things concerning defence of the City, and for the attempt upon the *Roman* Feet at *Utica*. Nevertheleſs it was conſidered, that hereby they ſhould only protract the War: without any way advancing their own affairs towards likelihood of Victory; no, though it ſhould fall out, that all the Ships at *Utica* might be taken or deſtroyed. Wherefore the determination held concerning *Hannibal*, That he ſhould immediately come over into *Africk*, as the laſt refuge of *Carthage*. The Council was no ſooner broken up, than all the Senators betook themſelves to the execution of that which was decreed: ſome to fortification of the Town: ſome to make ready the Fleet: and ſome, appointed thereunto, forthwith to embarke themſelves for *Italy*. In this their trepidation *Scipio* comes to *Tunes*, a City in thoſe days very ſtrong; and ſtanding in proſpect almoſt of every part of *Carthage*. This place, or rather ſome defenſible piece adjoyning, he eaſily took; the Garriſon forſaking it, and running away, as ſoon as he drew near. But whilſt he was about there to encamp, and fortifie himſelf againſt the City; he might perceive the *Carthaginian* Fleet ſetting forth, and making towards *Utica*. What this meant, he readily conceived: and ſtood in great fear, leſt his own Ships, that were very ill prepared for Sea-fight (as being heavily loaden with Engines of Battery, and wholly diſpoſed in ſuch order, as was moſt convenient for aſſaulting the Town) ſhould make bad reſiſtance, againſt a Fleet appointed for that ſpecial ſervice. Wherefore he haſted away towards *Utica*, to aſſiſt with his preſence in this needful caſe. It fell out well, that he had ſent his Carriages, and all the great booty which he drew along with him, thither before, at his going to *Tunes*. For had not he now made great expedition, he ſhould have come too late. Neither could he indeed have been there in due time; if the *Carthaginians* had uſed ſuch diligence as was convenient. But they reſted one night in harbour by the way: and at their coming to *Utica*, they tarried a while to make a bravado: preſenting themſelves in order of battel, as if the *Romans* would have put forth to Sea againſt them. But *Scipio* had no ſuch intent: He thought it would be ſufficient, if he could preſerve his Gallies. As for the pleaſure of their bravery at Sea; it ſhould little avail the *Carthaginians*; if they got nothing by it, and loſt their whole Eſtate by Land. Wherefore he took his Ships of burden, and, faſtning them together with Cables, in four ranks, one behind another, made a fourfold bridg over the Channel of the Haven; whereon he placed a thouſand of his choice men, with ſtore of Darts, and other caſting Weapons, to make defence. Some open ſpaces he left; whereat his Frigots, and other ſmall Veſſels might run out, and back again, upon any advantage or need: but theſe he covered with planks; uſing the Maſts and Yards of his Ships inſtead of Rafters, to joyn all together, that his men might help one another, and the bridg it ſelf not be torn aſunder. Scarce was this work finiſhed, when the *Carthaginians*, ſeeing none iſſue forth againſt them, came into the Haven. The fight between them and the *Romans*, that were in the Hulks, was rather like to the aſſaulting of a Wall, than to any Sea-fight. For they that ſtood upon the bridg, had ſure footing, and threw their Weapons downwards with their whole ſtrength and vilence; which the *Carthaginians* out of their Gallies, that were lower and unſteady, could not do. But the *Roman* Frigots and Long-boats, adventuring forth from behind the bridg, were greatly over-born by the force of the Gallies; and were one occaſion of that ſmall loſs which followed. They that ſtood upon the bridg, were neither able to relieve them: nor yet could freely beſtow their Weapons among the *Carthaginians*, as before, for fear of hurting theſe their friends, that were entangled and mixed among the Enemies. The *Carthaginians* had brought with them grapling hooks, hanging at Iron Chains. Theſe they threw upon the Maſts and Yards, which ſerved as Arches to joyn the bridg together: then rowing backwards, they tore all aſunder, in ſuch ſort, that one Ship followed another, and all the firſt rank was broken, or defaced. The Defendants had no other way, than to ſave themſelves as haſtily as they could, by ſhifting into the next rank of Ships, that lay behind them untouched. Neither did the *Carthaginians* trouble themſelves any further in this laborious work: but having haled away ſix Ships of burden, and towed them out of the Haven, returned home to *Carthage*. Their well-

wellcom was greater than their victory: becauſe among ſo many grievous loſſes, only this Exploit had ſucceeded well; though it were of ſmall importance.

Whilſt things thus paſſed about *Carthage*, *Lælius* and *Maſaniſſa*, in their journey againſt *Syphax*, found as good ſucceſs as could be deſired. The fame of the victories already gotten, reſtored *Maſaniſſa* to his Kingdom, without further contention: the *Maſæſyli*, his Subjects, joyfully receiving him; and forſaking the Uſurper. But here they ſtayed not: neither indeed would *Syphax* permit them to be quiet. He had ſuch abundance of Men and Horſes, that he felt not greatly the loſſes paſt: and therefore being ſolicited by *Aſdrubal* and *Sophoniſba*, he prepared again for War. But beſide the inſtigation of his beloved Wife; the loſs of the *Maſæſyli* would let him take no reſt: neither was it the purpoſe of *Lælius* and *Maſaniſſa*, to give him any breathing time. It is common in men, to depart no leſs unwillingly from that which they have gotten by extortion, than from their proper inheritance: but to think all alike their own, whereof they are in poſſeſſion; be the title unto ſome part never ſo unjuſt. Hereunto alludes the Fable of the young Kite: which thought that ſhe had vomited up her own guts; when it was only the garbage of ſome other Fowl, that ſhe had haſtily ſwallowed, and was not able to digeſt. But whether or no, *Syphax*, like the young Kite, believed the Kingdom of the *Maſæſyli* to be part of his entrails: *Lælius* and *Maſaniſſa* will ſhortly give him ſomewhat, that ſhall make him caſt his gorge. For to this purpoſe chiefly are they come ſo far. It concerned the *Romans* to diſpoſſeſs (if it might be) that King: whoſe falſe and hollow friendſhip towards them, had been converted into ſtrong enmity; as alſo to ſet in his place another, who might do them ſuch good Offices, as *Syphax* had lately done unto the *Carthaginians*. How eaſily this might be effected, *Maſaniſſa* knew beſt: as being well acquainted with the nature of thoſe Countries; wherein, even to this day, though there be many ſtrong Towns, yet the fortune of a battel is enough, to tranſlate the Kingdom from one Competitor to another. So they met with *Syphax*: who came againſt them with no leſs an Army than his former, and marſhalled in the *Roman* order; according to the skill which he had learned of the *Roman* Centurion, long ago ſent unto him out of *Spain*, from *Cn. Scipio*. But though he could teach his men, how to march in order; yet could he not teach them to fight courageouſly. They were a Rabble of all ſorts, gathered up in haſte: and few of them had ſeen the War before. Encamping near unto the *Romans*, it fell out, as commonly, that ſome ſmall Troops of Horſe on both ſides, encountred one another in the mid-way: and they that had the worſt, were ſeconded by other of their fellows. By continuance of the skirmiſh, more and more were drawn out from either Camp: ſo that at length *Syphax*, unwilling to diſhearten his men, by taking any foil at their firſt meeting with the Enemy, came up with all his Horſe, which were the beſt part of his Forces, and therewith over-charged *Maſaniſſa*, whoſe numbers were far leſs. But whilſt he was proſecuting his hope of victory: ſome *Roman* Squadrons of Foot came againſt him through their own Troops of Horſe; which fell to the ſides, and made a lane for them. So their Battel ſtanding now more firm than a little before; *Syphax* was unable, though he laboured much in vain, to make them give ground. *Maſaniſſa* likewiſe, and his Troops, grew confident upon this aſſiſtance: and charging afreſh the Enemy, that could not make way forward, cauſed him to give back. Herewithal the Legions came in ſight: which terrified ſo the *Numidian* Horſe, that they began preſently to diſband. Fain would *Syphax* have ſtayed them from flight; and to that end, made head in perſon againſt the *Romans*; with hope, that his men would be aſhamed to leave him. But it fell out unhappily, that he was caſt from his Horſe, which received a wound; and ſo taken Priſoner. Of others that were ſlain or taken, the multitude was not great. It ſufficed, that they forſook the place, and fled: and that their King, upon whom all depended, was in the *Romans* hand. *Maſaniſſa* told *Lælius*, That this Victory ſhould make an end of the *Numidian* War, if preſently they haſted away to *Cirta*, the chief City of the Kingdom; whither he himſelf deſired to be ſent before with the Horſe, carrying *Syphax* along with him. Hereunto *Lælius* agreed. *Maſaniſſa* coming to *Cirta*, before any news of the Kings miſchance was there arrived, called out the chief of the City to parley: wherein by many fair promiſes and threats, but eſpecially by ſhewing unto them *Syphax* bound, he prevailed ſo far, that the gates were forthwith opened unto him; and every one ſtrove to get his favour, that was like to be their King hereafter. Among the reſt, Queen *Sophoniſba* yeilded her ſelf into his hands; and vehemently beſought him, that ſhe might not be delivered up unto the *Romans*. Her Youth, and excellent Beauty, ſo commended her ſuit, that *Maſaniſſa* forthwith granted it: and to make good his promiſe, married her himſelf that very day: thereby to prevent *Lælius* and *Scipio* from determining otherwiſe of her, ſince ſhe was his Wife. But *Lælius*, when he came thither, took the matter heinouſly; ſo that at firſt he would have haled her away, together with *Syphax*, and other Priſoners, and have ſent her unto *Scipio*. But being over-entreated by *Maſaniſſa*, he ſuffered the matter to reſt a while as he found it, and referred all to *Scipio*'s diſcretion: to whom he ſent away *Syphax*, and other Captives immediately; following ſhortly after himſelf, with *Maſaniſſa*, when they had done what was needful in the Kingdom.

At the coming of *Syphax* there was great joy in the *Roman* Camp: the mighty Armies which he had lately brought into the Field: and his entertainment of *Scipio* and *Aſdrubal*, both at one time, when *Rome* and *Carthage* together fought his friendſhip: with ſuch other commemoration of his paſt and preſent fortune; miniſtring to every one a large argument of diſcourſe. *Scipio* demanded of him, what had moved him, not only to forſake the *Roman* friendſhip, but to make War upon them unprovoked. He briefly anſwered, That his Wife had moved him ſo to do: calling her a Fury, and a peſtilent creature: and ſaying, That *Maſaniſſa* was no wiſer than himſelf; ſince he had now taken the ſame woman to his Wife, who would ſhortly draw him to the ſame courſes. Hereat *Scipio* was greatly troubled: and ſtood in great doubt, leſt this perilous woman ſhould deprive him of *Maſaniſſa*, as ſhe had done of *Syphax*. It was not long, ere *Maſaniſſa* and *Lælius* came unto him: both of whom together he lovingly welcomed; and highly commended in publick, for their notable ſervice in this Expedition. Then taking *Maſaniſſa* apart, he brake with him, as touching *Sophoniſba*: letting him underſtand, that the *Romans* had title to her head: and that ſhe was a miſchievous Enemy of theirs. Wherefore he entreated him to moderate his affections: and not to deface

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the memory of his great ſervices already done; (for which he ſhould be highly rewarded, to his own contentment) by committing a great Offence upon little reaſon. *Maſaniſſa* bluſht, and wept: and finally promiſed to be governed by *Scipio*; whom he nevertheleſs entreated, to think upon his Faith given to *Sophonisba*, that ſhe ſhould not be delivered into the *Romans* power. So he departed to his own Tent, where, after ſome time ſpent in agony, he called unto him a ſervant of his, that had the cuſtody of his poyſon (which Princes then uſed to have in readineſs, againſt all miſchances that might make them unwilling to live): and tempering a potion for *Sophonisba*, ſent it unto her with this Meſſage; That gladly he would have had her to live with him as his Wife: but ſince they who had power to hinder him of his deſire, would not yield thereto, he ſent her a cup, that ſhould preſerve her from falling alive into the hands of the *Romans*; willing her to remember her birth and eſtate, and accordingly to take order for her ſelf.

At the receit of this Meſſage and Preſent, ſhe only ſaid, That if her Husband had no better Token to ſend unto his new Wife, ſhe muſt accept of this; adding, That ſhe might have died more honourably, if ſhe had not wedded ſo lately before her Funeral. And herewithal ſhe boldly drank off the Poyſon. Thus *Livy* reports it. But *Appian* varies from this: and ſets it down agreeably to that which hath been ſpoken before, concerning the præ-contract between *Maſaniſſa* and *Sophonisba*. He ſaith, That after the taking of *Syphax*, Embaſſadors from *Cirta* met with *Lælius* and *Maſaniſſa* upon their way thither, yielding up their City, and the Kings Palace: and that *Sophonisba*, for her own private, ſent Meſſengers to excuſe her Marriage with *Syphax*; as made againſt her will, by compulſion of thoſe in whoſe power ſhe was. *Maſaniſſa* readily admitted this excuſe; and accepted her to Wife. But when *Scipio* had received information from *Syphax*, how cunning in perſwaſion *Sophonisba* was; and that all her thoughts laboured for the good of *Carthage*: he fell out about her with *Maſaniſſa* at his return; and challenged her, as a part of the booty belonging to the *Romans*. *Maſaniſſa* ſaid, ſhe was his own Wife, and unto him betrothed many years before. But *Scipio* would not hear of this: or if it were true, yet he ſaid, it was no reaſon, that *Maſaniſſa* ſhould keep her in poſſeſſion, as long as it was diſputable, unto whom ſhe might appertain. Wherefore he willed him firſt of all to produce her, and then afterwards to make his claim unto her; wherein he ſhould have no wrong. Herewithal he ſent to fetch her away: and *Maſaniſſa* accompanied the Meſſengers, as it were to deliver her; but making her acquainted with the neceſſity, gave unto her a cup of poyſon, wherewith ſhe ended her life, before they came that ſhould have apprehended her. So he ſhewed unto the *Romans* her dead body; which he royally interred. The ſudden violence of *Maſaniſſa* his love, and the ready conſent of *Sophonisba* to marry with him; add not ſo much credit unto this relation of *Appian*, as doth the want of all other evident cauſe (which [a] *Livy* notes) of the ſudden falling out between him and the *Carthaginians*; under whom he had been trained up, and done them great ſervice. Howſoever it were; *Scipio*, hearing of this tragical accident, ſent for *Maſaniſſa*, and comforted him as well as he could; leſt his Melancholly ſhould lead him to ſome inconvenience. Having therefore gently rebuked him for his raſhneſs, he brought him forth in preſence of the Army: where extolling his noble acts, and ſhewing how highly he had deſerved of the City of *Rome*, he proclaimed him King; and gave unto him a Crown of Gold, with other Royal Ornaments. This was indeed the ready way to divert his thoughts from the ſad remembrance of that which was paſt, unto the more chearful contemplation of good fortune, that began to ſmile upon him.

a *Lib.* 28.

This was the firſt time that the *Romans* took upon them to create or proclaim a King. Which honour, though *Maſaniſſa* well deſerved: yet would not the Title have redounded unto his great benefit; neither ſhould he have been much beholding to them for it, if he had not by their means recovered poſſeſſion of his Countrey, together with the greateſt part of *Syphax* his Dominions. It ſeems not unlikely, that had he remained a Neuter in theſe Wars, and ſuſtained himſelf, with his Troop of Horſe, in ſuch ſort as he did before the coming of the *Romans*; he might nevertheleſs have recovered his proper Inheritance, by the love of his own Subjects, without other help, when *Syphax* had once or twice been vanquiſhed. As for the enlargement of his Kingdom, it was not more than he deſerved: neither were the *Romans* then in caſe, to make a Conqueſt of *Numidia* for themſelves; neither could they have wiſhed a fitter opportunity, than of ſuch a man, upon whom to beſtow it, that was their aſſured friend, and paſſable withal among the *Numidians*, as being (for the *Maſæſyli* were a *Numidian* Tribe) a great Prince of the ſame Nation. Yet this liberality of the *Romans*, was noiſed abroad as very glorious: and the *Romans* themſelves, in a politick ſort of gravity, took highly upon them; as if even their ſaluting him by the name of *King*, had been a matter of great conſequence. He thrived indeed well after it: and by their maintenance waxed mighty in times following, encroaching upon his Neighbours on all ſides; but moſt of all upon the State of *Carthage*, whereat they were little diſpleaſed. Hence it grew, that *Vermina*, the Son of *Syphax* (of whom we ſhall ſhortly ſpeak more) which held ſome piece of his Father's Kingdom, deſiring friendſhip of the *Romans*, and promiſing by all means to deſerve their love, requeſted therewithal, that they would call him *King*. But though it were ſo, that never any before him had made this a matter of ſuit: yet the *Roman* Senate was *puntilious* herein; and anſwered very gravely, That it was not their cuſtom to give the honour of that appellation, ſave only unto ſuch Kings, as had greatly deſerved of their City. Thus they made it a matter of State: and in proceſs of time grew ſo proud of this their imaginary Prerogative, that they imputed as a ſingular benefit unto Kings, that no way depended upon them, the ſalutation by [b] *that name*; though it were not accompanied with any other favour or profit thence redounding.

Liv. l. 31.

b *Cæſar Com.* lib. 1.

§. XIX.

The Carthaginians *deſire Truce: and break it.*

THE *Carthaginians* were extremely diſmayed, when they heard of the great calamity, that was befal'n their good friend *Syphax*; and underſtood that *Maſaniſſa*, their mortal Enemy, had got poſſeſſion of his Kingdom. To increaſe their fear, *Scipio* returned again to *Tunes*, in view of their City: where he made an end of that Fortification, which he had begun at his laſt being there. The *Carthaginians* had neither Forces, nor Cou-

Courage, to withstand him: but their hearts so failed them, that they sent forth unto him thirty Embassadors, Princes of the City, which were their Privy Council, to make suit for Peace. These being admitted into the presence of *Scipio*, did not only prostrate themselves on the ground; but kissed the [e] feet of him, and of those that sate in Council with him.

[e] Excerpt. è Polyb. lib. 14. Liv. lib. 30.

Answerable to this base adoration was their speech that followed. They confessed themselves to have unjustly broken the Peace between them and *Rome*; and to have deserved whatsoever punishment it should please the *Romans* to inflict upon them. Yet they humbly besought *Scipio*, and the rest, that, in common regard of those misfortunes, whereto all men are subject, they would shew mercy unto the City of *Carthage*, and let it remain, as a Monument of their Clemency; which, by the folly of her Citizens, had now twice deserved to be overthrown. Herewithal they did not forget, to lay the blame upon *Hannibal*: who without their appointment had begun the War; and was maintained in his doings by a Faction, without the good liking of the whole City. By this it appears, that these Embassadors were no *Barchines*: but rather, that they were *Hanno*, and the choice of his Company; who had now their long desired work in hand, of suing unto the *Romans* for Peace. Whatsoever they were, it must needs be that they were most insolent men over those that were subject unto their power: for they would not have made such adoration unto the *Romans*, in their own necessity, unless they themselves had expected the like, where they had the advantage.

It was not unknown to *Scipio*, or to his assistants, in what poor case the City of *Rome* then was; and how unable to defray the charges of continuing the War. Neither were the *Carthaginians*, notwithstanding the loss of so many Armies, in such ill case, as the *Romans* themselves had very lately been. For they had Money enough, wherewith to wage more men: they had a City far stronger than *Rome*; and they had the Sea free. But they wanted the *Roman* resolution: and therefore distrusted the Walls of *Carthage*; though *Utica*, a weaker City, had all this while held out against *Scipio*, and could not yet be forced by him and his Army, though so often victorious in the field. *Scipio* therefore accepted their submission, and told them, That though he came into *Africk*, to make a Conquest, and not a Peace; yet having the Conquest, as it were, in his hand, he would not deny to grant them the Peace, which they desired; for thereby should all Nations understand, that the people of *Rome* did follow the rule of Justice, both in making War, and in concluding it. The Conditions which he imposed upon them, were these: That they should render up unto him all Prisoners that they had taken, together with all Renegado's and Fugitive Slaves: That they should withdraw their Armies out of *Italy* and *Gaule*: That they should not meddle in *Spain*, nor yet in any Island between *Italy* and *Africk*: That they should deliver up all their Ships of War, save Twenty; and that they should pay a great sum of Money, with certain hundred thousand bushels of Wheat and Barley. To consider of these Articles, he gave them three days: and when they had approved them, he granted a Truce; that they might send Embassadors unto the *Roman* Senate.

This done, *Masanissa* was dismissed, and went home into his Kingdom, as if the War had been already at an end. *Syphax* was a little before sent with *Lælius* unto *Rome*: where the fame of these Victories filled men with joy; and gave hope that the long endured miseries would be shortly at an end. Wherefore all the Temples were set open, and an Holy-day appointed for thanksgiving and supplication to their Gods. *Lælius* was accompanied with Embassadors from King *Masanissa*: who gratulating the happy success of the *Romans* in their *African* War, and giving thanks unto the Senate for the benefits done by *Scipio* unto their Master, made request for the *Numidians*, such as were now his Subjects, and Prisoners in *Rome*, that they might be bestowed upon him; who by rendring them to liberty, should do an act very plausible, that would make him gracious among his people in the beginning of his Reign. The *Roman* Senate were not behind with *Masanissa* in Complement: but shewing themselves to be highly pleased with all that *Scipio* had done, and should do for him; they called him *King* again; released his *Numidians* that were Captives; and sent him two Purple Cassocks, that had each of them one gold button; with such other Presents, as in time of their Poverty might serve to testifie their good will. Scarcely were these and *Lælius* gone from *Rome*, when the news came, that Embassadors from *Carthage* were arrived to desire Peace. These Embassadors were not admitted into the City, but were lodged without; until *Lælius* being sent for, came back from *Ostia*, to be present when their demands were to be heard. Then was audience given them in the Temple of *Bellona*; that stood in the Suburbs. The Errand of these Embassadors, was Peace: but the meaning of them, and of their City, was only to win time, and get respite from War, until *Hannibal* and *Mago* should come out of *Italy*, either to chase the *Romans* out of *Africk*, or to obtain Peace for *Carthage*, by terror of their great Names and Armies, upon more easie Conditions. Wherefore they made an idle Discourse of the League that was concluded between them and *Lutatius Catulus*, at the end of the former War. This League, they said, all things well considered, did still remain in force: neither had there since been any War at all, between the people of *Rome* and the *Carthaginians*. For it was only *Hannibal*, that, without any leave from *Carthage*, had of his own head besieged and razed the Town of *Saguntum*: and after that, adventured in like sort, without Commission, to pass the *Alpes*, and trouble (as he had done) the quiet of *Italy*. This being so: their Message was none other, than to desire, that the League before spoken of, made in the time of *Catulus*, might hereafter stand in force, as indeed it hitherto did, and ought to do. The Senators had cause to wonder at this Tale; hearing these Embassadors make (as it were) a jest of a War, that had been so terrible. Wherefore they asked them a great many questions, concerning that Peace made by *Lutatius*, and other passages following between the two Cities. But they excused themselves by their age: (for they were all young men) and said, That those things were beyond their knowledg and remembrance. Forthwith it appeared, That all was but collusion, and that they sought no other than to gain time, until they might repair the War. Wherefore they were sent home in company of *Lælius*; without any conclusion at all of Peace; and, in effect, without answer. This notwithstanding, we find in *Polybius*, That the Senate receiving advertisement from *Scipio*, of that which had passed between him and the *Carthaginians* in this Treaty of Peace, approved the Conditions by him propounded; and gave him license thereupon, to proceed unto

Excerpt. è Polyb. l. 15.

unto concluſion. This may with good reaſon be believed: ſince it was not unknown, that if the War continued, all theſe goodly hopes muſt reſt upon the moſt uncertain iſſue of one Battel between *Hannibal* and *Scipio*: wherein if fortune ſhould be averſe to them, their forces in *Africk* were no better than quite loſt.

Matters thus hanging in ſuſpenſe, before the *Carthaginian* Embaſſadours came back from *Rome*: a Fleet out of *Sicil*, wherein were two hundred Ships of burden, and thirty Gallies, being bound for *Africk* to Victual the *Roman* Camp, was overtaken by foul weather at Sea; and hardly eſcaping wrack, was diſperſed, and driven aground in divers parts of the Bay of *Carthage*, even in view, and under command of the City. There was at that time, as we find in *Appian*, and may gather out of *Polybius*, a great dearth of Victuals in *Carthage*: which cauſed the People to cry out upon their Magiſtrates, that they ſhould not let ſuch a booty eſcape them; ſaying, that the danger of Famine was greater and worſe, than of breaking Truce. Whether it were ſo that hunger urged them, or that they yielded to ther own greedy deſires: the multitude in *Carthage* underſtood (as it ſeems) that all this diſcourſe of Peace in hand, was no better than meer mockery: and therefore cared not for obſervation of particular points, when they meant deceit in the whole. It was the manner in *Carthage*, as likewiſe in *Alexandria*, for all the Raſcality, together with Women and Boys, to be medling in uprores: the clamours of the Boys being in ſuch Tumults no leſs violent, than of the Men. Wherefore it is no marvel, if little regard were had of reaſon, or of honour, in any ſuch commotion. A Fleet was ſent out under *Aſdrubal*, to gather up the diſperſed *Roman* Ships of burden (for the Gallies, by force of Oares, recovered the ſtation whereto their Camp adjoyned) and bring them into *Carthage*: which was done. *Scipio* was hereat much offended: not only for the loſs, and for that the Town was thereby relieved; but for that by this breach of Truce, he foreſaw the intention of the *Carthaginians* to renew the War, and put him to more trouble. Wherefore he ſent Embaſſadours unto them: both to require ſatisfaction for the injury done; and to deter them from entertaining any other hope, than in the Peace which they had ſo much deſired. Theſe gave the *Carthaginians* to underſtand, That Letters were come from *Rome* unto *Scipio*, with allowance to conclude the Peace, upon thoſe conditions which he had propounded. But (ſaid they) *we hold it ſtrange, That ye, who ſo lately have caſt your ſelves to the ground before us, and kiſſed our Feet, after an unuſual manner of humility, confeſſing your ſelves to have perfidiouſly broken the League that was between us, and thereby to have deſerved ſuch puniſhment as is due unto Rebels; ſhould ſo ſoon forget what ye then uttered, and run headlong again into the ſame crimes, for which ye acknowledged your ſelves worthy to be deſtroyed, having only recourſe unto our mercy. We are not ignorant, that it is the confidence which ye repoſe in* Hannibal *that thus emboldens you. Yet were it not amiſs, that ye ſhould conſider, how long he hath been pent up in a corner of Italy, among the* Brutians; *where he is in a manner beſieged, and unable to ſtir: ſo that ye are like to find his help wanting in your greateſt need. Or let it be ſuppoſed, that he were now in* Africk, *and ready to give us Battel: yet ſhould it well agree with your wiſdom, to doubt what might befal; remembring that he is a Man, and not invincible. Now if it ſhould happen that he were overcome; what refuge have ye left unto your ſelves againſt hereafter? What gods will ye either ſwear by, to be believed, or call upon in your miſery? What words, and lamentable geſture will ye henceforth uſe, to move compaſſion? Surely ye have already waſted all your forces of perſwaſion, and ſhall not again deceive us, if ye refuſe the grace, whereof at the preſent ye are capable.* It is no marvel though the *Carthaginians* were angry, when they heard themſelves upbraided with the baſe demeanour of their Embaſſadours. For it was not the general opinion of the City, that the Truce was broken by themſelves: though it had pleaſed *Hanno*, or ſuch as were of his Faction, to gratifie the *Romans* with all manner of ſubmiſſion; and to renounce not only their hope of the future, but all juſtification of matters paſt. And indeed it ſeems, that the *Roman* Embaſſadours were very much delighted, in the rehearſal of that point which was yielded unto them; as knowing that thereon depended the juſtice of the quarrel. But the *Carthaginians* took this in ſo ill part, that hardly they could refrain from doing violence unto the Men, who had uſed unto them ſuch inſolent Speeches. Yet the fury of the multitude was in ſome ſort appeaſed; either by *Hanno*, whom *Appian* (I know not why) calls *Hanno the great*; or by the very reverence, due unto the place of thoſe that had uttered ſuch liberal words. So they were diſmiſſed in friendly ſort; though it were without anſwer to their Propoſition. There were alſo two Gallies appointed for their ſafe Convoy home; though with little intent of good unto their Perſons. *Aſdrubal* was then in the midway, as Men ſailed from *Carthage* towards *Utica*. He, whether only deſirous to pleaſe the Multitude, of whoſe diſpoſition he was informed; or whether directed by publick order, to cut off theſe Embaſſadours in their way homeward: lay waiting for them behind a Cape, that was a little beyond the mouth of the River *Bagradas*. Their Convoy, having brought them on the way, as far as to the mouth of *Bagradas*, wiſhed them a good Voyage; and ſo took leave of them, as if they had been then in ſafety; ſince the *Roman* Camp was even in ſight. The Embaſſadours took this in ill part: not as fearing any danger toward; but thinking themſelves too much neglected, foraſmuch as their attendants did ſo abruptly leave them. But no ſooner had they doubled the Cape, than *Aſdrubal* fell upon them in ſuch manner, as they might well diſcern his purpoſe; which was, to have ſtemmed them. They rowed hard therefore: and being in a Quinquereme, that had more banks of Oares, than had any Gally of *Aſdrubal*; they ſlipt away, and made him overſhoot himſelf. Yet he gave them chace; and had well near ſurpriſed them. But they diſcovered ſome *Roman* Companies on the ſhore over againſt them, and therefore adventured to run their Veſſel aground: whereby they ſaved their own Lives; though a great part of their Company were ſlain, or hurt. This practice of the *Carthaginians* was inexcuſable: and for the ſame cauſe perhaps were the Citizens heartned in ſuch a diſhonourable attempt, by thoſe that were deſirous to continue the War; that thereby they might be driven to ſtudy nothing elſe, than how to get the Victory, as having none other hope remaining. Yet likely it is, that the ſame fear, which had cauſed them to make ſuch earneſt ſuit for Peace, would alſo have cauſed them to be better adviſed, than thus to abandon all hope of Treaty: had they not been given to underſtand, that *Hannibal* was already Landed in *Africk*, in whom they repoſed no ſmall confidence; but verily perſwaded themſelves, that he would change their fortune, and teach the *Romans* to hold themſelves contented with more eaſie conditions

App. de bello Punico.

Excerpt. è Polyb. l. 15.

conditions, than were those that *Scipio*, in the pride of his fortune, had of late propounded.

§. XX.

In what sort Hannibal *spent the time after the Battel of* Metaurus. *The doings of* Mago *in* Italy. Hannibal *and* Mago *called out of* Italy. *How the* Romans *were diversly affected by* Hannibals *departure.*

EVer since the loss of that Battel at *Metaurus*, *Hannibal*, remained in the Countrey of the *Brutians*; waiting for another supply from *Carthage*. The *Roman* Consuls that succeeded unto *Claudius* and *Livius*, by whom *Asdrubal* was overcome and slain, were contented to be quiet all their year. Neither did *Licinius* the Colleague of *Scipio* ought worthy of remembrance against *Hannibal*: being hindred by the pestilence that was in his Army. *Sempronius* the Consul who followed *Licinius*; and *Cn. Servilius Cæpio*, who followed *Sempronius*, were earnestly bent to have done somewhat: but their diligence was in a manner fruitless. In some skirmishes with *Hannibal*, they had the better; in some, the worse: and a few poor Towns they got from him, as it were by stealth; his care being more to preserve his Army, than to keep those places that were weak.

The *Romans* had at this time so many great pieces of work in hand, that their chief Enemy was become, not the chief part of their care. Their thoughts were mainly bent upon *Africk*, wherein they were at no small charges to maintain the Army, which (as was hoped) should bring the War to a short and happy conclusion. They stood nevertheless in much fear of *Mago*, the Brother of *Hannibal*: who took exceeding pains among the *Ligurians* and *Gaules* to raise an Army, wherewith to kindle anew the War in *Italy*, that began to wax cold. *Mago* solicited also the *Hetrurians*; and found them so ready to stir in his behalf, that if he could have entred their Country strong, it might have proved no less needful for *Scipio* to return home out of *Africk*, than shortly it was for *Hannibal*, to make speed unto the defence of *Carthage*. These dangers caused the *Romans* to employ one of their Consuls, or Proconsuls, with an Army; among the *Hetrurians*; another among the *Gaules*; and a third among the *Ligurians*: forasmuch as it was uncertain, upon which side *Mago* would break out. Being thus busied, it is no wonder, though they forbore to overcharge *Hannibal* with any great power.

As for *Mago*; when things were in some readiness for his setting forwards, he met in the Country of the *Insubrians*, which is about *Milan*, with *M. Cornelius* the *Roman* Proconsul, and *P. Quintilius Varus* one of the Prætors. With these he fought a Battel, wherein though his vertue shewed it self worthy of his Father and Brethren; yet his fortune was *Carthaginian*. The fight continued a long while doubtful; in such sort that the *Roman* Commanders began to distrust the issue. Wherefore *Quintilius* the Prætor, taking unto him all the *Roman* Horse, thought to have shaken the Enemies to pieces. The Legions at the same time gave a loud shout: and strained themselves hard; as if at that brunt the Victory should have been carried before them. But *Mago* opposed his Elephants to the Horse: the Service of those beasts being fitter for such use, than against the Squadrons of Foot. The figure, scent, and braying of these Elephants, did so affright the Horse, that they started aside, and were scattered over the field; their Riders being unable to mannage them. Hereby the *Numidians* got advantage upon them: whose manner of fight was more available against those that were loose, than against the Troops that were close and thick. Then fell the Elephants upon the Legions: which entertained them after the accustomed manner, with a showre of Darts, and killed four of them; causing all the rest to give back. This notwithstanding, the same Legions were so vehemently pressed by the Enemy; that more for shame of running away, than by any great force to make resistance, they held their ground. The Proconsul therefore brought up those forces, which he had kept unto the last, to succour where need should most require. Against these *Mago* employed some of his *Gaules*, whom he had in readiness for the like occasion. But these *Gaules* discharged their parts very ill: They were soon beaten off; and recoiled so hastily, that they brought fear upon all the rest. When *Mago* saw that his Men began to shrink, He put himself in the head of his Army; and held them so well to it, that keeping their order, they made a fair Retreat, with their faces toward the Enemy. But at length he received a greivous wound in his Thigh; whereof shortly after he dyed. He was taken up, and carried out of danger by some of his own Men: the rest of them, after little further resistance, provided every one for himself: So the *Romans* obtained victory, not without great cost; as purchasing the death of about five thousand Enemies, with the loss of two thousand and three hundred of the Prætors Army, besides those that died of the Proconsuls Legions; also besides divers Colonels, Captains, and Gentlemen of mark, that fell in this hot piece of service. Neither were there any Prisoners taken; whereby it may seem that the Enemies did not fall to rout, before they had recovered some ground that might assure them from pursuit. However it were, this victory would have much imported for the assurance of *Italy*, if the State of *Carthage* could longer have permitted these valiant Sons of *Amilcar* to abide therein. But *Mago* withdrawing himself (by easie journies, because of his wound) into *Liguria*, found there Embassadours from *Carthage* attending him: who gave him to understand the pleasure of their City, which was, That both he and *Hannibal* should presently repair home with all their forces; not staying any longer to think upon the conquest of *Italy*, since *Carthage* it self was ready to be lost. He obeyed this Commandement, and embarqued shortly his Army; but died of his wound about *Sardinia*, in the way homewards.

About the same time *Hannibal* received the like command from *Carthage* to return into *Africk*. He heard it with great impatience; gnashing his teeth, and groaning, and hardly keeping in the tears, that were ready to burst out, whilst the Embassadours were delivering their Errand. When their message was done; He told them, That *this was yet plain dealing. For*, said He, *They that now directly bid me come home, have long ago done their best to hale me out of Italy; though more closely and crookedly they went to work, by stopping the supply, that should have enabled me to mannage the War here.* Scipio *therefore shall not need to brag, that he hath drawn me home by the heeles: it is* Hanno, *that hath wrought this noble feat; and overwhelmed the House of the* Barchines, *for lack of other means to do it, with the ruin of Carthage.* He had before prepared a Fleet in readiness, doubting that, which after came to pass: wherein he embarqued, besides his own Men, as many of the *Italians*, as were content to

be partakers of his fortune. Many there were that ſhrunk back from him, and refuſed to do ſervice in this Expedition: of whom ſuch as he could take he ſlew; not ſparing thoſe that fled into the Temple of *Juno Lacinia*, which had been held an inviolable Sanctuary unto that day. He was indeed then wholly tranſported with rage; and departed out of *Italy* no leſs paſſionate, than men are wont to be, when they leave their own Countries to go into exile. He looked back unto the ſhore: accuſing both Gods and Men; and curſing his own dulneſs, in that he had not led his Army from *Cannæ*, hot and bloodied as it was, directly unto the Walls of *Rome*. With ſuch vexation of ſpirit He quitted the poſſeſſion of *Italy*; wherein he had lived almoſt half his time.

If it could have been foretold unto the *Romans*, in the firſt beginning of this War, with what exceeding joy in times following they ſhould entertain the news of *Hannibal* his departure out of *Italy*: they would (I think) leſs earneſtly have preſſed the *Carthaginians* to ſend him over thither. When ſure advertiſement was brought unto the City, that *Hannibal* was gone with all his Army: an Holiday was appointed for thankſgiving unto their Gods; and extraordinary great ſacrifices publikly made, for joy of ſuch happy tidings. Yet old *Q. Fabius* was of opinion, That the danger did ſtill remain the ſame, though the place were changed: for that *Hannibal*, at his coming into *Africk*, would find *P. Scipio* other manner of work, than he had been troubled with at any time before; and would do greater matters in his own Country, than ever he was able to perform abroad in a land of ſtrangers. The remove of the War from their own doors, and the conceit of that victory for which they hoped, was enough to make them preſume further, than at other times they would have done. When therefore the *Saguntine* Embaſſadors brought unto them a great maſs of Gold and Silver, together with ſome Agents of the *Carthaginians* taken by them in *Spain*: only the *Carthaginian* Priſoners were accepted; the treaſure was rendred back unto the *Saguntines* that had ſurpriſed it. Upon like confidence of the future, a little before this, order was taken for the repayment of thoſe Monies, that had been borrowed in time of more neceſſity from private Men. Hence alſo proceeded the ſevere chaſtiſement, laid upon thoſe twelve Colonies, that for want either of means, or of good will, had refuſed to give aid to the *Romans*. They were commanded, and enforced, to give double the number of Foot to that which they had been wont to ſet out for the Wars, with a proportion of Horſe anſwerable to the very moſt of their ability. So confident were the *Romans* grown (though their wealth were not as yet ſuitable to the greatneſs of their ſpirit) upon the good ſucceſs of the Battel at *Metaurus*; and the hopes which they repoſed in *Scipio*. All this notwithſtanding, when they conſidered more nearly of that which might happen; and were informed, that the terrible Army, whereof *Italy* had been few days ſince diſcharged, was landed ſafe in *Africk*: they began to revolve a thouſand fearful matters in their heads, and to ſtand in doubt, leſt *Q. Fabius* (who died about the ſame time) would be found a true Prophet. For bethinking themſelves of that which might comfort them in their hopes: they found in the victories againſt *Syphax* and *Aſdrubal* no ſpecialty of ſuch great worth, as might promiſe the like ſucceſs againſt another manner of General, followed by other manner of Men, than were either of thoſe two. The *Numidian* King had been wont to bring into the field a raſcal mutitude of half Scullions, that were good for nothing; being himſelf a ſit Captain for ſuch Souldiers. Likewiſe *Aſdrubal*, the Son of *Giſco*, was a Commander well thought of by the *Carthaginian* Senate; but otherwiſe one, that in the field was only good at ſaving himſelf by a ſwift retreat. But now there came an Army, of Men hardned from their Childhood with incredible patience, fleſhed many hundred times in *Roman* blood, and wearing the ſpoils not only of good Souldiers, but of brave Captains, by them ſlain. Such talk uſed the People of *Rome*, ſaying, That *Scipio* was like to meet in Battel, with many that had ſlain *Roman* Prætors, yea and Conſuls, with their own hands, with many, that had been firſt in getting over the Trenches of ſeveral *Roman* Camps, or in winning the tops of walls at the Seige of Towns; breifly, that he ſhould now be oppoſed by an Army, as good as had ever ſerved in War, and following the dreadful Name of *Hannibal*.

§. XXI.

Hannibal *in* Africk *prepares to fight with* Scipio; *treates with him about Peace in vain*; *loſeth a Battel at* Nadagara, *and perſwades the* Carthaginians *to ſue for Peace. Of the Peace granted from* Rome *to* Carthage.

Hannibal diſembarqued his Army at *Leptis*, almoſt an hundred miles from *Carthage*, Eaſtward from the Headland of *Mercury*, and ſomewhat more than one degree to the South. He was ill provided of Horſe; which it was not eaſie for him to tranſport out of *Italy*. Therefore it behoved him to land, as he did, ſomewhat far from the Enemy; that he might furniſh himſelf with this and the like needful helps, againſt the day of Battel. From *Leptis* he paſſed on to *Adrumetum*, and ſo along through the *Inland* Country; gathering friends unto him by the way. *Tychæus* a *Numidian* Prince, and familiar friend of *Syphax*, was ſaid to have in thoſe days the beſt Horſes of ſervice, that were to be found in *Africk*. Him therefore did *Hannibal* allure unto his party: making him underſtand, that if the *Romans* got the victory, it ſhould be eaſie for *Maſaniſſa*, by their countenance and help to oppreſs both him, and as many other of the neighbour Princes as hindred his proſpect. This Argument, and the fame of him that uſed it, prevailed with *Tychæus*; who ſhortly after brought unto the *Carthaginian* two thouſand Horſe. *Appian* further addes, That *Mezetullus*, (the ſame who had made himſelf Protector over *Maſaniſſa* his Couſens; and was Head of a Family, and adverſe to the *Numidian* Kings of that race) brought unto *Hannibal* another thouſand Horſe: as likewiſe that *Vermina* the Son of *Syphax*, holding a great part of his Fathers Kingdom, began at the ſame time to aſſail the places that yielded obedience to *Maſaniſſa*. This *Vermina*, as we find in *Livy*, came with more than ſixteen thouſand men (for he loſt more than ſo many) to ſuccour *Hannibal* when it was too late.

The *Carthaginians* were at this time in ſuch hard eſtate, or (at leaſt) ſo impatient of the ſtate wherein they were; that they could not attend the leiſure of thoſe preparations, which would have made the victory aſſured. When they conſidered the worth of *Hannibal*, and the greatneſs of his Acts: it offended them to think, that they had been ſo baſe, as to make humble ſuit unto the *Romans* for Peace; whilſt they had ſuch a brave Champion alive, to maintain their cauſe by War.

But

But when they bethought themſelves of their own ſufferings, which, for want of *Roman* magnanimity to endure them, appeared greater than indeed they were: then cried they out earneſtly, that it was no time to linger, but preſently to fight; that ſo they might ſee an end of theſe troubles, either good or bad. And to this purpoſe, they ſent their Mandates to *Hannibal*: requiring him, without any further protraction, to do what he could do out of hand. *Hannibal* made anſwer, That they were his good Lords, and had power to diſpoſe of him and his Army: but ſince he was General of their forces, He thought it reaſonable, that they ſhould ſuffer him to do as a General ought to do; and to chooſe his own times. Nevertheleſs, to give them ſatisfaction, He made great marches to *Zama*; and there encamped.

The breach of Truce, made by the *Carthaginians*: The violence done to his Embaſſadours: and the newes of *Hannibal* his being landed in *Africk*; made *Scipio* to underſtand the reſolution of the *Carthaginians*, which was, not to yield unto any conditions unprofitable for themſelves, as long as they were able to make reſiſtance. Wherefore he ſent unto *Maſaniſſa*: and informed him of all that was fallen out; praying him to come away with ſpeed, and lay all other buſineſs a-part. Ten *Roman* Companies, of Horſe and Foot together, *Maſaniſſa* had with him; that were lent unto him by *Scipio*, to do him ſervice in the eſtabliſhing and enlarging of his Kingdom. But he well underſtood, that thoſe and many more beſides all his own forces would little avail him; if *Hannibal* ſhould drive the *Romans* out of *Africk*. Wherefore taking ſuch order as he could upon the ſudden, for the ſafety of his own Kingdom; with four thouſand Horſe, and ſix thouſand Foot, he made all haſte unto *Scipio*.

Soon after the beginning of theſe new troubles, the *Carthaginian* Embaſſadors that had been at *Rome*, returned back under the conduct of *Lælius* and *Fulvius*: who brought them ſafe into the *Roman* Camp. There when they arrived, and underſtood what had lately paſſed, eſpecially how their Citizens had behaved themſelves towards the *Roman* Embaſſadors: they made little doubt, how their own heads ſhould anſwer for ſuch notorious outrage. To confirm them in this opinion, *M. Bæbius*, one of the late Embaſſadors that had been in *Carthage*, being left by *Scipio* to take charge of the Camp, laid hands upon them, and detained them; ſending word unto his General, who was gone abroad to make War in the Country, that he had them in his power, and that now the *Carthaginians* might be repaid in their own Coyn, for the injury by them lately done. *Scipio* was very glad to hear of this; and commanded *Bæbius* to uſe them with all poſſible courteſie, and ſend them ſafe home. By thus doing He brake the hearts of his Enemies; and cauſed them to acknowledge themſelves, (which was a great victory) far leſs honourable than the *Romans*. This notwithſtanding, He made more cruel War upon them than before: taking their Towns by force; and putting them to ſack, without hearkning to any Compoſition. It was the manner of the *Romans*, as often as they took a Town by aſſault, to put all that came in their way to the Sword, whatſoever they were, without regard. This they did, to make themſelves terrible: and the better to work ſuch impreſſion in the minds of thoſe, with whom they had to do, they uſed oftentimes to kill the very Dogs and other Beaſts, that ran athwart them in the ſtreets; hewing their bodies aſunder, as Men delighted in ſhedding of blood. This being their practice at other times: it is likely, that now they omitted no piece of cruelty; when they meant to give proof of their vehement indignation, and revengeful minds, for the injuries received. Hence it partly grew, that the *Carthaginians* were ſo earneſt in preſſing *Hannibal* to fight.

Excerpt. è Polyb. lib. 16.

Hannibal being encamped at *Zama*, ſent forth his Scouts and Spies, to diſcover where the *Romans* lay; what they were doing; and as much as might be of their demeanour. Some of theſe were taken, and brought unto *Scipio*: who inſtead of truſſing them up, gave them free leave to view his Camp at pleaſure; appointing one to conduct them up and down, and ſhew them whatſoever they deſired. This done, He gave them liberty to depart; and ſent them away ſafe unto their General. *Hannibal* underſtanding this, admired the bravery and courage of his Enemy: with whom on the ſudden he grew deſirous to have an Enter-view, and perſonal conference; and ſignified ſo much unto him, by a Meſſenger ſent of purpoſe. Of this motion the *Roman* liked well: and returned anſwer, that he would meet him ſhortly in place convenient. The next day *Maſaniſſa* came with his Army: whom *Scipio* taking with him removed unto a Town called *Nadagara*; near unto which he ſat down, in a place otherwiſe commodious, and cloſe by a Water that might opportunely ſerve his Camp. Thence he ſent word unto the *Carthaginian*, That the time and place did fitly ſerve, if He had ought to ſay to him. *Hannibal* thereupon removed from *Zama*, and came within four miles of the Enemy: where he encamped well to his own good liking in all things elſe; excepting that his Men were driven to take much pains, in fetching their Water ſomewhat far off. Then was order taken for their meeting: and the two Generals, each of them with a Troop of Horſe, rode forth of their Camps, till they came unto a peice of ground, which was before well ſearched, for fear of ambuſh. There they will their followers to ſtand off: and themſelves, with each of them one Interpreter, encountred each other in the mid-way between their Companies. They remained a while ſilent, viewing one the other with mutual admiration. Then began the *Carthaginian*, ſaluting the *Roman*, to deliver his mind to this effect: That it had been better both for *Carthage* and for *Rome*, if they could have limited and contained their ambition within the ſhores of *Africk* and of *Italy*; for that the Countries of *Sicil* and of *Spain*, about which their Fathers and themſelves had ſtriven, were no ſufficient recompence of ſo many Fleets as had been loſt, and of ſo much blood as had been ſhed, in making thoſe coſtly purchaſes. But ſince things paſt could not be recalled: He ſaid, That it was meet for them to conſider, unto what extreme dangers their own Cities had been expoſed, by the greedy deſire of extending their Empires abroad; and that it was even time for them now at length, to make an end of their obſtinate contention, and pray the gods to endue them with greater wiſdom hereafter. And to ſuch peaceable diſpoſition He affirmed that his own years, and long triall of Fortune both good and evil, had made him inclinable. But much he feared, that *Scipio*, by want of the like experience might rather fix his mind upon uncertain hopes, than upon the contemplation of that mutability, whereto all humane affairs are ſubject. *Yet* (ſaid He) *mine own example may peradventure ſuffice to teach thee moderation. For I am that ſame* Hannibal, *who after my victory at Cannæ wan the greateſt part of* Italy: *and deviſed with my ſelf, what I ſhould do with your City of* Rome; *which I hoped verily to have taken.*

Once I brought mine Army to your Walls, as thou haſt ſince brought thine to ours of Carthage: but now, ſee the change! I ſtand here entreating thee to grant us Peace. This may ſerve as a document of Fortunes inſtability. I fought with thy Father Scipio: He was the firſt of the Roman Generals, that ever met me in the Field. I did then little think; that the time would come, that I ſhould have ſuch buſineſs, as now at the preſent, with his Son. But this is even one of Fortunes Pageants, whereof ſhe hath many. And thou maiſt have experience of the like in thy ſelf, who knows how ſoon? Think upon M. Atilius. If he would have hearkned unto ſuch perſwaſions, as I now uſe to thee; he might have returned home to Rome an happy man. And ſo mayſt thou do now, if any reaſonable offer will give thee ſatisfaction. How ſayſt thou? Canſt thou be contented, that all Spain, Sicil, Sardinia, and whatſoever Iſlands elſe are ſcituate between Italy and Africk, be abandoned by the Carthaginians for ever; and left unto the Romans, to bear Dominion therein? Thou ſhalt have Glory enough by effecting thus much, and the Romans may well be glad of ſuch a bargain. As for us: our own quiet ſhall henceforth give us contentment. And the ſame contentment of ours, ſhall make us faithfully obſerve the Peace with you. But if thou thinkeſt all too little; I muſt deſire thee to ponder well how great an hazard thou muſt undergo, for the obtaining of a very little more, than that which thou maiſt have without contention. It is now in thine own power, to lay hold upon good Fortune, if it pleaſe thee: ſtay but till to morrow night, and thou muſt take ſuch Fortune, as it ſhall pleaſe the Gods. The iſſue of Battel is uncertain, and many times beguileth expectation. Men and Steel we ſhall each of us bring into the Field: but of the Victory, neither of us hath aſſurance. Let us therefore without more a do make Peace: And do not tell me, that ſome falſe-hearted Citizens of ours dealt fraudulently of late in the like Treaty: It is I Hannibal that now deſire Peace with thee; which I would never do, if I thought it not expedient for my Countrey. And thinking it expedient I will always maintain it: like as I have maintained unto my Power, as long as the Gods did not envy me, the War by me begun. Hereunto Scipio made anſwer, That it was no ambitious deſire of ruling in Sicil and in Spain, which had moved the Romans to enter into this or the former War: but that the defence of the Mamertines, and afterwards of the Saguntines, their Confederates, had cauſed them to put on thoſe Arms; which the Gods by the final iſſue of the Wars had approved, and would approve to be moſt juſt. As for the murability of Fortune: he ſaid, that he was not thereof ignorant; and that without any note of inſolence, or over-weening, he might well refuſe the conditions offered. For was it not plain, that all theſe Countries, with which the Carthaginians now ſo willingly departed were already won from them by the the Romans? If ſaid he, theſe Conditions had been propounded whilſt as yet ye detained ſome part of Italy, they might peradventure not have been rejected. But as the Caſe now ſtands, I ſee no reaſon why I ſhould remit unto you any one piece of thoſe my former demands; to which the Carthaginians have yielded already, and thought me to deal graciouſly in being ſo moderate. Rather I ſay, that the injuries which they have done me ſince, have made them unworthy of obtaining Peace upon ſo friendly terms. But I cannot blame thee, Hannibal, though thou wouldſt be glad to make thy Citizens underſtand, from how much of their burden they are by thy means eaſed. Only thou muſt think, that in like ſort it concerns me in Honour, not to let them be gainers or ſavers by the wrongs which they have done of late. Thou knoweſt well, that, beſides thoſe offers which thou here haſt made, they were well contented to reſtore unto us ranſom-free all Priſoners that they have of ours; to pay us five thouſand Talents; to deliver up their Gallies; and to deliver Hoſtages for aſſurance of fair dealing. And muſt they now be diſcharged of all this, by their breach of Truce; their ſpoiling of our Fleet; and their violating our Embaſſadours? Not ſo: But if they can be contented, beſides all this, to make ſuch amends as I ſhall require, for theſe injuries newly done: then will I take advice with my Council what anſwer to give you; otherwiſe, you may even prepare for War, and blame your own ſelves, for that I have denied you Peace.

Hereupon they brake off; and returned each to his own Camp, with no other news than War; bidding their Souldiers prepare for a Battel, wherein ſhould be decided the quarrel between Rome and Carthage. The next morning at break of day they iſſued into the Field: a notable Match, and ſuch as hath very ſeldom been found; whether we regard the Generals; their Armies; the two Cities that contended, or the great importance of the Battel at hand. Scipio ordered his men after the Roman manner: placing firſt the Haſtati, divided in to their Maniples, or ſmall Batallions, with a reaſonable diſtance between them: Not far behind theſe followed the Principes, likewiſe divided; and ſo after them the Triarii. But herein Scipio altered a little the ordinary cuſtom of the Romans: He placed not the Maniples of his Principes oppoſite unto the void ſpaces between the Haſtati, that ſo the Haſtati, as was uſual, might fall back between the Principes; but he placed them directly one behind another, as it were in File. This he did becauſe of the Elephants; whereof Hannibal had many. For of thoſe Beaſts the danger was leſs, whilſt there was open way to let them through. Therefore he took ſuch order, that when they had paſſed through the ſpaces between the firſt Batallions, they ſhould not come upon the Principes in Front. Unto his Velites or thoſe of the light armature, that were to begin the Fight, He gave direction, that when they found themſelves overcharged, either by the Enemies, (or which was moſt to be feared) by the Elephants, they ſhould run back through thoſe Lanes that were between the Maniples and that thoſe which were ſwifteſt, or otherwiſe beſt able, ſhould continue on their flight, until they were got behind all their own Army; thereby leaving room enough unto thoſe that were wounded, or caſt behind, to ſave themſelves on the void ground, that was betwixt the firſt and ſecond, or the ſecond and third Battels, without cloying up the way between the Maniples which he deſired to keep open. His Italian Horſe he placed in the left wing under C. Lælius. In the right wing was Maſaniſſa with his Numidians. He himſelf riding up and down, exhorted his men to do valiantly; uſing words not many, but very forcible. He bad them remember what they had atchieved, ſince their coming into Africk. He told them, That if this day were theirs, the War was at an end: and that their Victory in this War, ſhould make them Lords of all the World; for that afterwards, none would be found able to reſiſt them. On the contrary; if they were beaten, he asked them whither they would fly. They were far from home, yea, and far from their own ſtanding Camp: neither was there any place in Africk, that would give them ſhelter; if they fell into the Carthaginians hands, they knew what to expect. And therefore there was none other way, but Death or Victory; unleſs they would live like

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wretched ſlaves under moſt mercileſs Enemies. In ſuch neceſſity, he ſaid, that they which conſider themſelves to be, and take reſolution anſwerable thereunto, have never been known to fail of getting Victory.

Hannibal on the other ſide placed his Elephants, that were more than fourſcore, in Front of his Battel. Next behind theſe, he made his Vantguard all of Mercinaries, *Ligurians*, *Gauls*, *Baleares*, and *Moors*. Then followed his Battel; which was of *Carthaginians* and *Africans*, more intereſſed in the quarrel than were thoſe Mercinaries; though not ſo good Souldiers: but to help (if it might be) their want of courage, they had with them four thouſand *Macedonians*, lately ſent from King *Philip*. More than the ſpace of a Furlong behind theſe came his Rereward conſiſting of thoſe brave Souldiers which had ſerved him in his *Italian* Wars; and were the only Men, in whom he repoſed any confidence. Oppoſite to *Lælius*, in his own right Wing he beſtowed the *Carthaginian* Horſe. *Tychæus* and the *Numidians* he placed in his left Wing againſt *Maſaniſſa*. He was indeed far to weak for the Enemy in Horſe, both in number and in goodneſs. For *Tychæus* and *Mezetullus* had no more than three thouſand; and thoſe not ſo well exerciſed, as were the four thouſand of *Maſaniſſa*. The *Carthaginians* alſo were no more, nor none other than ſuch as could be levied in the haſte of a few days; and the remainder of thoſe that had of late been often vanquiſhed, and accuſtomed to fly. But it was no time for *Hannibal*, neither had he perhaps authority, to make theſe his Companions alight and ſerve on foot, ſetting better men in their Saddles. All that he could have done, was to ſtay a little longer, and expect more help. Had *Vermina* the Son of *Syphax* come thither, as he did in few days after, with ſixteen thouſand and upwards, the moſt of them Horſe: the advantage of number might have ſerved well to ſupply all other defect. Yet ſince the Lords of *Carthage* would brook no delay: *Hannibal* muſt be fain to comfort himſelf, with the hope that he repoſed in his old *Italian* Souldiers; whoſe vertue had wrought greater wonders, when it was more ſtrongly oppoſed. He encouraged therefore his men, with words agreeable to their ſeveral conditions: promiſing unto the Mercinaries bountiful rewards threatning the *Carthaginians* with inevitable ſervitude, if they loſt that day; but eſpecially animating his old fellow-ſouldiers, by the many Victories which they had obtained againſt far greater numbers. He bade them look upon the Enemies; and make an eſtimate, whether they were any thing like ſo many, as that huge Army which they had ſlaughtered at *Cannæ*. He willed them to remember, That it was one *P. Scipio*, even the Father of this Man, whom they had firſt of all compelled to run away. He told them that theſe Legions which they yonder beheld, were, for the moſt part of them the very worſt of the *Roman* Souldiers; even ſuch, as for their daſtardly flight out of ſundry Battels could no longer be truſted to bear Arms in their own Country. As for the reſt, they were young men, the Sons of Cowards, and bred up in the continual fear of thoſe weapons, by which their Fathers were daily ſlain or chaced. Wherefore he entreated theſe his old companions, upon whoſe vertue he meant wholly to repoſe himſelf, that they would this day ſtrive to make good their honour; and to purchaſe the fame of *Men invincible*.

Such exhortations uſed the two Generals before the Fight. When they drew near together: the *Numidian* Horſemen on both ſides began to skirmiſh. The Trumpets, and other Inſtruments of War, ſounded to Battel: and *Hannibal* commanded his Elephants to break upon the *Romans*. Of theſe Elephants (as they were always an uncertain kind of help) thoſe that ſtood near unto the point of the left wing, turned back for fear, and ran upon their own *Numidian* Horſe; which they affrighted and diſordered. *Maſaniſſa* eſpying this, gave charge upon the ſame *Numidians*; and not ſuffering them to re-ally themſelves, drave them quite out of the Field. The reſt of thoſe beaſts made a great ſpoil of the *Roman Velites*, whom they followed into the ſpaces between the Maniples: but without any harm to the Battallions themſelves; which gave them open way, according as *Scipio* had well provided. Divers of them receiving many wounds, and growing therewith furious could no longer be governed: but ran back upon the right point of their own Battel, and beyond that into the open Field. Herewithal they diſordered the *Carthaginian* Horſe which were in that wing: againſt whom they gave to *Lælius* the ſame advantage, that *Maſaniſſa* had againſt the *Numidians*; which he uſed in like ſort. In the mean while the Battels of Foot advanced, and drew near together with a ſlow and ſtately pace, till they were almoſt within a Weapons caſt: at what time they gave a ſhout and ran one at the other. The Mercinaries for a time ſeemed both in audacity, and in quickneſs to have the better of the *Romans*; wounding many, and doing more harm, than they took. But the *Roman* diſcipline after a while, prevailed againſt the boiſterous violence of theſe untrained *Barbarians*. Whereunto it helped not a little, that the Battel of the *Principes*, following ſomewhat near after the *Haſtati*, encouraged their Fellows; and ſhewed themſelves ready, if need were to relieve them. Contrariwiſe, the Mercinaries received no manner of help or comfort, from thoſe that ſhould have ſeconded them. For the new levied *Carthaginians* and *Africans*, when they ſaw their hired Souldiers give back, did alſo themſelves retire. This cauſed the *Ligurians*, *Gaules*, and the reſt, to think themſelves betrayed: whereupon they inclined unto flight. The *Carthaginian* Battel was herewith more terrified than before, ſo as it refuſed to give way unto the Mercinaries for their ſafe retreat: and yet withal forbore to make head againſt the Enemies, that purſued them. It was no time to ask them what they meant by this; Fear and Indignation cauſed thoſe that were at once chaced by the *Romans*, and betrayed, as they thought, by their own Fellows, to turn their Arms with an heedleſs fury againſt both the one and the other. Thus were many of the *Carthaginians* beaten down and ſlain, through their own indiſcretion, by their own Mercinaries. The *Roman Haſtati* in like ſort, fighting with deſperate men in a throng, had their hands ſo full of work, that the *Principes* were fain to come up unto them, and help to over-bear this great medley of Enemies, that were together by the ears among themſelves. In this place was made a great ſlaughter, both of the Mercinaries and of the *Carthaginians*: which hindring one another, could neither fight, nor eaſily fly. Such of them as eſcaped, ran towards *Hannibal*: who kept his ground, and would not ſtir one foot, to help or ſave theſe Run-aways. He cauſed his men to bend their Pikes at thoſe of his own ſide, that would have ruſhed upon him: whom he thereby compelled to turn aſide beyond his Battel, and ſave themſelves in the open Field. The ground, over which the *Romans* were now to march, ere they could meet with *Hannibal*, was covered with ſuch thick heaps of dead bodies and weapons, and ſo

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ſlippery with blood: that *Scipio* began to ſtand in great doubt, leſt the orders of his Battalions ſhould be diſſolved in paſſing that way. In ſuch caſe, if he ſhould fight with that warlike Army, which he ſaw before him, remaining yet entire, and without fear expecting him; He might be well aſſured to receive a notable overthrow. He cauſed therefore the *Haſtati* to make a ſtand there where they were, oppoſite unto the main battel of the *Hannibalians*. Then drawing up his *Principes* and *Triarij*; he placed them, when they had overcome the bad way, all in one Front with the *Haſtati*, and made of them his two Cornets. This done, he advanced towards *Hannibal*: who entertained him after another manner, than ever he had been received in his life before. All the days work, till now, ſeemed to have been only a matter of paſtime; in regard of the ſharp Conflict, that was maintained between theſe notable Souldiers. The *Romans* were encouraged, by their having prevailed all the day before: They were alſo far the more in number. But theſe old Souldiers of *Hannibal* were freſh; and (perhaps) the better men. They fought with ſuch obſtinate reſolution, that no man gave back one foot; but rather choſe to die upon the ground, whereon he ſtood. So that after a long time, it was uncertain which part had the worſe: unleſs it may ſeem, that the *Romans* were beginning to ſhrink; foraſmuch as the return of *Maſaniſſa* and *Lælius*, from purſuit of the Ene-
Excerpt. è Polyb. l. 15. mies Horſe, is ſaid to have been *moſt happy*, and in a *needful time*. Theſe upon the ſudden charged the *Hannibalians* in Rear; and over-bearing them by meer violence, compelled them to fall to rout.

In this Battel there died of the *Romans* fifteen hundred and upwards: on the *Carthaginian* ſide, above twenty thouſand, beſides as many that were taken; of whom, *Sopater*, Captain of the *Macedonians*, was one. The ſingular skill that *Hannibal* ſhewed in this his laſt fight, is highly commended by *Polybius*; and was acknowledged, as *Livy* reports, by *Scipio* himſelf. But the Enemies were too ſtrong for him in Horſe: and being enjoyned, and as he was by the ſtate of *Carthage*, to take battel with ſuch diſadvantage, he could work no marvels. He ſaved himſelf with a few Horſe; and ſtaid not in his journey, till he came to *Adrumetum*. Thence was he ſent for to *Carthage*; from which he had been abſent ſix and thirty years. At his coming into the Senate, he ſaid plainly, That there was none other way left, than to take ſuch peace as could be gotten. Wherefore the *Carthaginians*, not knowing what other courſe to take, reſolve to ſend Embaſſadors again; and try the favour of *Scipio*, whoſe arms they could not now reſiſt.

Scipio having ſpoiled the Enemies Camp, returned back to *Utica*: where he found *P. Lentulus* newly arrived, with fifty Gallies, and an hundred Ships of burden. With this Fleet, and that which he had before, he thought it beſt to make towards *Carthage*: rather of purpoſe to terrifie the City, than with any hope to take it. His Legions he committed unto *Cn. Octavius*; whom he willed to meet him there by Land. Then ſending *Lælius* away to *Rome*, with news of the Victory, he ſet ſail from *Utica* towards *Carthage*. He was encountred on the way by Ten Embaſſadors from the City: who bearing up with the Admiral Gally, began to uſe the pitiful geſture of Suppliants. But they received none other anſwer, than that they ſhould meet him at *Tunes*, where he would give them audience. So rowing along before the City: and viewing it more in bravery, than with meaning to attempt it; he returned back to *Utica*, and called back *Octavius* thither, with whom, in perſon, he ſet forwards to *Tunes*. As they were in their journey thither, they heard the news, that *Vermina*, the Son of *Syphax*, was coming with an Army of more Horſe than Foot, to the ſuccour of thoſe that were already vanquiſhed. This *Vermina* ſeems to have been both careleſs of getting intelligence, how things paſſed, and very defective in all other duties requiſite in the Commander of an Army. Part of the *Roman* Foot, with all their power of Horſe, was ſent againſt him: which did not only beat him, but ſo compaſs him in, that he hardly eſcaped himſelf with a few; leaving fifteen thouſand of his followers dead behind him, and twelve hundred taken Priſoners. If this good company had been with *Hannibal* at *Nadagara*, they ſhould have been far better conducted, and might well have changed the Fortune of the day; which the *Carthaginian* loſt, by default of Horſe. But God had otherwiſe determined. It is not to be doubted, that this Victory, though it were no great acceſs unto the former; yet ſerved well to daunt the *Carthaginians*, and imprint in them the greater fear of *Scipio*. When he came to *Tunes*, there met him thirty Embaſſadors from *Carthage*: whoſe behaviour, though it was more pitiful than it had been before; yet procured it leſs commiſeration, by reaſon of their late falſe dealing, after they had in like ſort humbled themſelves. Nevertheleſs it was conſidered, what a long and laborious work it would prove, to beſiege the mighty City of *Carthage*. And particularly *Scipio* ſtood in great doubt, leſt the honour of this War, if it were protracted, ſhould be taken out of his hands, and given to one of the Conſuls. *Cn. Servilius Cæpio*, that Conſul who had charge of the War againſt *Hannibal*, at ſuch time as he departed out of *Italy*: was bold to paſs over into the Iſle of *Sicil* (as it were in chaſe of *Hannibal*, by him terrified and driven away) with a purpoſe thence to have proceeded into *Africk*, and taken from *Scipio* the Command of the Army there. But a Dictator was choſen of purpoſe, to reſtrain the ambition of this Conſul *Servilius*. After him followed *Tiberius Claudius*, who made ſuit for the ſame Province of *Africk*: and was therein ſo earneſt, that though neither the Senate, nor People, would grant him his deſire; yet he needs would be going, procuring only leave of the Senate, that he being Conſul, might joyn with *Scipio*, were it with no more than equal authority. But ere he could have his Fleet, and all things in a readineſs for the journey, wherein no man cared to further him: Winter came on, and he was only toſt at Sea with foul weather, firſt upon the Coaſt of *Hetruria*, and afterwards by *Sardinia*; where his Conſulſhip expired, and ſo he returned home a private man. Then came the joyful news to *Rome*, of the Victory obtained againſt *Hannibal*, and that the War was now even at an end. Yet was *Lentulus*, the new Conſul, ſo paſſionate, in deſiring *Africk* for his Province, that he ſaid he would ſuffer nothing to paſs in the Senate, until he had firſt his will. Much ado there was about this: and after many contentions, both in the Senate, and before the People, at laſt it was ordered, That if Peace were granted, it ſhould be granted by *Scipio*; if the War continued, *Scipio* ſhould have command therein by Land, and the Conſul at Sea. The ambition of theſe men, cauſed *Scipio* to give the more favourable anſwer unto the *Carthaginian* Embaſſadors. He willed them to conſider what they had deſerved: and in regard thereof, to think themſelves well dealt withal, in that he was contented to leave unto them their Liberty, and their own Laws, without

out appointing any Governor over them, or Garriſon, to hold them in ſubjection; leaving alſo unto them their poſſeſſions in *Africk*, ſuch as they were at the beginning of this War. As touching the reſt, he was at a point, That, before he either granted them Peace or Truce, they ſhould make ſatisfaction for wrongs which they had done, whilſt the late Treaty was in dependance. Hereunto, if they would yield, then required he, *That immediately they ſhould deliver up unto the* Romans *all Priſoners, Fugitives, and Renegado's, that they had of theirs: likewiſe all their Gallies, excepting Ten: and all their Elephants: That they ſhould make no War at all thenceforth out of* Africk, *neither yet within* Africk, *without licence of the* Romans: *That the Countries, Towns, Goods whatſoever, belonging any wiſe unto* Maſaniſſa, *or to any of his Anceſtors, which were in their poſſeſſion, ſhould be all by them reſtored unto him: That they ſhould find Corn for the* Roman *Army, and Wages for their Auxiliaries, during the time of Truce, until the Peace were fully concluded: That they ſhould pay ten thouſand Talents of Silver, in the term of fifty years, by two hundred Talents a year; and that for obſervance of Conditions, they ſhould give an hundred Hoſtages, ſuch as* Scipio *would chuſe, being none of them under fourteen years of age, nor above thirty.*

With theſe Conditions the Embaſſadors returned home, and reported them unto the City. They were very unpleaſing; and therefore one *Giſco* ſtood up to ſpeak againſt them, and exhorted the People, who gave good attention, that they ſhould not condeſcend unto ſuch intolerable demands. But *Hannibal* perceiving this, and noting withal what favourable audience was given to this vain Orator, by the unquiet, yet unwarlike Multitude, was bold to pull him down from his ſtanding, by plain force. Hereat all the people murmured; as if their common liberty were too much wronged, by ſuch inſolence of this preſumptuous Captain. Which *Hannibal* perceiving, roſe up, and ſpake unto them: ſaying, That they ought to pardon him, if he had done otherwiſe than the Cuſtoms of the City would allow; foraſmuch as he had been thence abſent ever ſince he was a Boy of nine years old, until he was now a man of five and forty. Having thus excuſed himſelf of the diſorder, he diſcourſed unto them concerning the Peace; and perſwaded them to accept it, as wanting ability to defend themſelves; had the demands of the Enemy been yet more rigorous. Finally, upon good advice, they reſolved to yield unto the Conditions propounded by *Scipio*: to whom they payed out of hand five and twenty thouſand pound weight of Silver, in recompence of Damages, and Injuries by them done to his Fleet and Embaſſadors. *Scipio* granted them Truce for three months; in which time they might negotiate with the State of *Rome*, about confirmation of the League. But herewithal he gave injunction, that they ſhould neither in the mean while ſend Embaſſadors any whither elſe, nor yet diſmiſs any Embaſſadors to them ſent; without firſt making him acquainted what they were, and what their Errand was.

At this time *Hanno*, and they of his Faction, were become wiſe and honourable men, by the miſeries whereinto *Carthage* was fallen, through their malicious Counſels. *Aſdrubal*, ſurnamed *the Kid*, a venerable man, and great friend of *Hanno*, was chief of the Embaſſages which they ſent to *Rome* for obtaining peace. They went thither in company of *Scipio* his Embaſſadors; who related unto the Senate, and People, theſe joyful news. About the ſame time arrived at *Rome* Embaſſadors from *Philip*, King of *Macedon*: who, together with the *Carthaginians*, were fain to wait a while for audience, till the Election of new Conſuls, then in hand, was finiſhed; and order taken, for the Provinces of them, and the new Prætors. Then were the *Macedonian* Embaſſadors called into the Senate: who firſt anſwering unto ſome Points, wherein the *Romans* had lately ſignified unto their King, that they found themſelves grieved; returned the blame upon thoſe *Greeks* themſelves, that had made their complaint at *Rome*. Then accuſed they *M. Aurelius*: who being one of the three Embaſſadors, that had lately been ſent from *Rome* unto King *Philip*, tarried in *Greece* behind his fellows; and there levying Men, made War upon the King, without any regard at all of the League, that was between him and the *Romans*. Further they deſired of the Senate, That one *Sopater*, a *Macedonian* Gentleman, with other of their Countreymen, that had lately ſerved *Hannibal* for Pay, and being taken Priſoners in *Africk*, were kept in bonds by *Scipio*; might be releaſed, and delivered unto them. Unto all this *M. Furius*, whom *Aurelius* had ſent to *Rome* for that purpoſe, made a ſharp anſwer. He ſaid, that the *Greeks* which were confederate with *Rome*, endured ſo many injuries at the hands of *Philip*, that *M. Aurelius* was fain to ſtay behind, to help them as he might; which elſe were like to be brought under the King's ſubjection. As for *Sopater*: he affirmed him to be one of the King's Council, and very inward with him, one that ſerved not for Money, but carried Money with him, and four thouſand Men, ſent from the King to the aid of *Hannibal*. About theſe Points when the *Macedonian* Embaſſadors could make unto the Senate no good anſwer; they were willed to return, and tell their Maſter, That War he ſought, and War he ſhould find, if he proceeded as he had begun. For in two main points he had broken the League, that was between him and the *Romans*: firſt, in that he had wronged their Confederates; and ſecondly, in that he had aided their Enemies againſt them with Men and Money.

Theſe quarrels with *Philip*, that promiſed to open a way into *Greece*, and the *Eaſtern* Countries, helped well the *Carthaginian* Embaſſadors in their ſollicitation of Peace. They appeared a very reverend company, when they entred into the Senate: and *Aſdrubal*, above the reſt, was much reſpected, as one, whoſe good offices had kept the *Romans* from neceſſity of ſending Embaſſadors to *Carthage*, upon the like Errand. He liberally granted, that the juſtice of the quarrel had been wholly on the *Roman* ſide, ſaying, that it was the fault of ſome violent men, through which the Peace was broken. Yet could he not altogether excuſe the City, that had been too vehement in the proſecution of bad counſel. But if *Hanno* and himſelf, might have had their wills; the *Carthaginians*, even at the beſt of their Fortune, ſhould have granted the Peace which they now deſired. Herewithal he commended the moderation of the *Romans*, as no ſmall argument of their valour, by which always they had been victorious. To the ſame effect ſpake the reſt of the Embaſſadors: all of them entreating to have the Peace ratified; though ſome with more lamentable words than others, according to the diverſity of their ſtile. They had patience enough to endure ſuch reproof of Perjury, as they themſelves might have laid upon the *Romans*; if their diligence and fortune had been ſuch as the *Romans* was. Among the reſt, when one of the Senators demanded, by what Gods they would ſwear to keep the Peace hereafter: *Aſdrubal* made anſwer, *Even by the ſame Gods,*

Gods, that are ſo ſevere unto thoſe that violate their Leagues.

Lentulus, the Conſul, interpoſing the authority of his Office, would have hindred the Senate from proceeding unto concluſion of Peace; for that hereby he was like to loſe the honour, which he purpoſed to get by making War in *Africk*. But the matter was propounded unto the people, in whom reſted the Soveraign Command of *Rome*: and by them referred wholly unto pleaſure of the Senate. So it was decreed, That *Scipio*, with ten Delegates ſent unto him from *Rome*, of purpoſe, ſhould make a League with the *Carthaginians*, upon ſuch Conditions as ſeemed beſt: which were none other, than the ſame which he had already propounded. For this favour, the *Carthaginian* Embaſſadors humbly thanked the Senate; and craved licence, that they might viſit their Countreymen, which were Priſoners in *Rome*: afterwards, that they might ranſom, and carry home with them ſome, that were their eſpecial friends; of whom they gave in writing almoſt two hundred names. Whereupon the Senate ordained, that two hundred of thoſe Priſoners, which the Embaſſadors, would chuſe, ſhould be ſent over into *Africk*, and be freely reſtored to liberty by *Scipio*, when the peace was fully concluded. So they took leave, and returned home, in company of the Ten Delegates, that were appointed by the Senate to joyn with *Scipio* in Commiſſion.

At their coming into *Africk*, the Peace was given, and accepted, without any controverſie or diſputation. The Priſoners, Fugitives, and Renegado's, were delivered up to *Scipio*: likewiſe the Gallies, and the Elephants. *Scipio* took more vengeance upon the Renegado's, than upon the Fugitives; and upon thoſe of the *Romans*, than upon the *Latines*, or other *Italians*. The *Latines* he beheaded: the *Romans* he crucified. About the firſt payment of their Money, the *Carthaginians* were ſomewhat troubled. For though perhaps their common Treaſury could have ſpared two hundred Talents for the preſent: yet ſince the Penſion was annual, and to continue fifty years; it was thought meet to lay the burden upon the Citizens. At the collecting of the ſum there was piteous lamentation, as if now the *Roman* Yoke had begun to pinch them; ſo as many, even of the Senators, could not forbear weeping. Contrariwiſe *Hannibal* could not refrain from laughter. For which when he was checked by *Aſdrubal Hædus*, and told, That it worſt of all beſeemed him to laugh, ſince he had been the cauſe why all others did weep; He anſwered, *That laughter did not always proceed from joy; but ſometime from extremity of indignation. Yet*, ſaid he, *My laughter is more ſeaſonable, and leſs abſurd, than your tears. For ye ſhould have wept, when ye gave up your Ships and Elephants, and when ye bound your own hands from the uſe of Arms; without the good leave of the* Romans *firſt obtained. This miſerable condition keeps us under; and holds us in aſſured ſervitude. But of theſe matters ye had no feeling. Now, when a little Money is wrung out of your private purſes, ye have thereof ſome ſenſe. God grant that the time come not hereafter, wherein ye ſhall acknowledg, That it was the very leaſt part of your miſery, for which ye have ſhed theſe tears.* Thus diſcourſed *Hannibal* unto thoſe, who taſting the bitter fruits of their own malicious counſel, repented when it was too late; and inſtead of curſing their own diſorders, which had bred this grievous Diſeaſe, accuſed that Phyſician, whoſe noble endeavours had been employed in procuring the Remedy.

Scipio being to take leave of *Africk*, produced *Maſaniſſa*, and magnified him in preſence of the Army, with high commendations, not undeſervedly. To him alſo he conſigned over thoſe Towns of King *Syphax*, which the *Romans* at that preſent held: wherein, to ſay truth, he gave him but his due; and that which otherwiſe he knew not well how to beſtow. But the love of the *Romans*, and friendſhip of *Scipio*, was fully anſwerable, now and hereafter, to all the deſervings of this *Numidian* King. About *Carthage* there reſted no more to be done. Wherefore the *Romans* embarqued themſelves for *Sicil*: where when they arrived at *Lilybæum*, *Scipio*, with ſome part of his Army, took his way home to *Rome* by land; and ſent the reſt before him thither by Sea. His journey through *Italy* was no leſs glorious than any Triumph: all the people thronging out of the Towns and Villages, to do him honour as he paſſed along. He entered the City in Triumph: neither was there ever before, or after, any Triumph celebrated with ſo great joy of the people, as was this of *Scipio*; though in bravery of the pomp, there were others in time ſhortly following, that exceeded this. Whether *Syphax* were carried through the City in this Triumph, and died ſoon after in Priſon: or whether he were dead a-while before, it cannot be affirmed. Thus much may be avowed, That it was a barbarous Cuſtom of the *Romans*, to inſult over the calamities of mighty Princes, by leading them contumelioufly in Triumph; yea, though they were ſuch, as had always made fair and courteous War. But hereof we ſhall have better Example, ere the ſame Age paſs. It was neither the perſon of *Syphax*, nor any other glory of the Spectacle, that ſo much beautified the Triumph of *Scipio*; as did the contemplation of that grievous War paſt, whereof the *Romans* had been in a manner *without hope, that ever they ſhould ſet Italy free.* This made them look chearfully upon the Author of ſo great a converſion; and filled them with more joy, than they well could moderate. Wherefore they gave to *Scipio*, the Title of the *African*: ſtiling him by the name of that Province which he had ſubdued. This honourable kind of Surname, taken from a conquered Province, grew afterwards more common, and was uſurped by men of leſs deſert: eſpecially by many of the *Cæſars*, who ſometimes arrogated unto themſelves the Title of Countries, wherein they had performed little or nothing; as if ſuch glorious Attributes could have made them like in vertue unto *Scipio the African*.

Excerpt. è Polyb. l. 16.

CHAP.

Chap. IV.

Of Philip, *the Father of* Perseus, *King of* Macedon; *His first Acts, and War with the* Romans, *by whom he was subdued.*

§. I.

How the Romans *grew acquainted in the* East *Countries, and desirous of War there. The beginning of many Princes, with great Wars, at one time. The* Ætolians *over-run* Peloponnesus. Philip, *and his Associates, make War against the* Ætolians. *Alteration of the State in* Sparta. *The* Ætolians *invade* Greece *and* Macedon, *and are invaded at home by* Philip.

Plut. in vita Sertorij.

OF the great similitude found in worldly Events, the limitation of *matter* hath been assigned as a probable cause. For since Nature is confined unto a subject that is not unbounded; the works of Nature must needs be finite, and many of them resemble one the other. Now in those actions, that seem to have their whole dependance upon the will of man, we are less to wonder, if we find less variety: since it is no great portion of things which is obnoxious unto humane power; and since they are the same affections, by which the wills of sundry men are over-ruled, in managing the affairs of our daily life. It may be observed in the change of Empires, before those times whereof we now write, how the *Assyrians* or *Chaldeans* invaded the Kingdom of the *Medes*, with two hundred thousand Foot, and threescore thousand Horse: but failing in their intended Conquest, they became subject within a while themselves unto the *Medes* and *Persians*. In like manner *Darius*, and after him *Xerxes*, fell upon the *Greeks*, with such numbers of men, as might have seemed resistless. But after that the *Persians* were beaten home, their Empire was never secure of the *Greeks*: who at all times of leisure from intestine War devised upon that Conquest thereof, which finally they made under the great *Alexander*. If *Nabuchodonosor*, with his rough old Souldiers, had undertaken the *Medes*: or *Cyrus*, with his well-trained Army, had made the attempt upon *Greece*; the issue might, in humane reason, have been far different. Yet would it then have been expedient for them, to imploy the travel and vertue of their Men, rather than the greatness of their names, against those people; that were no less valiant, though less renowned, than their own. For the menacing words used by *Cyrus*, and some small displeasures done to the *Greeks* (in which kind it may be, that *Nabuchodonosor* likewise offended the *Medes* and *Persians*) were not so available to victory, as to draw on revenge in the future. Great Kingdoms, when they decay in strength, suffer, as did the old Lion, for the oppression done in his youth; being pinched by the Wolf, gored by the Bull, yea, and kickt by the Ass. But Princes are often carried away from reason, by misunderstanding the language of Fame: and despising the Vertue that makes little noise, adventure to provoke it against themselves; as if it were not possible that their own glory should be foil'd by any of less noted Excellence. Against the same stone, whereat *Xerxes*, and before him (as I take it) *Evilmerodach*, had stumbled; *Pyrrhus*, the *Epirot*, had dasht his foot. He was not indeed the King of all *Greece*; though most of mark, and a better Souldier than any other *Greekish* King, when he entred into War against the *Romans*. This War he undertook, as it were, for his minds sake: having received no injury; but hoping by the glory of his name, and of the *Greeks* that served under him, to prevail so easily against the barbarous *Romans*, that they should only serve as a step to his further intended Conquests, of *Sicil* and *Africk*. But when the *Romans*, by their victory against *Pyrrhus*, had found their own vertue to be of richer mettal, than was the more shining valour of the *Greeks*: then did all the bravery of the *Epirot* (his Elephants, and whatsoever else had served to make him terrible) serve only to make the *Romans*, in time following, to think more highly of themselves. * For since they had overcome the best Warrier in *Greece*, even him, that, being thus beaten by them, could in a year after make himself Lord of *Greece* and *Macedon*: what should hinder them from the conquest of all those unwarlike Provinces, which in compass of twelve years a *Macedonian* King of late memory had won? Certainly there was hereunto requisite no more, than to bring to their own devotion, by some good means, the whole Countrey of *Greece*: all the rest, this done, would follow of it self. How to deal with the *Greeks*, *Philip* and *Alexander* had shewed a way: which, or perhaps a better, they might learn, by getting more acquaintance with the Nation.

When therefore the first Punick War was ended, which followed soon after the Wars of *Pyrrhus*, and of the *Tarentines*: then were the *Romans* at good leisure to hearken after news in *Greece*; and to entertain any good occasion, that should be on that side presented. They had also then a strong Fleet: and were become, though not otherwise very skilful Mariners, yet good fighters at Sea. So it fell out as happily as could be wished, that the *Illyrian* Queen *Teuta* made at the same time cruel War upon the *Greeks*: wasting their Countrey, and sacking their Towns, only because they were unable to resist, though they had done her none offence. Into this quarrel, if the *Romans* were desirous to enter, the Queen was not slow to give them [c] cause. And their happy accomplishing of that War which they made with

* The King of *Spain*'s pretended invincible Navy, being beaten out of the *British* Seas, invited us to those of *Spain*: and having broken the greatest Fleet that ever the *Spaniards* gathered together, we never made account of any of his preparations after that time.

[c] *Lib. 5. ch. 2. §. 7.*

Her, was, in their own opinion, a matter not unworthy to make their Patronage to be desired by the *Greeks*. But no such thing happened: though they sent Embassadours, as it were to offer themselves; by signifying, that for the love of *Greece* they had undertaken this *Illyrian* War. Thus began the first acquaintance betwixt the *Greeks* and *Romans*: which afterwards increased very hastily, through the indiscretion of King *Philip* the *Macedonian*; whose business with them being now the Subject of our story, it is meet that we should relate (though somewhat briefly) the beginning of his Reign, and his first Actions.

It was like to prove a busie time in the world, when, within the space of four years, new Kings began to Reign in the most of all Countries known; and three of them young Boys, in three of the greatest Kingdoms. This happened from the third year of the hundred thirty ninth *Olympiad*, unto the third of the *Olympiad* following. For in this time died *Seleucus Ceraunus* King of *Asia* and *Syria*, in whose room succeeded his Brother *Antiochus*, afterwards called the Great. *Ptolemy Philopator* succeeded in the Kingdom of *Ægypt* unto his Father *Evergetes*. And *Philip* the Son of *Demetrius*, being sixteen or seventeen years old, received the Kingdom of *Macedon*, together with the Patronage of the *Achæans* and most of the *Greeks*; by the decease of his Uncle *Antigonus Doson*, that was called the *Tutor* or *Protector*. About the same time also was the like change in *Cappadocia*, *Lacedæmon*, and the Countries about Mount *Taurus*. For *Ariaratbes* then began his Reign in *Cappadocia*. *Lycurgus* found means to make himself King over the *Lacedæmonians*, whose Common-weal, since the flight of *Cleomenes*, had continued in a manner headless; and *Achæus*, a Kinsman of *Antiochus*, but a Rebel unto him, occupied the Regions near unto Mount *Taurus*, and kept a while the state of a mighty King. Lastly, in the second and third years of the hundred and fortieth *Olympiad* it was, that open War brake out between *Rome* and *Carthage*; and that *Hannibal* began his great Invasion upon *Italy*. Those troubles of the Western world, which were indeed the greatest, we have already followed unto an end: Of *Antiochus*, *Ptolemy*, and the rest, we shall speak hereafter, when the *Romans* find them out.

Philip, soon after the beginning of his Reign, came into *Peloponnesus*; greatly desired of the *Achæans*, and many others his dependants. That Country, having freed it self by the help of *Antigonus* from the danger (accounted great) of an easie subjection unto *Cleomenes*: was now become no less obnoxious to the *Macedonian*, than it should have been to the *Spartan*; and therewithal it lay open unto the violence of the *Ætolians*, who despised even the *Macedonian* Kings, that were Patrons thereof. These *Ætolians* were no Men to be idle; nor were much addicted to any other Art, than War. Therefore wanting employment, they fell upon the *Messenians* that were their own Clients, and (excepting the *Eleans*, that were anciently of their consanguinity) the only good friends which they had at the present in *Peloponnesus*. Their invasion was no less unexpected, then it was unjust: whereby with greater ease they made spoil of the Country; finding none prepared to make resistance. The *Achæans* were called by the *Messenians* to help: which they did the more willingly; because the *Ætolians*, passing without leave through their Territory, had (as was their manner) done what harm they listed. Old *Aratus* could ill abide these *Ætolians*; as both knowing well their nature, and remembring the injuries, wherewith most ungratefully they had requited no small benefits done to them by the *Achæans*. He was therefore so hasty to fall upon this their Army, that he could hardly endure to stay a few days until the time of his own Office came; being chosen Prætor of the *Achæans* for the year following. But his anger was greater than his courage: and he shewed himself a man fitter (as hath been already noted of him) for any other service, than leading of an Army. He suffered them to pass quietly along with their booty, through a great part of the Country, wherein he might easily have distressed them; and afterwards pressed them so near, when they had recovered ground of advantage, that they easily defeated all his Army. So they departed home rich, and well animated to return again. As for the *Achæans*; they got hereby only the friendship of the *Messenians*: with whom, by Licence of King *Philip*, they made confederacy. Shortly after, the *Ætolians* invaded *Peloponnesus* again; having no more to do, than to pass over the narrow Streights of the Corinthian Bay, called now the Gulf of *Lepanto*, where they might land in the Country of the *Eleans*. There joyned with them in this their second Invasion a great number of the *Illyrians*: who neglecting that condition imposed upon them by the *Romans*, of setting out no Ships of War unto the Coast of *Greece*; made bold to seek adventures again, and did great mischief. *Demetrius Pharius*, a creature of the *Romans*, commanded a part of these *Illyrians*: who shortly repented him of this his voyage; which caused him to lose his Kingdom, as is shewed before. But this *Demetrius* went another way, and fell upon the Islands of the *Cyclades* in the Ægean Sea: whence returning, he did some good offices for King *Philip* or his friends. The rest of the *Illyrians* under *Scerdilaidas*, or *Scerdiletus*, having gotten what they could elsewhere by roving at Sea, accompained the *Ætolians* into *Peloponnesus*: who made greater havock in the Country now, than in their former Expedition; and returned home, without finding any resistance.

Lib. 5. ch. 2. §. 6. *Ibid.* *Chap. 3. §. 1.*

Of these things great complaint was made unto *Philip*, when he came to *Corinth*. And because Men were desirous to satisfie themselves with some speedy revenge: there were that urged to have some grievous punishment laid upon the *Lacedæmonians*; who were thought under-hand to have favoured the *Ætolians*, in meer despight of the *Achæans* and *Macedonians*, by whom themselves had lately been subdued. It is true, that the *Lacedæmonians* had been so affected: and (which was worse) at the arrival of *Philip*, they slew such friends of his, as having checked their inclination, seemed likely to appeach them of the intended Rebellion. Neither durst they well commit themselves to judgment: but entreated the King, that he would abstain from coming to them with an Army: since their Town was lately much disquieted with civil discord, which they hoped soon to appease, and meant always to remain at his devotion. *Philip* was easily satisfied with this: not for that he (or rather old *Aratus*, who then wholly governed him) did misunderstand the *Lacedæmonians*: but for that a greater work was in hand, which ought not to be interrupted. There met at *Corinth*, in presence of the King, the Embassadors of the *Achæans*, *Bœotians*, *Phocians*, *Epirots*, and *Acarnanians*: all complayning upon the *Ætolians*: and desiring to have War decreed against them, by common assent. *Philip* sent his Letters unto the *Ætolians*: requiring them to make ready their answer in some convenient time: if they could alledge any thing in excuse of that which they had done. They returned word, that a Diet should be holden at *Rhium* for that purpose:

purpoſe: whither if it pleaſed him to come or ſend, he ſhould be well informed of them and their whole meaning. The King prepared to have been there at the day. But when the *Ætolians* underſtood this for certainty, they adjourned the Council unto a further time: ſaying, That ſuch weighty matters ought not to be handled, ſave in the great Parliament of all *Ætolia*. This trick of Law notwithſtanding, open War was proclaimed againſt them. And they, as it were to ſhew how well they had deſerved it, made election of *Scopas* to be their Prætor, that was Author of theſe invaſions made on *Peloponneſus*; and the only Man, in a ſort, upon whom they muſt have laied the blame of theſe actions, if they would have ſhifted it from the publick.

After this, *Philip* went into *Macedon*; where he prepared buſily for the War againſt the year following. He alſo aſſayed the *Illyrian*, *Scerdilaidas*, with fair words and promiſes: whom he eaſily won from the *Ætolian* ſide, foraſmuch as the *Ætolians* had couſened him of his ſhare, when he was partner with them in their late robberies. In like ſort the *Achæans*, who had firſt of all others proclaimed the War in their own Country, ſent unto the *Acarnanians*, *Epirots*, *Meſſenians*, and *Lacedæmonians*: requeſting them forthwith to declare themſelves, and to denounce War unto the *Ætolians*; without ſtaying (as it were) to await the event. Hereunto they received divers anſwers, according to the qualities of thoſe with whom they dealt. The *Acarnanians*, a free-hearted and valiant, though a ſmall Nation, and bordering upon the *Ætolians*, of whom they ſtood in continual danger; ſaid, that they could not honeſtly refuſe to ſhew their faithful meaning in that War, which was concluded by general aſſent. The *Epirots* that were more mighty, were nevertheleſs more cunning and reſerved: ſo that they ſtood upon a needleſs point; and deſired to be held excuſed, until *Philip* (of whoſe meaning they needed not to have made any doubt) ſhould firſt proclaim the War. The *Meſſenians*, for whoſe cauſe the War was undertaken, excuſed themſelves, by reaſon of a Town which the *Ætolians* held upon their borders; and ſaid, that they durſt not be over-bold, until that bridle were taken out of their mouths. As for the *Lacedæmonians*; the chief of them ſtudied only how to mannage that Treaſon, for which their City had been ſo lately pardoned: and therefore diſmiſſed the Embaſſadours of the Confederates, without any anſwer at all. They had three years together continued ſubject againſt their wills to the *Macedonians*, expecting ſtill when *Cleomenes* ſhould return out of *Ægypt* to Reign over them again; and maintain, as he was wont, the honour of their City. In this regard they choſe not any Kings; but were contented with the rule of *Ephori*. Of theſe there were ſome, that thought the publick ſafery to conſiſt, in holding their faith with the *Macedonian* that had preſerved them: And hereto they referred all their Councils; being perhaps not a little moved with reſpect of the benefit, which might redound unto themſelves, by adhering firmly to thoſe which at the preſent bore rule over them. Others, and thoſe the greater part, were ſtill deviſing, how to make all ready for *Cleomenes* againſt his return; and therefore ſought to joyn with the *Ætolians*, which were the moſt likely to give him ſtrong aſſiſtance. The *Macedonian* faction had the more authority, and durſt more freely ſpeak their minds: but the contrary ſide was the more paſſionate; and ſpared not by murders, or any other violent courſes, to ſet forward their deſire. Neither did it ſuffice, that about theſe times there came certain report of *Cleomenes* his death. For it was the liberty and honour of *Sparta*, which theſe intended: fancying unto themſelves the glory of their Anceſtors in ſuch Ages paſt, as were not like to come again. *Cleomenes* was, they knew, the moſt able Man to reſtore them unto their greatneſs and luſtre; which once he had in a manner performed: But ſince he was dead, and that, without injury to his well deſerving vertue, they might proceed to the election of new Kings: Kings they would have, and thoſe of the race of *Hercules*, as in former times; for that without ſuch helps, they muſt continue little better than ſubjects unto the *Macedonian*, and far leſs by him reſpected, than were the *Achæans*. Thus were they tranſported, by contemplation of their old Nobility and fame. Some of the moſt working ſpirits among them, procured the *Ætolians* to ſend an Embaſſy to *Sparta*: which propounded the matter openly unto the people; whereof no one of the Citizens durſt have made himſelf the Author. Much diſputation and hot there was, between thoſe of the *Macedonian* party and theſe their oppoſites: in ſuch wiſe that nothing could be concluded; until by maſſacre or baniſhment of all, or the chief, that ſpeak againſt the *Ætolians*, the diverſity of opinion was taken quite away. Then forthwith a League was concluded between the *Lacedæmonians* and *Ætolians*: without all regard of the *Macedonians* or *Achæans*; who had ſpared the City, when they might have deſtroyed it. Then alſo they went in hand with the election of new Kings: wherein their diligence was ſo nice, and ſo regardful of their ancient Laws, as touching the chooſing of the one King; that we may juſtly wonder, how they grew ſo careleſs in making choice of the other. In the one of their Royal Families they found *Ageſipolis* the Son of *Ageſipolis* the Son of King *Cleombrotus*: and him they admitted to Reign over them, as Heir apparent to his Grandfather. This *Ageſipolis* was a young Boy, ſtanding in need of a Guardian, and had an Uncle, his Fathers Brother, that was fit for the Government. Yet becauſe the Law required, that the Son, how young ſoever, ſhould have his Fathers whole right and title: the *Lacedæmonians*, though ſtanding in need of a Man, were ſo punctual in obſervation of the Law; that they made this Child their King, and appointed his Uncle *Cleomenes* to be his Protector. But in the other branch of the Royal Family, though there was no want of Heirs: yet would not the people trouble themſelves about any of them, to examine the goodneſs of his Claim; but made election of one *Lycurgus*, who having no manner of title to the Kingdom, beſtowed upon each of the *Ephori* a Talent, and thereby made himſelf be ſaluted King of *Sparta*, and a Gentleman of the race of *Hercules*. This *Lycurgus*, to gratifie his Partiſans, and to approve his worth by Action, invaded the Country of the *Argives*: which lay open and unguarded, as in a time of Peace. There he did great ſpoil, and wan divers Towns; whereof two he retained, and annexed unto the State of *Lacedæmon*. After ſuch open hoſtility, the *Lacedæmonians* declared themſelves on the *Ætolian* ſide; and proclaimed War againſt the *Achæans*.

Thus the beginnings of the War fell out much otherwiſe, than the *Achæans* and their Confederates had expected, when they firſt made preparation, *Philip* was not ready: the *Epirots* gave uncertain anſwer: the *Meſſenians* would not ſtir: all the burden muſt lie upon themſelves and the poor *Acarnanians*, whom the *Ætolians*, by favour of the *Eleans*, could invade at pleaſure, as they were like to do; and by help of the *Lacedæmonians*, could aſſail on all parts at once. It was not long

ere the *Ætolians*, passing over the Bay of *Corinth*, surprised the Town of *Ægira*: which if they could have held, they should thereby grievously have molested the *Achæans*; for that it stood in the mid-way between *Ægium* and *Sicyon* two of their principal Cities, and gave open way into the heart of all their Country. But as *Ægira* was taken by surprise: so was it presently lost again, through greedines of spoil; whilst they that should have made it their first care to assure the place unto themselves, by occupying the Cittadel and other pieces of strength, fell heedlesly to ransack private Houses, and thereby gave the Citizens leave to make head, by whom they were driven with great slaughter back unto their Fleet. About the same time, another *Ætolian* Army landing among the *Eleans*, fell upon the Western Coast of *Achaia*; wasting all the Territory of the *Dymæans* and other people, that were first beginners of the *Achæan* Confederacy. The *Dymæans* and their neighbours made head against these Invaders; but were so well beaten that the Enemy grew bolder with them than before. They sent for help unto their Prætor, and to all the Towns of their Society. In vain. For the *Achæans* having lately been much weakened by *Cleomenes*, were now able to do little of themselves: neither could they get any strength of Mercinaries; forasmuch as at the end of *Cleomenes* his War, they had covetously with-held part of their due from those that served them therein. So through this disability of the *Achæans*, and insufficiency of their Prætor; the *Dymæans*, with others, were driven to withhold their contribution heretofore made for the publick service, and to convert the Money to their own defence. *Lycurgus* also with his *Lacedæmonians*, began to win upon the *Arcadians*; that were confederate with *Philip* and the *Achæans*.

Philip came to the borders of the *Ætolians*, whilst their Army was thus employed a far off in *Peloponnesus*. The *Epirots* joyned all their forces with him: and by such their willing readines, drew him to the Seige of a Frontier piece; which they desired to get into their own hands; for that, by commodity thereof, they hoped shortly to make themselves Masters of *Ambracia*. There he spent forty days, ere he could end the busines; which tended only to the benefit of the *Epirots*. Had he entred into the heart of *Ætolia* at his first coming; it was thought that he might have made an end of the War. But it happens oft, that the violence of great Armies is broken upon small Towns or Forts: and not seldom, that the importunity of Associates, to have their own desires fulfilled, converts the preparations of great Kings to those uses for which they never were intended; thereby hindering the prosecution of their main designes. Thus was our King *Henry* the eighth led aside, and quite out of his way, by *Maximilian* the Emperour to the Siege of *Tournay*: at such time as the *French* King *Lewes* the twelfth, hearing that the strong City of *Terwin* was lost, and that of his Cavalry, wherein rested his chief confidence, two thousand were beaten by the *Earl of Essex* with seven hundred *English*; was thinking to withdraw himself into *Britain*, in fear that *Henry* would have come to *Paris*.

The stay that *Philip* made at *Ambracus*, did wondrously embolden the *Ætolians*: in such sort, as their Prætor *Scopas* adventured to lead all their forces out of the Country; and therewith not only to overrun *Thessalie*, but to make impression into *Macedon*. He ran as far as to *Dium*, a City of *Macedon* upon the *Ægean* Sea: which, being forsaken by the Inhabitants at his coming, He took, and razed to the ground. He spared neither Temple, nor any other of the goodly buildings therein, but overturned all: and among the rest, he threw down the Statua's that were there erected, of the *Macedonian* Kings. For this he was highly honoured by his Countrymen at his return; forasmuch as hereby they thought their Nation to be grown terrible, not only (as before) unto *Peloponnesus*, but even to *Macedon* it self. But this their pride was soon abated; and they rewarded shortly at home in their own Country, for their pains taken at *Dium*. *Philip* having dispatched his work at *Ambracus*, made a strong invasion upon *Ætolia*. He took *Phoetiæ*, *Metropolis*, *Oeniade*, *Pæanium*, *Elæus*, and divers other Towns and Castles of theirs: of which he burnt some, and fortified others. He also beat the *Ætolians* in sundry skirmishes; and wasted all the Country over, without receiving any harm. This done, while he was about to make a cut over the Streights into *Peloponnesus*, and to do the like spoil in the Country of the *Eleans*, whereto he was vehemently sollicited by the *Achæan* Embassadours: newes came out of *Macedon*, that the *Dardanians* were ready with a great Army to fall upon the Country. These *Dardanians* were a barbarous people, divided by Mount *Hæmus* from the Northern part of *Macedon*; and were accustomed to seek booty in that wealthy Kingdom, when they found their own times. Having therefore intelligence, that *Philip* was about to make a Journy into *Peloponnesus*; they purposed in his absence, which they thought would be long, to get what they could for themselves in his Country; as had been their manner upon the like advantages. This made the King to dismiss the *Achæan* Embassadours, (whom he should have accompanied home with his Army) and to bid them have patience until another year. So He took his way home: and as he was passing out of *Acarnania* into *Epirus*, there came to him *Demetrius Pharius* with no more than one Ship; that was newly chaced out of his Kingdom by the *Romans*. This *Demetrius* had lately shewed himself a friend to *Antigonus Doson*, in the Wars of *Cleomenes*: and returning in his last Voyage from the *Cyclades*, was ready, at their first request, to take part with *Philips* Captains. These, or the like considerations, made him welcome unto the *Macedonian* King: whose Counsellor he was ever after. The *Dardanians* hearing of the Kings return, brake up their Army; and gave over for the present their invasion of *Macedon*, towards which they were already on their way.

All that Summer following the King rested at *Larissa* in *Thessalie*, whilst his people gathered in their Harvest. But the *Ætolians* rested not. They avenged themselves upon the *Epirots*: whom for the harms by them and *Philip* done in *Ætolia*, they required with all extremities of War, among which, the most notable was the ruin of the famous Temple of *Dodona*. When Winter grew on, and all thought of War until another year was laid aside: *Philip* stole a Journy into *Peloponnesus*, with five thousand Foot, and about four hundred Horse. As soon as he was within *Corinth*, He commanded the Gates to be shut, that no word might be carried forth of his arrival. He sent privily for old *Aratus* to come thither unto him: with whom he took order, when, and in what places, he would have the *Achæan* Souldiers ready to meet him. The Enemies were then abroad in the Country, with somewhat more than two thousand Foot and an hundred Horse; little thinking to meet with such opposition. Indeed they had little cause to fear: since the *Achæans* themselves

themſelves were not aware that the King was in their Land with his *Macedonians*; until they heard, that theſe two thouſand *Eleans*, *Ætolians*, and their fellowes, were by him ſurpriſed, and all made Priſoners, or ſlain. By this exploit which he did at his firſt comming, *Philip* got very much reputation: as likewiſe he purchaſed both reputation and love, by divers actions immediatly following. He wan *Pſophis*, an exceeding ſtrong Town, in the borders of *Arcadia*; which the *Eleans* and *Ætolians* then held. He wan it by aſſault at his firſt coming: wherein it much availed him, that the Enemy, not believing that he would undertake ſuch a piece of work at ſuch an unſeaſonable time of the year, was careleſs of providing even ſuch ſtore of Weapons, as might have ſerved to defend it. The Town was preſerved by the King from ſack; and given to the *Achæans* of his own meer motion, before they requeſted it. Thence went he to *Laſion*, which yielded for very fear; hearing how eaſily he had taken *Pſophis*. This Town alſo he gave to the *Achæans*. The like liberality he uſed towards others; that had ancient title unto places by him recovered. Then fell he upon the Country of *Elis*, where was much wealth to be gotten: for that the people were addicted to Husbandry, and lived abroad in Villages; even ſuch as were of the wealthier ſort among them. So he came to the City of *Olympia*: where having done ſacrifice to *Jupiter*, feaſted his Captains, and refreſhed his Army three days; He proceeded on to the ſpoil of thoſe that had taken pleaſure to ſhare with the *Ætolians*, in the ſpoils of their otherwiſe deſerving Neighbours. Great abundance of Cattel he took, with great numbers of Slaves, and much wealth of all ſorts; ſuch as could be found in rich Villages. Then fell he in hand with the Towns whereinto a great multitude of the Country People were fled. Some of theſe were taken at the firſt aſſault. Some yielded for fear. Some prevented the labour of his Journey, by ſending Embaſſadours to yield before he came. And ſome that were held with Garriſons againſt their wills, took courage to ſet themſelves at liberty, by ſeeing the King ſo near; to whoſe Patronage thenceforth they betook themſelves. And many places were ſpoiled by the *Ætolian* Captains; becauſe they diſtruſted their ability to hold them. So the King wan more Towns in the Country, than the ſharpneſs of Winter would ſuffer him to ſtay there days. Fain he would have fought with the *Ætolians*: but they made ſuch haſte from him, that he could not overtake them, until they had covered themſelves within the Town of *Samicum*; where they thought to have been ſafe. But *Philip* aſſaulted them therein ſo forcibly, that he made them glad to yield the place; obtaining licence to depart, with their Lives and Arms. Having performed ſo much in this Expedition, the King repoſed himſelf a while in *Megalopolis*; and then removed to *Argos*, where he ſpent all the reſt of the Winter.

Before the Kings arrival in *Peloponneſus*, the *Lacedæmonians* with *Lycurgus* their new King, had gotten ſomewhat in *Arcadia*; and threatned to do great matters. But when they were admoniſhed, by the calamity that fell upon the *Eleans*, of the danger hanging over their own heads; they quitted their winnings, and withdrew themſelves home. This *Lycurgus*, as he had no other right to the Kingdom of *Sparta*, than that which he could buy with Money: ſo was he neither free from danger of conſpiracies made againſt him; nor from thoſe jealouſies, with which Uſurpers are commonly perplexed. There was one *Chilon*, of the Royal blood, that thinking himſelf to have beſt right unto the Kingdom, purpoſed to make way thereunto, by maſſacre of his oppoſites: and afterwards to confirm himſelf, by propounding unto the Multitude ſuch reformation of the State as was moſt popular: namely, by making an equal diſtribution of all the Lands among the whole number of the Citizens, according to the ancient inſtitution of that Common-wealth. He wan to his party ſome two hundred Men; with whom he fell upon the *Ephori* as they were together at Supper, and ſlew them all. Then went he to *Lycurgus* his Houſe: who perceiving the danger, ſtole away and fled. It remained that he ſhould give account of theſe doings to the people, and procure them to take part with him. But their minds being not hereto prediſpoſed; they ſo little regarded his goodly offers, as even whilſt he was uſing his beſt perſwaſions, they were conſulting how to apprehend him. *Chilon* perceived whereabout they went, and ſhifted preſently away. So he lived afterwards among the *Achæans* a baniſhed Man, and hated of his own People. As for *Lycurgus*, he returned home: and ſuſpecting thenceforth all thoſe of *Herculis* his race, found means to drive out his Fellow-King young *Ageſipolis*; whereby he made himſelf Lord alone. His doings grew to be ſuſpected, in ſuch ſort as once he ſhould have been apprehended by the *Ephori*: But though his actions hitherto might have been defended; yet rather than to adventure himſelf into judgment, he choſe to flie for a time, and ſojourn among his friends the *Ætolians*. His well known vehemency in oppoſition to the *Macedonians*, had procured unto him ſuch good liking among the People, that in his abſence they began to conſider the weakneſs of their own ſurmiſes againſt him; and pronouncing him innocent, recalled him home to his Eſtate. But in time following, He took better heed unto himſelf: not by amending his condition (for he grew a Tyrant, and was ſo acknowledged) but by taking order, that it ſhould not be in the power of the Citizens to expel him when they liſted. By what actions he got the name of a Tyrant: or at what time it was, that he chaced *Ageſipolis* out of the City; I do not certainly find. Like enough it is, That his being the firſt of three Uſurpers, which followed in order one after another, made him to be placed in the rank of Tyrants; which the laſt of the three very juſtly deſerved. Whatſoever he was towards ſome private Citizens: in the War againſt *Philip*, He behaved himſelf as a provident Man, and careful of his Countries good.

§. II.

How Philip *was miſadviſed by ill Counſellors: Who afterwards wrought Treaſon againſt him, and were juſtly puniſhed. He invadeth the Ætolians a ſecond time: And forceth them to ſue for Peace: which is granted unto them.*

WHilſt the King lay at *Argos*, deviſing upon his buſineſs for the year following; ſome ambitious Men that were about him, ſtudied ſo diligently their own greatneſs, as they were like to have ſpoiled all that he took in hand. *Antigonus Doſon* had left unto *Philip* ſuch Counſellors, as to him did ſeem the fitteſt Men for governing of his youth.

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The chief of these was *Apelles*; that had the charge of his person, and ordering of his Treasures. This man seeming to himself a great Politician, thought that he should do a notable piece of service to his Prince; if he could reduce the *Achæans* unto the same degree of subjection, wherein the *Macedonians* lived. To bring this to pass; during the late expedition he had caused some of the *Macedonians* to thrust the *Achæans* out of their lodgings, and to strip them of the Booty that they had gotten. Proceeding further, as occasion fell out, He was bold to chastize some of that Nation; causing his Ministers to take and whip them. If any of them offered (as there were some of them that could not refrain) to help their fellows; them he laid by the heels, and punished as Mutiniers. Hereby he thought to bring it to pass by little and little, that they should be qualified with an habit of blind obedience; and think nothing unjust that pleased the King. But these *Achæans* were tenderly sensible in matter of liberty: whereof if they could have been contented to suffer any little diminution, they needed not have troubled the *Macedonians* to help them in the War against *Cleomenes*: They bemoaned themselves unto old *Aratus*; and besought him to think upon some good order, that they might not be oppressed by degrees. *Aratus* forthwith dealt earnestly with the King as in a matter more weighty, then at first it might seem. The King bestowed gracious words upon those that had been wronged; and forbad *Apelles* to follow the course begun. Hereat *Apelles* was inwardly vexed, though he dissembled his choller for a time. He thought so well of his own Project, that he could not endure to lay it aside; being perhaps unable to do the King any valuable service, in business of other nature. He purposed therefore hereafter to begin at the Head; since, in biting at the Tail, the Fish had shot away from his mouth. It could not otherwise be, than that among the *Achæans* there were some, who bore no hearty affection to *Aratus*. These he enquired out: and sending for them, entertained them with words of Court; promising to become their especial friend, and commend them unto the King. Then brake he his purpose with the King himself: letting him know, that as long as he continued to make much of *Aratus*, he must be fain to deal precisely with the *Achæans*, and, as it were by Indenture, according to the letter of the Contract: whereas if he would be pleased, to give countenance unto those others whom he himself commended, then should the *Achæans*, and all other *Peloponnesians*, be quickly brought to conform themselves, unto the duty of obedient Subjects. By such perswasions, he drew the King to be present at *Ægium*, where the *Achæans* were to hold election of a new Prætor. There with much more labour, than would have been needful in a business of more importance; the King, by fair words and threatnings together, obtained so much, That *Eperatus*, a very insufficient man, but one of *Apelles* his new Favourites, was chosen Prætor, instead of one more worthy, for whom *Aratus* had laboured. This was thought a good introduction unto greater matters that should follow. The King from thence passed along by *Patras* and *Dyma*, to a very strong Castle held by the *Eleans*; which was called *Tichos*. The Garrison yielded it up for fear, at his first coming: whereof he was glad; for that he had an earnest desire to bestow it upon the *Dymæans*, as he presently did.

The King thought it strange, that all this while he heard of no Messengers from the *Eleans*, to sue for peace. For at his departure out of their Country the last Winter, he had let loose one *Amphidamus* a Captain of theirs, that was his Prisoner; because he found him an intelligent man, and one that undertook to make them forsake their alliance with the *Ætolians*, and joyn with him upon reasonable terms. This if they could be contented to do, He willed *Amphidamus* to let them understand, That he would render unto them freely all Prisoners which he had of theirs; That he would defend them from all foreign invasion; and that they should hold their liberty entire, living after their own Laws, without paying any manner of Tribute, or being kept under by any Garrison. These Conditions were not to be despised, if they had found credit as they might have done. But when *Philip* came to the Castle of *Tichos*, and made a new invasion upon their Country; then began the *Eleans*, (that were not before over-hasty to believe such fair promises) to suspect *Amphidamus* as a Traitor, and one that was set on work for no other end, than to breed a mutual diffidence between them and the *Ætolians*. Wherefore they purposed to lay hands upon him, and send him Prisoner into *Ætolia*: But he perceived their intent, and got away to *Dyma*: in good time for himself; in better for *Aratus*. For the King (as was said) marvelling what should be the cause, that he heard no news from the *Eleans*, concerning the offers which he had made unto them by *Amphidamus*; *Apelles*, his Counsellor, thereby took occasion to supplant *Aratus*. He said that old *Aratus*, and his Son together, had such devices in their heads, as tended little to the Kings good: and long of them he said it was, that the *Eleans* did thus hold out; For when *Amphidamus* was dismissed home, the two *Arati* (the Father and the Son) had taken him aside and given him to understand, that it would be very prejudicial to all *Peloponnesus*, if the *Eleans* once became at the devotion of the *Macedonian*; and this was the true cause, why neither *Amphidamus* was very careful in doing this message, nor the *Eleans* in hearkning to the Kings offers. All this was a false lye; devised by *Apelles* himself, upon no other ground than his own malice. *Philip* had no sooner heard his tale, but in a great rage he sent for the two *Arati*; and bad *Apelles* rehearse it over again to their faces. *Apelles* did so, and with a bold countenance, talking to them as to men already convicted. And when he had said all the rest, ere either *Philip* or they spake any word; He added this clause as it were in the Kings name: Since the King hath found you such ungrateful wretches; it is his meaning to hold a Parliament of the *Achæans*; and therein having made it known what ye are, to depart into *Macedon*, and leave you to your selves. Old *Aratus* gravely admonished the King; that whensoever he heard any accusation, especially against a friend of his own or a man of worth; He should forbear a while to give credit, until he had diligently examined the business. For such deliberation was Kingly, and he should never thereof repent him. At the present he said there needed no more than to call in those that had heard his talk with *Amphidamus*; and especially him that had brought this goodly tale to *Apelles*. For it would be a very absurd thing, That the King should make himself Author of a report in the open Parliament of *Achaia*, whereof there was none other evidence, than one mans *yea*, and anothers *no*. Hereof the King liked well; and said that he would make sufficient inquiry. So passed a few days: wherein whilst *Apelles* delayed to bring in the proof, which indeed he wanted; *Amphidamus* came from *Elis*, and told what had befallen him there. The King was not forgetful, to examine him about the con-

conſpiracy of the *Arati*: which when he found no better than a meer device againſt his honourable friends; he entertained them in loving manner as before. As for his love to *Apelles*, though it was hereby ſomewhat cooled; yet by means of long acquaintance and daily employment, no remiſſion therein could be diſcerned.

The unreſtful temper of *Apelles*, having with much vehemency brought nothing to paſs; began (as commonly Ambition uſeth) to ſwell and grow venomous for want of his free motion. He betakes himſelf to his cunning again: and as before being checkt in his doings with thoſe of the vulgar, he had prepared a ſnare for the *Arati*; ſo failing of them he thinks it wiſdom to lay for the King himſelf, and for all at once which were about him. In ſuch manner ſometime, the Spider thought to have taken the Swallow which drave away Flies out of the Chimney; but was carried (net and all) into the Air by the Bird that was too ſtrong to be caught and held by the ſubtil workmanſhip of a Cob-web. Of the four that next unto *Apelles* were left by *Antigonus* in chief place about *Philip*; *Taurion*, his Lieutenant in *Peloponneſus*, and *Alexander* Captain of the Guard, were faithful men and ſuch as would not be corrupted. The other two, *Leontius* Captain of the Targuetiers, and *Megaleas* chief of the Secretaries, were eaſily won to be at *Apelles* his diſpoſition. This Politician therefore ſtudied how to remove the other two from their places, and put ſome Creatures of his own into their rooms. Againſt *Alexander* he went to work the ordinary way, by calumniation and privy detraction. But for the ſupplanting of *Taurion* he uſed more ſtreneſs; loading him with daily commendations, as a notable man of War, and one, whom for his many vertues, the King might ill ſpare from being always in his preſence. By ſuch art he thought to have removed him as we ſay, *Out of Gods Bleſſing into a warm Sun.* In the mean ſeaſon *Aratus* retired himſelf; and ſought to avoid the dangerous friendſhip of the King, by forbearing to meddle in affairs of State. As for the new Prætor of *Achaia*, lately choſen by ſuch vehement inſtance of the King; He was a man of no diſpatch, and one that had no grace with the People. Wherefore a great deal of time was loſt, whilſt *Philip* wanted both the Money and the Corn, wherewith he ſhould have been furniſhed by the *Achæans*. This made the King underſtand his own error; which he wiſely ſought to reform betimes. He perſwaded the *Achæans* to rejourn their Parliament from *Ægium*, to *Sicyon* the Town of *Aratus*. There he dealt with the old man and his Son: perſwading them to forget what was paſt; and laying all the blame upon *Apelles*, on whom thenceforth he intended to keep a more diligent eye. So by the travel of theſe worthy men, he eaſily obtained what he would of the *Achæans*. Fifty talents they gave him out of hand, with great ſtore of Corn: and further decreed, That ſo long as he himſelf in perſon followed the Wars in *Peloponneſus*, he ſhould receive ten Talents a Month. Being thus enabled he began to provide ſhipping, that ſo he might invade the *Ætolians*, *Eleans*, and *Lacedæmonians*, that were maritime People, at his pleaſure, and hinder their excurſions by Sea.

It vexed *Apelles* beyond meaſure, to ſee things go forward ſo well without his help; even by the miniſtery of thoſe whom he moſt hated. Wherefore he entred into conſpiracy with *Leontius* and *Megaleas*: binding himſelf and them by oath, to croſs and bring to nought, as well as they were able, all that the King ſhould take in hand. By ſo doing they thought to bring it to paſs, that very want of ability to do any thing without them, ſhould make him ſpeak them fair; and be glad to ſubmit himſelf to their directions. The King it is like had ſtood in ſome awe of them whilſt he was a Child: and therefore theſe wiſe men perſwaded themſelves, that, by looking big upon him, and imputing unto him all that fell out ill through their own miſgovernment of his affairs, they might rule him as a Child ſtill. *Apelles* would needs go to *Chalcis*, there to take order for the proviſions, which were to come that way out of *Macedon*: The other two ſtaid behind with the King, to play their parts; all more mindful of their wicked oath, than of their duty.

His Fleet and Army being in a readineſs: *Philip* made countenance, as if he would have bent all his Forces againſt the *Eleans*; to whoſe aid therefore the *Ætolians* ſent men, little fearing that the miſchief would have fallen, as ſoon after it did, upon themſelves. But againſt the *Eleans* and thoſe that came to help them, *Philip* thought it enough to leave the *Achæans*, with ſome part of his and their Mercinaries. He himſelf with the body of his Army putting to Sea, landed in the Iſle of *Cephallenia*: whence the *Ætolians*, dwelling over againſt it, uſed to furniſh themſelves of ſhipping, when they went to rove abroad. There he beſieged the Town of *Palæa*, that had been very ſerviceable to the Enemy againſt him and his Confederates; and might be very uſeful to him, if he could get it. Whilſt he lay before this Town, there came unto him fifteen Ships of War from *Scerdilaidas*; and many good Souldiers, from the *Epirots*, *Acarnanians*, and *Meſſenians*. But the Town was obſtinate; and would not be terrified with numbers. It was naturally fenced on all parts ſave one, on which ſide *Philip* carried a Mine to the Wall, wherewith he overthrew two hundred foot thereof. *Leontius* Captain of the Targetiers, was appointed by the King to make the aſſault. But he, remembring his Covenant with *Apelles*, did both wilfully forbear to do his beſt; and cauſed others to do the like. So the *Macedonians* were put to foyl, and many ſlain; not of the worſt Souldiers, but ſuch as had gotten over the breach, and would have carried the Town, if the Treaſon of their Captain, and ſome by him corrupted, had not hindered the victory. The King was angry with this: but there was no remedy; and therefore he thought upon breaking up the ſiege. For it was eaſier unto the Townſ-men to make up the gap in their wall, than for him to make it wider. Whilſt he ſtood thus perplexed, and uncertain what courſe to take: the *Meſſenians* and *Acarnanians* lay hard upon him, each of them deſirous to draw him into their own Country. The *Meſſenians* alledged, that *Lycurgus* was buſie in waſting their Country: upon whom the King might come unawares in one day; the Eteſian Winds which then blew, ſerving fitly for his Navigation. Hereto alſo *Leontius* perſwaded; who conſidered that thoſe Winds, as they would eaſily carry him thither, ſo would they detain him there perforce (blowing all the Dog-days) and make him ſpend the Summer to ſmall purpoſe. But *Aratus* gave better counſel, and prevailed. He ſhewed how unfitting it were, to let the *Ætolians* over-run all *Theſſaly* again, and ſome part of *Macedon*, whilſt the King withdrew his Army far off to ſeek ſmall adventures. Rather he ſaid, that the time now ſerved well to carry the War into *Ætolia*; ſince the Prætor was gone thence abroad on roving, with the one half of their ſtrength. As for *Lycurgus*; he was not ſtrong enough to do much harm in *Peloponneſus*: and it might ſuffice, if the *Achæans* were appointed to make head againſt him. Accord-

cording to this advice, the King ſets ſail for *Ætolia*; and enters the Bay of *Ambracia*, which divided the *Ætolians* from *Acarnania*. The *Acarnanians* were glad to ſee him on their borders; and joyned with him as many of them as could bear arms, to help in taking vengeance upon their bad neighbours. He marched up into the in-land Country; and taking ſome places by the way, which he filled with Garriſons to aſſure his Retreat; he paſſed on to *Thermum*; which was the Receptacle of the *Ætolians*, and ſureſt place of defence in all extremities. The Country round about was a great Faſtneſs, environed with rocky Mountains of very narrow, ſteep, and difficult aſcent. There did the *Ætolians* uſe to hold all their chief meetings, their Fairs, their Election of Magiſtrates, and their ſolemn Games. There alſo they uſed to beſtow the moſt precious of their goods, as in a place of greateſt ſecurity. This opinion of the natural ſtrength, had made them careleſs in looking unto it. When *Philip* therefore had overcome the bad way, there was nothing elſe to do than to take ſpoil: whereof he found ſuch plenty, that he thought the pains of his journey well recompenced. So he loaded his Army: and conſuming all that could not be carried away, forgot not to raze a goodly Temple, the chief of all belonging unto the *Ætolians*, in remembrance of the like their courteſie, ſhewed upon the Temples of *Dium* and *Dodona*. This burning of the Temple, might (queſtionleſs) more for the Kings Honour have been forborn. But perhaps he thought, as *Monſieur du Gourges* the *French* Captain told the *Spaniards* in *Florida*, That they which had no faith, needed no Church. At his return from *Thermum*, the *Ætolians* laid for him: which that they would do he believed before; and therefore was not taken unawares. Three thouſand of them there were that lying in ambuſh fell upon his skirts: but he had laid a Counter-ambuſh for them of his *Illyrians*; who ſtaying behind the reſt, did ſet upon the backs of the *Ætolians*, whilſt they were buſily charging in Rere the Army that went before. So with ſlaughter of the Enemy, he returned the ſame way that he came: and burning down thoſe places that he had taken before, as alſo waſting the Countrey round about him, He ſafely carried all that he had gotten aboard his Fleet. Once the *Ætolians* made countenance of fight, iſſuing out of *Stratus* in great bravery. But they were beaten home faſter than they came, and followed to their very gates.

The joy of this victorious Expedition being every way complete, and not deformed (as commonly happens) by any ſiniſter accident; it pleaſed the King to make a great Feaſt unto all his Friends and Captains. Thither were invited among the reſt *Leontius*, with his Fellow *Megaleas*. They came, becauſe they could not chuſe: but their heavy looks argued, what little pleaſure they took in the Kings proſperity. It grieved them to think, that they ſhould be able to give no better account unto *Apelles*, of their hindring the Kings buſineſs; ſince *Apelles* himſelf, as will be ſhewed anon, had played his own part with a moſt miſchievous dexterity. The ſorrow and indignation, which they could ill diſſemble in their faces, brake out after ſupper, when they had warmed themſelves with drink, into open riot. Finding *Aratus* on the way home to his Tent they fell to reviling him, throwing ſtones at him, ſo that they cauſed a great uprore; many running in (as happens in ſuch caſes) to take part with the one or the other. The King ſending to inquire of the matter, was truly informed of all that had paſſed. Which made him ſend for *Leontius* and his fellows. But *Leontius* was gotten out of the way: *Megaleas*, and another with him, came. The King began to rate them for their diſorder; and they, to give him froward anſwers: inſomuch as they ſaid at length, That they would never give over, till they had rewarded *Aratus* with a miſchief as he deſerved. Hereupon the King committed them to ward. *Leontius* hearing of this, comes boldly to the King, with his Targettiers at his heels: and with a proud grace demanded, who it was that had dared to lay hands upon *Megaleas*, yea, and to caſt him into Priſon? Why, ſaid the King, It was even I. This reſolute anſwer, which *Leontius* had not expected, made him depart both ſad and angry; ſeeing himſelf out-frowned, and not knowing how to remedy the matter. Shortly after *Megaleas* was called forth to his anſwer, and was charged by *Aratus* with many great crimes. Among which were, The hinderance of the Kings Victory at *Palæa*, and the Compact made with *Apelles*: matters no leſs touching *Leontius*, that ſtood by as a looker on, than *Megaleas* that was accuſed. In concluſion, the preſumptions againſt him were ſo ſtrong, and his anſwers thereto ſo weak: that he, and *Crimon* one of his fellows, were condemned in twenty Talents: *Crimon* being remanded back to priſon; and *Leontius* becoming Bail for *Megaleas*. This was done upon the way homeward, as the King was returning to *Corinth*.

Philip diſpatched well a great deal of buſineſs this year. For as ſoon as he was at *Corinth*, he took in hand an expedition againſt the *Lacedæmonians*. Theſe and the *Elæans* had done what harm they could in *Peloponneſus*, whilſt the King was abſent. The *Achæans* had oppoſed them as well they could; with ill ſucceſs: yet ſo, as they hinderd them from doing ſuch harm as elſe they would have done. But when *Philip* came, he over-ran the Country about *Lacedæmon*: and was in a manner at the gates of *Sparta*, ere men could well believe that he was returned out of *Ætolia*. He took not in this expedition any Cities, but made great waſte in the Fields: and having beaten the Enemy in ſome skirmiſhes, carried back with him to *Corinth* a rich booty of Cattel, Slaves, and other Country-ſpoyl. At *Corinth* he found attending him, Embaſſadors from the *Rhodians* and *Chians*: that requeſted him to ſet *Greece* at quiet, by granting peace unto the *Ætolians*. They had gracious audience: and he willed them to deal firſt with the *Ætolians*; who, if they would make the ſame requeſt, ſhould not find him unreaſonable. The *Ætolians* had ſped ill that year: neither ſaw they any likely hopes for the years following. The Army that they had ſent forth to waſte *Theſſaly* and *Macedon*, found ſuch oppoſition on the way; that not daring to proceed, it returned home without bringing any thing to effect. In the mean ſeaſon they had been grievouſly afflicted, as before is ſhewed, by *Philip* in the center of their own Country. All *Greece* and *Macedon* was up in Arms againſt them, and their weak Allies the *Elæans* and *Lacedæmonians*. Neither was it certain, how long the one or other of theſe their *Peloponneſian* friends ſhould be able to hold out; ſince they were not ſtrong enough to keep the Field, but had already ſuffered thoſe miſeries of War, which by a little continuance would make them glad, each to ſeek their own peace, without regard of their Confederates. Wherefore the *Ætolians* readily entertained this Negotiation of peace: and taking truce for thirty days with the King, dealt with him by interceſſion of the ſame Embaſſadors, to entreat his preſence at a Diet of their Nation, that ſhould be held at *Rhium*; whether if he would vouchſafe to come, they promiſed that he ſhould find them conformable to any good reaſon.

Whilſt

Whilst these things were in hand; *Leontius* and *Megaleas* thought to have terrified the King by raising sedition against him in the Army. But this device sorted to no good effect. The Souldiers were easily and quickly incensed against many of the King's friends; who were said to be the cause, why they were not rewarded with so much of the booty, as they thought to belong of right unto them. But their anger spent it self in a noise, and breaking open of doors; without further harm done. This was enough to inform the King (who easily pacified his men with gentle words) that some about him were very false. Yea, the Souldiers themselves, repenting of their insolence, desired to have the Authors of the tumult sought out, and punished according to their deserts. The King made shew, as if he had not cared to make such inquisition. But *Leontius* and *Megaleas* were sore afraid, lest the matter would soon come out of it self, to their extreme danger. Wherefore they sent unto *Apelles*, the Head and Architect of their Treason; requesting him speedily to repair to *Corinth*, where he might stand between them and the Kings displeasure. *Apelles* had not all this while been wanting to the business, undertaken by him and his treacherous Companions. He had taken upon him, as a man that had the Kings heart in his own hand: and thereby was he grown into such credit, that all the Kings Officers in *Macedon* and *Thessaly* addressed themselves unto him; and received from him their dispatch in every business. Likewise the *Greeks* in all their flattering Decrees, took occasion to magnifie the vertue of *Apelles*; making slight mention (only for fashion sake) of the King: who seemed no better than the Minister and Executioner of *Apelles* his will and pleasure. Such was the arrogancy of this great man, in setting himself out unto the people: but in managing the Kings affairs, he made it his especial care, that Money, and all things needful for the publick service, should be wanting. Yea, he enforced the King, for very need, to sell his own Plate, and houshold vessels: thinking to resolve these, and all other difficulties, by only saying, *Sir, be ruled wholly by me, and all shall be as you would wish.* Hereto if the King would give assent, then had this Politician obtained his hearts desire. Now taking his journey from *Chalcis* in the Isle of *Eubœa*, to the City of *Corinth*, where *Philip* then lay: he was fetcht in with great Pomp and Royalty, by a great number of the Captains and Souldiers; which *Leontius* and *Megaleas* drew forth to meet him on the way. So entering the City with a goodly train, he went directly to the Court, and towards the Kings Chamber. But *Philip* was well aware of his pride, and had vehement suspition of his falshood. Wherefore one was sent to tell him, that he should wait a while, or come another time; for the King was not now at leisure to be spoken with. It was a pretty thing, that such a check as this made all his Attendants forsake him, as a man in disgrace; in such sort, that going thence to his lodging, he had none to follow him, save his own Pages. After this, the King vouchsafed him now and then some slender graces: but in consultations, or other matters of privacy, he used him not at all. This taught *Megaleas* to look unto himself, and run away betimes. Hereupon the King sent forth *Taurion*, his Lieutenant of *Peloponnesus*, with all the Targettiers, as it were to do some piece of service; but indeed of purpose to apprehend *Leontius* in the absence of his followers. *Leontius* being taken, dispatched away a Messenger presently to his Targettiers, to signifie what was befallen him: and they forthwith sent unto the King in his behalf. They made request, That if any other thing were objected against him, he might not be called forth to trial before their return: as for the Debt of *Megaleas*, if that were all the matter, they said, that they were ready to make a Purse for his discharge. This affection of the Soulkliers, made *Philip* more hasty than else he would have been, to take away the Traitors life. Neither was it long, ere Letters of *Megaleas* were intercepted, which he wrote unto the *Ætolians*; villifying the King with opprobrious words; and bidding them not to hearken after peace, but to hold out a while, for that *Philip* was even ready to sink under the burden of his own poverty. By this the King understood more perfectly the falshood, not only of *Megaleas*, but of *Apelles*; whose cunning head had laboured all this while to keep him so poor. Wherefore he sent one to pursue *Megaleas*, that was fled to *Thebes*. As for *Apelles*, he committed both him, his Son, and another that was inward with him, to Prison; wherein all of them shortly ended their lives. *Megaleas* also, neither daring to stand to trial, nor knowing whither to fly, was weary of his own life, and slew himself about the same time.

The *Ætolians*, as they had begun this War upon hope of accomplishing what they lifted in the Non-age of *Philip*: so finding that the vigour of this young Prince, tempered with the cold advice of *Aratus*, wrought very effectually toward their overthrow; they grew very desirous to make an end of it. Nevertheless being a turbulent Nation, and ready to lay hold upon all advantages: when they heard what was happened in the Court, the death of *Apelles*, *Leontius*, and *Megaleas*, together with some indignation thereupon conceived by the Kings Targettiers; they began to hope a-new, that these troubles would be long lasting, and thereupon brake the day appointed for the meeting at *Rhium*. Of this was *Philip* nothing sorry. For being in good hope throughly to tame this unquiet Nation; He thought it much to concern his own honour, that all the blame of the beginning, and continuing the War, should rest upon themselves. Wherefore he willed his Confederates, to lay aside all thought of peace, and to prepare for War against the year following; wherein he hoped to bring it to an end. Then gratified he his *Macedonian* Souldiers, by yielding to let them winter in their own Countrey. In his return homeward, he called into judgment one *Ptolomy*, a Companion with *Apelles* and *Leontius* in their Treasons: who was therefore condemned by the *Macedonians*, and suffered Death. These were the same *Macedonians*, that lately could not endure to hear of *Leontius* his Imprisonment: yet now they think the man worthy to die, that was but his adherent. So vain is the confidence, on which Rebels use to build, in their favour with the Multitude.

During his abode in *Macedon*, *Philip* wan some bordering Towns; from which the *Dardanians*, *Ætolians*, and other his ill neighbours, were accustomed to make Roads into his Kingdom. When he had thus provided for safety of his own; the *Ætolians* might well know what they were to expect. But there came again Embassadors from the *Rhodians* and *Chians*, with others from *Ptolomy* King of *Ægypt*, and from the City of *Byzantium*, re-continuing the former solicitation about the Peace. This fashion had been taken up in matters of *Greece*, ever since the Kings that reigned after *Alexander*, had taken upon them to set the whole Country at liberty: No sooner was any Province or City in danger to be oppressed, and subdued by force of War, but presently there were found Intercessors, who pitying the effusion of *Greekish*

blood, would importune the stronger to relinquish his advantage. By doing such friendly Offices in time of need, the Princes and States abroad sought to bind unto them those people, that were, howsoever weak in numbers, yet very good Souldiers. But hereby it came to pass, that the more froward sort, especially the *Ætolians*, whose whole Nation was addicted to falshood and robbery, durst enter boldly into quarrels with all their neighbours: being well assured, that if they had the worst, *The love of Greece* would be sufficient to redeem their quiet. They had, since the late Treaty of peace, done what harm they could in *Peloponnesus*: but being beaten by the *Achæans*, and standing in fear to be more soundly beaten at home, they desired now, more earnestly than before, to make an end of the War as soon as they might. *Philip* made such answer to the Embassadors as he had done the former year; That he gave not occasion to the beginning of this War, nor was at the present either afraid to continue it, or unwilling to end it: but that the *Ætolians*, if they had a desire to live in rest, must first be dealt withal, to signifie plainly their determination, whereto himself would return such answer as he should think fit.

Philip had at this time no great liking unto the Peace, being a young Prince, and in hope to increase the honour which he daily got by the War. But it happened in the midst of this Negotiation, that he was advertised by Letters out of *Macedon*, what a notable Victory *Hannibal* had obtained against the *Romans* in the battel at *Thrasymene*. These Letters he communicated unto *Demetrius Pharius*: who greatly encouraged him to take part with *Hannibal*; and not to sit still, as an idle beholder of the *Italian* War. Hereby he grew more inclinable than before unto Peace with the *Ætolians*: which was concluded shortly in a meeting at *Naupactus*. There did *Agelaus*, an *Ætolian*, make a great Oration: telling, how happy it was for the *Greeks*, that they might at their own pleasure dispute about finishing War between themselves: without being molested by the *Barbarians*. For when once either the *Romans*, or the *Carthaginians*, had subdued one the other; it was not to be doubted, that they would forthwith look *Eastward*, and seek by all means to set footing in *Greece*. For this cause he said it were good, that their Country should be at peace within it self: and that *Philip*, if he were desirous of War, should lay hold on the opportunity, now fitly serving, to enlarge his Dominion, by winning somewhat in *Italy*. Such advice could the *Ætolians* then give, when they stood in fear of danger threatning them at hand: but being soon after weary of rest, as accustomed to enrich themselves by pillage, they were so far from observing and following their own good counsel, that they invited the *Romans* into *Greece*; whereby they brought themselves and the whole Countrey, (but themselves before any other part of the Country) under servitude of strangers. The Condition of this Peace was simple, That every one should keep what they held at the present, without making restitution, or any amends for Damages past.

§. III.

Philip, *at the perswasion of* Demetrius Pharius, *enters into League with* Hannibal, *against the* Romans. *The Tenor of the League between* Hannibal *and* Philip.

THis being agreed upon: the *Greeks* betook themselves to quiet courses of life; and *Philip*, to prepare for the business of *Italy*, about which he consulted with *Demetrius Pharius*. And thus passed the time away, till the great battel of *Cannæ*: after which he joyned in League with *Hannibal*, as hath been shewed before. *Demetrius Pharius* bore great malice unto the *Romans*; and knew no other way to be avenged upon them, or to recover his own lost Kingdom, than by procuring the *Macedonian*, that was in a manner wholly guided by his counsel, to take part with their Enemies. It had otherwise been far more expedient for *Philip*, to have supported the weaker of these two great Cities against the more mighty. For by so doing, he should perhaps have brought them to peace upon some equal terms; and thereby, as did *Hiero*, a far weaker Prince, have both secured his own Estate, and caused each of them to be desirous of chief place in his friendship. The issue of the counsel which he followed, will appear soon after this. His first quarrel with the *Romans*; the trouble which they and the *Ætolians* did put him to in *Greece*; and the Peace which they made with him for a time, upon Conditions that might easily be broken: have been related in another place, as belonging unto the second Punick War. Wherefore I will only here set down the tenor of the League between Him and *Carthage*: which may seem not unworthy to be read, if only in regard of the form it self then used; though it had been over-long to have been inserted into a more busie piece.

THE

THE OATH AND COVENANTS BETWEEN

HANNIBAL, General of the *CARTHAGINIANS*, AND *XENOPHANES*, Embassador of *PHILIP*, King of *MACEDON*.

THIS is the League ratified by Oath, which HANNIBAL, *the General, and with him* MAGO, MYRCAL, *and* BARMOCAL, *as also the Senators of* Carthage *that are present, and all the* Carthaginians *that are in his Army, have made with* XENOPHANES, *the Son of* CLEOMACHUS, Athenian, *whom King* PHILIP, *the Son of* DEMETRIUS, *hath sent unto us, for himself, and the* Macedonians, *and his Associates: Before* Jupiter, *and* Juno, *and* Apollo: *before* † The God of the Carthaginians, Hercules, *and* Iolaus: *before* Mars, Triton, Neptune: *before* The Gods *accompanying Arms, the* Sun, *the* Moon, *and the* Earth; *before* Rivers, *and* Meadows, *and* Waters; *before all the* Gods *that have power over* Carthage; *before all the* Gods *that rule over* Macedon, *and the rest of* Greece; *before all the* Gods *that are Presidents of War, and present at the making of this League.* HANNIBAL, the General *hath said, and all the Senators that are with him, and all the* Carthaginians *in his Army*: Be *it agreed between You and Us. That this Oath stand for Friendship and loving Affection, That We become Friends, familiar, and Brethren, upon Covenant,* That *the safety of the Lords, the* Carthaginians, *and of* HANNIBAL, the General, *and those that are with him, and of the Rulers of Provinces of the* Carthaginians, *using the same Laws, and of the* Uticans, *and as many Cities and Nations as obey the* Carthaginians, *and of the Souldiers and Associates, and of all Towns and Nations with which We hold Friend-*

† *Damon.*

ſhip in Italy, Gaule, *and* Liguria, *and with whom We ſhall hold Friendſhip, or make Alliance hereafter in this Region; be preſerved by King* Philip, *and the* Macedonians, *and ſuch of the* Greeks *as are their Aſſociates.* In like manner *ſhall King* Philip, *and the* Macedonians, *and other the* Greeks *his Aſſociates, be ſaved and preſerved by the* Carthaginian *Armies, and by the* Vticans, *and by all Cities and Nations that obey the* Carthaginians, *and by their Aſſociates and Souldiers, and by all Nations and Cities in* Italy, Gaule, *and* Liguria, *that are of our Alliance, or ſhall hereafter joyn with Us in* Italy. *We ſhall not take counſel one againſt the other, nor deal fraudulently one with the other. With all readineſs and good Will, without deceit or ſubtilty, We ſhall be Enemies unto the Enemies of the* Carthaginians, *excepting thoſe Kings, Towns, and Havens, with which we have already League and Friendſhip. VVe alſo ſhall be Enemies to the Enemies of King* Philip, *excepting thoſe Kings, Cities, and Nations, with which we have already League and Friendſhip. The War that We have with the* Romans, *have Ye alſo with them, until the Gods ſhall give us a new and happy end. Ye ſhall aid Us with thoſe things whereof We have need, and ſhall do according to the Covenants between Us. But if the Gods ſhall not give unto You and Us their help in this War againſt the* Romans *and their Aſſociates; then if the* Romans *offer Friendſhip, We ſhall make Friendſhip in ſuch wiſe, that* Ye *ſhall be partakers of the ſame Friendſhip, VVith Condition,* That *they ſhall not have power to make VVar upon you: Neither ſhall the* Romans *be Lords over the* Corcyræans, *nor over thoſe of* Apollonia, *nor* Dyrrachium, *nor over* Pharus, *nor* Dimalle, *nor the* Parthini, *nor* Atintania. *They ſhall alſo render unto* Demetrius Pharius *all thoſe that belong unto him, as many as are within the* Romans *Dominions. But if the* Romans (*after ſuch Peace made*) *ſhall make VVar upon Ye or Us; VVe will ſuccour one another in that VVar, as either ſhall have need. The ſame ſhall be obſerved in VVar made by any other, excepting thoſe Kings, Cities and States, with whom VVe hold already League and Friendſhip.* To this League *if VVe or Ye ſhall think fit to add or detract, ſuch addition or detraction ſhall be made by our common conſent.*

§. IV.

§. IV.

How Philip *yielded to his natural Vices, being therein soothed by* Demetrius Pharius. *His desire to tyrannize upon the free States his Associates: With the troubles, into which he thereby fell, whilst he bore a part in the Second Punick War. He poysoneth* Aratus: *and grows hateful to the* Achæans.

HItherto *Philip* had carried himself as a vertuous Prince. And though with more commendation of his Wisdom, he might have offered his friendship to the *Romans*, that were like to be oppressed, than to the *Carthaginians*, who had the better hand: yet this his medling in the Punick War, proceeded from a Royal greatness of mind, with a desire to secure and increase his own Estate, adding therewithal Reputation to his Countrey. But in this business he was guided (as hath been said) by *Demetrius Pharius*: who, looking throughly into his nature, did accommodate himself to his desires: and thereby shortly governed him, even as he lifted. For the Vertues of *Philip* were not indeed such as they seemed. He was lustful, bloody, and tyrannical: desirous of power to do what he lifted, and not otherwise lifting to do what he ought, than so far forth, as by making a fair shew he might breed in men such a good opinion of him, as should help to serve his turn in all that he took in hand. Before he should busie himself in *Italy*, he thought it requisite in good policy, to bring the *Greeks*, that were his Associates, under a more absolute form of subjection. Hereunto *Apelles* had advised him before: and he had liked reasonably well of the course. But *Apelles* was a boisterous Counsellor, and one that referring all to his own glory, thought himself deeply wronged if he might not wholly have his own way, but were driven to await the Kings opportunity at better times. *Demetrius Pharius* could well be contented to observe the Kings humours: and guided, like a Coachman, with the Reins in his hand, those affections which himself did only seem to follow. Therefore he grew daily more and more in credit: so as, without any manner of contention, he supplanted *Aratus*: which the violence of *Apelles* could never do.

There arose about these times a very hot Faction among the *Messenians*, between the Nobility and Commons: their vehement thoughts being rather diverted (as happens often after a forreign War) unto domestical objects: than allayed and reduced unto a more quiet temper. In process of no long time, the contention among them grew so violent, that *Philip* was entreated to compound the differences. He was glad of this: resolving so to end the matter, that they should not henceforth strive any more about their Government: for that he would assume it wholly to himself. At his coming thither, he found *Aratus* busie among them to make all friends, after a better manner than agreed with his own secret purpose. Wherefore he consulted not with this reverend old man: but talked in private with such of the *Messenians* as repaired unto him. He asked the Governors, what they meant to stand thus disputing: and whether they had not Laws, to bridle the insolence of the unruly Rabble. Contrariwise, in talking with the heads of the popular Faction, He said it was strange, that they being so many, would suffer themselves to be oppressed by a few; as if they had not hands to defend themselves from Tyrants. Thus whilst each of them presumed on the King's assistance; they thought it best to go roundly to work, ere he were gone that should countenance their doings. The Governors therefore would have apprehended some seditious Orators, that were, they said, the stirrers up of the Multitude unto sedition. Upon this occasion the People took Arms: and running upon the Nobility and Magistrates, killed of them in a rage almost two hundred. *Philip* thought, it seems, that it would be easie to worry the Sheep, when the Dogs, their guardians, were slain. But his falshood and double dealing was immediately found out. Neither did the younger *Aratus* forbear, to tell him of it in publick, with very bitter and disgraceful words. The King was angry at this. But having already done more than was commendable, or excusable: and yet further intending to take other things in hand wherein he should need the help and countenance of his best friends; he was content to smother his displeasure, and make as fair weather as he could. He led old *Aratus* aside by the hand; and went up into the Castle of *Ithome*, that was over *Messene*. There he pretended to do Sacrifice: and Sacrifice he did. But it was his purpose to keep the place to his own use; for that it was of notable strength, and would serve to command the further parts of *Peloponnesus*, as the Citadel of *Corinth*, which he had already, commanded the entrance into that Countrey. Whilst he was therefore sacrificing, and had the Entrails of the Beast delivered into his hands, as was the manner; he shewed them to *Aratus*, and gently asked him, whether the Tokens that he saw therein did signifie, That being now in possession of this place, he should quietly go out of it, or rather keep it to himself. He thought perhaps, that the old man would have soothed him a little; were it only for desire to make amends, for the angry words newly spoken by his Son. But as *Aratus* stood doubtful what to answer, *Demetrius Pharius* gave this Verdict: *If thou be a Southsayer, thou maist go thy ways, and let slip this good advantage; if thou be a King, thou must not neglect the opportunity, but hold the Oxe by both his Horns.* Thus he spake, resembling *Ithome* and *Acrocorinthus*, unto the Two Horns of *Peloponnesus*. Yet would *Philip* needs hear the Opinion of *Aratus*: who told him plainly, That it were well done to keep the place, if it might be kept without breach of his Faith unto the *Messenians*: But if, by seizing upon *Ithome*, he must lose all the other Castles that he held, and especially the strongest Castle of all that was left unto him by *Antigonus*, which was his credit, then were it far better to depart with his Souldiers, and keep men in duty, as he had done hitherto, by their own good wills, than by fortifying any strong places against them, to make them of his Friends become his Enemies.

To this good advice *Philip* yielded at the present: but not without some dislike, thenceforth growing between him and the *Arati*; whom he thought more froward than beseemed them, in contradicting his will. Neither was the old man desirous at all, to deal any longer in the Kings affairs, or be inward with him. For as he plainly discovered his Tyrannous purposes: so likewise he perceived, that in resorting to his house, he had been dishoneſt with his Son's Wife. He therefore staid at home: where at good leisure he might repent, that in despight of *Cleomenes*, his own Countreyman, and a temperate Prince, he had brought the *Macedonians* into *Peloponnesus*.

Philip

Philip made a Voyage out of *Peloponneſus* into *Epirus*, wherein *Aratus* refuſed to bear him company. In this journey he found by experience what *Aratus* had lately told him; That unhoneſt counſels are not ſo profitable in deed, as in appearance. The *Epirots* were his followers and dependents; and ſo they purpoſed to continue. But he would needs have them ſo to remain, whether they purpoſed it or not. Wherefore to make them the more obnoxious unto his will, he ſeized upon their Town of *Oricum*, and laid Siege to *Apollonia*; having no good colour of theſe doings: but thinking himſelf ſtrong enough to do what he liſted, and not ſeeing whence they ſhould procure friends to help them. Thus inſtead of ſetling the Countrey, as his intended Voyage into *Italy* required; he kindled a fire in it which he could never quench, until it had laid hold on his own Palace. Whilſt he was thus labouring to bind the hands that ſhould have fought for him in *Italy*: *M. Valerius*, the *Roman*, came into thoſe parts; who not only maintained the *Epirots* againſt him, but procured the *Ætolians* to break
Ch.3. §.12. the Peace, which they had lately made with him.

Thus began that War; the occurrents whereof we have related before, in place whereto it belonged. In managing whereof, though *Philip* did the Offices of a good Captain: yet when leiſure ſerved, he made it apparent that he was a vicious King. He had not quite left his former deſire, of oppreſſing the liberty of the *Meſſenians*; but made another journey into their Countrey, with hope to deceive them, as before. They underſtood him better now than before; and therefore were not haſty to truſt him too far. When he ſaw that his cunning would not ſerve, he went to work by force; and calling them his Enemies, invaded them with open War. But in that War he could do little good; perhaps, becauſe none of his Confederates were deſirous to help him in ſuch an Enterpriſe. In this attempt upon *Meſſene* he loſt *Demetrius Pharius*; that was his Counſellor, and Flatterer, not his perverter; as appears by his growing daily more nought in following times. The worſe that he ſped, the more angry he vexed againſt thoſe, that ſeemed not to favour his injurious doings. Wherefore by the Miniſtry of *Taurion*, his Lieutenant, he poyſoned old *Aratus*; and ſhortly after that, he poyſoned alſo the younger *Aratus*; hoping that theſe things would never have been known, becauſe they were done ſecretly, and the poyſons themſelves were more ſure, than manifeſt in operation. The *Sicyonians*, and all the people of *Achaia*, decreed unto *Aratus* more than humane honours, as Sacrifices, Hymns, and Proceſſions, to be celebrated every year twice, with a Prieſt ordained unto him for that purpoſe; as was accuſtomed unto the *Hero's*, or men, whom they thought to be tranſlated into the number of the Gods. Hereunto they are ſaid to have been encouraged by an Oracle of *Apollo*: which is like enough to have been true; ſince the help of the Devil is never failing to the increaſe of Idolatry.

The loving Memory of *Aratus*, their Patron, and ſingular Benefactor, could not but work in the *Achæans* a marvellous diſlike, of that wicked King which had made him thus away. He ſhall therefore hear of this hereafter, when they better dare to take counſel for themſelves. At the preſent, the Murder was not generally known or believed: neither were they in caſe to ſubſiſt, without his help that had committed it. The *Ætolians* were a moſt outragious people, great dareers, and ſhameleſs robbers. With theſe the *Romans* had made a League: whereof the Conditions were ſoon divulged, eſpecially that main point, concerning the diviſion of the purchaſe which they ſhould make; namely, That the *Ætolians* ſhould have the Countrey and Towns; but the *Romans* the Spoil, and carry away the people, to ſell for Slaves. The *Achæans*, who in times of greater quiet, could not endure to make ſtreight alliance with the *Ætolians*, as knowing their uncivil diſpoſition; were much the more averſe from them, when they perceived how they had called in the *Barbarians* (for ſuch did the *Greeks* account all other Nations, except their own) to make havock of the Countrey. The ſame conſideration moved alſo the *Lacedæmonians*, to ſtand off a while, before they would declare themſelves for the *Ætolians*; whoſe friendſhip they had embraced in the late War. The induſtry therefore of *Philip*, and the great care which he ſeemed to take of the *Achæans*, his Confederates, ſufficed to retain them: eſpecially at ſuch time as their own neceſſity was thereto concurrent. More particularly he obliged unto himſelf the *Dymæans*, by an ineſtimable benefit: recovering their Town, after it had been taken by the *Romans* and *Ætolians*; and redeeming their people whereſoever they might be found, that had been carried away Captive, and ſold abroad for Slaves. Thus might he have blotted out the memory of offences paſt; if the malignity of his natural condition had not otherwhiles broken out, and given men to underſtand, that it was the time, and not his Vertue, which cauſed him to make ſuch a ſhew of goodneſs. Among other foul acts, whereof he was not aſhamed, he took *Polycratia*, the Wife of the younger *Aratus*, and carried her into *Macedon*: little regarding how this might ſerve to confirm in the people their opinion, that he was guilty of the old mans death. But of ſuch faults he ſhall be told, when the *Romans* make War upon him the ſecond time: for of that which happened in this their firſt Invaſion, I hold it ſuperfluous to make repetition.

§. V.

Of Philopœmen, *General of the* Achæans: *and* Machanidas, *Tyrant of* Lacedæmon. *A Battel between them, wherein* Machanidas *is ſlain.*

IT happens often, that the deceaſe of one eminent man diſcovers the Vertue of another. In the place of *Aratus* there ſtood up *Philopœmen*: whoſe notable valour, and great skill in Arms, made the Nation of the *Achæans* redoubtable among all the *Greeks*, and careleſs of ſuch protection, as in former times they had needed againſt the violence of their Neighbours. This is that *Philopœmen*: who being then a young man, and having no command, did eſpecial ſervice to *Antigonus*, at the battel of *Sellaſia*, againſt *Cleomenes*. Thence forward until now, he had ſpent the moſt part of his time in the Iſle of *Crete*: the Inhabitants whereof being a valiant people, and ſeldom or never at peace between themſelves; He bettered among them his knowledge, and practice in the Art of War. At his return home, he had charge of the Horſe: wherein he carried himſelf ſo ſtrictly, travailing with all the Cities of the Confederacy, to have his follow-

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ers well mounted and armed at all pieces: as alſo he ſo diligently trained them up in all exerciſe of ſervice, that he made the *Achæans* very ſtrong in that part of their forces. Being after choſen Prætor or General of the Nation, he had no leſs care to reform their Military Diſcipline throughout, whereby his Countrey might be ſtrong enough to defend it ſelf, and not any longer (as in former times) need to depend upon the help of others. He perſwaded the *Achæans* to cut off their vain expence of bravery, in apparel, houſholdſtuff, and curious fare, and to beſtow that coſt upon their Arms: wherein by how much they were the more gallant, by ſo much were they like to prove the better Souldiers; and ſuitable in behaviour unto the pride of their furniture. They had ſerved hitherto with little light Bucklers, and ſlender Darts, to caſt afar off: that were uſeful in skirmiſhing at ſome diſtance, or for Surpriſes, or ſudden and haſty Expeditions; whereto *Aratus* had been moſt accuſtomed. But when they came to handy ſtrokes, they were good for nothing: ſo as they were wholly driven to relye upon the courage of their Mercinaries. *Philopœmen* altered this: cauſing them to arm themſelves more weightily, to uſe a larger kind of Shield, with good Swords, and ſtrong Pikes, fit for ſervice at hand. He taught them alſo to fight in cloſe order; and altered the form of their embattailing; not making the Files ſo deep as had been accuſtomed, but extending the Front, that he might uſe the ſervice of many hands.

Eight Months were ſpent of that year, in which he firſt was Prætor of the *Achæans*; when *Machanidas*, the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, cauſed him to make trial, how his Souldiers had profited by his diſcipline. This *Machanidas* was the Succeſſor unto *Lycurgus*; a man more violent than his fore-goer. He kept in pay a ſtrong Army of Mercinaries: and he kept them not only to fight for *Sparta*; but to hold the City in obedience to himſelf perforce. Wherefore it behoved him not to take part with the *Achæans*, that were favourers of liberty; but to ſtrengthen himſelf by friendſhip of the *Ætolians*: who, in making Alliances, took no further notice of Vice or Vertue, than as it had reference to their own profit. The people alſo of *Lacedæmon*, through their inveterate hatred unto the *Argives*, *Achæans*, and *Macedonians*; were in like ſort (all, or moſt of them) inclinable to the *Ætolian* Faction. Very unwiſely. For in ſeeking to take revenge upon thoſe, that had lately hindered them from getting the Lordſhip of *Peloponneſus*; they hindered themſelves thereby from recovering the Maſtery of their own City. This affection of the *Spartans*, together with the regard of his own ſecurity, and no ſmall hope of good that would follow, ſuffered not *Machanidas* to be idle; but made him always ready to fall upon his Neighbours backs, and take of theirs what he could, whilſt they were enforced, by greater neceſſity, to turn face another way. Thus had he often done, eſpecially in the abſence of *Philip*: whoſe ſudden coming into thoſe parts, or ſome other oppoſition made againſt him, had uſually made him fail of his Attempts. At the preſent he was ſtronger in Men, than were the *Achæans*; and thought his own Men better Souldiers than were theirs.

Whilſt *Philip* therefore was buſied elſewhere, he entred the Country of the *Mantinæans*: being not without hope to do as *Cleomenes* had done before him; yea, and perhaps to get the * Lordſhip of *Peloponneſus*, as having ſtronger friends, and weaker oppoſition, than *Cleomenes* had found. But *Philopœmen* was ready to entertain him at *Mantinæa*; where was fought between them a great battel. The Tyrant had brought into the Field upon Carts, a great many of Engines; wherewith to beat upon the Squadrons of his Enemies, and put them in diſorder. To prevent this danger, *Philopœmen* ſent forth his light Armature a good way before him; ſo as *Machanidas* was fain to do the like. To ſecond theſe, from the one and the other ſide came in continual ſupply; till at length all the Mercinaries, both of the *Achæans*, and of *Machanidas*, were drawn up to the fight: being ſo far advanced each before their own *Phalanx*, that it could no otherwiſe be diſcerned which preſſed forward, or which recoiled, than by riſing of the duſt. Thus were *Machanidas* his Engines made unſerviceable, by the interpoſition of his own men; in ſuch manner as the Canon is hindered from doing Execution, in moſt of the battels fought in theſe our times. The Mercinaries of the Tyrant prevailed at length: not only by their advantage of number, but (as *Polybius* well obſerveth) by ſurmounting their oppoſites in degree of courage; wherein uſually the hired Souldiers of Tyrants exceed thoſe that are waged by Free States. For as it is true, that a free people are much more valiant, than they which live oppreſſed by Tyranny, ſince the one, by doing their beſt in fight, have hope to acquire ſomewhat beneficial to themſelves, whereas the other do fight (as it were) to aſſure their own ſervitude: ſo the Mercinaries of a Tyrant, being made partakers with him in the fruits of his proſperity, have good cauſe to maintain his quarrel as their own; whereas they that ſerve under a free State, have no other motive to do manfully, than their bare ſtipend. Further than this, When a free State hath gotten the Victory; many Companies (if not all) of forreign Auxiliaries are preſently caſt; and therefore ſuch good fellows, will not take much pains to bring the War to an end. But the Victory of a Tyrant, makes him ſtand in need of more ſuch helpers: becauſe that after it he doth wrong to more, as having more Subjects; and therefore ſtands in fear of more, that ſhould ſeek to take revenge upon him. The Stipendaries therefore of the *Achæans*, being forced to give ground, were urged ſo violently in their retreat by thoſe of *Machanidas*, that ſhortly they betook themſelves to flight; and could not be ſtaid by any perſwaſions of *Philopœmen*, but ran away quite beyond the battel of the *Achæans*. This diſaſter had been ſufficient to take from *Philopœmen* the honour of the day; had he not wiſely obſerved the demeanor of *Machanidas*, and found in him that Error which might reſtore the Victory. The Tyrant, with his Mercinaries, gave chace unto thoſe that fled: leaving behind him in good order of battel his *Lacedæmonians*; whom he thought ſufficient to deal with the *Achæans*, that were already diſheartned by the flight of their Companions. But when this his raſhneſs had carried him out of ſight, *Philopœmen* advanced towards the *Lacedæmonians* that ſtood before him. There lay between them athwart the Countrey a long ditch, without water at that time; and therefore paſſable (as it ſeemed) without much difficulty, eſpecially for Foot. The *Lacedæmonians* adventured over it, as thinking themſelves better Souldiers than the *Achæans*; who had in a manner already loſt the day. But hereby they greatly diſordered their own Battel; and had no ſooner the foremoſt of them recovered

* *Excerpt. Polyb. l. 11. Plut. in vitâ Philopœm.*

Polyb. ibid.

covered the further bank, than they were ſtoutly charged by the *Achæans*, who drave them headlong into the Ditch again. Their firſt ranks being broken, all the reſt began to ſhrink: ſo as *Philopœmen* getting over the ditch, eaſily chaced them out of the Field. *Philopœmen* knew better how to uſe his advantage, than *Machanidas* had done. He ſuffered not all his Army to disband and follow the chace: but retained with him a ſufficient ſtrength, for the cuſtody of a Bridge that was over the Ditch, by which he knew that the Tyrant muſt come back. The Tyrant with his Mercinaries returning from the chace, looked very heavily when he ſaw what was fallen out. Yet with a luſty Troop of Horſe about him He made towards the Bridge: hoping to find the *Achæans* in diſorder, and to ſet upon their backs, as they were careleſly purſuing their Victory. But when he and his Company ſaw *Philopœmen* ready to make good the Bridge againſt them; then began every one to look, which way he might ſhift for himſelf. The Tyrant, with no more than two in his Company, rode along the Ditch-ſide; and ſearched for an eaſie paſſage over. He was eaſily diſcovered by his purple Caſſock, and the coſtly trappings of his Horſe. *Philopœmen* therefore leaving the charge of the Bridge unto another, coaſted him all the way as he rode; and falling upon him at length in the Ditch it ſelf, as he was getting over it, ſlew him there with his own hand. There died in this Battel on the *Lacedæmonians* ſide about four thouſand: and more than four thouſand were taken Priſoners. Of the *Achæan* Mercinaries, probable it is that the loſs was not greatly cared for; ſince that War was at an end, and for their Money they might hire more when they ſhould have need.

§. VI.

Philip *having Peace with* Rome, *and with all* Greece, *prepares againſt* Aſia. *Of the Kings of* Pergamus, Cappadocia, Pontus, Paphlagona, Bithynia, *and their Linages. Of the* Galatians.

BY this victory the *Achæans* learned to think well of themſelves. Neither needed they indeed after a while (ſuch was their diſcipline, and continual exerciſe) to account themſelves in matter of War inferiour to any, that ſhould have brought againſt them no great odds of number. As for the *Macedonian*, He made no great uſe of them: But when he had once concluded Peace with the *Romans* and *Ætolians*, He ſtudied how to enlarge his Dominion Eaſtward; ſince the fortune of his friends the *Carthaginians* declined in the Weſt. He took in hand many matters together, or very nearly together, and ſome of them not honeſt: wherein if the *Achæans* would have done him ſervice; they muſt, by helping him to oppreſs others that never had wronged him, have taught him the way how to deal with themſelves. He greatly hated *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, who had joyned with the *Romans* and *Ætolians* in War againſt him.

This *Attalus*, though a King, was ſcarce yet a Nobleman, otherwiſe than as he was ennobled by his own, and by his Fathers vertue. His fortune began in *Philetærus* his Uncle: who being gelded, by reaſon of a miſhap which he had when he was a Child, grew afterwards thereby to be the more eſteemed: as great Men in thoſe times repoſed much confidence in Eunuchs, whoſe affections could not be obliged unto Wives or Children. He was entertained into the Family of *Docimus*, a Captain following *Antigonus the firſt*; and after the death of *Antigonus*, he accompanied his Maſter, that betook himſelf to *Lyſimachus* King of *Thrace*. *Lyſimachus* had good opinion of him; and put him in truſt with his Money and accompts. But when at length he ſtood in fear of this King, that grew a bloody Tyrant: He fled into *Aſia*, where he ſeized upon the Town of *Pergamus*, and nine thouſand talents belonging to *Lyſimachus*. The Town and Money, together with his own ſervice, He offered unto *Seleucus the firſt*, that then was ready to give *Lyſimachus* Battel. His offer was kindly accepted, but never performed; for that *Seleucus* having ſlain *Lyſimachus*, died ſhortly after himſelf, before he made uſe of *Philetærus* or his Money. So this Eunuch ſtill retained *Pergamus* with the Country about it; and reigned therein twenty years as an abſolute King. He had two Brethren: of which the elder is ſaid to have been a poor Carter; and the younger perhaps was not much better; before ſuch time as they were raiſed by the fortune of this Eunuch. *Philetærus* left his Kingdom to the elder of theſe, or to the Son of the elder called *Eumenes*. This *Eumenes* enlarged his Kingdom; making his advantage of the diſſenſion, between *Seleucus Callinicus* and *Antiochus Hierax*, the Sons of *the ſecond Antiochus*. He fought a Battel with *Hierax*, near unto *Sardes*; and wan the victory. At which time, to animate his Men againſt the *Gaules* that ſerved under his Enemy, he uſed a pretty device. He wrote the word * *Victorie* upon the hand of his Soothſayer, in ſuch colours as would eaſily come off: and when the hot Liver of the beaſt that was ſacrificed, had cleanly taken the print of the Letters, He publiſhed this unto his Army as a Miracle, plainly foreſhewing that the gods would be aſſiſtant in that Battel.

* *Jul. Front. Strat. l. 1. c. 11.*

After this victory, he grew a dreadful Enemy to *Seleucus*: who never durſt attempt to recover from him, by War, the Territory that he had gotten and held. Finally when he had reigned two and twenty years, he died by a ſurfeit of overmuch drink; and left his Kingdom to *Attalus*, of whom we now entreat, that was Son unto *Attalus* the youngeſt Brother of *Philetærus*. *Attalus* was an undertaking Prince, very bountiful, and no leſs valiant. By his own proper forces He reſtored his friend *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian* into his Kingdom, whence he had been expelled. He was greivouſly moleſted by *Achæus*: who ſetting up himſelf, as King againſt *Antiochus the great*, Reigned in the leſſer *Aſia*. He was beſieged in his own City of *Pergamus*: but by help of the *Tectoſagæ*, a Nation of the *Gaules*, whom he called over out of *Thrace*, He recovered all that he had loſt. When theſe *Gaules* had once gotten footing in *Aſia*, they never wanted employment: but were either entertained by ſome of the Princes reigning in thoſe quarters; or interpoſed themſelves, without invitation, and found themſelves work in quarrels of their own making. They cauſed *Pruſias* King of *Bithynia* to ceaſe from his War againſt *Byzantium*. Whereunto when he had condeſcended; they nevertheleſs within a while after invaded his Kingdom. He obtained againſt them a great victory; and uſed it with great cruelty, ſparing neither age nor ſex. But the ſwarm of them increaſing, they occupied the Region about *Helleſpont*: where, in ſeating themſelves, they were much beholding unto *Attalus*. Nevertheleſs, preſuming afterwards upon their ſtrength; they forced their neighbour Princes and Cities to pay them tribute. In the ſharp exaction whereof, they

they had no more respect unto *Attalus* than to any that had worse deserved of them. By this they compelled him to fight against them; and he being victorious, compelled them to contain themselves within the bounds of that Province, which took name from them in time following, and was called *Galatia*. Yet continued they still to oppress the weakest of their Neighbours; and to fill up the Armies of those that could best hire them.

The Kings reigning in those parts, were the Posterity of such as had saved themselves and their Provinces, in the slothful reign of the *Persians*; or in the busie times of *Alexander*, and his *Macedonian* followers. The *Cappadocians* were very ancient. For the first of their Line had married with *Atossa*, Sister unto the great King *Cyrus*. Their Country was taken from them by *Perdiccas*, as is shewed before. But the Son of that King, whom *Perdiccas* crucified, espying his time while the *Macedonians* were at Civil Wars among themselves; recovered his Dominion, and passed it over to his off-spring. The Kings of *Pontus* had also their beginning from the *Persian* Empire; and are said to have issued from the Royal House of *Achæmenes*. The *Paphlagonians* derived themselves from *Pylæmenes*, a King that assisted *Priamus* at the War of *Troy*. These, applying themselves unto the times, were always conformable unto the strongest. The Ancestors of *Prusias* had begun to reign in *Bithynia*, some few generations before that of *the Great Alexander*. They lay somewhat out of the *Macedonians* way: by whom therefore, having other employment, they were the less molested. *Calantus*, one of *Alexanders* Captains, made an Expedition into their Country; where he was vanquished. They had afterwards to do with a Lieutenant of *Antigonus*, that made them somewhat more humble. And thus they shuffled, as did the rest, until the reign of *Prusias*, whom we have already sometimes mentioned.

§. VII.

The Town of Cios *taken by* Philip, *at the instance of* Prusias *King of* Bythinia, *and cruelly destroyed. By this and like actions* Philip *grows hateful to many of the* Greeks: *and is warred upon by* Attalus *King of* Pergamus, *and by the* Rhodians.

Prusias as a Neigbour King, had many quarrels with *Attalus*; whose greatness he suspected. He therefore strengthned himself, by taking to Wife the Daughter of *Philip*; as *Attalus*, on the contrary side, entred into a strict Confederacy with the *Ætolians*, *Rhodians*, and other of the *Greeks*. But when *Philip* had ended his *Ætolian* War, and was devising with *Antiochus* about sharing between them two, the Kingdom of *Egypt*, wherein *Ptolomy Philopater* a friend unto them both was newly dead, and had left his Son *Etol Epiphanes* a young Child his Heir; the *Bithynian* entreated this his Father in Law to come over into *Asia*, there to win the Town of the *Cians*, and bestow it upon him. *Prusias* had no right unto the Town, nor just matter of quarrel against it: but it was fitly seated for him; and therewithal rich. *Philip* came; as one that could not well deny to help his Son in Law. But hereby he mightily offended no small part of *Greece*. Embassadors came to him whilst he lay at the Siege, from the *Rhodians*, and divers other States: entreating him to forsake the Enterprise. He gave dilatory, but otherwise gentle answers: making shew as if he would condescend to their request; when he intended nothing less. At length he got the Town: where, even in presence of the Embassadors, of whose sollicitation he had seemed so regardful, he omitted no part of cruelty. Hereby he rendred himself odious to his Neighbours, as a perfidious and cruel Prince. Especially his Fact was detested of the *Rhodians*: who had made vehement intercession for the poor *Cians*; and were advertised by Embassadors of purpose sent unto them from *Philip*, That, howsoever it were in his power to win the Town as soon as he listed: yet in regard of his love to the *Rhodians*, He was contented to give it over. And by this his clemency the Embassadors said, that he would manifest unto the World, what slanderous Tongues they were; which noised abroad such reports, as went of his falshood and oppressions. Whilst the Embassadors were declaiming at *Rhodes* in the Theatre to this effect; there came some that made a true relation of what had hapned: shewing that *Philip* had sacked and destroyed the Town of *Cios*, and after a cruel slaughter of the Inhabitants, had made slaves of all that escaped the sword. If the *Rhodians* took this in great despight, no less were the *Ætolians* inflamed against him: since they had sent a Captain to take charge of the Town; being warned before by his doings at *Lysimachia* and *Chalcedon* (which he had withdrawn from their Confederacy to his own) what little trust was to be reposed in the Faith of this King. But most of all others was *Attalus* moved with consideration of the *Macedonians* violent ambition, and of his own estate. He had much to lose; and was not without hope of getting much, if he could make a strong Party in *Greece*. He had already, as a new King, followed the example of *Alexanders* Captains, in purchasing with much liberality, the love of the *Athenians*; which were notable Trumpeters of other mens vertue, having lost their own. On the friendship of the *Ætolians* he had cause to presume; having bound them unto him by good offices, many and great, in their late War with *Philip*. The *Rhodians* that were mighty at Sea, and held very good intelligeuce with the *Egyptians*, *Syrians*, and many other Princes and States, He easily drew into a streight alliance with him; by their hatred newly conceived against *Philip*.

Upon confidence in these his Friends, but most of all in the ready assistance of the *Rhodians*, *Attalus* prepared to deal with the *Macedonian* by open War. It had been unseasonable to procrastinate, and expect whereto the doings of the Enemy tended; since his desire to fasten upon *Asia* was manifest, and his falshood no less manifest, than was such his desire. They met with him shortly not far from *Chios*, and fought with him a Battel at Sea: wherein though *Attalus* was driven to run his own Ship on ground, hardly escaping to Land: though the Admiral of the *Rhodians* took his deaths wound: and though *Philip* after the Battel took Harbour under a Promontory, by which they had fought, so that he had the gathering of the Wracks upon the shore: Yet forasmuch as he had suffered far greater loss of Ships and Men, than had the Enemy: and since he durst not in few days after put forth to Sea, when *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* came to brave him in his Port; the honour of the Victory was adjudged to his Enemies. This notwithstanding, *Philip* afterwards besieged and wan some Towns in *Caria*: whether only in a bravery, and to despight his opposites; or whether upon any hopeful desire of conquest, it is uncertain. The stratageme, by which he won *Primassus*, is worthy of noting. He attempted it by a Mine: and finding

finding the Earth ſo ſtony, that it reſiſted his work: He nevertheleſs commanded the Pyoniers to make a noiſe under ground; and ſecretly in the night-time he raiſed great Mounts about the entrance of the Mine, to breed an opinion in the beſieged, that the work went marvellouſly forward. At length he ſent word to the Townſmen, that by his under-mining, two Acres of their Wall ſtood only upon woodden Props: to which if he gave fire, and entred by a breach, they ſhould expect no mercy. The *Prinaſſians* little thought, that he had fetcht all his earth and rubbiſh by night a great way off, to raiſe up thoſe heaps which they ſaw; but rather that all had been extracted out of the Mine. Wherefore they ſuffered themſelves to be out-faced, and gave up the Town as loſt, which the Enemy had no hope to win by force. But *Philip* could not ſtay to ſettle himſelf in thoſe parts. *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* were too ſtrong for him at Sea, and compelled him to make haſte back into *Macedon*; whither they followed him all the way in manner of purſuit.

§. VIII.

The Romans, *after their* Carthaginian *War, ſeek matter of quarrel againſt* Philip. *The* Athenians, *upon ſlight cauſe proclaim War againſt* Philip; *moved thereto by* Attalus; *whom they flatter.* Philip *wins divers Towns: and makes peremptory anſwer to the* Roman *Embaſſador. The furious reſolution of the* Abydeni.

THeſe *Aſiatick* matters, which no way concerned the *Romans*, yet ſerved well to make a noiſe in *Rome*; and fill the Peoples heads, if not with a deſire of making War in *Macedon*, at leaſt with a conceit that it were expedient ſo to do. The *Roman* Senate was perfectly informed of the ſtate of thoſe Eaſtern Countries; and knew, that there was none other Nation than the *Greeks*, which lay between them and the Lordſhip of *Aſia*. Theſe *Greeks* were factious and ſeldom or never at peace. As for the *Macedonian*, though length of time and continual dealings in *Greece* ever ſince the Reigns of *Philip* and *Alexander*, had left no difference between him and the Naturals: yet moſt of them abhorred his Dominion, becauſe he was originally forſooth a *Barbarian*: many of them hated him upon ancient quarrels: and they that had been moſt beholding unto him, were nevertheleſs weary of him, by reaſon of his perſonal faults. All this gave hope, that the affairs of *Greece* would not long detain the *Roman* Armies: eſpecially ſince the diviſions of the Country were ſuch, that every petty Eſtate was apt to take counſel apart for it ſelf; without much regarding the generality. But the poor commonalty of *Rome*, had no great affection to ſuch a chargeable enterpriſe. They were already quite exhauſted, by that grievous War with *Hannibal*: wherein they had given by Loan to the Republick all their Money: neither had they as yet received, neither did they receive until fifteen or ſixteen years after this, their whole ſum back again. That part of payment alſo which was already made, being not in preſent Money, but much of it in Land: it behoved them to reſt a while; and beſtow the more diligence in tilling their grounds, by how much they were the leſs able to beſtow coſt. Wherefore they took no pleaſure to hear, that *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* had ſent Embaſſadors to ſollicite them againſt *Philip*, with report of his bold attempts in *Aſia*: or that *M. Aurelius*, their Agent in *Greece*, had ſent Letters of the ſame tenour to the Senate, and magnified his intelligence, by ſetting out the preparations of this dangerous Enemy, that ſollicited not only the Towns upon the Continent, but all the Iſlands in thoſe Seas, viſiting them in perſon or ſending Embaſſadors, as one that meant ſhortly to hold War with the *Romans* upon their own ground. *Philip* had indeed no ſuch intent: neither was he much too ſtrong, either of himſelf, or by his alliance in *Greece*, to be reſiſted by *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, eſpecially with the help of the *Ætolians* their good Friends, and (in a manner) his own profeſſed Enemies. But ſuch things muſt be publiſhed abroad, if only to prediſpoſe men unto the War, and give it the more honeſt colour.

Philip was a man of ill condition; and therefore could not thrive by intermedling in the affairs of thoſe, that were more mighty than himſelf. He was too unskilful, or otherwiſe too unapt, to retain his old friends: yet would he needs be ſeeking new Enemies. And he found them ſuch, as he deſerved to have them: for he offered his help to their deſtruction, when they were in miſery, and had done him no harm. It behoved him therefore, either to have ſtrained his forces to the utmoſt in making War upon them; or, in deſiſting from that injurious courſe, to have made amends for the wrongs paſt, by doing friendly offices of his own accord. But he, having broken that League of Peace which is of all other the moſt natural, binding all men to offer no violence willingly, unleſs they think themſelves juſtly provoked; was afterwards too fondly perſwaded, that he might well be ſecure of the *Romans*, becauſe of the *written* Covenants of Peace between him and them. There is not any form of Oath, whereby ſuch Articles of Peace can be held inviolable, ſave only * *by the water of Styx*, that is, by *Neceſſity*: which whilſt it binds one party, or both unto performance, making it apparent that he ſhall be a loſer who ſtarts from the Conditions; it may ſo long (and ſo long only) be preſumed that there ſhall be no breach. Till *Hannibal* was vanquiſhed, the *Romans* never hearkned after *Philip*: for neceſſity made them let him alone. But when once they had Peace with *Carthage*, then was this River of *Styx* dryed up: and then could they ſwear, as * *Mercury* did in the Comedy, by their own ſelves, even by their good ſwords, that they had good reaſon to make War upon him. The Voyage of *Sopater* into *Africk*, and the preſent War againſt *Attalus*; were matter of quarrel as much as needed or if this were not enough, the *Athenians* helped to furniſh them with more.

* *Sir Fra. Bacon de Sap. veterum.*

* *Plaut. Amphitr.*

The *Athenians*, being at this time Lords of no more than their own barren Territory, took ſtate upon them nevertheleſs, as in their ancient fortune. Two young Gentlemen of *Acarnania* entring into the Temple of *Ceres*, in the days of *Initiation*, (wherein were delivered the myſteries of Religion, or rather of Idolatrous Superſtition, vainly ſaid to be available unto felicity after this life) diſcovered themſelves by ſome impertinent queſtions, to be none of thoſe that

that were initiated. Hereupon they were brought before the Officers: and though it was apparent, that they came into the place by meer Error, not thinking to have therein done amiss; yet as it had been for some heinous Crime, they were put to death. All their Countreymen at home took this in ill part; and sought to revenge it as a publick injury, by War upon the *Athenians*. Procuring therefore of *Philip* some *Macedonians* to help them, they entred into *Attica*: who wasted it with Fire and Sword; and carried thence away with them a great booty. This indignity stirred up the high-minded *Athenians*; and made them think upon doing more than they had ability to perform. All which at the present they could do, was to send Embassadors to King *Attalus*; gratulating his happy success against *Philip*, and entreating him to visit their City. *Attalus* was hereto the more willing; because he understood, that the *Roman* Embassadors, hovering about *Greece* for matter of intelligence, had a purpose to be there at the same time. So he went thither, accompanied, besides his own followers, with some of the *Rhodians*. Landing in the *Piræus*, he found the *Romans* there, with whom he had much friendly conference: they rejoycing that he continued Enemy to *Philip*; and he being no less glad, when he heard of their purpose to renew the War. The *Athenians* came forth of their City, all the Magistrates, Priests, and Citizens, with their Wives and Children, in as solemn a pomp as they could devise, to meet and honour the King. They entertained the *Romans* that were with him, in very loving manner: but towards *Attalus* himself, they omitted no point of observance, which their flattery could suggest. At his first coming into the City, they called the people to Assembly: where they desired him to honour them with his presence, and let them hear him speak. But he excused himself; saying, That with an evil grace he should recount unto them those many benefits, by which he studied to make them know what love he bore them. Wherefore it was thought fit, that he should deliver in writing, what he would have to be propounded. He did so. The Points of his Declaration were; first, what he had willingly done for their sake: then, what had lately passed between him and *Philip*: lastly, an Exhortation unto them, to declare themselves against the *Macedonian*, whilst he, with the *Rhodians*, and the *Romans*, were willing and ready to take their part: which if they now refused to do, he protested, that afterwards it would be vain to crave his help. There needed little entreaty: for they were as willing to proclaim the War, as he to desire it. As for other matters, they loaded him with immoderate honours: and ordained, That unto the Ten Tribes, whereof the body of their Citizens consisted, should be added another, and called after his name; as if He were in part one of their Founders. To the *Rhodians*, they also decreed a Crown of Gold, in reward of their Vertue; and made all the *Rhodians* free Citizens of *Athens*.

Thus began a great noise of War, wherein little was left unto the *Romans* for their part; *Attalus*, and the *Rhodians*, taking all upon them. But while these were vainly mispending the time, in seeking to draw the *Ætolians* to their party: that contrary to their old manner were glad to be at quiet: *Philip* wan the Towns of *Maronea* and *Ænus*, with many other strong places about the *Hellespont*. Likewise passing over the *Hellespont*, he laid siege unto *Abydus*; and wan it, though he was fain to stay there long. The Town held out, rather upon an obstinate resolution, and hope of succour from *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, than any great ability to defend it self against so mighty an Enemy. But the *Rhodians* sent thither only one Quadrireme Gally: and *Attalus* no more than three hundred men; far too weak an aid to make good the place. The *Roman* Embassadors wondred much at this great negligence, of them that had taken so much upon them.

These Embassadors, *C. Claudius*, *M. Æmylius*, and *P. Sempronius*, were sent unto *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, King of *Ægypt*, to acquaint him with their Victory against *Hannibal* and the *Carthaginians*; as also to thank him for his favour unto them shewed in that War; and to desire the continuance thereof, if they should need it against *Philip*. This *Ægyptian* King was now in the third or fourth year of his Reign, which (as his Father *Philopator* had done before him) he began a very young boy. The courtesie for which the *Romans* were to thank him, was, That out of *Ægypt* they had lately been supplied with Corn, in a time of extreme Dearth; when the miseries of War had made all their own Provinces unable to relieve them. This Message could not but be welcome to the *Ægyptian*: since it was well known, how *Philip* and *Antiochus*, had combined themselves against him; conspiring to take away his Kingdom. And therefore it might in reason be hoped, that he, or his Council for him, should offer to supply the *Romans* with Corn: since this their *Macedonian* Expedition, concerned his Estate no less than theirs.

But as the Errand was for the most part complemental: so had the Embassadors both leisure and direction from the Senate, to look unto the things of *Greece* by the way. Wherefore they agreed, that *M. Æmylius*, the youngest of them, should step aside, and visit *Philip*, to try if he could make him leave the siege of *Abydus*; which else he was like to carry. *Æmylius*, coming to *Philip*, tells him, that his doings are contrary to the League that he had made with the *Romans*. For *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, upon whom he made War, were Confederate with *Rome*: and the Town of *Abydus*, which he was now besieging, had a kind of dependancy upon *Attalus*. Hereto *Philip* answered, That *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* had made War upon him: and that he did only requite them with the like. *Do you also* (said *Æmylius*) *requite these poor* Abydeni *with such terrible War, for any the like Invasion by them first made upon you?* The King was angry to hear himself thus taken short: and therefore he roundly made answer to *Æmylius*; *It is your Youth, Sir, and your Beauty; and (above all) your being a* Roman, *that makes you thus presumptuous. But I would wish ye to remember the League that ye have made with me, and to keep it: if ye do otherwise, I will make ye understand, that the Kingdom and Name of* Macedon *is in matter of War, no less noble than the* Roman. So he dismissed the Embassador; and had the Town immediately yielded to his discretion. The people had entertained a resolution, to have died every one of them, and set their Town on fire; binding themselves hereto by a fearful Oath, when *Philip* denied to accept them upon reasonable Conditions. But having in desperate fight, once repelling him from the breach, lost the greatest number of their Youth: it was thought meet by the Governors and Ancients of the City, to change this resolution, and take such peace as could be gotten. So they carried out

their Gold and Silver to *Philip*: about which whilſt they were buſie, the Memory of their Oath wrought ſo effectually in the younger ſort; that, by exhortation of their Prieſts, they fell to murdering their Women, Children, and themſelves. Hereof the King had ſo little compaſſion, that he ſaid, he would grant the *Abydeni* three days leiſure to die: and to that end forbad his men to enter the Town; or hazard themſelves in interrupting the violence of thoſe mad fools.

§. IX.

The Romans *decree War againſt* Philip, *and ſend one of their Conſuls into* Greece, *as it were in defence of the* Athenians *their Confederates. How poor the* Athenians *were at this time, both in quality and eſtate.*

THis calamity of the *Abydeni*, was likened by the *Romans* unto that of the *Saguntines*: which indeed it nearly reſembled; though *Rome* was not a-like intereſſed in the quarrel. But to help themſelves with pretence for the War, they had found out another *Saguntum*, even the City of *Athens*: which if the *Macedonian* ſhould win, then reſted there no more to do, than that he ſhould preſently embark himſelf for *Italy*, whither he would come, not as *Hannibal* from *Saguntum*, in five months, but in the ſhort ſpace of five days ſailing. Thus *P. Sulpicius*, the Conſul, told the Multitude, when he exhorted them to make War upon *Philip*; which at his firſt propounding they had denied. The Example of *Pyrrhus* was by him alleadged, to ſhew, what *Philip*, with the power of a greater Kingdom, might dare to undertake: as alſo the fortunate Voyage of *Scipio* into *Africk*; to ſhew the difference of making War abroad, and admitting it into the bowels of their own Countrey. By ſuch Arguments was the Commonalty of *Rome* induced to believe, that this War with the *Macedonian* was both juſt and neceſſary. So it was decreed: and immediately the ſame Conſul haſted away towards *Macedon*, having that Province allotted unto him before, and all things in a readineſs, by order from the Senate; who followed other Motives, than the people muſt be acquainted with. Great thanks were given to the *Athenian* Embaſſadors, for their conſtancy (as was ſaid) in not changing their Faith at ſuch time as they ſtood in danger of being beſieged. And indeed great thanks were due to them; though not upon the ſame occaſion. For the people of *Rome* had no cauſe to think it a benefit unto themſelves, that any *Greek* Town, refuſing to ſue unto the *Macedonian* for peace, requeſted their help againſt him. But the Senate intending to take in hand the Conqueſt of the *Eaſtern* parts; had reaſon to give thanks unto thoſe that miniſtred the occaſion. Since therefore it was an untrue ſuggeſtion, That *Philip* was making ready for *Italy*: and ſince neither *Attalus*, the *Rhodians*, nor any other State in thoſe quarters, deſired the *Romans* to give them protection: theſe buſie-headed *Athenians*, who falling out with the *Acarnanians*, and conſequently with *Philip*, about a matter of *May-game*, (as was ſhewed before) ſent Embaſſadors into all parts of the World, even to *Ptolemy* of *Egypt*, and to the *Romans*, as well as to *Attalus*, and other their Neighbours; muſt be accepted as cauſe of the War, and Authors of the benefit thence redounding.

Nevertheleſs as it loves to fall out where the meaning differs from the pretence: the doings of *P. Sulpicius*, the Conſul, were ſuch, as might have argued *Athens* to be the leaſt part of his care. He ſailed not about *Peloponneſus*, but took the ready way to *Macedon*; and landing about the River of *Apſus*, between *Dyrrachium* and *Apollonia*, there began the War. Soon upon his coming the *Athenian* Embaſſadors were with him, and craved his help; whereof they could make no benefit whilſt he was ſo far from them. They bemoaned themſelves as men beſieged, and entreated him to deliver them. For which cauſe he ſent unto them *C. Claudius*, with twenty Gallies, and a competent number of men: but the main of his forces he retained with him, for the proſecution of a greater deſign. The *Athenians* were not indeed beſieged: only ſome Rovers from *Chalcis*, in the Iſle of *Eubœa*; and ſome bands of adventurers out of *Corinth*; uſed to take their Ships, and ſpoil their fields, becauſe they had declared themſelves againſt King *Philip*, that was Lord of theſe two Towns. The Robberies done by theſe Pirats, and Free-booters, were by the more eloquent than warlike *Athenians*, *in this declining Age of their* Fortune and Vertue, called a Siege. From ſuch detriment the arrival of *Claudius*, and ſhortly after of three *Rhodian* Gallies, eaſily preſerved them. As for the *Athenians* themſelves; they that had been wont, in ancient times, to undertake the Conqueſts of *Egypt*, *Cyprus*, and *Sicil*; to make war upon the great *Perſian* King; and to hold ſo much of *Greece* in ſubjection, as made them redoubtable unto all the reſt: had now no more than three Ships, and thoſe open ones, not much better than long Boats. Yet thought they not themſelves a whit the worſe men; but ſtood as highly upon the glory and vertue of their Anceſtors, as if it had been ſtill their own.

§. X.

The Town of Chalcis, *in* Eubœa, *taken and ſackt by the* Romans, *and their Aſſociates, that lay in Garriſon at* Athens. Philip *attempteth to take* Athens *by Surpriſe: waſteth the Countrey about: and makes a journey into* Peloponneſus. *Of* Nabis, *the Tyrant of* Lacedæmon, *and his Wife.* Philip *offers to make War againſt* Nabis *for the* Achæans. *He returneth home through* Attica, *which he ſpoileth again: and provides againſt his Enemies. Some Exploits of the* Romans. *Divers Princes joyn with them. Great labouring to draw the* Ætolians *into the War.*

PHilip, returning home from *Abydus*, heard news of the *Roman* Conſul his being about *Apollonia*. But ere he ſtirred forth to give him entertainment; or perhaps before he had well reſolved, whether it were beſt a while to ſit ſtill, and try what might be done for obtaining of peace, or whether to make oppoſition, and reſiſt theſe Invaders with all his forces: He received advertiſement from *Chalcis* of a grievous miſhap there befallen him, by procurement of the *Athenians*. For *C. Claudius*, with his *Romans*, finding no ſuch work at *Athens* as they had expected, or as was anſwerable to the fame that went abroad; purpoſed to do ſomewhat that might quicken the War, and make his own employment better. He grew ſoon weary of ſitting as a Scare-Crow, to ſave the *Athenians* grounds from ſpoil; and therefore gladly took in hand a buſineſs of more importance. The Town of *Chalcis* was negligently guarded by

by the *Macedonian* Souldiers therein, for that there was no Enemy at hand; and more negligently by the Townſmen, who repoſed themſelves upon their Garriſon. Hereof *Claudius* having advertiſement, ſailed thither by night, for fear of being deſcried; and, arriving there a little before break of day, took it by Scalado. He uſed no mercy, but ſlew all that came in his way: and wanting men to keep it (unleſs he ſhould have left the heartleſs *Athenians* to their own defence,) he ſet it on fire; conſuming the Kings Magazines of Corn, and all proviſions for War, which were plenteouſly filled. Neither were he and his aſſociates contented with the great abundance of Spoil which they carried aboard their Ships; and with enlarging all thoſe, whom *Philip*, as in a place of moſt ſecurity, kept there impriſoned: but to ſhew their deſpight and hatred unto the King, they overthrew, and brake in pieces the Statues unto him there erected. This done, they haſted away towards *Athens*: where the news of their Exploit were like to be joyfully welcomed. The King lay then at *Demetrias*, about ſome twenty miles thence: whither when theſe tidings, or part of them, were brought him, though he ſaw that it was too late to remedy the matter; yet he made all haſte to take revenge. He thought to have taken the *Athenians*, with their truſty friends, buſie at work in ranſacking the Town, and loading themſelves with ſpoil: but they were gone before his coming. Five thouſand light-armed Foot he had with him, and three hundred Horſe: whereof leaving at *Chalcis* only a few to bury the dead, he marched thence away ſpeedily towards *Athens*: thinking it not unpoſſible to take his Enemies, in the joy of their Victory, as full of negligence, as they had taken *Chalcis*. Neither had he much failed of his expectation, if a Foot-poſt, that ſtood Scout for the City upon the borders, had not deſcried him a far off, and ſwiftly carried word of his approach to *Athens*. It was midnight when this Poſt came thither: who found all the Town aſleep, as fearleſs of any danger. But the Magiſtrates, hearing his report, cauſed a Trumpet out of their Citadel to ſound the Alarm, and with all ſpeed made ready for defence. Within a few hours *Philip* was there: who ſeeing the many lights, and other ſigns of buſie preparation uſual in ſuch a caſe, underſtood that they had news of his coming; and therefore willed his men, to repoſe themſelves till it were day. It is like, that the paucity of his followers did help well to animate the Citizens, which beheld them from the Walls. Wherefore though *Claudius* were not yet returned (who was to fetch a compaſs about by Sea, and had no cauſe of haſte,) yet having in the Town ſome Mercinary Souldiers, which they kept, of their own, beſides the great multitude of Citizens; they adventured to iſſue forth at a Gate, whereto they ſaw *Philip* make approach. The King was glad of this; reckoning all thoſe his own, that were thus hardy. He therefore only willed his men to follow his Example; and preſently gave charge upon them. In that fight he gave ſingular proof of his Valour: and beating down many of the Enemies with his own hands, drave them with great ſlaughter back into the City. The heat of his Courage tranſported him further, than diſcretion would have allowed, even to the very Gate. But he retired without harm taken; for that they which were upon the Towers over the Gate, could not uſe their caſting Weapons againſt him, without endangering their own people, that were thronging before him into the City. There was a Temple of *Hercules*, a place of Exerciſe, with a Grove, and many goodly Monuments beſides, near adjoyning unto *Athens*: of which he ſpared none, but ſuffered the rage of his anger to extend, even unto the Sepulchers of the dead. The next day came the *Romans*, and ſome Companies of *Attalus* his men from *Ægina*; too late, in regard of what was already paſt; but in good time, to prevent him of ſatisfying his anger to the full, which as yet he had not done. So he departed thence to *Corinth*: and hearing that the *Achæans* held a Parliament at *Argos*, he came thither to them unexpected.

The *Achæans* were deviſing upon War, which they intended to make againſt *Nabis*, the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*: who being ſtarted up in the room of *Machanidas*, did greater miſchief than any that went before him. This Tyrant relied wholly upon his Mercinaries; and of his Subjects had no regard. He was a cruel Oppreſſor; a greedy Extortioner upon thoſe that lived under him; and one, that in his natural condition ſmelt rankly of the Hangman. In theſe qualities; his Wife *Apega*, was very fitly matched with him: ſince his dexterity was no greater in ſpoiling the Men, than hers in fleecing their Wives; whom ſhe would never ſuffer to be at quiet, till they had preſented her with all their *Jewels* and *Apparel*. *Liv. lib. 32.* Her Husband was ſo delighted with her property, that he cauſed an Image to be made lively repreſenting her; and apparelled it with ſuch coſtly Garments as ſhe uſed to wear. But it was indeed an *Engine*, ſerving to torment men. Hereof he made uſe, when he meant to try the vertue of his Rhetorick. *Excerpt. è Polyb. l. 13.* For calling unto him ſome rich man, of whoſe Money he was deſirous; he would bring him into the room where this counterfeit *Apega* ſtood, and there uſe all his art of perſwaſion, to get what he deſired, as it were by good will. If he could not ſo ſpeed, but was anſwered with Excuſes; then took he the refractory denier by the hand, and told him, that perhaps his Wife *Apega* (who ſate by in a Chair) could perſwade more effectually. So he led him to the Image, that roſe up, and opened the Arms, as it were for embracement. Thoſe Arms were full of ſharp Iron Nails, the like whereof were alſo ſticking in the Breaſts, though hidden with her Cloaths: and herewith ſhe griped the poor wretch, to the pleaſure of the Tyrant, that laughed at his cruel death. Such, and worſe (for it were long to tell all here that is ſpoken of him) was *Nabis* in his Government. In his dealings abroad he combined with the *Ætolians*, as *Machanidas* and *Lycurgus* had done before him. By theſe he grew into acquaintance with the *Romans*; and was comprehended in the League which they made with *Philip*, at the end of their former War. Of *Philopœmens* Vertue he ſtood in fear; and therefore durſt not provoke the *Achæans*, as long as they had ſuch an able Commander. But when *Cycliades*, a far worſe Captain, was their Prætor; and all, or the greateſt part of their Mercinaries were diſcharged; *Philopœmen* being alſo gone into *Crete*, to follow his beloved Occupation of War: then did *Nabis* fall upon their Territory; and waſting all the Fields, made them diſtruſt their own ſafety in the Towns.

Againſt this Tyrant, the *Achæans* were preparing for War, when *Philip* came among them; and had ſet down, what proportion of Souldiers every City of their Corporation ſhould furniſh out. But *Philip* willed them, not to trouble themſelves with the care of this buſineſs; foraſmuch

much as he alone would eaſe them of this War, and take the burden upon himſelf. With exceeding joy and thanks they accepted of this kind offer. But then he told them, That whilſt he made War upon *Lacedæmon*, he ought not to leave his own Towns unguarded. In which reſpect, he thought they would be pleaſed, to ſend a few Men to *Corinth*, and ſome Companies into the Iſle of *Eubœa*; that ſo he might ſecurely purſue the War againſt *Nabis*. Immediately they found out his device: which was none other, than to engage their Nation in his War againſt the *Romans*. Wherefore their Prætor *Cycliades* made him anſwer, That their Laws forbad them to conclude any other matters in their Parliament, than thoſe for which it was aſſembled. So paſſing the Decree, upon which they had agreed before, for preparing War againſt *Nabis*; he brake up the Aſſembly, with every mans good liking: whereas in former times, he had been thought no better than one of the Kings Paraſites.

It grieved the King to have thus failed in his purpoſe with the *Achæans*. Nevertheleſs he gathered up among them a few Voluntaries; and ſo returned by *Corinth* back into *Attica*. There he met with *Philocles*, one of his Captains, that with two thouſand men, had been doing what harm he might unto the Countrey. With this addition of ſtrength, he attempted the Caſtle of *Eleuſine*, the Haven of *Pyræus*, and even the City of *Athens*. But the *Romans* made ſuch haſte after him by Sea, thruſting themſelves into every of theſe places; that he could no more than wreak his anger upon thoſe goodly Temples, with which the Land of *Attica* was at that time ſingularly beautified. So he deſtroyed all the works of their notable Artificers, wrought in excellent Marble: which they had in plenty, of their own; or, having long ago been Maſters of the Sea, had brought from other places, where beſt choice was found. Neither did he only pull all down: but cauſed his Men to break the very Stones, that they might be unſerviceable to the reparation. His loſs at *Chalcis* being thus revenged upon *Athens*, he went home into *Macedon*: and there made proviſion, both againſt the *Roman* Conſul that lay about *Apollonia*; and againſt the *Dardanians*; with other his bad Neighbours, which were likely to infeſt him. Among his other cares he forgot not the *Ætolians*: to whoſe Parliament, ſhortly to be held at *Naupactus*, he ſent an Embaſſage; requeſting them to continue in his friendſhip. Thus was *Philip* occupied.

Sulpicius, the *Roman* Conſul, encamped upon the River of *Apſus*. Thence he ſent forth *Apuſtius*, his Lieutenant, with part of the Army, to waſte the borders of *Macedon*. *Apuſtius* took ſundry Caſtles and Towns; uſing ſuch extremity of Sword and Fire at *Antipatria*, the firſt good Town which he wan by force, that none durſt afterwards make reſiſtance, unleſs they knew themſelves able to hold out. Returning towards the Conſul with his Spoil, he was charged in Rear, upon the paſſage of a Brook, by *Athenagoras*, a *Macedonian* Captain: but the *Romans* had the better; and killing many of theſe Enemies, took Priſoners many more, to the increaſe of their booty, with which they arrived in ſafety at their Camp. The ſucceſs of this Expedition, though it were not great; yet ſerved to draw into the *Roman* friendſhip, thoſe that had formerly no good inclination to the *Macedonian*. Theſe were *Pleuratus*, the Son of *Scerdilaidas*, the *Illyrian*; *Aminander*, King of the *Athamanians*; and *Bato*, the Son of *Longarus*, a Prince of the *Dardanians*. They offered their aſſiſtance unto the Conſul, who thanked them: and ſaid, That he would ſhortly make uſe of *Pleuratus*, and *Bato*, when he entred into *Macedon*: but that the friendſhip of *Aminander*, whoſe Countrey lay between the *Ætolians* and *Theſſaly*, might be perhaps available with the *Ætolians*, to ſtir them up againſt *Philip*.

So the preſent care, was wholly ſet upon the *Ætolian* Parliament at hand. Thither came Embaſſadors from the *Macedonian*, *Romans*, and *Athenians*. Of which, the *Macedonian* ſpake firſt: and ſaid, That as there was nothing fallen out, which ſhould occaſion the breach of Peace between his Maſter and the *Ætolians*: ſo was it to be hoped, that they would not ſuffer themſelves, without good cauſe; to be carried away after other mens fancies. He prayed them to conſider, how the *Romans* heretofore had made ſhew, as if their War in *Greece* tended only to defence of the *Ætolians*: and yet notwithſtanding, had been angry, that the *Ætolians*, by making Peace with *Philip*, had no longer need of ſuch their Patronage. What might it be that made them ſo buſie, in obtruding their protection upon thoſe that needed it not? Surely it was even the general hatred, which theſe *Barbarians* bore unto the *Greeks*. For even after the ſame ſort had they lent their help to the *Mamertines*: and afterwards delivered *Syracuſe*, when it was oppreſſed by *Carthaginian* Tyrants: but now both *Syracuſe* and *Meſſana*, were ſubject unto the Rods and Axes of the *Romans*. To the ſame effect he alledged many Examples; adding, That in like ſort it would happen to the *Ætolians*: who, if they drew ſuch Maſters into *Greece*, muſt not look hereafter to hold, as now, free Parliaments of their own, wherein to conſult about War and Peace: the *Romans* would eaſe them of this care, and ſend them ſuch a Moderator, as went every year from *Rome* to *Syracuſe*. Wherefore he concluded, That it was beſt for them, whilſt as yet they might, and whilſt one of them as yet could help the other, to continue in their League with *Philip*: with whom, if at any time, upon light occaſion, they happened to fall out, they might as lightly be reconciled: and with whom they had three years ago made the Peace which ſtill continued; although the ſame *Romans* were then againſt it, who ſought to break it now.

It would have troubled the *Romans*, to frame a good Anſwer to theſe Objections. For the *Macedonian* had ſpoken the very truth, in ſhewing whereto this their Patronage, which they offered with ſuch importunity, did tend. Wherefore the *Athenians* were ſet on by them to ſpeak next: who had ſtore of Eloquence, and matter of Recrimination enough, to make *Philip* odious. Theſe affirmed, that it was a great impudence in the *Macedonian* Embaſſador, to call the *Romans* by the name of *Barbarians*: knowing in what barbarous manner his own King had, in few days paſt, made War upon the Gods themſelves, by deſtroying all their Temples in *Attica*. Herewithal they made a pitiful rehearſal of their own Calamities: and ſaid, that if *Philip* might have his will, *Ætolia*, and all the reſt of *Greece*, ſhould feel the ſame that *Attica* had felt; yea, that *Athens* it ſelf, together with *Minerva*, *Jupiter*, *Ceres*, and other of the Gods, were like to have felt, if the Walls and the *Roman* Arms had not defended them.

Then

Then ſpeak the *Romans*: who excuſing, as well as they could, their own oppreſſion of all thoſe, in whoſe defence they had heretofore taken Arms, went roundly to the point in hand. They ſaid, that they had of late made War in the *Ætolians* behalf, and that the *Ætolians* had without their conſent made Peace: whereof ſince the *Ætolians* muſt excuſe themſelves, by alledging that the *Romans*, being buſied with *Carthage*, wanted leiſure to give them aid convenient: ſo this excuſe being now taken away, and the *Romans* wholly bent againſt their common Enemy, it concerned the *Ætolians* to take part with them in their War and Victory, unleſs they had rather periſh with *Philip*.

It might eaſily be perceived, that they which were ſo vehement, in offering their help ere it was deſired: were themſelves carried unto the War by more earneſt motives, than a ſimple deſire to help thoſe friends, with whom they had no great acquaintance. This may have been the cauſe, why *Dorymachus* the *Ætolian* Prætor ſhifted them off awhile with a dilatory anſwer: though he told his Countrimen, That by reſerving themſelves, till the mattter were inclined one way or other, they might afterwards take part with thoſe that had the better fortune. His anſwer was, firſt, in general terms; That overmuch haſte was an Enemy to good Counſel: for which cauſe they muſt further deliberate, ere they concluded. But coming nearer to the matter in hand, He paſſed a Decree, *That the Prætor might at any time call an Aſſembly of the States, and therein conclude upon this buſineſs; any Law to the contrary notwithſtanding*: whereas otherwiſe it was unlawful to treat of ſuch affairs, except in two of their great Parliaments, that were held at ſet times.

§. XI.

The meeting of Philip *with the* Romans, *and skirmiſhing with them on his borders. The* Ætolians *invade his Dominions, and are beaten home. Some doings of* Attalus *and the* Roman *Fleet.*

PHilip was glad to hear, that the *Romans* had ſped no better in their ſollicitation of the *Ætolians*. He thought them hereby diſappointed, in the very beginning, of one great help; and meant himſelf to diſappoint them of another. His Son *Perſeus*, a very Boy, was ſent to keep the ſtreights of *Pelagonia* againſt the *Dardanians*; having with him ſome of the Kings Council, to govern both him and his Army. It was judged, as may ſeem, that the preſence of the Kings Son, how young ſoever, would both encourage his followers, and terrifie the Enemies; by making them at leaſt believe, that he was not weakly attended. And this may have been the reaſon, why the ſame *Perſeus*, a few years before this, was in like manner left upon the borders of *Ætolia* by his Father; whom earneſt buſineſs called thence another way. No danger of Enemies being left on either hand: it was thought, that the *Macedonian* Fleet under *Heraclides*, would ſerve to keep *Attalus*, with the *Rhodians* and *Romans*, from doing harm by Sea, when the Kings back was turned; who took his Journey Weſtward againſt *Sulpicius* the Conſul.

The Armies met in the Countrey of the *Daſſaretii*, a People in the utmoſt borders of *Macedon* towards *Illyria*, about the Mountains of *Candavia*; that running along from *Hæmus* in the North until they joyn in the South with *Pindus*, incloſe the Weſtern parts of *Macedon*. Two or three days they lay in ſight the one of the other, without making offer of Battel. The Conſul was the firſt that iſſued forth of his Camp into the open Field. But *Philip* was not confident in the ſtrength which he had then about him; and therefore thought it better to ſend forth ſome of his light-armed Mercinaries, and ſome part of his Horſe, to entertain them with skirmiſh. Theſe were eaſily vanquiſhed by the *Romans*, and driven back into their Camp. Now although it was ſo, that the King was unwilling to hazard all at firſt upon a Caſt, and therefore ſent for *Perſeus* with his Companies, to increaſe his own forces: yet being no leſs unwilling to loſe too much in reputation; He made ſhew a day after, as if he would have fought. He had found the advantage of a place fit for ambuſh, wherein he beſtowed as many as he thought meet of his Targetiers: and ſo gave charge to *Athenagoras*, one of his Captains, to provoke out the *Romans* to fight; inſtructing both him and the Targetiers, how to behave themſelves reſpectively, as opportunity ſhould fall out. The *Romans* had no miſtruſt of any ambuſh; having fought upon the ſame ground a day before. Wherefore perhaps they might have ſuſtained ſome notable detriment, if the Kings directions had been well followed. For when *Athenagoras* began to fall back, they charged him ſo hotly, that they drave him to an haſty flight, and purſued him as hard as they were able. But the Captains of the Targetiers, not ſtaying to let them run into the danger, diſcovered themſelves before it was time; and thereby made fruſtrate the work, to which they were appointed. The Conſul hereby gathered, that the King had ſome deſire to trie the fortune of a Battel: which he therefore preſented the ſecond time; leading forth his Army, and ſetting it in order, with Elephants in front: a kind of help which the *Romans* had never uſed before, but had taken theſe of late from the *Carthaginians*. Such are the alterations wrought by Time. It was ſcarce above fourſcore years ere this, that *Pyrrhus* carried Elephants out of *Greece* into *Italy*, to affright the *Romans*, who had never ſeen any of thoſe Beaſts before. But now the ſame *Romans*, (whilſt poſſibly ſome were yet alive, which had known that Expedition of *Pyrrhus*) come into *Macedon*, bringing Elephants with them: whereof the *Macedonians* and *Greeks* have none. *Philip* had patience to let the Conſul brave him at his Trenches: wherein he did wiſely: for the *Roman* had greater need to fight, than He. *Sulpicius* was unwilling to loſe time: neither could he without great danger, lying ſo near the Enemy, that was ſtrong in Horſe, ſend his Men to fetch in Corn out of the Fields. Wherefore he removed eight miles off: preſuming that *Philip* would not adventure to meet him on even ground; and ſo the more boldly he ſuffered his Forragers to over-run the Country. The King was nothing ſorry of this: but permitted the *Romans* to take their good pleaſure: even till their preſumption, and his own ſuppoſed fear, ſhould make them careleſs. When this was come to paſs, he took all his Horſe and light-armed Foot, with which he occupied a place in the midway, between the Forragers and their Camp. There he ſtayed in Covert with part of his forces; to keep the paſſages that none ſhould eſcape. The reſt he ſent abroad the Country, to fall upon the ſtraglers: willing them to put all to the Sword, and let none run home with news

to

to the Camp. The ſlaughter was great: and thoſe which eſcaped the hands of them that were ſent abroad to ſcoure the Fields, lighted all or moſt of them upon the King and his Companies in their flight: ſo as they were cut off by the way. Long it was ere the Camp had news of this. But in the end there eſcaped ſome: who though they could not make any perfect relation how the matter went: yet by telling what had happened to themſelves, raiſed a great tumult. *Sulpicius* hereupon ſends forth all his Horſe, and bids them help their fellowes where they ſaw it needful: He himſelf with the Legions followed. The Companies of Horſe divided themſelves, accordingly as they met with advertiſements upon the way, into many parts: not knowing where was moſt of the danger. Such of them as lighted upon *Philips* Troops, that were canvaſſing the Field, took their task where they found it. But the main bulk of them fell upon the King himſelf. They had the diſadvantage: as coming fewer, and unprepared, to one that was ready for them. So they were beaten away: as their fellows alſo might have been, if the King had well bethought himſelf, and given over in time. But while, not contented with ſuch an harveſt, he was too greedy about a poor gleaning: the *Roman* Legions appeared in ſight: which emboldened their Horſe to make a re-charge. Then the danger apparent, enforced the *Macedonians* to look to their own ſafety. They ran which way they could: and (as Men that lye in wait for others, are ſeldom heedful of that which may befal themſelves) to eſcape the Enemy, they declined the faireſt way; ſo as they were plunged in Marſhes and Boggs, wherein many of them were loſt. The Kings Horſe was ſlain under him: and there had he been caſt away, if a loving Subject of his had not alighted; mounted him upon his own Horſe; and delivered him out of peril, at the expence of his own life, that running on foot was overtaken, and killed.

In the common opinion *Philip* was charged with improvident raſhneſs; and the Conſul, with as much dulneſs; for this days ſervice. A little longer ſtay would have delivered the King from theſe Enemies without any blow: ſince when all the Fields about them were waſted, they muſt needs have retired back to the Sea. On the other ſide it was not thought unlikely, That if the *Romans* following the King, had ſet upon his Camp, at ſuch time as he fled thither half amazed with fear of being either ſlain or taken; they might have won it. But that noble Hiſtorian *Livy*, (as is commonly his manner) hath judiciouſly obſerved, That neither the one, nor the other, were much to blame in this days work. For the main body of the Kings Army lay ſafe in his Camp; and could not be ſo aſtoniſhed with the loſs of two or three hundred Horſe, that it ſhould therefore have abandoned the defence of the Trenches. And as for the King himſelf; He was advertiſed, that *Pleuratus* the *Illyrian*, and the *Dardanians*, were fallen upon his Country; when they found the paſſage thereinto open, after *Perſeus* was called away from cuſtody of the Streights. This was it which made him adventure to do ſomewhat betimes; that he might ſet the *Romans* going the ſooner, and afterwards look unto his troubleſome Neighbours. In conſideration of this, *Philip* was deſirous to clear himſelf of the *Romans*, as ſoon as he might. And to that purpoſe he ſent unto the Conſul; requeſting a day of truce for burial of the dead. But inſtead of ſo doing, he marched away by night; and left fires in his Camp to beguile the Enemy, as if he had not ſtirred out of the place. *Sulpicius*, when he heard of the Kings departure, was not ſlow to follow him. He overtook the *Macedonians* in a place of ſtrength, which they had fenced (for it was a woody ground) by cutting down Trees, and laying them athwart the way where it was moſt open. In making of ſuch places good, the *Macedonian Phalanx* was of little uſe; being a ſquare Battel of Pikes, not fit for every ground. The Archers of *Crete* were judged, and were indeed, more ſerviceable in that caſe. But they were few; and their Arrows were of ſmall force againſt the *Roman* Shield. The *Macedonians* therefore helped them by flinging of Stones. But to no purpoſe. For the *Romans* got within them; and forced them to quit the place. This victory (ſuch as it was) laid open unto the Conſul ſome poor Towns thereabout; which partly were taken by ſtrong hand; partly yielded for fear. But the ſpoil of theſe, and of the Fields adjoyning, was not ſufficient to maintain his Army; and therefore he returned back to *Apollonia*.

The *Dardanians*, hearing that *Philip* was come back, withdrew themſelves apace out of the Country. The King ſent *Athenagoras* to wait upon them home; whilſt he himſelf went againſt the *Ætolians*. For *Damocritus* the Prætor of the *Ætolians*, who had reſerved himſelf and his Nation unto the event of things, hearing report, that *Philip* was beaten once and again: as alſo that *Pleuratus* and the *Dardanians* were fallen upon *Macedon*; grew no leſs buſie on the ſudden, than before he had been wiſe. He perſwaded his Nation to take their time: and ſo, not ſtaying to proclaim War, joyned his forces with *Aminander* the *Athamanian*; and made invaſion upon *Theſſaly*. They took and cruelly ſacked a few Towns: whereby they grew confident; as if, without any danger, they might do what they liſted. But *Philip* came upon them ere they looked for him: and killing them as they lay diſperſed, was like to have taken their Camp; if *Aminander*, more wary than the *Ætolians*, had not helped at need, and made the Retreat through his own mountainous Country.

About the ſame time; the *Roman* Fleet, aſſiſted by *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, had taken ſome ſmall Iſlands in the *Ægean* Sea. They took likewiſe the Town of *Oreum* in the Iſle of *Eubœa*; and ſome other places thereabout. The Towns were given to *Attalus*, after the ſame Compact that had formerly been made with the *Ætolians*: the goods therein found were given to the *Romans*; and the People for Slaves. Other attempts on that ſide were hindred: either by foul weather at Sea; or by want of daring, and of means.

§. XII.

§. XII.

Villius the Roman *Conſul waſtes a year to no effect. War of the* Gaules *in* Italy. *An Embaſſy of the* Romans *to* Carthage, Maſaniſſa, *and* Vermina. *The* Macedonian *prepares for defence of his Kingdom: and* T. Quintius Flaminius *is ſent againſt him.*

THus the time ran away: and *P. Villius*, a new Conſul, took charge of the War in *Macedon*. He was troubled with a Mutiny of his oldeſt Souldiers: whereof two thouſand, having ſerved long in *Sicil* and *Africk*, thought themſelves much wronged, in that they could not be ſuffered to look unto their own eſtates at home. They were (belike) of the Legions that had ſerved at *Cannæ*: as may ſeem by their complaint, of having been long abſent from *Italy*; whither fain they would have returned, when by their Colonels they were ſhipped for *Macedon*. How *Villius* dealt with them, it is uncertain. For the Hiſtory of his year is loſt: whereof the miſs is not great; ſince he did nothing memorable. *Valerius Antias*, as we find in *Livy*, hath adorned this *Villius* with a great exploit againſt *Philip*. Yet ſince *Livy* himſelf, an Hiſtorian to whom few of the beſt are matchable, could find no ſuch thing recorded in any good Author; we may reaſonably believe, that *Villius* his year was idle. *Liv. l. 32.*

In the beginning of this *Macedonian* War, the *Romans* found more trouble than could have been expected with the *Gaules*. Their Colony of *Placentia*, a goodly and ſtrong Town, which neither *Hannibal*, nor after him *Aſdrubal*, had been able to force; was taken by theſe *Barbarians*, and burnt in a manner to the ground. In like ſort *Cremona* was attempted; but ſaved her ſelf, taking warning by her Neighbours calamity. *Amilcar* a *Carthaginian*, that had ſtaied behind *Aſdrubal*, or *Mago*, in thoſe parts; was now become Captain of the *Gaules*, in theſe their enterpriſes. This when the *Romans* heard, they ſent Embaſſadours to the *Carthaginians*; giving them to underſtand, That, if they were not weary of the Peace, it behoved them to call home, and deliver up this their Citizen *Amilcar*; who made War in *Italy*. Hereunto it was added (perhaps leſt the meſſage might ſeem otherwiſe to have ſavoured a little of ſome fear) That of the Fugitive Slaves belonging unto the *Romans*, there were ſome reported to walk up and down in *Carthage*: which if it were ſo, then ought they to be reſtored back to their Maſters; as was conditioned in the late Peace. The Embaſſadours that were ſent on this Errand, had further charge to treat with *Maſaniſſa*, as alſo with *Vermina* the Son of *Syphax*. Unto *Maſaniſſa*, beſides matter of complement, they were to ſignifie what pleaſure He might do them, by lending them ſome of his *Numidian* Horſe, to ſerve in their War againſt the *Macedonian*. *Vermina* had entreated the Senate, to vouchſafe unto him the name of King: and promiſed thereafter to deſerve it, by his readineſs in doing them all good offices. But they were ſomewhat ſcrupulous in the matter: and ſaid, That having been, and being ſtill (as they took it) their Enemy, He ought firſt of all to deſire Peace; for that the name of King, was an honour which they uſed not to confer upon any, ſave only upon ſuch as had royally deſerved it at their hands. The authority to make Peace with him, was wholly committed unto theſe Embaſſadours upon ſuch terms as they ſhould think fit; without further relation to the Senate and People. For they were then buſied with greater cares. The *Carthaginians* made a gentle anſwer, That they wholly diſclaimed *Amilcar*: baniſhing him; and confiſcating his goods. As for the Fugitives, they had reſtored as many as they could find; and would in that point; as far as was requiſite, give ſatisfaction to the Senate. Herewithal they ſent a great proportion of Corn to *Rome*; and the like unto the Army that was in *Macedon*. King *Maſaniſſa* would have lent unto the *Romans* two thouſand of his *Numidian* Horſe: but they were contented with half the number; and would accept no more. *Vermina* met with the Embaſſadours, to give them entertainment, on the borders of his Kingdom; and, without any diſputation, agreed with them upon terms of Peace.

Thus were the *Romans* buſied in taking order for their *Macedonian* War, that they might purſue it ſtrongly, and without interruption. As for *Amilcar* and his *Gaules*, they laid Seige unto *Cremona*; where *L. Furius* a *Roman* Prætor came upon them, fought a Battel with them, and overcame them. *Amilcar* the *Carthaginian* died in this Battel: and the fruit of the Victory was ſuch, as both made amends for loſſes paſt, and left the work eaſie to thoſe, that afterwards ſhould have the mannaging of War among thoſe *Gaules*. So was there good leiſure to think upon the buſineſs of *Macedon*: where *Philip* was carefully providing to give contentment unto his Subjects, by puniſhing a bad Counſellor whom they hated; as alſo to aſſure unto himſelf the *Achæans*, by rendring unto them ſome Towns that he held of theirs; and finally to ſtrengthen his Kingdom, not only by exerciſing and trayning his People, but by fortifying the paſſages that led thereinto out of *Epirus*. This was in doing, when *Villius*, having unprofitably laboured to find way into *Macedon*, taking a Journey (as *Sulpicius* had done before him) wherein he could not be ſupplied with Victuals, determined at length to trie a new courſe. But then came advertiſement, that *T. Quintius Flaminius* was choſen Conſul, and had *Macedon* allotted him for his Province, whoſe coming was expected; and he very ſhortly arrived at the Army.

§. XIII.

The Romans *began to make War by negotiation.* T. Quintius *wins a paſſage againſt* Philip. *Theſſaly waſted by* Philip, *the* Romans, *and* Ætolians. *The* Achæans *forſaking the* Macedonian *take part with the* Romans. *A treaty of Peace, that was vain.* Philip *delivers Argos to* Nabis *the Tyrant, who preſently enters into League with the* Romans.

THe *Romans* had not been wont in former times, to make War after ſuch a trifling manner. It was their uſe, to give Battel to the Enemy, as ſoon as they met with him. If he refuſed it, they beſieged his Towns: and ſo forced him to trie the fortune of a day, with his diſadvantage in reputation, when he had long forborn it (as it would be interpreted) upon knowledge of his own weakneſs. But in this their War with *Philip*, they began to learn of the ſubtile

Greeks the Art of Negotiation; wherein hitherto they were not grown so fine, as within a little while they proved. Their Treasury was poor, and stood indebted, * many years after this, unto private men, for part of those monies that had been borrowed in the second Punick War. This had made the Commonalty averse from the *Macedonian* War, and had thereby driven the Senators, greedy of the Enterprise, to make use of their cunning. Yet being weary of the slow pace wherewith their business went forward, they determined to increase their Army, that they might have the less need to rely upon their Confederates. So they levied eight thousand foot and eight hundred Horse (the greater part of them of the *Latines*) which they sent with *T. Quintius Flaminius* the new Consul into *Macedon*. Their Navy, and other means could well have served for the setting forth, and transportation of a greater Army; but by straining themselves to the most of their ability, they should (besides other difficulties incident unto the sustenance of those that are too many, and too far from home) have bred some Jealousie in their Friends of *Greece*, and thereby have lost some Friends, yea, perhaps have increased the number of their Enemies more than of their own Souldiers. This present augmentation of the Forces was very requisite; for that *Attalus*, about the same time, excused himself unto them by his Embassadours; requesting that either they would undertake the defence of his Kingdom against *Antiochus* who invaded it; or else that they would not take it uncourteously, that he quitted the War with *Philip*, and returned home, to look unto that which more concerned him. Their Answer was remarkable: They said, that it was not their manner to use the aid of their Friends longer then their Friends had good opportunity, and could also be well contented to afford it; That they could not honestly take part with *Attalus*, though he were their good Friend, against *Antiochus*, whom they held in the like account; but that they would deal with *Antiochus* by Embassadours, and (as common Friends unto both of the Kings) do their best to perswade an attonement between them. In such loving fashion did they now carry themselves towards their good Friend the King *Antiochus*; who reciprocally, at their entreaty, withdrew his Army from the Kingdom of *Attalus*. But how little they regarded these terms of Friendship, after that once they had made an end with *Philip*, it will very soon appear.

* *Liv. l.* 34.

T. Quintius hasting away from *Rome*, came betimes into his Province, with the supply decreed unto him; which consisted for the most part, of old Soldiers, that had served in *Spain* and *Africk*. He found *Villius* the old Consul, (whom at his coming he presently discharged) and King *Philip* of *Macedon*, encamped one against the other, in the Streights of *Epirus*; by the River of *Apsus* or *Aous*. It was manifest, that either the *Romans* must fetch a compass about, and seek their way into *Macedon* through the poor Country of the *Dasseretians*; or else win, by force, that passage which the King defended. In taking the former way, they had already two years together mispent their time, and been forced to return back without profit, for want of Victuals: whereof they could neither carry with them store sufficient, nor find it on the way. But if they could once get over these Mountains, which divided the South of *Epirus* from *Thessaly*: then should they enter into a plentiful Country; and which, by long dependance upon the *Macedonian*, was become (in a manner) part of his Kingdom, whereof it made the South border. Nevertheless the desire of winning this passage, was greater than the likelihood. For the River of *Apsus*, running along through that Valley which alone was open between the Mountains, made it all a deep Marish and unpassable Bog: a very narrow way excepted, and a path cut out of the main Rock by mans hand. Wherefore *Quintius* assayed to climb in the Mountains: but finding himself disappointed of this hope, through the diligence of his Enemy, who neglected not the guard of them that was very easie; He was compelled to sit still, without doing any thing, for the space of forty days.

This long time of rest gave hope unto *Philip*, that the War might be ended by composition, upon some reasonable terms. He therefore so dealt with some of the *Epirots*, (among whom he had many Friends) that he and the Consul had a meeting together: But nothing was effected. The Consul would have him to set all Towns of *Greece* at liberty; and to make amends for the Injuries, which he had done to many People in his late Wars. *Philip* was contented to give Liberty to those whom he had subdued of late; but unto such as had been long subject unto him and his Ancestors, he thought it against all Reason, that he should relinquish his Claim and Dominion over them. He also said, That as far forth as it should appear, that he had done wrong unto any Town or People whatsoever, he could well be pleased to make such amends, as might seem convenient in the Judgment of some free State, that had not been interessed in those Quarrels. But herewithall *Quintius* was not satisfied. There needed (he said) no Judgment or Compromise, forasmuch as it was apparent, that *Philip* had always been the Invader;. and had not made War, as one provoked, in his own Defence. After this Alteration, when they should come to particulars, and when the Consul was required to name those Towns, that he would have to be set at liberty; the first that he named were the *Thessalians*. These had been Subjects (though conditional) unto the *Macedonian* Kings, ever since the days of *Alexander* the Great, and of *Philip* his Father. Wherefore as soon as *Flaminius* had named the *Thessalians*, the King in a rage demanded what sharper Condition he would have laid upon him, had he been but vanquished. And herewithal abruptly he flang away, refusing to hear any more of such Discourse.

After this, the Consul strove in vain, two or three days together, to have prevailed against the difficulties of that Passage which *Philip* kept. When he had well wearied himself, and could not resolve what course to take, there came to him an Herdsman, sent from *Charopus* a Prince of the *Epirots*, that favoured the *Romans*, who having long kept Beasts in those Mountains, was throughly acquainted with all By-paths; and therefore undertook to guide the *Romans*, without any danger, to a place where they should have advantage of the Enemy. This Guide, for fear of treacherous dealing, was fast bound: and, being promised great Reward, in case he made good his word; had such Companies, as was thought fit, appointed to follow his directions. They travelled by night (it being then about the full of the Moon) and rested in the day-time, for fear of being discovered. When they had recovered the Hill-tops, and were above the *Macedonians*, (though undiscovered by them because at their

Backs)

Backs) they raiſed a great Smoke; whereby they gave notice of their Succeſs unto the Conſul. Some Skirmiſhes, whilſt theſe were on their Journey, *T. Quintius* had held with the *Macedonian*, thereby to avert him from thought of that which was intended. But when on the third Morning he ſaw the Smoke ariſe more and more plainly, and thereby knew that his Men had attained unto the place whither they were ſent: He preſſed as near as he could unto the Enemies Camp, and aſſailed them in their ſtrength. He prevailed as little as in former times, until the ſhoutings of thoſe that ran down the Hill, and charged *Philip* on the back, aſtoniſhed ſo the *Macedonians*, that they betook themſelves to flight. The King, upon firſt apprehenſion of the Danger, made all ſpeed away to ſave himſelf. Yet anon conſidering, that the difficulty of the Paſſage muſt needs hinder the *Romans* from purſuing him; he made a ſtand at the end of five miles, and gathered there together his broken Troops, of whom he found wanting no more than two thouſand men. The greateſt loſs was of his Camp and Proviſions, if not rather perhaps of his Reputation; for that now the *Macedonians* began to ſtand in fear, leſt being driven from a place of ſuch advantage, they ſhould hardly make good their Party againſt the Enemy upon equal ground. Neither was *Philip* himſelf much better perſwaded. Wherefore he cauſed the *Theſſalians*, as many of them as in his haſty retreat he could viſit, to forſake their Towns and Country, carrying away with them as much as they were able, and ſpoiling all the reſt. But all of them could not be perſwaded thus to abandon (for the pleaſure of their King) their ancient Habitations, and all the ſubſtance which they had gotten. Some there were that forcibly reſiſted him; which they might the better do, for that he could not ſtay to uſe any great Compulſion. He alſo himſelf took it very grievouſly, that he was driven to make ſuch waſte of a moſt pleaſant and fruitful Country, which had ever been well affected unto him; ſo that a little hinderance did ſerve to make him break off his purpoſe, and withdraw himſelf home into his Kingdom of *Macedon*.

The *Ætolians* and *Athamanians*, when this fell out, were even in a readineſs to invade *Theſſaly*; whereinto the ways lay more open, out of their ſeveral Countries. When therefore they heard for certain, that *Philip* was beaten by the *Romans*, they foreſlowed not the occaſion, but made all ſpeed, each of them to lay hold upon what they might. *T. Quintius* followed them within a little while: but they had gotten ſo much before his coming, that he, in gleaning after their Harveſt, could not find enough to maintain his Army. Thus were the poor *Theſſalians*, of whoſe liberty the *Romans* a few days ſince had made ſhew to be very deſirous, waſted by the ſame *Romans* and their Confederates; not knowing which way to turn themſelves, or whom to avoid. *T. Quintius* wan *Phaleria* by aſſault; *Metropolis* and *Piera* yielded unto him. *Rhage* he beſieged, and having made a fair breach, yet was unable to force it; ſo ſtoutly it was defended both by the Inhabitants, and by a *Macedonian* Garriſon therein. *Philip* alſo at the ſame time, having ſomewhat recollected his Spirits, hovered about *Tempe* with his Army, thruſting men into all places that were like to be diſtreſſed. So the Conſul, having well near ſpent his Victuals, and ſeeing no hope to prevail at *Rhage*, brake up his ſiege, and departed out of *Theſſaly*. He had appointed his Ships of burden to meet him at *Anticyra*, an haven Town of *Phocis*, on the Gulf of *Corinth*; which Country being friend to the *Macedonian*, he preſently invaded; not ſo much for hatred unto the People, as becauſe it lay conveniently ſeated between *Theſſaly* and other Regions, wherein he had buſineſs, or was ſhortly like to have. Many Towns in *Phocis* he wan by aſſault; many were yielded up unto him for fear; and within ſhort ſpace he had (in effect) maſtered it all.

In the mean time *L. Quintius* the Conſul's Brother, being then Admiral for the *Romans* in this War, joyned with King *Attalus* and the *Rhodian* Fleet. They wan two Cities in *Eubœa*, and afterward laid ſiege unto *Cenchree*, an Haven and Arſenal of the *Corinthians* on their Eaſtern Sea. This Enterpriſe did ſomewhat help forward the *Achæans* in their deſire to leave the part of *Philip*: ſince it might come to paſs, that *Corinth* it ſelf, ere long time were ſpent, and that *Cenchree*, with other places appertaining to *Corinth*, now very ſhortly, ſhould be rendered unto their Nation, by favour of the *Romans*.

But there were other Motives inducing the *Achæans* to prefer the Friendſhip of the *Romans*, before the Patronage of *Philip*, whereto they had been long accuſtomed. For this King had ſo many ways offended them in time of peace, that they thought it the beſt courſe to rid their hands of him; whilſt being entangled in a dangerous War, he wanted means to hinder the execution of ſuch Counſel, as they ſhould hold the ſafeſt. His tyrannous Practices to make himſelf their abſolute Lord; his poiſoning of *Aratus* their old Governour; his falſe dealing with the *Meſſenians*, *Epirots*, and other People their Confederates, and his own Dependants; together with many particular Outrages by him committed, had cauſed them long ſince to hold him as *a neceſſary Evil*, even whilſt they were unable to be without his Aſſiſtance. But ſince, by the Virtue of *Philopœmen*, they were grown ſomewhat confident in their own ſtrength, ſo as without the *Macedonians* help, they could as well ſubſiſt, as having him to friend: then did they only think how *evil* he was; and thereupon rejoyce the more, in that he was become no longer *neceſſary*. It angred him to perceive how they ſtood affected; and therefore he ſent Murderers to take away the life of * *Philopœmen*. But failing in this Enterpriſe, and being detected, he did thereby only ſet fire to the Wood, which was throughly dry before, and prepared to burn. *Philopœmen* wrought ſo with the *Achæans*, that no diſcourſe was more familiar with them, than what great cauſe they had to withdraw themſelves from the *Macedonians*. *Cycliadas*, a principal man among them, and lately their Prætor, was expelled by them, for ſhewing himſelf paſſionate in the cauſe of *Philip*, and *Ariſtænus* choſen Prætor, who laboured to joyn them in Society with the *Romans*.

* *Plut. in vita Philopœm. Juſtin. l. 29.*

Theſe News were very welcome to *T. Quintius*. Embaſſadors were ſent from the *Romans* and their Confederates, King *Attalus*, the *Rhodians*, and *Athenians*, to treat with the *Achæans*, making promiſe, that they ſhould have *Corinth* reſtored unto them, if they would forſake the *Macedonian*. A Parliament of the *Achæans* was held at *Sicyon*, to deliberate and reſolve in this weighty Caſe. Therein the *Romans* and their Adherents deſired the *Achæans* to joyn with them in making War upon *Philip*. Contrariwiſe, the Embaſſadours of *Philip*, whom he had alſo ſent for this buſineſs, admoniſhing the *Achæans* of their Alliance with the King, and of their Faith due unto him; requeſted them, that they would be contented to remain as Neuters. This moderate Requeſt of

Philip's Embaſſadour, did no way advance his Maſter's Cauſe: rather it gave the *Achæans* to underſtand, That he who could be ſatisfied with ſo little at their hands, knew himſelf unable to gratifie them in any reciprocal Demand. Yet were there many in that great Council, who remembring the Benefits of *Philip* and *Antigonus*, laboured earneſtly for the preſervation of the ancient League. But in fine, the ſenſe of late Injuries, and expectation of like, or worſe from him in the future, prevailed againſt the Memory of thoſe old good turns, which he, (and *Antigonus* before him) had partly ſold unto them, and partly had uſed as Baits, whereby to allure them into abſolute Subjection. Neither was it perhaps of the leaſt Importance, that the *Romans* were ſtrong, and likely to prevail in the end. So after much Altercation the Decree paſſed, That they ſhould thenceforward renounce the *Macedonian*, and take part with his Enemies in this War. With *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* they forthwith entred into Society: with the *Romans* (becauſe no League would be of force, until the Senate and People had approved it) they forbore to decree any Society at the preſent, until the return of thoſe Embaſſadours from *Rome*, which they determined to ſend thither of purpoſe. The *Megalopolitans*, *Dimæans*, and *Argives*, having done their beſt for the *Macedonian*, as by many Reſpects they were bound; roſe up out of the Council, and departed before the paſſing of the Decree, which they could not reſiſt, nor yet with Honeſty thereto give aſſent. For this their good will, and greater, which they ſhortly manifeſted, the *Argives* had ſo little thank, that all the reſt of the *Achæans* may be the better held excuſed, for eſcaping how they might, out of the hands of ſo fell a Prince.

Soon after this, upon a ſolemn day at *Argos*, the Affection of the Citizens diſcovered it ſelf ſo plainly, in the behalf of *Philip*, that they which were his Partiſans within the Town, made no doubt of putting the City into his Hands, if they might have any ſmall aſſiſtance. *Philocles*, a Lieutenant of the King's, lay then in *Corinth*; which he had manfully defended againſt the *Romans* and *Attalus*: Him the Conſpirators drew to *Argos*; whither coming on a ſudden, and finding the Multitude ready to joyn with him, he eaſily compelled the *Achæan* Garriſon to quit the place.

This getting of *Argos*, together with the good defence of *Corinth* and ſome other Towns, as it helped *Philip* a little in his Reputation, ſo they gave him hope to obtain ſome good end by Treaty, whilſt as yet with his Honour he might ſeek it; and when (the Winter being now come on) a new Conſul would ſhortly be choſen, who ſhould take the work out of *Titus* his hands, if it were not concluded the ſooner. *Titus* had the like reſpect unto himſelf; and therefore thought it beſt, ſince more could not be done, to diſpoſe things unto a Concluſion, for his own Reputation. The meeting was appointed to be held on the Sea-ſhore, in the Bay then called *the Malian*, or *Lamian Bay*, now (as is ſuppoſed) the *Golf of Ziton*, in the *Ægæan* Sea, or *Archipelago*. Thither came *Titus*, with *Aminander* the *Athamanian*, an Embaſſadour of *Attalus*; the Admiral of *Rhodes*; and ſome Agents for the *Ætolians* and *Achæans*. *Philip* had with him ſome few of his own Captains, and *Cycliadas*, lately baniſhed for his ſake out of *Achaia*. He refuſed to come on ſhore; though fearing (as he ſaid) none but *the immortal Gods*; yet miſdoubting ſome Treachery in the *Ætolians*. The demands of *Titus* in behalf of the *Romans* were, That he ſhould ſet all Cities of *Greece* at liberty; deliver up to the *Romans* and their Confederates, all Priſoners which he had of theirs, and Renegado's; likewiſe whatſoever he held of theirs in *Illyria*; and whatſoever about *Greece* or *Aſia* he had gotten from *Ptolemy* then King of *Ægypt*, after his Father's death. *Attalus* demanded reſtitution to be made entire, of Ships, Towns, and Temples, by him taken and ſpoiled in the late War between them. The *Rhodians* would have again the Countrey of *Peræa*, lying over againſt their Iſland; as alſo that he ſhould withdraw his Garriſons out of divers Towns about the *Helleſpont*, and other Havens of their Friends. The *Achæans* deſired Reſtitution of *Argos* and *Corinth*; about the one of which they might not unjuſtly quarrel with him; the other had been long his own by their conſent. The *Ætolians* took upon them angerly, as Patrons of *Greece*; willing him to depart out of it, even out of the whole Countrey, leaving it free; and withal to deliver up unto them whatſoever he held that had at any time been theirs. Neither were they herewithal content, but inſolently declaimed againſt him, for that which he had lately done in *Theſſaly*, corrupting (as they ſaid) the rewards of the victors, by deſtroying, when he was vanquiſhed, thoſe Towns, which elſe they might have gotten. To anſwer theſe malapert *Ætolians*, *Philip* commanded his Galley to row near the Shore. But they began to ply him afreſh, telling him, That he muſt obey his Betters, unleſs he were able to defend himſelf by force of Arms. He anſwered them, (as he was much given to gybing) with ſundry Scoffs, and eſpecially with one, which made the *Roman* Conſul underſtand what manner of Companions theſe *Ætolians* were. For he ſaid, That he had often dealt with them, as likewiſe the reſt of the *Greeks*; deſiring them to abrogate a wicked Law, which permitted them *to take ſpoil from ſpoil*; yet could he get no better an Anſwer, than *that they would ſooner take* Ætolia *out of* Ætolia. *Titus* wondered what might be the meaning of this ſtrange Law. So the King told him, That they held it a laudable cuſtom, as often as War happened between their Friends, to hold up the Quarrel, by ſending Voluntaries to ſerve on both ſides, that ſhould ſpoil both the one and the other. As for the liberty of *Greece*, he ſaid it was ſtrange that the *Ætolians* ſhould be ſo careful thereof, ſince divers Tribes of their own, which he there named, were indeed no *Græcians*; wherefore he would fain know, whether the *Romans* would give him leave to make Slaves of thoſe *Ætolians*, which were no *Greeks*. *Titus* hereat ſmiled; and was no whit offended to hear the *Ætolians* well ratled up; touching whom, he began to underſtand, how odious they were in all the Country. As for that general demand of ſetting all *Greece* at liberty, *Philip* acknowledged, that it might well beſeem the greatneſs of the *Romans*; though he would alſo conſider what might beſeem his own Dignity. But that the *Ætolians*, *Rhodians*, and other petty Eſtates, ſhould thus preſume under Countenance of the *Romans*, to take upon them, as if by their great might, he ſhould be hereunto compelled; it was, he ſaid, a ſtrange and ridiculous Inſolence. The *Achæans* he charged with much Ingratitude, reciting againſt them ſome Decrees of their own; wherein they had loaden both *Antigonus* and him, with more than human Honours. Nevertheleſs he ſaid, that he would render *Argos* unto them: but as touching *Corinth*, that he would further deliberate with *Titus* himſelf. Thus he addreſſed himſelf wholly to the *Roman* General; unto whom,

Excerp. Polyb. 17.

if he could give ſatisfaction, he cared little for all the reſt. With *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, his late War, (he ſaid) was only defenſive, they having been the offerers; or if he gave them any occaſion, it was only in helping *Pruſias*, his Son-in-law; neither did he ſee why they ſhould rather ſeek amends at his hands, than he at theirs. For whereas they complained, That ſpoiling a Temple of *Venus*, he had cut down the Grove and pleaſant Walks thereabouts; what could he do more than ſend Gardiners thither with young Plants, if one King of another would ſtand to ask ſuch recompence. Thus he jeſted the matter out, but offered, nevertheleſs, in honour of the *Romans*, to give back the Region of *Peræa* to the *Rhodians*; as likewiſe to *Attalus* the Ships and Priſoners of his, whereof he had then Poſſeſſion. Thus ended that days conference, becauſe it was late; *Philip* requiring a Night's leiſure to think upon the Articles, which were many; and he ill provided of Counſel wherewith to adviſe about them. *For your being ſo ill provided of Counſel*, ſaid Titus, *you may even thank your ſelf; as having murdered all your Friends, that were wont to adviſe you faithfully.* The next day *Philip* came not, until it was late at night, excuſing his long ſtay by the weightineſs of the things propounded, whereon he could not ſuddenly tell how to reſolve. But it was believed, that he thereby ſought to abridge the *Ætolians* of leiſure to rail at him. And this was the more likely, for that he deſired Conference in private with the *Roman* General. The Sum of his Diſcourſe, as *Titus* afterward related it, was, That he would give to the *Achæans* both *Argos* and *Corinth*; as alſo that he would render unto *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* what he had promiſed the day before; likewiſe to the *Ætolians*, that he would grant ſome part of their Demands; and to the *Romans* whatſoever they did challenge. This when *Titus* his Aſſociates heard, they exclaimed againſt it, ſaying, That if the King were ſuffered to retain any thing in *Greece*, he would ſhortly get Poſſeſſion of all which he now rendred up. The noiſe that they made came to *Philips* ear; who thereupon deſired a third day of meeting, and proteſted, that if he could not perſwade them, he would ſuffer himſelf to be perſwaded by them. So the third day they met early in the Morning; at what time the King entreated them all, that they would with ſincere affection hearken unto good offers of Peace, and immediately conclude it, if they could like well of thoſe Conditions, which he had already tendered; or otherwiſe that they would make truce with him for the preſent, and let him ſend Embaſſadours to *Rome*, where he would refer himſelf to the courteſie of the Senate.

This was even as *Quintius* would have it, who ſtood in doubt, leſt a new Conſul might happen to defraud him of the Honour, which he expected by ending of the War. So he eaſily prevailed with the reſt to aſſent thereunto; foraſmuch as it was Winter, a time unfit for ſervice in the War; and ſince, without authority of the Senate, he ſhould be unable to proceed reſolvedly either in War or Peace. Further he willed them to ſend their ſeveral Embaſſadours to *Rome*, which intimating unto the Senate what each of them required, ſhould eaſily hinder *Philip* from obtaining any thing to their Prejudice. Among the reſt he perſwaded King *Aminander* to make a Journey to *Rome*, in perſon, knowing well, that the name of a King, together with the confluence of ſo many Embaſſadours, would ſerve to make his own actions more glorious in the City. All this tended to procure, that his own Command of the Army in *Greece*, might be prorogued. And to the ſame end had he dealt with ſome of the Tribunes of the people at *Rome*, who had already (though as yet he knew not ſo much) obtained it for him, partly by their authority, partly by good reaſons which they alledged unto the Senate.

The Embaſſadors of the *Greeks*, when they had audience at *Rome*, ſpake bitterly againſt the King, with good liking of the Senate, which was more deſirous of Victory than of Satisfaction. They magnified the honourable purpoſe of the *Romans*, in undertaking to ſet *Greece* at liberty. But this (they ſaid) could never be effected, unleſs eſpecial care were taken, that the King ſhould be diſpoſſeſſed of *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demetrias*. In this point they were ſo vehement, producing a Map of the Country, and making demonſtration how thoſe places held all the reſt in ſervility, that the Senate agreed to have it even ſo as they had deſired. When therefore the Embaſſadors of *Philip* were brought in, and began to have made a long Oration, they were briefly cut off in the midſt of their Preface, with this one demand; *Whether their Maſter would yield up* Corinth, Chalcis, *and* Demetrias? Hereto they made anſwer, That concerning thoſe places, the King had given them no Direction or Commiſſion what to ſay or do. This was enough. The Senate would no longer hearken to *Philip*'s deſire of Peace, wherein they ſaid he did no better than trifle. Yet might his Embaſſadours have truly ſaid, That neither the *Ætolians*, *Achæans*, nor any of their Fellows, had in the late Treaty required by name, that *Chalcis* and *Demetrias* ſhould be yielded up. For which of them indeed could make any Claim to either of theſe Towns? As for *Corinth*, whereto the *Achæans* had ſome right, (though their right were no better, than that having ſtolen it from one *Macedonian* King in a night, they had, after mature deliberation, made it away by Bargain unto another) *Philip* had already condeſcended to give it back unto them. And this perhaps would have been alledged, even againſt the *Greeks* in excuſe of the King, by ſome of *T. Quintius* his Friends, that ſo he might have had the Honour to conclude the War, if a Succeſſor had been decreed unto him. But ſince he was appointed to continue General, neither his Friends at *Rome*, nor he himſelf, after the return of the Embaſſadours into *Greece*, cared to give ear unto any talk of Peace.

Philip ſeeing that the *Achæans* had forſaken him, and joyned with their common Enemies, thought even to deal with them in the like manner, by reconciling himſelf unto *Nabis*, whom they hated moſt. There were not many years paſt, ſince the *Lacedæmonians* under *Cleomenes*, with little other help than their own ſtrength, had been almoſt ſtrong enough both for the *Macedonians* and *Achæans* together. But now the condition of things was altered. *Nabis* his force conſiſted in a manner wholly in his Mercinaries, for he was a Tyrant, though ſtiling himſelf King. Yet he ſorely vexed the *Achæans*, and therefore ſeemed unto *Philip* one likely to ſtand him in great ſtead, if he could be won. To this purpoſe it was thought meet, that the Town of *Argos*, which could not otherwiſe be eaſily defended, ſhould be conſigned over into his hands, in hope, that ſuch a benefit would ſerve to tie him faſt unto the *Macedonian*. *Philocles* the Kings Lieutenant, who was appointed to deal with *Nabis*, added further, That it was his Maſter's purpoſe to make a ſtreight alliance with the *Lacedæmonian*, by giving ſome Daughters of his own in Marriage unto *Nabis* his Sons. This could not but be well taken. Yet *Nabis* made ſome Scru-

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ple in accepting the Town of *Argos*; unleſs by decree of the Citizens themſelves, he might be called into it. Hereabout *Philocles* dealt with the *Argives*; but found them ſo averſe, that, in open Aſſembly of the People, they deteſted the very name of the Tyrant, with many railing words. *Nabis* hearing of this, thought he had thereby a good occaſion to rob and fleece them. So he willed *Philocles*, without more ado, to make over the Town, which he was ready to receive. *Philocles* accordingly did let him with his Army into it by night; and gave him poſſeſſion of the ſtrongeſt places therein. Thus dealt *Philip* with the *Argives*: who for very-love had forſaken the *Achæans*, to take his part. Early in the Morning, the Tyrant made himſelf Maſter of all the Gates. A few of the principal men, underſtanding how things went, fled out of the City at the firſt tumult. Wherefore they were all baniſhed, and their Goods confiſcated. The reſt of the chief Citizens that ſtaid behind, were commanded to bring forth, out of hand, all their Gold and Silver. Alſo a great impoſition of Money was laid upon all thoſe, that were thought able to pay it. Such as made their contribution readily, were diſmiſſed without more ado. But if any ſtood long upon the matter; or plaid the thieves, in purloyning their own goods, they were put to the Whip, and beſides loſs of their wealth, had their torments to boot. This done, the Tyrant began to make popular Laws: namely ſuch, as might ſerve to make him gracious with the raſcal Multitude: abrogating all Debts, and dividing the Lands of the rich among the poor. By ſuch art of oppreſſing the great ones, it had been an old cuſtom of Tyrants, to aſſure themſelves of the Vulgar for a time.

As ſoon as *Nabis* had gotten *Argos*, he ſent the news to *T. Quintius*; and offered to joyn with him againſt *Philip*. *Titus* was glad of it: ſo as he took the pains to croſs over the *Streights* into *Peloponneſus*, there to meet with *Nabis*. They had ſoon agreed (though King *Attalus*, who was preſent with the Conſul, made ſome cavil touching *Argos*,) and the Tyrant lent unto the *Romans* ſix hundred of his Mercinaries of *Crete*: as alſo he agreed with the *Achæans*, upon a Truce for four Months, reſerving the final concluſion of Peace between them until the War of *Philip* ſhould be ended; which after this continued not long.

§. XIV.

The Battel at Cynoſcephalæ, *wherein* Philip *was vanquiſhed by* T. Quintius.

Titus Quintius, as ſoon as he underſtood that he was appointed to have Command of the Army, without any other limitation of time, than during the pleaſure of the Senate; made all things ready for diligent purſuit of the War. The like did *Philip*: who having failed in his Negotiation of Peace, and no leſs failed in his hopes of getting *Nabis* to friend in that War; meant afterwards wholly to relie upon himſelf.

Plut. in vita T. Q. Flam.

Titus had in his Army about ſix and twenty thouſand: and *Philip* a proportionable number. But neither of them knew the others ſtrength, or what his Enemy intended to do. Only *Titus* heard that *Philip* was in *Theſſaly*; and thereupon addreſſed himſelf to ſeek him out. They had like to have met unawares, near unto the City of *Pheræ*: where the Vant-courriers on both ſides diſcovered each other; and ſent word thereof unto their ſeveral Captains. But neither of them were over-haſty, to commit all to hazard upon ſo ſhort warning. The day following each of them ſent out three hundred Horſe, with as many light-armed Foot, to make a better diſcovery. Theſe met, and fought a long while: returning finally back into their ſeveral Camps, with little advantage unto either ſide. The Countrey about *Pheræ* was thick ſet with Trees: and otherwiſe full of Gardens, and Mud-walls; which made it unproper for ſervice of the *Macedonian Phalanx*. Wherefore the King diſlodged, intending to remove back unto *Scotuſa*, in the Frontier of *Macedon*; where he might be plentifully ſerved with all neceſſaries. *Titus* conceived aright his meaning: and therefore purpoſed alſo to march thitherwards; were it only to waſte the Countrey. There lay between them a great ledg of Hills; which hindered the one from knowing what courſe the other took. Nevertheleſs they encamped not far aſunder, both the firſt and the ſecond night; though neither of them underſtood what was become of the other. The third day was very tempeſtuous; and forced each of them to take up his lodging, where he found it, by chance. Then ſent they forth diſcoverers again, in greater number than before. Theſe meeting together, held a long Fight, wherein at firſt the *Macedonians* had the worſe. But *Philip* anon ſent in ſuch ſtrong ſupply, that if the reſiſtance of the *Ætolians* had not been deſparate, the *Romans*, their fellows, had been driven back into their Camp. Yet all reſiſtance notwithſtanding, the *Macedonians* prevailed; ſo that *Titus* himſelf was fain to bring forth his Legions, that were not a little diſcouraged, by the defeat of all their Horſe, to animate thoſe which were in flight.

It was altogether beſides the Kings purpoſe, to put the fortune of a Battel in truſt that day, with ſo much of his Eſtate as might thereon depend. But the news came to him thick and tumultuouſly, how the Enemies fled, and how the day was his own; if he could uſe an occaſion, the like whereof he ſhould not often find. This cauſed him to alter his purpoſe: inſomuch as he embattelled his Men; and climbed up thoſe Hills, which for that the knops thereon had ſome reſemblance unto Dogs Heads, were called, by a word ſignifying as much, *Cynoſcephalæ*. As ſoon as he was on the Hill-top; it did him good to ſee, that they of his own light-armature were buſie in fight, almoſt at the very Camp of the Enemies; whom they had repelled ſo far. He had alſo liberty to chuſe his ground, as might ſerve beſt his advantage: foraſmuch as the *Romans* were quite driven from all parts of the Hill. But of this commodity he could make no great uſe: the roughneſs of the place among thoſe *Dogs-heads*, as they were called, ſerving nothing aptly for his *Phalanx*. Nevertheleſs he found convenient room, wherein to marſhal the one part of his Army: and gave order unto his Captains, to follow with the reſt; embattailing them as they might. Whilſt he was doing this, he perceived that his Horſemen, and light-armature, began to ſhrink; as being fallen upon the *Roman* Legion, by force whereof they were driven to recoyl. He ſets forward to help them; and they no leſs haſtily draw unto him for ſuccour; having the *Romans* not far behind them.

As the Legions began to climb the Hill; *Philip* commanded thoſe of his *Phalanx*, to charge their Pikes,

Pikes, and entertain them. Here *Titus* found an extreme difficult piece of work. For this *Phalanx*, being a great ſquare battel of armed Pikes, like in all points to thoſe which are now uſed in our modern Wars: and being in like manner uſed, as are ours; was not to be reſiſted by the *Roman* Targettiers, as long as the *Phalanx* it ſelf held together undiſſolved. The *Macedonians* were embattelled in very cloſe order: ſo that two of them ſtood oppoſite to one of the *Romans*; as alſo the Pikes of the firſt rank, had their points advanced two or three foot before their fore-man. Wherefore it is no marvel if the *Romans* gave back: every one of them being troubled (as it were) with Ten Enemies at once; and not able to come nearer unto the next of them, than the length of a dozen foot, or thereabout. *Titus* finding this, and not knowing how to remedy it; was greatly troubled: for that ſtill the *Phalanx* bare down all which came in the way. But in the mean while he obſerved, That they which were appointed by *Philip*, to make his left Wing, were not able, through the much unevenneſs of the ground, to put themſelves in order: ſo as either they kept their places on the Hill-tops; or elſe (which was worſe) upon deſire either of beholding the paſtime, or of ſeeming to be partakers in the work, ran fooliſhly along by the ſide of their fellows, which were occupied in fight.

Of this their diſorder he made great and preſent uſe. He cauſed the right Wing of his Battel to march up the Hill, againſt theſe ill-ordered Troops: his Elephants leading the way, to increaſe the terror. The *Macedonians* were readier to diſpute what ſhould be done in ſuch a caſe, than well adviſed what to do; as having no one man appointed, to command that part in chief. Indeed if they ſhould have done their beſt, it could not have ſerved; ſince the ground whereon they ſtood, made their Weapons unuſeful. For let it be ſuppoſed, that *Philip* having ſix and twenty thouſand in his Army (as he is ſaid to have been equal to the Enemy in number) had four thouſand Horſe, four thouſand Targettiers, and four thouſand light-armed: ſo ſhall there remain fourteen thouſand Pikes; whereof he himſelf had embattelled the one half in a *Phalanx*; the other half in the left Wing, are they whom *Quintius* is ready now to charge. The *Phalanx* having uſually ſixteen in File, muſt, when it conſiſted of ſeven thouſand, have well near four hundred and forty in rank: but four hundred would ſerve, to make a Front long enough; the other forty, or ſeven and thirty Files, might be cut off, and reckoned in the number of the Targettiers, or light-armed. Allowing therefore, as *Polybius* doth, to every man of them three foot of ground: this Front muſt have occupied twelve hundred Foot, or two hundred and forty Paces; that is, very near a quarter of a Mile in length. Such a ſpace of open Champain, free from incumbrance of Trees, Ditches, Hillocks, or the like impediments, that muſt of neceſſity diſjoyn this cloſe battel of the *Phalanx*; was not every where to be found. Here at *Cynoſcephalæ*, *Philip* had ſo much room, as would only ſuffice for the one half of his Men: the reſt were fain to ſtand ſtill, and look about them; being hindered from putting themſelves in order, by the roughneſs of the *Dogs heads*. But the *Romans*, to whom all grounds were much alike, were not hindered from coming up unto them; nor found any difficulty in maſtring thoſe Enemies, whoſe feet were in a manner bound by the diſcommodity of the place. The very firſt impreſſion of the Elephants, cauſed them to give back; and the coming on of the Legions, to betake themſelves unto flight. A *Roman* Tribune, or Colonel, ſeeing the Victory on that part aſſured, left the proſecution of it unto others: and being followed by twenty Enſigns, or Maniples; that is, (as they might fall out) by ſome two thouſand men, took in hand a notable piece of work; and mainly helpful to making of the Victory compleat. He conſidered, that *Philip*, in purſuing the right Wing of the *Romans*, was run on ſo far; as that himſelf, with his fellows, in mounting the Hill, to charge the left Wing of the *Macedonians*, was already gotten above the Kings Head. Wherefore he turned to the left hand; and making down the Hill after the Kings *Phalanx*, fell upon it in the Rear. The hindmoſt ranks of the *Phalanx*, all of them indeed, ſave the firſt five, were accuſtomed, when the Battels came to joyning, to carry their Pikes upright; and with the whole weight of their bodies, to thruſt on their foremen: and ſo were they doing at the preſent. This was another great inconvenience in the *Macedonian Phalanx*, that it ſerved neither for offence nor defence, except only in Front. For though it were ſo, that *Alexander*, when he was to fight with *Darius* in *Meſopotamia*, arranged his *Phalanx* in ſuch order, that all the four ſides of it were as ſo many Fronts, looking ſundry ways, becauſe he expected, that he ſhould be encompaſſed round: yet it is to be underſtood, that herein he altered the uſual form; as alſo at the ſame time he embattelled his men in looſe order, that ſo with eaſe they might turn their Weapons, which way need ſhould require. Likewiſe it is to be conſidered, That *Alexander*'s men being thus diſpoſed, were fit only to keep their own ground; not being able to follow upon the Enemy, unleſs their hindmoſt ranks could have marched backwards. But in this preſent caſe of *Philip*, there was no ſuch proviſion for reſiſtance. Therefore his men, being otherwiſe unable to help themſelves, threw down their Weapons, and fled. The King himſelf had thought until now, that the fortune of the battel was every where alike, and the day his own. But hearing the noiſe behind him, and turning a little aſide, with a Troop of Horſe, to ſee how all went: when he beheld his Men caſting down their Weapons, and the *Romans* at his back on the higher ground; he preſently betook himſelf to flight. Neither ſtaid he afterwards in any place (except only a ſmall while about *Tempe*, there to collect ſuch as were diſperſed in this overthrow) until he was gotten into his own Kingdom of *Macedon*.

There died of the *Roman* Army in this battel, about ſeven hundred: of the *Macedonians*, about eight thouſand were ſlain, and five thouſand taken Priſoners.

Except. è Polyb. l. 17.

§. XV.

T. Quintius *falleth out with the* Ætolians; *and grants Truce unto* Philip, *with Conditions, upon which the Peace is ratified. Liberty proclaimed unto the* Greeks. *The* Romans *quarrel with* Antiochus.

THE *Ætolians* wonderfully vaunted themſelves; and deſired to have it noiſed through all *Greece*, That the Victory at *Cynoſcephalæ* was gotten (in a manner) wholly by their valour.

They

They had gotten indeed the moſt of the booty; by ſacking the *Macedonian* Camp, whilſt the *Romans* were buſied in the chace. *Titus* therefore being offended both at their vain-glory, and at their ravenous condition; purpoſed to teach them better manners, by regarding them as ſlightly, as they thought highly of themſelves. He alſo well perceived, That by uſing them with any extraordinary favour, he ſhould greatly offend the reſt of his Confederates in *Greece*; who deteſted the *Ætolians* much more vehemently, than ever they had done the *Macedonians*. But this diſpleaſure brake not forth yet a while.

After the battel, *Titus* made haſte unto *Lariſſa*, a City of *Theſſaly*; which he preſently took. Before his coming, *Philip* had ſent thither one of his Courtiers, to burn all his Letters, and paſſages whatſoever in writing, betwixt him and others, of which many were there kept. It was well done of the King, that among the cares of ſo much adverſity, he forgot not to provide for the ſafety of his friends. Yet by his thus doing, they of *Lariſſa* might well perceive, that he gave them as already loſt. Wherefore we find not that they, or any of their Neighbours, did make delay of opening their Gates to *Titus*. At the ſame time, the Town of *Leucas* bordering upon *Acarnania*, was taken by the *Roman* Fleet: and very ſoon after all the *Acarnanians*, a warlike Nation, and in hatred of the *Ætolians* ever true to *Philip*; gave up themſelves unto the *Romans*, hearing of the Victory at *Cynoſcephalæ*. The *Rhodians* alſo were then in hand with the Conqueſt of *Peræa*, a Region of the Continent over-againſt their Iſland; whereof they had demanded reſtitution, in the late Treaty of Peace with *Philip*. They did herein more manly, than any other of the *Greeks*: foraſmuch as they awaited not the good leiſure of the *Romans*; but with an Army of their own, and ſome help which they borrowed of the *Achæans*, and other their friends, gave battel to *Dinocrates*, the Kings Lieutenant, wherein they had the Victory, and conſequently recovered the whole Province. It angred *Philip* worſe than all this, that the *Dardanians* gathered courage out of his affliction, to invade his Kingdom; waſting and ſpoiling, as if all had been abandoned to their diſcretion. This made him gather an Army in all haſte, of ſix thouſand Foot, and five hundred Horſe: wherewith coming upon them, he drave them, with little or no loſs of his own, and great ſlaughter of theirs, haſtily out of the Kingdom. Which done, he returned to *Theſſalonica*.

In this one Enterpriſe, he had ſucceſs anſwerable to his deſire: but ſeeing what bad fortune accompanied his affairs, in all other parts at the ſame time, he thought it wiſdom to yield unto neceſſity; and therefore ſent in all haſte *Limnæus* and *Demoſthenes*, with *Cycliadas*, the baniſhed *Achæan*, in whom he repoſed much confidence, Embaſſadors unto *Titus*. Theſe had conference a long while in private, with *Titus*, and ſome of his *Roman* Colonels: by whom they were gently entertained, and in very friendly wiſe diſmiſſed. It ſeems that they had Commiſſion to refer all unto *Titus* his own diſcretion; as *Philip* himſelf in few days after did. There was granted unto them a Truce for fifteen days: in which time, the King himſelf might come and ſpeak with the *Roman* General. In the mean ſeaſon many ſuſpicious rumors went of *Titus*; as if he had been corrupted with great rewards from the King, to betray the *Greeks* his Confederates. Of theſe bruits the *Ætolians* were chief Authors: who being wont to regard neither friendſhip nor honeſty, where profit led them a wrong way, judged a-like of all men elſe. But againſt the day appointed for the meeting betwixt him and *Philip*, *Titus* had ſent Letters unto his Aſſociates; willing them to have their Agents ready by a time appointed, at the entrance of *Tempe*, where the Treaty ſhould be held. There when they were all aſſembled, they entred into conſultation before the Kings arrival, what ſhould be moſt expedient for the common benefit of them all, and for every Eſtate in particular. The poor King *Aminander*, beſought them all, and eſpecially the *Romans*, that they would think upon him; and conſidering his weakneſs, which he confeſſed, make ſuch proviſion, that after the *Romans* had turned their backs, and were gone home, *Philip* might not wreak his anger upon him, who was not able to reſiſt. Then ſpake *Alexander*, one of the *Ætolians*: who commending *Titus* for ſo much as he had thus aſſembled the Confederates, to adviſe upon their own good, and had willed them to deliver their minds freely: added, That in the main of the purpoſe which he had in hand, he was utterly deceived: for that by making peace with *Philip*, he could neither aſſure the *Romans* of their quiet, nor the *Greeks* of their liberty. There was, he ſaid, none other end to be made of the War, which could agree either with the purpoſe of the Senate and People of *Rome*, or with the fair promiſes made by *Titus* himſelf unto the *Greeks*, than the chacing of *Philip* quite out of his Kingdom. And to this effect he made a long diſcourſe. But *Titus* anſwered, That this *Ætolian* was ill acquainted, either with the good pleaſure of the Senate and People of *Rome*, or with the laudable cuſtoms which they generally held: for that it was not the manner of the *Romans*, to ſeek the utter deſtruction of any King or Nation, at ſuch time as they firſt made War with them; until by ſome rebellion they found it a matter of neceſſity, to take ſuch a rigorous courſe. And hereof he alledged the *Carthaginians* as a notable Example: adding, That Victory, to generous minds, was only an inducement unto moderation. As concerning the publick benefit of *Greece*: it was (he ſaid) expedient, that the Kingdom of *Macedon* ſhould be greatly weakned and brought low; not that it ſhould be utterly deſtroyed: foraſmuch as it ſerved as a bar, to the *Thracians*, *Gaules*, and a multitude of other ſavage Nations, which would ſoon overflow the whole Continent of *Greece*, if this Kingdom were not interpoſed. Wherefore he concluded, that if *Philip* would yield unto thoſe demands wherewith he had preſſed him in the former Treaty; then was there no reaſon to deny him peace. As for the *Ætolians*: if they thought otherwiſe, it ſhould be at their own pleaſure, to take counſel apart for themſelves, as they thought good. Then began *Phaneas*, an other of the *Ætolians*, to ſay, That all was come to nothing; for that ere long, *Philip* would trouble all the *Greeks*, no leſs than he had done in time before. But *Titus* interrupted him, and bad him leave his babling; ſaying, That himſelf would take ſuch order, as that *Philip*, were he never ſo deſirous, ſhould thenceforth not have it in his power to moleſt the *Greeks*.

The next day King *Philip* came thither: whom *Titus* uſed friendly: and ſuffering him to repoſe himſelf that night, held a Council the day following: wherein the King yielded unto all that had been required at his hands; offering yet further, to ſtand to the good pleaſure of the Senate, if they would have more added to the Conditions. *Phaneas*, the *Ætolian*, inſulting over him, ſaid it was to be hoped, that he would then at length give up to the *Ætolians* a many of the Towns (which he there na-

named) bidding him ſpeak, whether he would, or not. His anſwer was, that they might take them all. But *Titus* interpoſing himſelf, ſaid, it ſhould be otherwiſe; Theſe were *Theſſalian* Towns, and ſhould all be free: one of them only excepted, which not long ago had refuſed to commit it ſelf to the faith of the *Romans*, and therefore ſhould now be given to the *Ætolians*. Hereat *Phaneas* cried out, that it was too great an injury, thus to defraud them of the Towns that had ſometime belonged unto their Common-weal. Rather he willed *Titus* to conſider, that by an ancient Covenant between them and the *Romans*, all the Towns taken ought to be their own, and the *Romans* to have nothing, ſave the Pillage and Captives. It is true, that there had been ſuch a Condition in the former War: but it ceaſed to be of any validity, as ſoon as the *Ætolians* made peace with *Philip*. And thus much *Titus* gave them to underſtand; asking them, whether they thought it reaſonable, that all the Towns in *Greece*, which had let in the *Romans* by compoſition, ſhould be delivered into ſubjection of the *Ætolians*. The reſt of the Confederates were very much delighted, with theſe angry paſſages between the *Roman* and the *Ætolians*: neither had they great reaſon, to fear any hard meaſure; ſince *Titus* was ſo earneſt in behalf of thoſe *Theſſalians*, to give them liberty, though they had ſtood out againſt him, even till very fear made them open their Gates. Wherefore they oppoſed not themſelves; but gave their conſent willingly unto a Truce for four Months.

The chief cauſe that moved *Titus* to grant peace ſo readily to the *Macedonian*, beſides that laudable cuſtom by him before alledged; was, the fame of *Antiochus* his coming with an Army from *Syria*, and drawing near toward *Europe*. He had alſo perhaps yet a greater motive; even the conſideration, that his Succeſſor might happen to defraud him of the honour, if the War ſhould happen to be protracted. And he was in the right. For when his Letters, together with Embaſſadors from the *Macedonian*, and ſundry States of *Greece*, came unto *Rome*, new Conſuls were choſen: who, (eſpecially the one of them) ſtood very earneſtly againſt the Peace; alledging frivolous matter of their own ſuſpicion, in hope to get the honour of concluding the War. The Senate began to be doubtfully affected, between the Embaſſadors of *Philip* offering to ſtand to whatſoever was demanded, and the Letters of *Titus* preſſing them to accept this offer, on the one ſide; and the importunity of the Conſul on the other; who ſaid, that all theſe goodly ſhews were fraudulent, and that the King would rebel, as ſoon as the Army was called out of *Greece*. But the matter was taken out of the Senators hands by two of the Tribunes, that referred it to an aſſembly of the people; by whoſe ſovereign authority it was concluded, That Peace ſhould be granted unto the King. So Ten Embaſſadors were ſent from *Rome* over into *Greece*: in which number were they, that had been Conſuls before *Titus*: and it was ordained by their advice, That *Titus* ſhould go through with the buſineſs of Peace. Theſe would very fain have retained thoſe three important Cities of *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demetrias*, until the ſtate of *Greece* were ſomewhat better ſettled. But finally *Titus* prevailed ſo, that *Corinth* was (though not immediately) rendred unto the *Achæans*; and all the other *Greek* Towns which *Philip* held, as well in *Aſia* as in *Greece*, reſtored unto liberty.

The Conditions of the Peace granted unto *Philip*, were, That before the celebration of the next * *Iſthmian Games*, he ſhould withdraw his Garriſons out of all the *Greek* Towns which he held; and conſign them over to the *Romans*: That he ſhould deliver up unto them all Captives that he had of theirs, and all Renegado's: Likewiſe all his Ships of War, reſerving to himſelf only five of the leſſer ſort, and one of extraordinary greatneſs, wherein ſixteen men laboured at every Oar: Further, that he ſhould pay a thouſand talents, the one half in hand, the other in Ten years next following, by even portions. Hereto * *Livy* adds, That he was forbidden to make War out of *Macedon*, without permiſſion of the Senate. But I find not that he obſerved this Article, or was at any time charged with the breach of it. Four hundred Talents he had already delivered unto *Titus*, together with his younger Son *Demetrius*, to remain as hoſtage for his true dealing in this matter of Peace, at ſuch time as he lately ſent his Embaſſadors to *Rome*: when it was promiſed, that the Money, and his Son, ſhould be reſtored back unto him, if the Senate were not pleaſed with the agreement. Whether this Money were reckoned as part of the thouſand Talents, I cannot find: and it ſeemeth otherwiſe, foraſmuch as young *Demetrius*, who together with thoſe four hundred Talents, was given for hoſtage, remained ſtill in cuſtody of the *Romans*, as a part of the bargain which *Titus* formerly had made. Letters alſo were then ſent by *Titus*, unto *Pruſias*, King of *Bithynia*: giving him to underſtand, what agreement was made with *Philip*, in behalf of the *Greeks*; and how the Senate held it reaſonable, that the *Ciani*, moſt miſerably ſpoiled and oppreſſed by *Philip*, to gratifie this *Bithynian*, his Son in-law, ſhould be reſtored to liberty, and permitted to enjoy the ſame benefit of the *Romans*, which other of their Nation did. What effect theſe Letters wrought, it was not greatly material; ſince the *Romans* were ſhortly buſied with *Antiochus*, in ſuch wiſe, that they had not leiſure to examine the conformity of *Pruſias* to their will.

All *Greece* rejoyced at the good bargain, which *Titus* had made with *Philip*. Only the *Ætolians* found themſelves agrieved, that they were utterly neglected; which was to the reſt no ſmall part of their contentment. The *Bœotians* continued to favour the *Macedonian*; and thereby occaſioned much trouble unto themſelves. There were ſome among them well-affected to the *Romans*: who ſeeing how things were like to go, made their complaint unto *Titus*; ſaying, that they were no better than loſt, for the good will which they had born unto him; unleſs at this time, when he lay cloſe by them with his Army, their Prætor which was head of the oppoſite Faction, might be made away. *Titus* refuſed to have an hand in the Execution; yet nevertheleſs did animate them in their purpoſe. So they committed the fact, and hoped to have kept themſelves undiſcovered. But when the Murder came out, and ſomewhat was confeſſed by thoſe that were put to torture; the hatred of the people brake out violently againſt the *Romans*; in ſuch wiſe, that howſoever they durſt not take Arms againſt them, yet ſuch of them as they found ſtragling from their Camp, they murdered in all parts of the Countrey. This was detected within a while, and many of the dead bodies found. Hereupon *Titus* requires of the *Bœotians*, to have the Murderers delivered into his hands; and for five hundred Souldiers, which he had loſt by them, to have paid unto him five hundred Talents. Inſtead of making any ſuch amends, they paid him with Excuſes; which he would not take as good ſatisfaction. He ſends Embaſſadors to the *Achæans* and *Athenians*, informing them what had happened: and requeſted them not to take it amiſs, though

* *Liv. l. 33.*

* *Polyb. excerpt. Legat. 9.*

he dealt with these their friends as they had deserved. Herewithal he falls to wasting their Countrey, and besiegeth two such Town of theirs, as did seem to be most culpable of the Murders lately done. But the Embassadors of the *Achæans* and *Athenians*, (especially of the *Achæans*, who offered, if he needed them, to help him in this War; yet besought him rather to grant Peace unto the *Bœotians*) prevailed so far with him; that he was pacified with thirty Talents, and the punishment of such as were known offenders.

In like sort, though not so violently, were many States of *Greece* distracted: some among them rejoycing that they were free from the *Macedonian*; others greatly doubting, that the *Roman* would prove a worse Neihgbour. The *Ætolians* would have been glad of any Commotion; and therefore published rumors abroad, That it was the purpose of the *Romans*, to keep in their own hands all those places, wherein *Philip* lately had his Garrisons. Little did they, or the rest of the *Greeks*, conceive, that this *Macedonian* War served as an introduction to the War to be made in *Asia* against *Antiochus*; where grew the fruit, that was to be reaped of this and many other Victories. Wherefore to stay the progress of bad rumors, when the *Isthmian Games* were held, which in time of peace were never without great solemnity and concourse: *Titus* in that great Assembly of all *Greece*, caused proclamation to be made by sound of Trumpet to this effect, That the Senate and People of *Rome*, and *Titus Quintius Flaminius*, the General, having vanquished King *Philip* and the *Macedonians*, did will to be at liberty, free from Impositions, free from Garrisons, and living at their own Laws, the *Corinthians*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, *Eubœans*, *Achæans* of *Phthiotis*, *Magnetians*, *Thessalians*, and *Perrhæbians*. The suddenness of this Proclamation astonished men: so as though they applauded it with a great shout; yet presently they cried out to hear it again, as if they durst scarce credit their own Ears. The *Greeks* were Crafts-Masters in the art of giving thanks; which they rendred now to *T. Quintius* with so great affection, as that they had well-near smothered him, by thronging officiously about him.

This good will of all the *Greeks*, was like to be much more available unto the *Romans* in their War against *Antiochus*, than could have been the possession of a few Towns; yea, or of all those Provinces which were named in their Proclamation. Upon confidence hereof; no sooner were these *Isthmian Games* at an end, than *Titus*, with the *Romans* that were of his Council, gave audience to *Hegesianax*, and *Lysias*, King *Antiochus* his Embassadors: whom they willed to signifie unto their Lord, That he should do well to abstain from the free Cities in *Asia*, and not vex them with War; as also to restore whatsoever he had occupied, belonging to the Kings, *Ptolemy* or *Philip*. Moreover they willed him by these his Embassadors, that he should not pass over his Army into *Europe*; adding, That some of them would visit him in person ere it were long, to talk with him further concerning these points. This done, they fell to accomplishing their promises unto the *Greeks*; to the rest they gave what they had promised. But the *Phocians* and *Locrians* they gave unto the *Ætolians*; whom they thought it no wisdom to offend over-much, being shortly to take a greater work in hand. The *Achæans* of *Phthiotis* they annexed unto the *Thessalians*; all save the Town of *Thebes* in *Phthiotis*, the same which had been abandoned by *T. Quintius* to the *Ætolians* in the last Treaty with *Philip*. The *Ætolians* contended very earnestly about *Pharsalus* and *Leucas*. But they were put off with a dilatory answer, and rejected unto the Senate: for howsoever somewhat the Council might favour them; yet was it not meet that they should have their will, as it were in despight of *Titus*. To the *Achæans* were restored *Corinth*, *Tripbylia*, and *Herea*. So the *Corinthians* were made free indeed (though the *Romans* yet a while kept the *Acrocorinthus*) for that all which were partakers of the *Achæan* Common-wealth, enjoyed their liberty in as absolute manner, as they could desire. To *Pleuratus*, the *Illyrian*, were given one or two places, taken by the *Romans* from *Philip*: and upon *Aminander* were bestowed those Castles, which he had gotten from *Philip* during this War; to reign in them and the grounds which they commanded, as he did among his *Athamanians*. The *Rhodians* had been their own Carvers. *Attalus* was dead a little before the Victory; and therefore lost his share. Yet many that were with *Titus* in Council, would have given the Towns of *Oreum* and *Eretria*, in the Ile of *Eubœa*, to his Son and Successor King *Eumenes*. But finally it was concluded, that these, as well as the rest of the *Eubœans*, should be suffered to enjoy their liberty. *Orestis*, a little Province of the Kingdom of *Macedon*, bordering on *Epirus*, and lying towards the *Ionian* Sea, had yielded unto the *Romans* long ere this, and since continued true to them: for which cause it was also set at liberty, and made a free Estate by it self.

These businesses being dispatcht, it remained, that all care should be used, not how to avoid the War with King *Antiochus*, but how to accomplish it with most ease and prosperity. Wherefore Embassadors were sent both to *Antiochus* himself, to pick matter of quarrel; and about unto others, to præ-dispose them unto the assisting of the *Romans* therein. What ground and matter of War against this King the *Romans* now had, or shortly after found: as also how their Embassadors and Agents dealt and sped abroad; I refer unto another place.

CHAP.

Chap. V.

The Wars of the Romans *with* Antiochus *the Great, and his Adherents.*

§. I.

What King's, of the Races of Seleucus *and* Ptolemy, *reigned in* Asia *and* Ægypt *before* Antiochus *the Great.*

Polyb. lib. 2.

Seleucus Nicator, the first of his Race, King of *Asia* and *Syria*, died in the end of the hundred twenty and fourth *Olympiad*. He was treacherously slain by *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, at an Altar called *Argos*; having (as is said) been warned before by an Oracle, to beware of *Argos*, as the fatal place of his death. But I never have read that any Mans life hath been preserved, or any mischance avoided, by the predictions of such Deviliſh Oracles. Rather I believe, That many such predictions of the Heathen Gods, have been antedated by their Priests or by others; which devised them after the event.

Antiochus Soter, the Son and Heir of this *Seleucus*, was dearly beloved of his Father: who surrendered up unto him his own Wife *Stratonica*, when he understood how much the young Prince was enamoured on her. Wherefore *Ptolemy Ceraunus* had great cause to fear, that the death of *Seleucus* would not be unrevenged by this his Successor. But *Antiochus* was contented to be pacified, either with gifts, or perhaps only with fair words; containing himself within *Asia*, and letting *Ceraunus* enjoy that quietly, which he had purchased in *Europe* with the blood of *Seleucus*. It is said of this *Antiochus*, that although he married with the Queen *Stratonica* in his Fathers life; yet out of modesty he forbore to embrace her, till his Father was dead. So that perhaps his incestuous love was partly, if not chiefly, the cause of his not prosecuting that revenge; whereunto Nature should have urged him. Afterwards he had Wars with *Antigonus Gonatas*, and with *Nicomedes* King of *Bithynia*. Also *Lutarius* and *Leonorius*, Kings or Captains of the *Gaules*, were set upon him by the same *Nicomedes*. With these he fought a great Battel: wherein though otherwise the Enemies had all advantage against him; yet by the terror of his Elephants, which affrighted both their Horses and them, he won the Victory. He took in hand an enterprise against *Ptolemy Philadelphus*: but finding ill success in the beginning, he soon gave it over. To this King *Antiochus Soter* it was, that *Berosus* the *Chaldæan* dedicated his History of the Kings of *Assyria*; the same, which hath since been excellently falsified by the Friar *Annius*. He left behind him one Son, called *Antiochus Theos*; and one Daughter, called *Apame*, that was married unto the King of *Cyrene*. So he died about the end of the hundred twenty and ninth *Olympiad*, or the beginning of the *Olympiad* following, in the fiftieth or one and fiftieth year of *the Kingdom of the Greeks*; when he had reigned nineteen years.

Genebrard. lib. 2. Just. Mart. in Paren.

Antiochus, surnamed *Theos* or *the God*, had this vain and impious title given unto him, by flattery of the *Milesians*; whom he delivered from *Timarchus*, a Tyrant that oppressed them. He held long and difficult, but fruitless, War with *Ptolemy Philadelphus* King of *Ægypt*; which finally he compounded, by taking to Wife *Berenice* the Daughter of *Ptolemy*.

Of these two Kings, and of this Lady *Berenice*, Saint *Hierome* and other Interpreters have understood that Prophecy of *Daniel*: *The Kings Daughter of the South, shall come to the King of the North, to make an agreement*; and that which followeth. Dan. c. 11. v. 6.

Ptolemy Philadelphus was a great lover of Peace and Learning; and (setting apart his incestuous marriage with his own Sister *Arsinoe*) a very excellent Prince: howsoever, the worthiest of all that Race. It was He, that built and furnished with Books, that famous Library in *Alexandria*: which to adorn, and to honour the more, He sent unto *Eleazar*, then high Priest of the *Jews*, for the Books of *Moses* and other Scriptures. The benefits of this King unto the *Jews*, had formerly been very great: for He had set at liberty as many of them, as his Father held in slavery throughout all *Ægypt*; and he had sent unto the *Temple of God in *Hierusalem* very rich Presents. Wherefore *Eleazar* yielding to the Kings desire, presented him with an *Hebrew* Coppy: which *Ptolemy* caused to be translated into *Greek*, by seventy two of the most grave and learned persons, that could be found among all the Tribes. In this number of the seventy two Interpreters, or (as they are commonly called) the *Seventy*; *Jesus* the Son of *Sirach*, is thought by *Genebrard* to have been one: who that he lived in this Age, it seems to me very sufficiently proved by *Jansenius*, in his Preface unto *Ecclesiasticus*. The whole passage of this business between *Philadelphus* and the High Priest, was written (as [h] *Josephus* affirms) by *Aristæus* that was employed therein. Forty years *Ptolemy Philadelphus* was King; reckoning the time wherein he joyntly reigned with his Father. He was exceedingly beloved of his People; and highly magnified by Poets, and other Writers. Towards his end he grew more voluptuous, than he had been in his former years: in which time he boasted, that he alone had found out the way how to live for ever. If this had been referred unto his honourable deeds, it might have stood with reason: otherwise, the Gout, with which he was often troubled, was enough to teach him his own errour. He was the first of the Kings, derived from *Alexanders* Successors, that entred into League with the *Romans*: as also his Off-spring was the last among those Royal Families, which by them was rooted up.

* *Aug de Civ. Dei. L. 18. C. 42.*

[h] *Jos. an. l. 12. C. 2.* Concerning that Book which now goes under the name of *Aristæus*; many learned Men, and among the rest *Lodovicus Vives*, hold suspition that it is counterfeit, and the invention of some later Author. Surely if it were to be suspected in the time of *Vives*; it may be now much more justly suspected, since a new Edition of it is come forth, *purged from faults* (as the Papists term those Books, wherein they have changed what they please) and set forth by *Middendorpius* at Colen. An Dom. 1578. *Just. L. 27.*

Antiochus Theos had another Wife, called *Laodice*, at ſuch time as he married with *Berenice* the Daughter of this *Ptolemy*. After his ſecond marriage, he uſed his firſt Wife with no better regard, than if ſhe had been his Concubine. *Laodice* hated him for this: yet adventured not to ſeek revenge; until her own Son *Seleucus Callinicus*, was of ability to be King. This was two or three years after the death of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*: at what time ſhe poyſoned her Husband *Theos*; and by permiſſion of *Seleucus* her Son, murdered *Berenice*, together with a Son that ſhe had born to *Antiochus*. *Juſtin* reports, that *Berenice* ſaved herſelf, together with the young Prince her Child, awhile in the Sanctuary at *Daphne*: and that not only ſome Cities of *Aſia* prepared to ſuccour her, but her Brother *Ptolemy Euergetes*, King of *Ægypt*, came to reſcue her with an Army; though too late, for ſhe was ſlain before.

With ſuch cruelties *Seleucus Callinicus*, ſucceeding unto his Father that had fifteen years been King, began his Reign. His Subjects were highly offended at his wicked nature, which they diſcovered in his firſt entrance. Wherefore it was like, that his Eſtate would have been much endangered, if *Ptolemy Euergetes*, who came againſt him, had not been drawn back into his own Country, by ſome Commotions there in hand. For there were none that would bear Arms againſt *Ptolemy*, in defence of their own King: but rather they ſided with the *Ægyptian*; who took *Laodice* the Kings Mother, and rewarded her with death as ſhe had well deſerved. Wherefore *Seleucus*, being freed from this invaſion, by occaſion of thoſe domeſtical troubles which recalled *Euergetes* home into *Ægypt*, went about a dangerous piece of work, even to make War upon his own Subjects, becauſe of their bad affection towards him; when as it had been much better, by well deſerving, to have changed their hatred into love. A great Fleet he prepared: in furniſhing and manning whereof he was at ſuch charges, that he ſcarce left himſelf any other hope, if that ſhould miſcarry. Herein he embarqued himſelf; and, putting to Sea, met with ſuch a tempeſt, as devoured all ſave himſelf, and a very few of his friends that hardly eſcaped. This calamity, having left him nothing elſe in a manner than his naked Body, turned nevertheleſs to his great good; as anon after it ſeemed. For when his Subjects underſtood, in what ſort the Gods (as they conceived it) had puniſhed him for his offences: they had commiſeration of his eſtate; and, preſuming that he would thenceforth become a new Man, offered him their ſervice with great alacrity. This revived him, and filled him with ſuch ſpirit; as thinking himſelf well enough able to deal with the *Ægyptian*, he made ready a mighty Army for that purpoſe. But his fortune was no better at Land, than it had been at Sea. He was vanquiſhed by *Ptolemy* in a great Battel: whence he eſcaped hardly; no better attended, than after his late Shipwrack. Haſting therefore back to *Antioch*, and fearing that the Enemy would ſoon be at his Heels; He wrote unto his Brother *Antiochus Hierax*, who lay then in *Aſia*, praying him to bring ſuccour with all ſpeed; and promiſing, in recompence of his faith and diligence, the Dominion of a great part of *Aſia*. *Antiochus* was then but fourteen years old, yet extreamly ambitious; and therefore glad of ſuch an occaſion to make himſelf great. He levied a mighty Army of the *Gaules*; wherewith he ſet forwards to help his Brother; or rather to get what he could for himſelf. Hereof *Ptolemy* being advertiſed: and having no deſire to put himſelf in danger more than needed; took Truce with *Seleucus* for ten years. No ſooner was *Seleucus* freed from this care of the *Ægyptian* War, but his Brother *Antiochus* came upon him; and needs would fight with him, as knowing himſelf to have the better Army. So *Seleucus* was vanquiſhed again; and ſaved himſelf, with ſo few about him, that he was verily ſuppoſed to have periſht in the Battel. Thus did Gods juſtice take revenge of thoſe murders, by which the Crown was purchaſed; and ſetled (as might have been thought) on the head of this bloody King. *Antiochus* was glad to hear of his Brothers death; as if thereby he had purchaſed his hearts deſire. But the *Gaules*, his Mercinaries, were gladder than He. For when he led them againſt *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*, in hope to get honour by making a Conqueſt in the beginning of his Reign: theſe perfidious *Barbarians* took Counſel againſt him; and deviſed how to ſtrip him of all that he had. They thought it very likely, that if there were none of the Royal Houſe to make head againſt them; it would be in their power, to do what ſhould beſt be pleaſing to themſelves, in the lower *Aſia*. Wherefore they laid hands on *Antiochus*; and enforced him to ranſom himſelf with Money, as if he had been their lawful Priſoner. Neither were they ſo contented; but made him enter into ſuch Compoſition with them, as tended little to his honour. In the mean while *Seleucus* had gathered a new Army; and prepared once more to trie his fortune againſt his Brother. *Eumenes* hearing of this, thought the ſeaſon fit for himſelf, to make his profit of their diſcord. *Antiochus* fought with him, and was beaten: which is no great marvel; ſince he had great reaſon to ſtand in no leſs fear of the *Gaules* his own Souldiers, than of the Enemy with whom he had to deal. After this, *Eumenes* wan much in *Aſia*; whilſt *Antiochus* went againſt his Brother. In the ſecond Battel, fought between the Brethren, *Seleucus* had the upper hand: and *Antiochus Hierax* or *the Hawk*, (which ſurname was given him, becauſe he ſought his prey upon every one, without care whether he were provoked or not) ſoared away as far as he could, both from his Brother, and from his own *Gaules*. Having fetcht a great compaſs through *Meſopotamia* and *Armenia*, He fell at length in *Cappadocia*; where his Father in Law King *Artamenes* took him up. He was entertained very lovingly in outward ſhew; but with a meaning to betray him. This he ſoon perceived: and therefore betook him to his wings again; though he knew not well, which way to bend his flight. At length he reſolved to beſtow himſelf upon *Ptolemy*: his own conſcience telling him, what evil he had meant unto *Seleucus*, his Brother; and therefore what little good he was reciprocally to expect at his hands. Infidelity can find no ſure harbour. *Ptolemy* well underſtood the perfidious and turbulent nature of this *Hierax*. Wherefore he laid him up in cloſe Priſon: whence though by means of an Harlot he got out; yet flying from his Keepers, he fell into the hands of Thieves, by whom he was murdered. Near about the ſame time died *Seleucus*. The *Parthians* and *Bactrians* had rebelled againſt him, during his Wars with his Brother. He therefore made a Journey againſt *Arſaces* founder of the *Parthian* Kingdom: wherein his evil fortune, or rather Gods vengeance, adhered ſo cloſely to him, that he was taken Priſoner. *Arſaces* dealt friendly with him, and diſmiſſed him, having every way given him royal entertainment: but in returning home

home, he break his neck by a fall from his Horſe, and ſo ended his unhappy Reign of twenty years. He had to Wife *Laodice*, the Siſter of *Andromachus* one of his moſt truſty Captains: which was Father unto that *Achæus*, who making his advantage of this affinity, became ſhortly after (as he ſtiled himſelf) a King; though rather indeed, a great troubler of the world in thoſe parts. By *Laodice* he had two Sons; *Seleucus* the third, ſurnamed *Ceraunus*; and *Antiochus* the third, called afterwards *the Great*.

Seleucus Ceraunus reigned only three years: in which time he made War upon *Attalus* the firſt, that was King of *Pergamus*. Being weak of Body through ſickneſs, and in want of Money, He could not keep his Men of War in good order: and finally he was ſlain by Treaſon of *Nicanor*, and *Apaturius* a *Gaule*. His death was revenged by *Achæus*, who ſlue the Traitors, and took charge of the Army: which he ruled very wiſely, and faithfully a while; *Antiochus*, the Brother of *Seleucus*, being then a Child.

§. II.

The beginning of the Great Antiochus *his Reign. Of* Ptolemy Euergetes, *and* Philopator, *Kings of* Ægypt. *War between* Antiochus *and* Philopator. *The Rebellion of* Molo; *and Expedition of* Antiochus *againſt him. The recontinuance of* Antiochus *his* Ægyptian *War: with the paſſages between the two Kings: the victory of* Ptolemy; *and Peace concluded. Of* Achæus, *and his Rebellion; his greatneſs, and his fall.* Antiochus *his Expedition againſt the* Parthians, Bactrians, *and* Indians. *Somewhat of the Kings Reigning in* India, *after the death of the Great* Alexander.

ANtiochus was ſcarcely fifteen years old, when he began his Reign, which laſted ſix and thirty years. In his Minority, He was wholly governed by one *Hermias*, an ambitious Man; and one which maligned all vertue, that he found in any of the Kings faithful ſervants. This vile quality in a Counſellor of ſuch great place, how harmful it was unto his Lord, and finally unto himſelf; the ſucceſs of things will ſhortly diſcover.

Soon after the beginning of *Antiochus* his Reign, *Ptolemy Euergetes* King of *Ægypt* died; and left his Heir *Ptolemy Philopator*, a young Boy likewiſe, as hath elſewhere been remembred. This was that *Euergetes*, who relieved *Aratus* and the *Achæans*; who afterwards took part with *Cleomenes*; and lovingly entertained him, when he was chaced out of *Greece* by *Antigonus Gonatas*. He annexed unto his Dominion the Kingdom of *Cyrene*; by taking to Wife *Berenice*, the Daughter of King *Magas*. He was the third of the *Ptolemies*; and the laſt good King of the race. The name of *Euergetes*, or *the doer of good*, was given him by the *Ægyptians*; not ſo much for the great ſpoils which he brought home, after his victories in *Syria*; as for that he recovered ſome of thoſe Images or Idols, which *Cambyſes*, when he conquered *Ægypt*, had carried into *Perſia*. He was ready to have made War upon the *Jews*, for that *Onias* their high Prieſt, out of meer covetouſneſs of Money, refuſed to pay unto him his yearly tribute of twenty Talents: but he was pacified by the wiſdom of *Joſephus* a *Jew*; unto whom afterwards he let in farm the Tributes and Cuſtoms, that belonged unto him, in thoſe parts of *Syria* which he held. For *Cœleſyria*, with *Paleſtina* and all thoſe parts of the Country that lay neareſt unto *Ægypt*, were held by the *Ægyptian*; either as having fallen to the ſhare of *Ptolemy* the firſt, at ſuch time as the great *Antigonus* was vanquiſhed and ſlain in the Battel at *Ipſus*; or as being won by this *Euergetes*, in the troubleſome and unhappy reign of *Seleucus Callinicus*. The Victories of this *Euergetes* in *Syria*, with the contentions that laſted for many ſucceeding Ages between the *Ptolemies* and the *Seleucidæ*; were all foretold by *Daniel* in the Prophecy before cited, which is expounded by St. *Hierome*. This *Ptolemy Euergetes* Reigned ſix and twenty years; and died towards the end of the hundred thirty and ninth *Olympiad*. It may ſeem by that, which we find in the Prologue unto *Jeſus* the Son of *Sirach* his Book, that he ſhould have reigned a much longer time. For *Siracides* there ſaith, that he came into *Ægypt* in the eight and thirtieth year, when *Euergetes* was King. It may therefore be, That either this King reigned long together with his Father: or that thoſe eight and thirthy years, were the years of *Jeſus* his own age; if not perhaps reckoned (as the *Jews* did other whiles reckon) from ſome notable accident that had befallen them.

Not long after the death of *Euergetes*: *Hermias* the Councellor, and in a manner the Protector of King *Antiochus*, incited his Lord unto War againſt the *Ægyptian*; for the recovery of *Cœleſyria* and the Countries adjoyning. This Counſil was very unſeaſonably given; when *Molo*, the Kings Lieutenant in *Media*, was broken out into Rebellion, and ſought to make himſelf abſolute Lord of that rich Country. Nevertheleſs *Hermias*, being more froward than wiſe, maintained ſtifly, that it was moſt expedient, and agreeable with the Kings honour, to ſend forth againſt a rebellious Captain other Captains that were faithful; whilſt He in perſon made War upon one, that was like himſelf a King. No Man durſt gainſay the reſolution of *Hermias*; who therefore ſent *Xenætas* an *Achæan*, with ſuch forces as he thought expedient, againſt the Rebel; whilſt in the mean ſeaſon an Army was preparing for the Kings Expedition into *Cœleſyria*. The King having marched from *Apamea* to *Laodicea*, and ſo over the Deſarts into the Vally of *Marſyas*, between the Mountains of *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*; found his way there ſtopped by *Theodotus* an *Ætolian*, that ſerved under *Ptolemy*. So he conſumed the time there awhile to none effect: and then came news, that *Xenætas*, his Captain, was deſtroyed with his whole Army; and *Molo* thereby become Lord of all the Country, as far as unto *Babylon*.

Xenætas, whilſt he was yet on his Journy, and drew near to the River of *Tigris*; received many advertiſements, by ſuch as fled over unto him from the Enemy, That the followers of *Molo* were, for the moſt part, againſt their wills, drawn by their Commander to bear Arms againſt the King. This report was not altogether falſe; but *Molo* himſelf ſtood in ſome doubt leſt his followers would leave him in time of neceſſity. *Xenætas* therefore making ſhew, as if he had prepared to paſs the River by Boats in face of his Enemy: left in the night time ſuch as he thought meet to defend his Camp; and with all the flour of his Army went over *Tigris*, in a place ten miles lower than *Molo* his Camp. *Molo* heard of this, and ſent forth his Horſe to give impediment; but hearing that *Xenætas* could not ſo be ſtopped,

He

He himſelf diſlodged, and took his Journey towards *Media*; leaving all his baggage behind him in his Camp. Whether he did this, as diſtruſting the faith of his own Souldiers: or whether thereby to deceive his Enemy; the great folly of *Xenetas* made his ſtratagem proſperous. For *Xenetas*, having born himſelf proudly before, upon the countenance of *Hermias*, by whom he was advanced unto this charge; did now preſume, that all ſhould give way to his authority, without putting him to much trouble of uſing the Sword. Wherefore he ſuffered his Men to feaſt, with the proviſions which they found ready in the forſaken Camp: or rather he commanded them ſo to do, by making Proclamation, That they ſhould cheriſh up themſelves againſt the Journey, which he intended to take next day, in purſuit of the Rebels that fled. And to the ſame purpoſe he buſied himſelf, in tranſporting the remainder of his Army, which he had left on the other ſide of *Tigris*. But *Molo* went no further that day, than he could eaſily return the ſame night. Wherefore underſtanding what good rule the Kings Men kept: he made ſuch haſte back unto them, that he came upon them early in the morning; whilſt they were yet heavy with the Wine and other good chear, that they had ſpent at Supper. So *Xenetas* and a very few about him, died fighting in defence of the Camp: the reſt were ſlaughtered, without making reſiſtance; and many of them, ere they were perfectly awake. Likewiſe the Camp on the other ſide of *Tigris*, was eaſily taken by *Molo*: the Captains flying thence, to ſave their own lives. In the heat of this victory, the Rebel marched unto *Seleucia*, which he preſently took: and, maſtering within a little while the Province of *Babylonia*, and all the Country down to the Red Sea, or *Bay of Perſia*, He haſted unto *Suſa*: where at his firſt coming he wan the City: but failing to take the Caſtle that was exceeding ſtrong, returned back to *Seleucia*, there to give order concerning this buſineſs.

The report of theſe things coming to *Antiochus*, whilſt he lay (as is ſaid before) in the Vale of *Marſyas*: filled him with great ſorrow, and his Camp with trouble. He took Counſel what to do in this needful caſe; and was well adviſed by *Epigenes* the beſt Man of War he had about him, to let alone this Enterpriſe of *Cæleſyria*; and bend his forces thither, where more need required them. This Counſel was put in execution with all convenient haſte. Yet was *Epigenes* diſmiſſed by the way, and ſoon after ſlain, by the practice of *Hermias*: who could not endure to hear good Counſel given, contrary to his own good liking and allowance. In the Journey againſt *Molo*, the name and preſence of the King was more available, than any odds which he had of the Rebel in ſtrength. *Molo* diſtruſted his own followers: and thought, that neither his late good ſucceſs, or any other conſideration, would ſerve to hold them from returning to the Kings obedience; if once they beheld his perſon. Wherefore he thought it ſafeſt for him, to aſſail the Kings Camp in the night time. But going in hand with this; He was diſcovered by ſome that fled over from him to the King. This cauſed him to return back to his Camp: which, by ſome error, took alarm at his return; and was hardly quieted, when *Antiochus* appeared in ſight. The King was thus forward in giving Battel to *Molo*, upon confidence which he had that many would revolt unto him. Neither was he deceived in this his belief. For not a few Men, or Enſigns: but all the left wing of the Enemy, which was oppoſite unto the King, changed ſide forthwith as ſoon as ever they had ſight of the Kings perſon; and were ready to do him ſervice againſt *Molo*. This was enough to have won the victory: but *Molo* ſhortned the work, by killing himſelf; as did alſo divers of his friends, who for fear of torments prevented the Hang-man with their own Swords.

After this victory came joyful news, that the Queen *Laodice*, Daughter of *Mithradates* King of *Pontus*, which was married unto *Antiochus* a while before, had brought forth a Son. Fortune ſeemed bountiful unto the King: and therefore he purpoſed to make what uſe he could, of her friendly diſpoſition while it laſted. Being now in the Eaſtern parts of his Kingdom, He judged it convenient to viſit his Frontiers; were it only to terrifie the *Barbarians*, that bordered upon him. Hereunto his Counſellor *Hermias* gave aſſent: not ſo much reſpecting the Kings honour; as conſidering what good might thereby happen to himſelf. For if it ſhould come to paſs, that the King were taken out of the world by any caſuality: then made he no doubt of becoming Protector to the young Prince; and thereby of lengthening his own Government. *Antiochus* therefore went againſt *Artabazanes*, who reigned among the *Atropatians*; having the greateſt part of his Kingdom, ſituate between the *Caſpian* and *Euxine* Sea. This barbarous King was very old and fearful; and therefore yielded unto whatſoever Conditions it pleaſed *Antiochus* to lay upon him. So in this Journey *Antiochus* got honour, ſuch as well contented him; and then returned homewards. Upon the way, a Phyſician of his brake with him as concerning *Hermias*; informing him truly, how odious he was unto the People; and how dangerous he would be ſhortly unto the Kings own life. *Antiochus* believed this, having long ſuſpected the ſame *Hermias*; but not daring, for fear of him, to utter his ſuſpitions. It was therefore agreed, that he ſhould be made away on the ſudden: which was done; he being trained forth by a ſleight a good way out of the Camp, and there killed without warning or diſputation. The King needed not to have uſed ſo much art, in ridding his hands of a Man ſo much deteſted. For howſoever he ſeemed gracious whilſt he was alive: yet they that for fear had been moſt obſequious to him, whilſt he was in caſe to do them hurt, were as ready as the foremoſt, to ſpeak of him as he had deſerved; when once they were ſecure of him. Yea his Wife and Children, lying then at *Apamea*, were ſtoned to death by the Wives and Children of the Citizens; whoſe indignation brake forth the more outragiouſly, the longer that it had been concealed.

About theſe times, *Achæus* (of whom we ſpeak before) thinking that *Antiochus* might happen to periſh in ſome of thoſe Expeditions which he took in hand; was bold to ſet a Diadem upon his own head, and take upon him as a King. His purpoſe was to have invaded *Syria*: but the fame of *Antiochus* his returning thitherwards, made him quit the Enterpriſe; and ſtudy to ſet ſome handſome colour on his former preſumption. It is very ſtrange, that *Antiochus* neither went againſt *Achæus*; nor yet diſſembled the notice which he had taken, of theſe his traiterous purpoſes: but wrote unto him, ſignifying that he knew all; and upbraiding him with ſuch infidelity, as any offendor might know to be unpardonable. By theſe means he emboldned the Traitor: who being already detected, might better hope to maintain his former actions by ſtrong hand, than to excuſe them, or get pardon by ſubmiſſion. *Antiochus* had at that time a vehement deſire to recover *Cæleſyria* or what elſe he could, of the Dominions of *Ptolemy Philopator* in thoſe parts.

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he began with *Seleucia*, a very ſtrong City near unto the mouth of the River *Orontes*, which ere long he won, partly by force, partly by corrupting with Bribes the Captains that lay therein. This was that *Seleucia*, whereto *Antigonus the great*, who founded it, gave the name of *Antigonia*; but *Seleucus* getting it ſhortly after, called it *Seleucia*; and *Ptolemy Euergetes* having lately won it, might, if it had ſo pleaſed him, have changed the name into *Ptolemais*. Such is the vanity of men that hope to purchaſe an endleſs memorial unto their Names, by works proceeding rather from their greatneſs, than from their Vertue; which therefore no longer are their own, than the ſame greatneſs hath continuance. *Theodotus* the *Ætolian*, he that before had oppoſed himſelf to *Antiochus*, and defended *Cœloſyria* in the behalf of *Ptolemy*, was now grown ſorry that he had uſed ſo much faith and diligence in ſervice of an unthankful and luxurious Prince. Wherefore, as a Mercenary, he began to have regard unto his own profit; which thinking to find greater, by applying himſelf unto him that was (queſtionleſs) the more worthy of theſe two Kings; he offered to deliver up to *Antiochus*, the Cities of *Tyrus* and *Ptolemais*. Whilſt he was deviſing about this Treaſon, and had already ſent Meſſengers to King *Antiochus*, his practice was detected, and he beſieged in *Ptolemais* by one of *Ptolemy*'s Captains, that was more faithful than himſelf. But *Antiochus* haſting to his reſcue, vanquiſhed this Captain who met him on the way, and afterwards got Poſſeſſion, not only of *Tyrus* and *Ptolemais*, with a good Fleet of the *Egyptian* Kings that was in thoſe Havens, but of ſo many other Towns in that Countrey, as emboldened him to think upon making a Journey into *Egypt* it ſelf. *Agathocles* and *Soſibius* bore all the ſway in *Egypt* at that time, *Ptolemy* himſelf being loth to have his Pleaſures interrupted with buſineſs of ſo ſmall importance, as the ſafety of his Kingdom. Wherefore theſe two agreed together to make proviſion as haſtily, and yet as ſecretly as might be, for the War; and nevertheleſs, at the ſame time to preſs *Antiochus* with daily Embaſſadours to ſome good Agreement. There came in the heat of this buſineſs, Embaſſadours from *Rhodes*, *Bizantium*, and *Cyzicus*, as likewiſe from the *Ætolians*, according to the uſual courteſie of the *Greeks*, deſiring to take up the Quarrel. Theſe were all entertained in *Memphis*, by *Agathocles* and *Soſibius*; who entreated them to deal effectually with *Antiochus*. But whilſt this Treaty laſted, great Preparations were made at *Alexandria* for the War, wherein theſe two Counſellors perſwaded themſelves reaſonably, that the Victory would be their own, if they could get for Money a ſufficient number of the *Greeks* to take their parts. *Antiochus* heard only what was done at *Memphis*, and how deſirous the Governours of *Egypt* were to be at quiet; whereunto he gave the readier belief, not only for that he knew the Diſpoſition of *Ptolemy*, but becauſe the *Rhodians*, and other Embaſſadours, coming from *Memphis*, diſcourſed unto him all after one manner; as being all deceived by the cunning of *Agathocles* and his Fellow. *Antiochus* therefore having wearied himſelf at the long Siege of a Town called *Dura*, which he could not win; and being deſirous to refreſh himſelf and his Army in *Seleucia*, during the Winter which then came on, granted unto the *Egyptian* a Truce for four Months, with promiſe that he would be ready to hearken unto equal Conditions, when they ſhould be offered. It was not his meaning to be ſo courteous, as he would fain have ſeemed, but only to lull his Enemies aſleep, whilſt he took time to refreſh himſelf, and to bring *Achæus* to ſome good order, whoſe Treaſon daily grew more open and violent. The ſame negligence which he thought the *Egyptian* would have uſed, he uſed himſelf; as preſuming, that when time of the year better ſerved, little force would be needful, for that the Towns would voluntarily yield unto him, ſince *Ptolemy* provided not for their defence. Nevertheleſs he gave audience to the Embaſſadours, and had often conference with thoſe that were ſent out of *Egypt*, pleaſing himſelf well to diſpute about the Juſtice of his Quarrel, which he purpoſed ſhortly to make good by the Sword, whether it were juſt or no. He ſaid, that it was agreed between *Seleucus* his Anceſtor, and *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagi*, That all *Syria*, if they could win it from *Antigonus*, ſhould be given in Poſſeſſion to *Seleucus*; and that this Bargain was afterwards ratified by general Conſent of all the Confederates after the Battel at *Ipſus*. But *Ptolemy*'s men would acknowledge no ſuch Bargain. They ſaid, That *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagi*, had won *Cœloſyria* and the Provinces adjoyning, for himſelf; as alſo that he had ſufficiently gratified *Seleucus*, by lending him forces to recover his Province of *Babylon*, and the Countries about the River of *Euphrates*. Thus whilſt neither of them greatly cared for Peace, they were in the end of their Diſputation as far from concluding as at the beginning. *Ptolemy* demanded reſtitution; *Antiochus* thought that he had not as yet gotten all that was his own: Alſo *Ptolemy* would needs have *Achæus* comprehended in the League between them, as one of their Confederates; but *Antiochus* would not endure to hear of this, exclaiming againſt it as a ſhameful thing, that one King ſhould offer to deal ſo with another, as to take his Rebel into Protection, and ſeek to joyn him in Confederacy with his own Sovereign Lord. When the Truce was expired, and *Antiochus* prepared to take the Field again, contrary to his expectation he was informed, That *Ptolemy* with a very puiſſant Army, was coming up againſt him out of *Egypt*. Setting forward therefore to meet with the Enemy, he was encountred on the way by thoſe Captains of *Ptolemy*, that had reſiſted him the year before. They held againſt him the Paſſages of *Libanus*, whence nevertheleſs he drave them; and proceeding onward in his Journey, wan ſo many places that he greatly increaſed his Reputation, and thereby drew the *Arabians*, with divers of the bordering people, to become his Followers. As the two Kings drew near together, many Captains of *Ptolemy* forſook his Pay, and fled over to *Antiochus*. This notwithſtanding, the *Egyptian* had the Courage to meet his Enemy in the Field. The Battel was fought at *Raphia*, where it was not to be decided, whether the *Egyptians* or *Aſiatiques* were the better Souldiers (for that the ſtrength of both Armies conſiſted in Mercinaries, chiefly of the *Greeks*, *Thracians*, and *Gauls*) but whether of the Kings was the more fortunate. *Ptolemy*, with *Arſinoe* his Siſter and Wife, rode up and down encouraging his men; the like did *Antiochus* on the other ſide, each of them rehearſing the brave deeds of their Anceſtors, as not having of their own, whereby to value themſelves. *Antiochus* had the more Elephants; as alſo his being of *Aſia*, had they been fewer, would have beaten thoſe of *Africk*. Wherefore by the advantage of theſe Beaſts, he drave the Enemies before him, in that part of the Battel wherein he fought himſelf. But *Ptolemy* had the better men, by whoſe valour he brake the Groſs of his Enemy's Battel, and wan the Victory,

story, whilſt *Antiochus* was heedleſly following upon thoſe, whom he had compelled to retire. *Antiochus* had brought into the Field above ſeventy thouſand Foot, and ſix thouſand Horſe, whereof though he loſt ſcarce ten thouſand Foot, and not four hundred Horſe, yet the fame of his overthrow took from him all thoſe places which he had lately won. When therefore he was returned home to *Antioch*, he began to ſtand in fear, leſt *Ptolemy* and *Achæus*, ſetting upon him both at once, ſhould put him in danger of his whole Eſtate. This cauſed him to ſend Embaſſadours unto the *Egyptian* to treat of Peace, which was readily granted; it being much againſt the nature of *Ptolemy* to vex himſelf thus with the tedious buſineſs of War. So *Ptolemy* having ſtaid three months in *Syria*, returned home into *Egypt*, clad with the reputation of a Conqueror, to the great Admiration of his Subjects, and of all thoſe thoſe that were acquainted with his voluptuous and ſlothful Condition.

Achæus was not compriſed in the League between theſe two Kings; or if he had been included therein, yet would not the *Egyptian* have taken the pains of making a ſecond Expedition for his ſake. The beſt was, that he thought himſelf ſtrong enough, if fortune were not too much againſt him, to deal with *Antiochus*. Neither was he confident without great reaſon. For beſides his many Victories, whereby he had gotten all that belonged unto *Antiochus* on this ſide of *Taurus*, he had alſo good ſucceſs againſt *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, that was an able man of War, and commanded a ſtrong Army. Neither was he, as *Molo* the Rebel had been, one of mean regard otherwiſe, and carried beyond himſelf by apprehending the vantage of ſome opportunity; but Couzen-german to the King, as hath been ſhewed before, and now lately the King's Brother-in-law, by taking to Wife a younger Daughter of the ſame *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, which was alſo called *Laodice*, as was her Siſter the *Queen*, *Antiochus* his Wife. Theſe things had added Majeſty unto him, and had made his Followers greatly to reſpect him, even as one to whom a Kingdom was belonging. Neither made it a little for him, that King *Ptolemy* of *Egypt* held him in the nature of a Friend; and that King *Antiochus* was now lately vanquiſhed in the Battel at *Raphia*, and had thereby loſt all his gettings in *Syria*. But all theſe hopes and likelihoods came to nothing. For the King of *Pontus*, if he would meddle in that Quarrel between his Sons-in-law, had no reaſon to take part againſt the more honourable. As for the *Egyptian*, he was not only ſlothful, but hindred by a Rebellion of his own Subjects, from helping his Friends abroad. For the People of *Egypt*, of whom *Ptolemy*, contrary to the manner of his Progenitors, had armed a great number to ſerve in the late Expedition, began to entertain a good opinion of their own Valour, thinking it not inferiour to the *Macedonian*. Hereupon they refuſed to ſuffer as much as formerly they had done, ſince they leſs eſteemed, than they had done, the force of the King's Mercenary *Greeks*, which had hitherto kept them in ſtreight Subjection. Thus brake out a War between that King and his Subjects, wherein though the ill-guided force of the Multitude was finally broken; yet King *Ptolemy* thereby waſted much of his ſtrength, and much of his time, that might have been ſpent, as he thought, much better in revelling; or, as others thought, in ſuccouring *Achæus*. As for *Antiochus*, he had no ſooner made his Peace with the *Egyptian*, than he turned all his care to the preparation of War againſt *Achæus*. To this purpoſe he entred into League with *Attalus*, that ſo he might diſtract the Forces of his Rebel, and find him work on all ſides. Finally, his diligence and fortune were ſuch, that within a while he had pent up *Achæus* into the City of *Sardes*, where he held him about two years beſieged. The City was very ſtrong, and well victualled, ſo as there appeared not, when the ſecond year came, any greater likelihood of taking it, than in the firſt years ſiege. In the end, one *Lagoras* a *Cretan* found means how to enter the Town. The Caſtle it ſelf was upon a very high Rock, and in a manner impregnable; as alſo the Town-wall adjoyning to the Caſtle, in that part which was called *the Saw*, was in like manner ſcituated upon ſteep Rocks, and hardly acceſſible, that hung over a deep bottom, whereinto the dead Carkaſes of Horſes and other Beaſts, yea, and ſometimes of men, uſed to be thrown. Now it was obſerved by *Lagoras*, That the Ravens and other Birds of prey, which haunted that place by reaſon of their Food, which was there never wanting, uſed to flie up unto the top of the Rocks, and to pitch upon the Walls, where they reſted without any diſturbance. Obſerving this often, he reaſoned with himſelf, and concluded, That thoſe parts of the Wall were left unguarded, as being thought unapproachable. Hereof he informed the King, who approved his Judgment, and gave unto him the leading of ſuch men, as he deſired for the accompliſhing of the Enterpriſe. The Succeſs was agreeable to that which *Lagoras* had afore conceived; and, though with much labour, yet without reſiſtance, he ſcaled thoſe Rocks, and (whilſt a general Aſſault was made) entered the Town in that part, which was at other times unguarded, then unthought upon. In the ſame place had the *Perſians* under *Cyrus*, gotten into *Sardes*, when *Cræſus* thought himſelf ſecure on that ſide. But the Citizens took not warning by the example of a loſs many ages paſt, and therefore out of memory. *Achæus* held ſtill the Caſtle, which not only ſeemed by nature impregnable, but was very well ſtored with all neceſſaries, and manned with a ſufficient number of ſuch as were to him well aſſured. *Antiochus* therefore was conſtrained to waſte much time about it, having none other hope to prevail, than by famiſhing the incloſed. Beſides the uſual tediouſneſs of Expectation, his buſineſs called him thence away into the higher *Aſia*, where the *Bactrians*, and *Parthians*, with the *Hyrcanians*, had erected Kingdoms taken out of his Dominions, upon which they ſtill encroached. But he thought it not ſafe to let *Achæus* break looſe again. On the other ſide, there were ſome Agents of *Ptolemy* the *Egyptian*, and good Friends unto *Achæus*, that made it their whole Study how to deliver this beſieged Prince. If they could reſcue his perſon, they cared for no more; but preſumed, that when he ſhould appear in the Countries under *Taurus*, he would ſoon have an Army at command, and be ſtrong enough to hold *Antiochus* as hardly to work, as at any time before. Wherefore they dealt with one *Bolis* a *Cretan*, that was acquainted well with all the ways in the Countrey, and particularly with the by-paths and exceeding difficult paſſages among thoſe Rocks whereon the Caſtle of *Sardes* ſtood. Him they tempted with great Rewards, which he ſhould receive at the hands of *Ptolemy*, as well as of *Achæus*; to do his beſt for the Performance of their deſire. He undertook the buſineſs, and gave ſuch likely reaſons of bringing all to good effect, that they wrote unto *Achæus* by one *Arianus* a truſty meſſenger, whom *Bolis* found means to conveigh into the Caſtle. The Faith of theſe Negotiators

tiators *Achæus* held moſt aſſured. They alſo wrote unto him in privy Characters, or Cyphers, wherewith none ſave he and they were acquainted; whereby he knew, that it was no feigned device of his Enemies, in the name of his Friends. As for the Meſſenger, he was a truſty Fellow, and one whom *Achæus* found, by examination, heartily affected unto the ſide. But the Contents of the Epiſtle, which were, That he ſhould be confident in the Faith of *Bolis*, and of one *Cambylus*, whom *Bolis* had won unto the buſineſs, did ſomewhat trouble him. They were men to him unknown; and *Cambylus* was a follower of *Antiochus*, under whom he had the Command of thoſe *Cretans*, which held one of the Forts that blocked up the Caſtle of *Sardes*. Nevertheleſs, other way to eſcape he ſaw none, than by putting himſelf to ſome adventure. When the Meſſenger had therefore paſſed to and fro, it was at length concluded, That *Bolis* himſelf ſhould come ſpeak with *Achæus*, and conduct him forth. There was none other than good faith meant by any of the reſt, ſave only by *Bolis* and *Cambylus*, which were *Cretans*, and (as all their Countrymen, * ſome few excepted, have been, and ſtill are) falſe Knaves. Theſe two held a conſultation together, that was, as † *Polybius* obſerves it, rightly *Cretical*, neither concerning the ſafety of him whoſe deliverance they undertook, nor touching the diſcharge of their own faith; but only how to get moſt, with leaſt ado and danger to themſelves. Briefly they concluded, That firſt of all they would equally ſhare between them ten Talents, which they had already received in hand; and then that they would reveal the matter to *Antiochus*, offering to deliver *Achæus* unto him, if they might be well rewarded both with preſent Money and with promiſe of conſideration anſwerable to the greatneſs of ſuch a ſervice, when it ſhould be diſpatched. *Antiochus* hearing this promiſe of *Cambylus*, was no leſs glad, than were the Friends of *Achæus* well pleaſed with the comfortable promiſes of *Bolis*. At length, when all things were in readineſs on both ſides, and that *Bolis* with *Arianus* was to get up into the Caſtle, and convey *Achæus* thence, he firſt went with *Cambylus* to ſpeak with the King, who gave him very private audience, and confirmed unto him by word of mouth, the aſſurance of his liberal Promiſes. And after that, putting on the countenance of an honeſt man, and of one that was faithful unto *Ptolemy*, whom he long had ſerved, he accompanied *Arianus* up into the Caſtle. At his coming thither, he was lovingly entertained, yet queſtioned at large by *Achæus*, touching all the weight of the buſineſs in hand. But he diſcourſed ſo well, and with ſuch gravity, that there appeared no reaſon of diſtruſting either his Faith or Judgment. He was an old Souldier, had long been a Captain under *Ptolemy*, and did not thruſt himſelf into this buſineſs, but was invited by honourable and faithful men. He had alſo taken a ſafe courſe in winning (as it ſeemed) that other Countryman of his, who kept a Fort that ſtood in their way; and thereby had already ſundry times given ſafe paſſage and repaſſage unto *Arianus*. But againſt all theſe comfortable hopes, the importance of ſo great an Adventure ſtirred up ſome Diffidence. *Achæus* therefore dealt wiſely, and ſaid, That he would yet ſtay in the Caſtle a little longer, but that he meant to ſend away with *Bolis* three or four of his Friends, from whom when he received better Advertiſement concerning the likelihood of the Enterpriſe, then would he iſſue forth himſelf. Hereby he took order not to commit himſelf wholly unto the faith of a man unknown. But, as *Polybius* well notes, he did not conſider, that he plaid the *Cretian* with a man of *Crete*; which is to ſay, that he had to do with one, whoſe Knavery could not be avoided by circumſpection. *Bolis* and *Cambylus* had laid their Plot thus; That if *Achæus* came forth alone, then ſhould he eaſily be taken by the Ambuſh prepared for him; if he were accompanied with many of his Friends, then ſhould *Arianus* be appointed to lead the way, as one that of late had trodden it oft; and *Bolis* following behind, ſhould have an eye upon *Achæus*, to prevent him not only from eſcaping in the tumult, but from breaking his own neck, or otherwiſe killing himſelf; to the end that being taken alive, he might be to *Antiochus* the more welcome Preſent. And in ſuch order came they now forth. *Arianus* going before as guide, the reſt following as the way ſerved, and *Bolis* in the Rear. *Achæus* made none acquainted with his purpoſe, till the very inſtant of his departure. Then ſignified he the matter to his Wife *Laodice*, and comforting her with hope as well as he could, appointed four of his eſpecial Friends to bear him company. They were all diſguiſed, and one of them alone took upon him to have knowledge of the *Greek* Tongue, ſpeaking and anſwering as need ſhould require, for all, as if the reſt had been *Barbarians*. *Bolis* followed them, craftily deviſing upon his buſineſs, and much perplexed. For (ſaith *Polybius*) *though he were of* Crete, *and prone to ſurmiſe any thing to the miſchief of another*, yet could he not ſee in the dark, nor know which of them was *Achæus*, or whether *Achæus* himſelf were there. The way was very uneaſie, and in ſome places dangerous; eſpecially to thoſe that knew it not. Wherefore they were fain to ſtay in divers places, and help one another up or down. But upon every occaſion they were all of them very officious towards *Achæus*, lending him their hands, and taking ſuch care of him, as eaſily gave *Bolis* to underſtand, that he was the man; and ſo by their unſeaſonable duty, they undid their Lord. When they came to the place where *Cambylus* lay in wait, *Bolis* whiſtled, and preſently claſped *Achæus* about the middle, holding him faſt that he ſhould not ſtir. So they were all taken by the ambuſh, and carried forthwith to *Antiochus*, who ſate up watching in his Pavilion, expecting the event. The ſight of *Achæus* brought in bound unto him, did ſo aſtoniſh the King, that he was unable to ſpeak a word, and anon break out into weeping. Yet was he before informed of the Plot, which might have kept him from admiration; as alſo the next Morning betimes aſſembling his Friends together, he condemned *Achæus* to a cruel death; which argues, that he was not moved with pity towards this unhappy man. Wherefore it was the general regard of Calamities, incident unto great fortunes, that wrung from him theſe tears, as alſo the rarity of the Accident, that made both him and his Friends to wonder; though it be ſo, that ſuch a Courſe as this of his, in employing two miſchievous Knaves againſt one Traitor, doth not rarely ſucceed well, according to that *Spaniſh* Proverb, *A un Traydor dos allevoſos*. The death of *Achæus* brought ſuch aſtoniſhment upon thoſe which held the Caſtle, that after a while they gave up the place and themſelves unto the King, whereby he got entire Poſſeſſion of all to him belonging in the leſſer *Aſia*.

Some years paſſed after this, ere *Antiochus* was ready for his Expedition againſt the *Parthians*, and *Hyrcanians*. The *Parthians* were a little Nation of obſcure beginnings, and commonly ſubject unto thoſe that ruled in *Media*. In the great ſhuffling for

* Among theſe few I do not except one, calling himſelf *Eudæmon John Andrew*, a *Cretan*, who in one of his late ſhameleſs Libels, wherein he traduceth our King, Religion, and Country, with all the good and worthy men, of whom he could learn the names; hath by inſerting my name, twice belyed me, in calling me a Puritan, and one that have been dangerous unto my Soveraign. It is an honour to be ill ſpoken of by ſo diligent a Supporter of Treaſons, and Architect of Lyes; in regard whereof I may not deny him the commendation of Creticiſm, no leſs voluminous than he in multiplicity of name is beyond any the *Cretans* in elder times, that were always Lyers, evil Beaſts, and ſlow bellies.

† *Polyb. hiſt. l.* 8.

provinces after the death of *Alexander*, the Government over them was committed by *Antipater* to one *Philip*, a man of small regard, shortly they fell to *Eumenes*, then to *Antigonus*, and from him, together with the *Medes*, to *Seleucus*, under whose Posterity they continued until the Reign of *Seleucus Callinicus*, being ruled by Lieutenants of the *Syrian* Kings. The lustful insolency of one of these Lieutenants, together with the misfortune of *Callinicus*, that was vanquished, and thought to be slain by the *Gaules*, did stir up *Arsaces*, a Noble man of the Countrey, to seek revenge of Injuries done, and animate him to rebel. So he slew the King's Lieutenant, made himself King of the *Parthians*, and Lord of *Hyrcania*; fought prosperously with those that disturbed him in his beginnings, and took *Seleucus Callinicus* Prisoner in battel, whom he royally entertained, and dismissed. Hereby he wan Reputation as a lawful King, and by good Government of his Countrey, procured unto himself such love of his Subjects, that his name was continued unto his Successors, like as that of the *Ptolemy*'s in *Egypt*, and that of the *Cæsar*'s afterwards in *Rome*. Much about the same time the *Bactrians* rebelled, though these at length, and all belonging unto the *Seleucidæ* beyond *Euphrates*, encreased the *Parthians* Dominion. Now *Antiochus* went against them with so strong an Army, that they durst not meet him in plain field, but kept themselves in Woods, or places of strength, and defended the Streights and Passages of Mountains. The resistances they made, availed them not. For *Antiochus* had with him so great a multitude, and so well sorted, as he needed not to turn out of the way from those that lay fortified against him, in Woods and Streights between their Mountains; it being easie to spare out of so great a number, as many as fetching a compass about, might either get above the Enemies heads, or come behind, and charge them on the back. Thus did he often employ against them his light armature, wherewith he caused them to dislodge, and give way unto his *Phalanx*; upon which they durst not adventure themselves in open ground. *Arsaces*, the second of the name, (for his Father was dead before this) was then King of *Parthia*: who though he was confident in the fidelity of his own Subjects; yet feared to encounter with so mighty an Invader. His hope was, that the bad ways, and deserts, would have caused *Antiochus*, when he was at *Ecbatane* in *Media*, to give over the journey without proceeding much further. This not so falling out, He caused the Wells and Springs in the Wilderness, through which his Enemy must pass, to be dammed up and spoiled. By which means, and the resistance before spoken of, when he could not prevail, He withdrew himself out of the way: suffering the Enemy to take his pleasure for a time, in wasting the Countrey; wherein, without some Victory obtained, he could make no long abode. *Antiochus* hereby found, that *Arsaces* was nothing strongly provided for the War. Wherefore he marched through the heart of *Parthia*: and then forward into *Hyrcania*; where he wan *Tambrace* the chief City of that Province. This indignity and many other losses, caused *Arsaces* at length, when he had gathered an Army that seemed strong enough, to adventure a Battel. The issue thereof was such, as gave to neither of the Kings hope of accomplishing his desires, without exceeding difficulty. Wherefore *Arsaces* craved peace, and at length obtained it: *Antiochus* thinking it not amiss, to make him a Friend, whom he could not make a Subject.

The next expedition of *Antiochus*, was against *Euthydemus* King of the *Bactrians*; one that indeed had not rebelled against him or his Ancestors; but having gotten the Kingdom from those that had rebelled, kept it to himself. With *Euthydemus* he fought a Battel by the River *Arius*, where he had the Victory. But the Victory was not so greatly to his Honour, as was the Testimony which he gave of his own private Valour, in obtaining it. He was thought that day to have demeaned himself more couragiously, than did any one man in all his Army. His Horse was slain under him: and he himself received a wound in his Mouth, whereby he lost some of his Teeth. As for *Euthydemus*; he withdrew himself back into the further parts of his Kingdom; and afterwards protracted the War, seeking how to end it by composition. So Embassadors passed between the Kings: *Antiochus* complaining, That a Countrey of his was unjustly usurped from him; *Euthydemus* answering, That he had won it from the Children of the Usurpers: and further, That the *Bactrians*, a wild Nation, could hardly be retained in order, save by a King of their own; for that they bordered upon the *Scythians*, with whom if they should joyn, it would be greatly to the danger of all the Provinces that lay behind them. These allegations, together with his own weariness, pacified *Antiochus*; and made him willing to grant peace upon reasonable Conditions. *Demetrius*, the Son of *Euthydemus*, being a goodly Gentleman, and employed by his Father as Embassador in this Treaty of Peace; was not a little available unto a good Conclusion. For *Antiochus* liked him so well, that he promised to give him in Marriage one of his own Daughters: and therewithal permitted *Euthydemus* to retain the Kingdom; causing him nevertheless to deliver up all his Elephants; as also to bind himself by Oath to such Covenants as he thought requisite.

So *Antiochus* leaving the *Bactrian* in quiet, made a journey over *Caucasus*, and came to the Borders of *India*: where he renewed with *Sophagasenus*, King of the *Indians*, the Society that had been between their Ancestors. The *Indians* had remained subject unto the *Macedonians*, for a little while, after *Alexanders* death. *Eumenes* in his War against *Antigonus*, raised part of his Forces out of their Country. But when *Antigonus* after his Victory turned Westward, and was over-busied in a great Civil War: then did one *Sandrocottus*, an *Indian*, stir up his Countrymen to Rebellion; making himself their Captain, and taking upon him as Protector of their liberty. This Office and Title he soon changed, though not without some contention, into the Name and Majesty of a King. Finally he got unto himself, (having an Army of six hundred thousand Men) if not all *India*, yet as much of it as had been *Alexanders*. In this Estate he had well confirmed himself, ere *Seleucus Nicator* could find leisure to call him to account. Neither did he faint, or humble himself, at the coming of *Seleucus*: but met him in Field, as ready to defend his own; so strongly and well appointed, that the *Macedonian* was contented, to make both Peace and Affinity with him, taking only a reward of fifty Elephants. This League, made by the Founders of the *Indian* and *Syrian* Kingdoms, was continued by some Offices of love between their Children, and now renewed by *Antiochus*: whose number of Elephants were increased thereupon by the *Indian* King, to an hundred and fifty: as also he was promised, to have some treasure sent after him; which he left one to receive. Thus parted these two great Kings.

Neither

Neither had the *Indians*, from this time forwards, in many Generations, any buſineſs worthy of remembrance with the *Weſtern* Countries. The poſterity of *Sandrocottus*, is thought to have retained that Kingdom unto the days of *Auguſtus Cæſar*: to whom *Porus*, then reigning in *India*, ſent Embaſſadors with Preſents, and an Epiſtle written in *Greek*: wherein, among other things, he ſaid, That he had command over ſix hundred Kings. There is alſo found, ſcattered in ſundry Authors, the mention of ſome which held that Kingdom, in divers Ages, even unto the time of *Conſtantine the Great*: being all peradventure of the ſame Race. But *Antiochus*, who in this Treaty with *Sophagaſenus*, carried himſelf as the worthier perſon, receiving Preſents; and after marched home through *Drangiana* and *Carmania*, with ſuch reputation, that all the Potentates, not only in the higher *Aſia*, but on the hither ſide of *Taurus*, humbled themſelves unto him, and called him *The Great*: ſaw an end of his own Greatneſs within few years enſuing, by preſuming to ſtand upon points with the *Romans*; whoſe Greatneſs was the ſame in deed, that his was only in ſeeming.

§. III.

The lewd Reign of Ptolomy Philopator *in* Ægypt: *with the tragical end of his Favourites, when he was dead.* Antiochus *prepares to war on the young child* Ptolomy Epiphanes, *the Son of* Philopator. *His irreſolution in preparing for divers Wars at once. His Voyage toward the* Helleſpont. *He ſeeks to hold Amity with the* Romans, *who make friendly ſhew to him; intending nevertheleſs to have War with him. His doings about the* Helleſpont; *which the* Romans *made the firſt ground of their quarrel to him.*

THis Expedition being finiſhed; *Antiochus* had leiſure to repoſe himſelf a while, and ſtudy which way to convert the terror of his puiſſance, for the enlargement of his Empire. Within two or three years *Ptolemy Philopator* died: leaving his Son *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, a young Boy, his Succeſſor in the Kingdom; unlikely by him to be well defended, againſt a Neighbour ſo mighty and ambitious. This *Ptolemy*, ſurnamed *Philopator*, that is to ſay, *a lover of his Father*, is thought to have had that ſurname given him in meer deriſion; as having made away both his Father and Mother. His young years, being newly paſt his childhood when he began to reign, may ſeem to diſcharge him of ſo horrible a crime, as his Fathers death: yet the beaſtlineſs of all his following life, makes him not unlike to have done any miſchief, whereof he could be accuſed. Having won the battel at *Raphia*, he gave himſelf over to ſenſuality, and was wholly governed by a Strumpet, called *Agathoclea*. At her inſtigation he murdered his own Wife and Siſter; which had adventured herſelf with him, in that only dangerous Action by him undertaken, and performed with honour. The Lieutenant-Ships of his Provinces, with all Commands in his Army, and Offices whatſoever, were wholly referred unto the diſpoſition of this *Agathoclea*, and her brother *Agathocles*, and of *Oenanthe*, a filthy Bawd, that was Mother unto them both. So theſe three governed the Realm at their pleaſure, to the great grief of all the Countrey, till *Philopator* died: who having reigned Seventeen years, left none other Son than *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, a child of five years old, begotten on *Arſinoe*, that was his Siſter and Wife. After the Kings death, *Agathocles* began to take upon him, as Protector of young *Epiphanes*, and Governor of the Land. He aſſembled the *Macedons* (which were the Kings ordinary Forces in pay, not all born in *Macedonia*, but the race of thoſe that abode in *Ægypt* with *Ptolemy the firſt*, and would not be accounted *Ægyptians*; as neither would the Kings themſelves) and bringing forth unto them his Siſter *Agathoclea*, with the young King in her arms, began a ſolemn Oration. He told them, That the deceaſed Father of this their King, had committed the child into the arms of his Siſter, but unto the Faith of them: on whoſe valiant right hands, the whole ſtate of the Kingdom did now relie. He beſought them therefore, that they would be faithful, and, as great need was, defend their King againſt the Treaſon of one *Tlepolemus*, an ambitious man, who traiterouſly went about to ſet the Diadem upon his own head, being a meer ſtranger to the Royal Blood. Herewithal he produced before them a Witneſs, that ſhould juſtifie his accuſation againſt *Tlepolemus*. Now though it were ſo, that he delivered all this with a feigned paſſion of Sorrow, and counterfeiting of Tears: yet the *Macedons* that heard him, regarded not any word that he ſpake; but ſtood laughing, and talking one to another, what a ſhameleſs diſſembler he was, to take ſo much upon him, as if he knew not how greatly he was hated. And ſo brake up the Aſſembly: He that had called it, being ſcarce aware how. *Agathocles* therefore, whom the old Kings favour had made mighty, but neither wiſe nor well qualified; thought to go to work, as had formerly been his manner, by uſing his authority, to the ſuppreſſion of thoſe that he diſtruſted. He haled out of a Temple the Mother-in-law of *Tlepolemus*; and caſt her into Priſon. This filled *Alexandria* with rumors, and made the people (though accuſtomed to ſuffer greater things, whilſt they were committed in the old Kings name) to meet in knots together, and utter one to another their minds; wherein they had conceived extreme hate, againſt theſe three pernicious miſgovernors of the old King. Beſides their conſideration of the preſent injury done to *Tlepolemus*, they were ſomewhat alſo moved with fear of harm; which, in way of requital, *Tlepolemus* was likely to do unto the City. For he was, though a man moſt unapt for Government, as afterwards he proved; yet no bad Souldier, and well beloved of the Army. It was alſo then in his power, to ſtop the proviſion of Victuals, which was to come into *Alexandria*. As theſe motives wrought with the people: ſo by the remedy which *Agathocles* uſed, were the *Macedons* more haſtily, and more violently ſtirred unto uproar. He ſecretly apprehended one of their number, whom he ſuſpected of Conſpiracy againſt him; and delivered him unto a follower of his own, to be examined by torture. This poor Souldier was carried into an inner room of the Palace, and there ſtripped out of all his apparel, to be tormented. But whilſt the Whips were brought forth, and all things even in a readineſs for that purpoſe: there was brought unto the Miniſter of *Agathocles*, a ſad report of *Tlepolemus* his being at hand. Hereupon the Examiner, and his Torturers, one after another, went out of the room; leaving *Mœragenes*, the Souldier, alone by himſelf, and the doors open. He perceiving this, naked as he was, conveighed himſelf out of the Palace, and got unto the *Macedonians*; of whom he found ſome in a Temple thereby at dinner. The *Macedonians* were as fierce in maintenance of their Priviledges, as are the *Turks Janizars*. Being aſſured therefore, that one of their fellows had thus been

Juſtin. l. 30.

uſed; they fell to Arms in a great rage, and began to force the Palace; crying out, That they would ſee the King, and not leave him in poſſeſſion of ſuch a dangerous man. The whole multitude in the City, with loud clamors, made no leſs a-do than the Souldiers, though to leſs effect. So the old Bawd, *Oenanthe*, fled into a Temple: her Son and Daughter ſtaid in the Court, until the King was taken from them; and they, by his permiſſion, which he eaſily gave, and by appointment of thoſe that now had him in their hands, delivered up to the fury of the people. *Agathocles* himſelf was ſtabbed to death, by ſome which therein did the office of Friends; though in manner of Enemies. His Siſter was dragged naked up and down the ſtreets, as was alſo his Mother, with all to them belonging: the enraged multitude committed upon them a barbarous execution of juſtice, biting them, pulling out their Eyes, and tearing them in pieces.

Theſe troubles in *Ægypt*, ſerved well to ſtir up King *Antiochus*; who had very good leiſure, though he wanted all pretence, to make War upon young *Ptolemy*. *Philip* of *Macedon* had the ſame deſire, to get what part he could of the Child's Eſtate. But it happened well, that *Ptolemy Philopator*, in the Punick War, which was now newly ended, had done many good offices unto the *Romans*. Unto them therefore the *Ægyptians* addreſſed themſelves, and craved help againſt theſe two Kings: who though they ſecretly maligned one the other, yet had entred into covenant, to divide between them, all that belonged unto this *Orphan*; whoſe Father had been Confederate with them both. So * *M. Lepidus*, was ſent from *Rome*, to protect from all violence the King of *Ægypt*; eſpecially againſt *Antiochus*. As for the *Macedonian*, he was very ſoon found buſied, with War at his own doors. Alſo *Scopas*, the *Ætolian*, being a Penſioner to the *Ægyptian*, was ſent into *Greece*, to raiſe an Army of Mercinaries. What *Lepidus* did in *Ægypt*, I do not find: and therefore think it not improbable, that he was ſent thither only one of the three Embaſſadors, ° in the beginning of the War with *Philip*, as hath been ſhewed before. As for *Scopas*, he ſhortly after went up into *Syria* with his Army: where winning many places, among the reſt of his Acts, he ſubdued the *Jews*; who ſeem to have yielded themſelves a little before unto *Antiochus*, at ſuch time as they ſaw him prepare for his War, and deſpaired of receiving help from *Ægypt*. But it was not long, ere all theſe Victories of *Scopas* came to nothing. For the very next year following, which was (according to *Euſebius*) the ſame year that *Philip* was beaten at *Cynoſcephalæ*; *Antiochus* vanquiſhed *Scopas* in battel, and recovered all that had been loſt. Among the reſt, the *Jews* with great willingneſs returned under his obedience; and were therefore by him very gently entreated.

* *Juſtin. l.* 30.

° *Liv. l.* 31

Vide Joſeph. ant. Jud. l. 12 *c.* 3.

The Land of *Ægypt* this great King did forbear to invade; and gave it out, that he meant to beſtow a Daughter of his own in Marriage upon *Ptolemy*: either hoping, as may ſeem, that the Countrey would willingly ſubmit it ſelf unto him, if this young child ſhould happen to miſcarry; or elſe that greater purchaſe might be made in the *Weſtern* parts of *Aſia*, whilſt *Philip* was held overlaboured by the *Romans*. It appears that he was very much diſtracted; hunting (as we ſay) two Hares at once with one Hound. The quarrels between *Attalus*, *Philip*, and the *Greeks*, promiſed to afford him great advantage, if he ſhould bring his Army to the *Helleſpont*. On the other ſide, the ſtate of *Ægypt* being ſuch as hath been declared, ſeemed eaſie to be ſwallowed up at once. One while therefore he took what he could get in *Syria*: where all were willing (and the *Jews* among the reſt, though hitherto they had kept faith with the *Ægyptian*) to yield him obedience. An other while, letting *Ægypt* alone, he was about to make invaſion upon *Attalus* his Kingdom; yet ſuffered himſelf eaſily to be perſwaded by the *Roman* Embaſſadors, and deſiſted from that Enterpriſe. Having thus far gratified the *Romans*; he ſends Embaſſadors to the Senate, to conclude a perfect amity between him and them. It is not lightly to be over-paſſed, That theſe his Embaſſadors were lovingly entertained at *Rome*; and diſmiſſed, with a Decree and Anſwer of the Senate, altogether to the honour of King *Antiochus*. But this anſwer of the *Romans* was not ſincere; being rather framed according to regard of the Kings good liking, than of their own intent. They had not as yet made an end with *Philip*: neither would they gladly be troubled with two great Wars at once. Wherefore, not ſtanding much upon the nice examination of what belonged unto their honour; they were content to give good words for the preſent. In the mean time *Antiochus* fights with *Scopas* in *Syria*: and ſhortly prepares to win ſome Towns elſewhere, belonging unto *Ptolemy*; yet withal he ſends an Army *Weſtward*, intending to make what profit he can of the diſtractions in *Greece*. Likewiſe it is conſiderable, as an argument of his much irreſolution, how notwithſtanding his attempts upon both of their Kingdoms, he offered one of his daughters to *Ptolemy*, and another to *Eumenes*, the Son of *Attalus*, newly King of *Pergamus*: ſeeking each of their friendſhips, at one and the ſame time, when he ſought to make each of them a ſpoil. Thus was he acting and deliberating at once: being carried with an inexplicable deſire of repugnancies; which is a diſeaſe of great, and over-ſwelling fortunes. Howſoever it was, he ſent an Army to *Sardes* by Land, under two of his own Sons: willing them there to ſtay for him; whilſt he himſelf, with a Fleet of an hundred Gallies, and two hundred other Veſſels, intended to paſs along by the Coaſts of *Cilicia* and *Caria*, taking in ſuch places as held for the *Ægyptian*. It was a notable Act of the *Rhodians*, that, whilſt the War of *Philip* lay yet upon their hands, they adventured upon this great *Antiochus*. They ſent unto him a proud Embaſſage: whereby they gave him to underſtand, That if he paſſed forward beyond a certain Promontory in *Cicilia*, they would meet him and fight with him; not for any quarrel of theirs unto him; but becauſe he ſhould not joyn with *Philip* their Enemy, and help him againſt the *Romans*. It was inſolently done of them, neither ſeemed it otherwiſe, to preſcribe ſuch limits unto the King; yet he tempered himſelf, and without any ſhew of indignation, gave a gentle anſwer; partly himſelf to their Embaſſadors; partly unto their whole City, by Embaſſadors which he thither ſent. He ſhewed his deſire, to renew the ancient Confederacies between his Anceſtors and them: and willed them not to be afraid, leſt his coming ſhould tend unto any hurt, either of them, or of their Confederates. As touching the *Romans*, whom they thought that he would moleſt: they were (he ſaid) his very good friends; whereof, he thought, there needed no better proof, than the entertainment and anſwer by them newly given to his Embaſſadors.

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The *Rhodians* appear to have been a cunning people, and ſuch as could foreſee what weather was like to happen. This anſwer of the King, and the relation of what had paſſed between his Embaſſadors and the Senate, moved them not a whit; when they were informed ſhortly after, that the *Macedonian* War was ended at the battel of *Cynoſcephalæ*. They knew that *Antiochus* his turn would be next; and prepared to be forward on the ſtronger ſide. Wherefore they would not be contented to ſit ſtill; unleſs the Towns on the *South* Coaſt of *Aſia*, belonging to *Ptolemy*, their Friend and Confederate, were ſuffered to be at quiet. Herein alſo they did well: for that they had ever been greatly beholding to all the Race of the *Ptolemies*. They therefore, in this time of neceſſity gave what aid they could unto all the Subjects of the *Ægyptian* in thoſe parts. In like manner did King *Eumenes*, the Son of *Attalus*, prognoſticate as concerning the War that followed, between *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. For when King *Antiochus* made a friendly offer, to beſtow one of his daughters upon him in Marriage; he excuſed himſelf, and would not have her. *Attalus* and *Philetærus*, his brethren, wondred at this. But he told them, that the *Romans* would ſurely make War upon *Antiochus*; and therein finally prevail. Wherefore he ſaid, That by abſtaining from this affinity, it ſhould be in his power to joyn with the *Romans*, and ſtrengthen himſelf greatly with their friendſhip. Contrariwiſe, if he leaned to *Antiochus*: as he muſt be partaker in his overthrow; ſo was he ſure to be oppreſſed by him, as by an overmighty neighbour, if he happened to win the victory.

Antiochus himſelf wintered about *Epheſus*: where he took ſuch order as he thought convenient, for the reducing of *Smyrna* and *Lampſacus* to obedience; that had uſurped their liberty, and obſtinately ſtrove to maintain it, in hope that the *Romans* would protect them. In the beginning of the Spring he ſailed unto the *Helleſpont*: where having won ſome Towns that *Philip* had gotten not long before this, he paſſed over into *Europe* ſide; and in ſhort ſpace maſtered the *Cherſoneſus*. Thence went he to *Lyſimachia*: which the *Thracians* had gotten and deſtroyed, when *Philip* withdrew his Garriſon thence, to employ it in the *Roman* War. The *Ætolians* objected as a crime unto *Philip*, in the Conference before *T. Quintius*, that he had oppreſſed *Lyſimachia*, by thruſting thereinto a Garriſon. Hereunto *Philip* made anſwer, that his Garriſon did not oppreſs the Town, but ſave it from the *Barbarians*: who took and ſackt it, as ſoon as the *Macedonians* were gone. That this anſwer was good and ſubſtantial, though it were not accepted as ſuch; might appear by the miſerable caſe, in which *Antiochus* found *Lyſimachia* at his coming thither. For the Town was utterly razed by the *Barbarians*; and the people carried away into ſlavery. Wherefore the King took order to have it re-edified: as alſo to redeem thoſe that were in bondage; and to recollect as many of the Citizens, as were diſperſed in the Countrey thereabout. Likewiſe he was careful to allure thither, by hopeful promiſes, new Inhabitants; and to repleniſh the City with the wonted frequency. Now to the end that men ſhould not be terrified from coming thither to dwell, by any fear of the neighbour *Thracians*: he took a journey in hand againſt thoſe barbarous people, with the one half of his Army; leaving the other half, to repair the City. Theſe pains he took, partly in regard of the convenient ſituation, and former glory of *Lyſimachia*; partly for that he thought it highly redounding unto his own honour, to recover and eſtabliſh the Dominion in thoſe parts, which his fore-father *Seleucus Nicator* had won from *Lyſimachus*, and thereby made his Kingdom of greater extent, than it occupied in any following time. But for this ambition he ſhall dearly pay: and as after that Victory againſt *Lyſimachus*, the death of King *Seleucus* followed ſhortly; ſo ſhall a deadly wound of the Kingdom founded by *Seleucus* enſue very ſpeedily, after the re-conqueſt of the ſame Countrey, which was the laſt of *Seleucus* his purchaſes.

§. IV.

The Romans *hold friendly correſpondence with* Antiochus, *during their War with* Philip: *after which they quarrel with him. The doings of* Hannibal *at* Carthage: *whence he is chaced by his Enemies, and by the* Romans: *His flight unto the King* Antiochus. *The* Ætolians *murmur againſt the* Romans *in* Greece. *The War of the* Romans *and* Achæans, *with* Nabis, *the Tyrant of* Lacedæmon. *The departure of the* Romans *out of* Greece. T. Quintius *his Triumph. Peace denied to* Antiochus *by the* Romans.

FOR the *Romans*, though they were unable to ſmother their deſire of War with *Antiochus*, whereof notice was already taken both by their Friends and by their Enemies: yet was it much againſt their will to keep the rumour on foot, which they meant ſhortly to make good, of this intended War, ſo long as they wanted matter of quarrel; whereof they were furniſhed, by this Enterpriſe of the Kings about *Lyſimachia*. It was not long, ſince King *Attalus*, a friend and helper of the *Romans* in their War with *Philip*, could obtain of them none other help againſt *Antioehus*, than Embaſſadors to ſpeak for him; *becauſe* the one of theſe Kings was held no leſs a friend than the other. Neither did there afterwards paſs between them any other offices, than very friendly. *Antiochus*, at the requeſt of their Embaſſadors, withdrew his Invaſion from the Kingdom of *Pergamus*: alſo very ſhortly after he ſent Embaſſadors to them, to make a perfect League of amity between them. This was whilſt as yet they were buſied with *Philip*; and therefore had reaſon to anſwer his good will with good acceptation: as they did in outward ſhew. But when the *Macedonian* War was at an end, and all, or moſt of all the States in *Greece*, were become little better than Clients unto the *Romans*: then was all this good correſpondence changed, into terms of worſe, but more plain meaning. For *T. Quintius*, with his Ten Counſellors ſent from *Rome*, requited (as hath been * ſhewed before) with a commination of War, this Kings gratulation of their victory; as alſo his long-profeſſed amity, and deſire to continue in the ſame. * *Ch. 4. §. ult.*

Theſe Ten Counſellors were able to inform *T. Quintius*, and acquaint him with the purpoſe of the Senate: whereof yet it ſeems that he was not ignorant before; ſince, in regard of *Antiochus*, he was the more inclinable unto Peace with *Philip*. It was therefore agreed, when they divided themſelves to make progreſs through divers quarters of *Greece*, for the execution of their late Decree, That two of them ſhould viſit King *Antiochus*; and the reſt, where occaſion ſerved, uſe diligence to make a Party ſtrong againſt him. Neither was the Senate at *Rome* unmindful of the buſineſs: wherein leſt *T. Quintius* with his Ten Aſſiſtants, ſhould happen to forget any

any thing to their parts belonging; *L. Cornelius* was ſent from *Rome* of purpoſe, to deal with the King about thoſe controverſies, that were between him and *Ptolemy*. What other private inſtructions *Cornelius* had; we may conjecture by the managing of this his Embaſſage. For coming to *Selymbria*: and there underſtanding that *P. Villius* and *L. Terentius*, having been ſent by *Titus*, were at *Lyſimachia*, He haſtned thither; whither alſo came *P. Lentulus* (another of the ten Counſellors) from *Bargillæ*, to be preſent at the Conference. *Hegeſianax* and *Lyſias* were alſo there; the ſame, who had lately brought from *Titus* thoſe peremptory Conditions, which the Embaſſadours preſent ſhall expound unto their Maſter. After a few days *Antiochus* returned from his *Thracian* Expedition. The meeting and entertainment between Him and theſe *Romans*, was in appearance full of love. But when they came to treat of the buſineſs in hand; this good mood was quite altered. *L. Cornelius*, in two or three words, briefly delivered his Errand from *Rome*: which was, That *Antiochus* had reaſon to deliver back unto *Ptolemy* thoſe Towns of his, whereof he had lately gotten poſſeſſion. Hereunto he added, and that very earneſtly, That he muſt alſo give up the Towns of late belonging unto *Philip*; and by him newly occupied. For what could be more abſurd, than ſuch folly in the *Romans*; as to let *Antiochus* enjoy the profit of that War, wherein they had laboured ſo much, and He done nothing? Further He warned the King, that he ſhould not moleſt thoſe Cities that were free: and finally He demanded of him, upon what reaſon he was come over with ſo great an Army into *Europe*; for that other cauſe of his Journey there was none probable, than a purpoſe to make War upon the *Romans*. To this the King made anſwer, That he wondered why the *Romans* ſhould ſo trouble themſelves, with thinking upon the matters of *Aſia*: wherewith He praied them to let him alone; even as He, without ſuch curioſity, ſuffered them to do in *Italy* what they thought good. As for his coming over into *Europe*: they ſaw well enough what buſineſs had drawn him thither; namely, the War againſt the barbarous *Thracians*: the rebuilding of *Lyſimachia*, and the recovery of Towns to him belonging, in *Thrace* and *Cherſoneſus*. Now concerning his title unto that Country, He derived it from *Seleucus*: who made conqueſt thereof, by his victory againſt *Lyſimachus*. Neither was it ſo, that any of the places in controverſie between him and the other Kings, had been ſtill of old belonging to the *Macedonians* or *Ægyptians*; but had been ſeized on by them, or by others from whom they received them, at ſuch time as his Anceſtors, being Lords of thoſe Countries, were hindred by multiplicity of buſineſs, from looking unto all that was their own. Finally he willed them, neither to ſtand in fear of him, as if he intended ought againſt them from *Lyſimachia*; ſince it was his purpoſe to beſtow this City upon one of his Sons, that ſhould reign therein: nor yet to be grieved with his proceedings in *Aſia*; either againſt the free Cities, or againſt the King of *Ægypt*; ſince it was his meaning to make the free Cities beholding unto himſelf, and to joyn ere long with *Ptolemy*, not only in friendſhip, but in a bond of near affinity. *Cornelius* having heard this, and being perhaps unable to refute it; would needs hear further, what the Embaſſadors of *Smyrna* and of *Lampſacus*, whom he had there with him, could ſay for themſelves. The Embaſſadors of *Lampſacus* being called in, began a tale; wherein they ſeemed to accuſe the King before the *Romans*, as it were before competent Judges. *Antiochus* therefore interrupted them, and bade them hold their peace; foraſmuch as he had not choſen the *Romans*, but would rather take the Citizens of *Rhodes*, to be Arbitrators between Him and them.

Thus the Treaty held ſome few days, without any likelihood of effect. The *Romans*, having not laid their complaints in ſuch ſort, as they might be a convenient foundation of the War by them intended: nor yet having purpoſe to depart well ſatisfied, and thereby to corroborate the preſent peace; were doubtful how to order the matter, in ſuch wiſe as they might neither too rudely, like boiſterous *Gallo-Greeks*, pretend only the goodneſs of their Swords; nor yet over modeſtly, to retain among the *Greeks* an opinion of their juſtice, forbear the occaſion of making themſelves great. The King on the other ſide was weary of theſe tedious gueſts; that would take no anſwer, and yet ſcarce knew what to ſay. At length came news, without any certain author, That *Ptolemy* was dead. Hereof neither the King, nor the *Romans*, would take notice, though each of them were deſirous to haſten into *Ægypt*: *Antiochus*, to take poſſeſſion of the Kingdom; and *L. Cornelius*, to prevent him thereof, and ſet the Country in good order. *Cornelius* was ſent from *Rome* Embaſſador, both to *Antiochus* and to *Ptolemy*: which gave him occaſion to take leave, and prepare for his *Ægyptian* Voyage. Both He, and his fellow Embaſſadors, had good leave to depart all together: and the King forthwith made ready, to be in *Ægypt* with the firſt. To his Son *Seleucus* he committed his Army; and left him to overſee the building of *Lyſimachia*: but all his Sea forces He took along with him, and ſailed unto *Epheſus*. Thence he ſent Embaſſadors to *T. Quintius*: whom he requeſted to deal with him in this matter of Peace, after ſuch ſort, as might ſtand with honeſty and good faith. But as he was further proceeding on his Voyage; He was perfectly informed that *Ptolemy* was alive. This made him bear another way from *Ægypt*: and afterwards a Tempeſt, with a grievous Shipwrack, made him, without any further attempt on the way, glad to have ſafely recovered his Port of *Seleucia*. Thence went he to *Antiochia*, where he Wintered ſecure, as might appear, of the *Roman* War.

But the *Romans* had not ſo done with him. During the Treaty at *Lyſimachia*, (at leaſtwiſe not long before or after it) one of their Embaſſadours that had been ſent unto the *Macedonian*, gave him Counſel, as in a point highly tending to his good; Not to reſt contented with the Peace which was granted unto him by the *Romans*, but to deſire Society with them, whereby they ſhould be bound to have the ſame Friends and Enemies. And this he adviſed him to do quickly before the War brake out with *Antiochus*; leſt otherwiſe he might ſeem, to have awaited ſome fit occaſion of taking Arms again. They who dealt thus plainly, did not mean to be ſatisfied with weak excuſes. In like manner ſome of the *Greeks* were ſollicited; and particularly the *Ætolians*, That conſtantly and faithfully they ſhould abide in the friendſhip of the People of *Rome*. It was needleſs to ſay plainly whereto this Entreaty tended: the froward anſwer made by the *Ætolians*, declares them to have well underſtood the purpoſe. They complained, that they were not alike honoured by the *Romans* after the Victory, as they had been during the War. They that ſo complained were the moſt moderate of them. Others cryed out, that they had been wronged, and defrauded of what was promiſed unto them:

upbraiding

upbraiding with al the *Romans*, as Men to them beholding; not only for their Victory over *Philip*; but even for helping them to ſet foot in *Greece*, which elſe they never could have done. Hereto the *Roman* gave gentle anſwers: telling them that there was no more to do, than to ſend Embaſſadors to the Senate, and utter their griefs; and then ſhould all be well.

Such care took the *Romans* in *Greece*, for their War intended againſt *Antiochus*. The fame hereof arriving at *Carthage*, gave matter unto the Enemies of *Hannibal*, wherewith both to pick a thank of the *Roman* Senate; and to chace out of their City this honourable Man, whom they ſo greatly hated. He had of late exerciſed his vertue againſt them in the Civil adminiſtration; and given them an overthrow, or two, in the long Robe. The Judges at that time bore all the ſway in *Carthage*: holding their places during life; and having ſubject unto them, the Lives, Goods, and fame of all the reſt. Neither did they uſe this their power with moderation: but conſpired in ſuch wiſe together, that who ſo offended any one of them, ſhould have them all to be his Enemies; which being once known, He was ſure to be ſoon accuſed and condemned. In this their impotent rule of the City, *Hannibal* was choſen Prætor. By vertue of which Office, though he was ſuperiour unto them during that year: yet had it not been their manner to bear much regard unto ſuch an annual Magiſtrate, as at the years end muſt be accomptable to them, if ought were laid unto his charge. *Hannibal* therefore ſending for one of the Quæſtors, or Officers of the Treaſury, to come and ſpeak with him: the proud Quæſtor ſet lightly thereby, and would not come. For he was of the adverſe Faction to *Hannibal*; and Men of his place, were to be choſen into the Order of Judges: in contemplation whereof, he was filled already with the ſpirit of his future Greatneſs. But he had not to do with ſuch a tame Prætor, as were they that had occupied the place before. *Hannibal* ſent for him by a Purſivant; and having thus apprehended him, brought him into judgment before a publick aſſembly of the People. There he not only ſhewed, what the undutiful ſtubbornes of this Quæſtor had been; but how unſufferable the inſolency of all the Judges at the preſent was: whoſe unbridled power, made them to regard neither Laws nor Magiſtrates. To this Oration when he perceived that all the Citizens were attentive and favourable; He forthwith propounded a Law, which paſſed with the general good liking; That the Judges ſhould be choſen from year to year, and no one Man be continued in that Office two years together. If this Law had been paſſed, before he paſſed over *Iberus*; it would not perhaps have been in the power of *Hanno*, to have brought him unto neceſſity of reforming another greivance, concerning the *Roman* Tribute. This Tribute the *Carthaginians* were fain to levy by Taxation laied upon the whole Commonalty, as wanting Money in their publick Treaſury, wherewith to defray either that, or divers other needful charges. *Hannibal* conſidering this, began to examin the publick Revenues; and to take a perfect note, both how much came into the Treaſury, by ways and means whatſoever; and in what ſort it was thence laid out. So he found, That the ordinary charges of the Commonwealth did not exhauſt the Treaſury: but that wicked Magiſtrates, and corrupt Officers, turning the greateſt part of the Monies to their own uſe, were thereby fain to load the People with needleſs burdens. Hereof he made ſuch plain demonſtration, that theſe Robbers of the common Treaſure were compelled to reſtore with ſhame, what they had gotten by Knavery: and ſo the *Carthaginians* were freed from the neceſſity of making ſuch poor ſhifts; as formerly they had uſed, when they knew not the value of their own Eſtate. But as the vertue of *Hannibal*, was highly commended by all that were good Citizens: ſo they of the *Roman* Faction, which had, ſince the making of the Peace until now, little regarded him, began to rage extreamly; as being by him ſtript of their ill-gotten goods, and ill-employed authority, both at once, even when they thought themſelves to have been in full poſſeſſion of the vanquiſhed *Carthage*. Wherefore they ſent Letters to their Friends at *Rome*: wherein they complained, as if the *Barchine* Faction grew ſtrong again, and *Hannibal* would ſhortly be in Arms. Queſtionleſs, if oppreſſing the City by injuſtice, and robbing the Treaſury, were the only way to hold *Carthage* in Peace with *Rome*: theſe Enemies to the *Barchines* might well cry out, That having done their beſt already to keep all in quiet, they ſaw none other likelihood than of War. But having none other matter to alledg, than their own inventions: they ſaid, That *Hannibal* was like unto a wild Beaſt, which would never be tamed: That ſecret Meſſages paſt between him, and King *Antiochus*: and that he was wont to complain of idleneſs, as if it were harmful to *Carthage*; with what elſe to like effect they could imagine. Theſe accuſations they directed not unto the Senate: but addreſſing their Letters craftily, every one to the beſt of his own Friends at *Rome*, and ſuch as were Senators; they wrought ſo well, that neither publick notice of their Conſpiracy was taken at *Carthage*; nor the authority of the *Roman* Senate, wanting to the furtherance of their malicious purpoſe. Only *P. Scipio* is ſaid to have admoniſhed the *Fathers*, that they ſhould not thus diſhonourably ſubſcribe, and become Seconds to the accuſers of *Hannibal*: as if they would oppreſs, by ſuborning or countenancing falſe Witneſſes againſt him, the Man, againſt whom in War they had not of long time prevailed, nor uſed their Victory in ſuch baſe manner, when they obtained it. But the *Romans* were not all ſo great minded as *Scipio*: they wiſhed for ſome ſuch advantage againſt *Hannibal*; and were glad to have found it. Three Embaſſadors they ſent over to *Carthage*, *C. Servilius*, *Q. Terentius*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus*; whoſe very names import ſufficient cauſe of bad affection to *Hannibal*. Theſe having paſt the Sea, were entertained by thoſe that had procured their comings; and, being by them inſtructed how to carry themſelves, gave out, That they were ſent to end ſome Controverſies, between the *Carthaginians* and *Maſaniſſa*. But *Hannibal* had kept ſuch good eſpial upon the *Romans*, that he knew their meaning well enough: againſt which he was never unprepared. It were enough to ſay, That he eſcaped them by flight: but in the actions of ſo famous a Man, I hold it not impertinent to rehearſe the particulars. Having openly ſhewed himſelf, as was his manner, in the place of Aſſembly, He went forth of the Town when it began to wax dark, accompanied with two which were ignorant of his determination; though ſuch as he might well truſt. He had appointed Horſes to be in a readineſs at a certain place: whence riding all night, He came to a Tower of his own by the Sea ſide. There had he a Ship furniſhed with all things needful; as having long expected the neceſſity of ſome ſuch Journey. So He bad *Africk* farewel; lamenting the misfortune of his Country, more than his own. Paſſing over to the Iſle of *Cercina*; he found

there

there in the Haven ſome Merchants Ships of *Carthage*. They ſaluted him reſpectively: and the chief among them began to enquire, whither he was bound. He ſaid, He went Embaſſador to *Tyre*: and that he intended there in the Iſland to make a ſacrifice; whereto He invited all the Merchants, and Maſters of the Ships. It was hot weather: and therefore He would needs hold his Feaſt upon the Shore; where, becauſe there wanted covert, He made them bring thither all their Sales and Yards to be uſed inſtead of Tents. They did ſo; and Feaſted with him till it was late at night: at which time he left them there aſleep; and putting to Sea, held on his courſe to *Tyre*. All that night, and the day following, He was ſure not to be purſued. For the Merchants did neither make haſte to ſend any news of him to *Carthage*, as thinking him to be gone Embaſſador: neither could they, without ſome loſs of time, ſuch of them as made moſt ſpeed homeward, get away from *Cercina*; being buſied awhile in fitting their Tackle. At *Carthage*, the miſs of ſo great a Perſon was diverſly conſtrued. Some gueſſed aright, That he was fled. But the more common opinion was, That the *Romans* had made him away. At length came news where he had been ſeen: and then the *Roman* Embaſſadors, having none other Errand thither, accuſed him (with an evil grace) as a troubler of the Peace; whereby they only diſcovered the miſchief by them intended againſt him, and the malice of their Senate; miſſing the while their purpoſe, and cauſing Men to underſtand, that He fled not thus without great reaſon.

Hannibal, coming to *Tyre* the Mother-City of *Carthage*, was there entertained Royally: as one, in whoſe great worth and honour the *Tyrians*, by reaſon of affinity between their Cities, thought themſelves to have intereſt. Thence went he to *Antioch*; and, finding the King departed, viſited his Son in *Daphne*: who friendly welcomed him, and ſent him unto his Father at *Epheſus*, that exceedingly rejoyced at his coming.

As *Antiochus* had cauſe to be glad, in that he had gotten *Hannibal*: ſo had the *Romans* no great cauſe to be therefore ſorry; otherwiſe than as they had much diſgraced themſelves, by diſcovery of their impotent malice, in chacing him thus out of his Country. For it would not prove alike eaſie unto this great Commander, to make ſtout Souldiers of baſe *Aſiatiques*; as it had been by his training and diſcipline, to make very ſerviceable and skilful Men of War of the *Spaniards*, *Africans*, *Gaules*, and other Nations, that were hardy though unexperienced. Or were it ſuppoſed, that one Mans worth, eſpecially being ſo extraordinary, could alter the nature of a Cowardly People: yet was it therewithal conſiderable, that the vanities of *Antiochus*, the pride of his Court, the baſeneſs of his Flatterers, and a thouſand other ſuch vexations, would be far more powerful in making unprofitable the vertue of *Hannibal*; now a deſolate and baniſhed Man, than had been the villany of *Hanno* and his Complices, hindering him in thoſe actions wherein he had the high Command, and was ſeconded by his Warlike Brethren. Wherefore the name of this Great *Carthaginian*, would only help to ennoble the *Roman* Victory: or if it further ſerved to hearten *Antiochus*, and make him leſs careful to avoid the War; then ſhould it further ſerve, to juſtifie the *Romans* in their quarrel. And it ſeems indeed, that it was no little part of their care, to get a fair pretence of making War. For *Antiochus*, as is ſaid before, having newly ſent Embaſſadors to *T. Quintius*, requiring that the Peace might faithfully be kept: it was not probable, that He had any meaning to take Arms, unleſs by meer violence he were thereto enforced. Only the *Ætolians* were greatly ſuſpected, as a turbulent People, deſirous of innovation, and therefore practiſing with this Great King, whom they wiſhed to ſee among them in *Greece*. In this regard, and to appeaſe them; they had of late been anſwered with gentle words by one of the ten Counſellors, That the Senate would grant them whatſoever with reaſon they ſhould ask. But this promiſe was too large, and unadviſed. For when their Embaſſadours came to *Rome*, the Senate would grant them nothing; but wholly referred them to *T. Quintius*, who favoured them leaſt. Hereat they murmured, but knew not how to right themſelves: otherwiſe than by ſpeaking ſuch words, as might haſten the *Romans* out of *Greece* for very ſhame; who had no deſire to be thence gone.

The daily talk at *Rome* was of War with *Antiochus*; but in *Greece*, when the *Romans* would leave the Country. For the *Ætolians* were wont to upbraid the reſt of the *Greeks*, with the vain liberty which the *Romans* had proclaimed: ſaying, That theſe their Deliverers had laid heavier Fetters upon them, than formerly they did wear; but yet brighter and fairer, than thoſe of the *Macedonian*: likewiſe, That it was a gracious act of *Titus*, to take from the Legs of the *Greeks* their Chain, and tie it about their Necks. There was indeed no cauſe of tarrying longer in *Greece*, if the *Romans* had no other meaning than what they pretended. For *Philip* had made no delay, in accompliſhment of that which was laid upon him: all the Towns of *Greece* were at liberty; and the whole Country at Peace, both with the *Romans*, and within it ſelf. As for *Antiochus*: He made it his daily ſuit, That the Peace between him and *Rome*, ſuch as it was, might be confirmed, and ſtrengthned by a League of more aſſurance. Nevertheleſs *T. Quintius* would needs fear that *Antiochus* meant forthwith to ſeize upon *Greece*, as ſoon as he and his Army were thence departed. And in this regard, He retained ſtill in his own hands *Chalcis*, *Demetrias*, and the *Acrocorinthus*: by benefit of which Towns, he might the better withſtand the dangerous Invaſion like to be made by *Antiochus*. Suitable unto the doings of *Quintius* were the reports of the ten Embaſſadors, that had been ſent over to aſſiſt him; when they returned back into the City. *Antiochus*, they ſaid, would queſtionleſs fall upon *Greece*: wherein he ſhould find not only the *Ætolians*, but *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, ready to give him entertainment. Wherefore there was none other way, than to do ſomewhat againſt theſe their ſuſpected Enemies: eſpecially againſt *Nabis*, who could worſt make reſiſtance; whilſt *Antiochus* was far away in *Syria*, and not intentive to his buſineſs. Theſe reports went not only current through the City, among the vulgar: but found ſuch credit with the chief of the Senate, that in the following year, againſt which time it was expected that *Antiochus* ſhould be ready to take his great enterpriſe in hand; *P. Cornelius*, *Scipio* the *African* deſired, and obtained, a ſecond Conſulſhip, with intention to be General in the War, againſt the King and his *Hannibal*. For the preſent, the buſineſs with *Nabis* was referred unto *Titus*; to deal him with as he thought good. This would be a fair colour of his longer tarriance in *Greece*. Therefore he was glad of the employment: whereof alſo he knew that many of the *Greeks* would not be ſorry, though for his own part, he wanted all good pretence of taking it in hand. For *Nabis* had entred into friendſhip with him, two or three years before this, as is already ſhewed, whilſt he had War with *Philip*: and had further

further been contented for the *Romans* ſake to be at Peace with the *Achæans*, neither ſince that time had he done any thing, whereby he ſhould draw upon himſelf this War. He was indeed a deteſtable Tyrant, and hated of the *Achæans*; as one, that beſides his own wicked Conditions had formerly done to them great miſchief. *Titus* therefore had a plauſible Theme, whereon to diſcourſe before the Embaſſages of all the Confederate Cities; Which he cauſed to meet for that purpoſe at *Corinth*. He told them, That in the War with *Philip*, not only the *Greeks*, but the *Romans* themſelves, had each their motives apart (which he there briefly rehearſed) that ſhould ſtir them up, and cauſe them to be earneſt. But in this which he now propounded to them concerning *Nabis*, the *Romans* had none other intereſt, than only the making perfect of their honour, in ſetting all *Greece* at liberty: which noble Action was in ſome ſort maimed, or incompleat, whilſt the noble City of *Argos* was left in ſubjection to a Tyrant, that had lately occupied it. It therefore belonged unto them, the *Greeks*, duly to conſider, whether they thought the deliverance of *Argos* a matter worthy to be undertaken; or whether otherwiſe to avoid all further trouble, they could be well contented to leave it as it was. This concerned them, and not the *Romans*: who in taking this work in hand, or letting it alone, would wholly be ruled by the *Greeks* themſelves. The *Athenian* Embaſſador made anſwer hereunto very eloquently, and as pleaſing as he could deviſe. He gave thanks to the *Romans* for what was paſt; extolled their vertues at large; and magnified them highly in regard of this their Propoſition: wherein unrequeſted they freely made offer to continue that bounty, which at the vehement requeſt of their poor Aſſociates, they had already of late extended unto the *Greeks*. To this He added, That great pitty it was to hear, ſuch notable vertue and high deſerts ill ſpoken of by ſome, which took upon them, out of their own imaginations to foretel, what harm theſe their Benefactors meant to do hereafter: when as Thankfulneſs rather would have required an acknowledgment, of the benefits and pleaſures already received. Every one found the meaning of this laſt clauſe; which was directly againſt the *Ætolians*. Wherefore *Alexander* the *Ætolian* roſe up, and told the *Athenians* their own: putting them in mind of their ancient glory, in thoſe times when their City had been the Leader of all *Greece*, for defence and recovery of the liberty general: from which honour they were now ſo far fallen, that they became Paraſites unto thoſe whom they thought moſt mighty; and by their baſe aſſentation, would lead all the reſt into ſervitude. Then ſpeak He againſt the *Achæans*, Clients that had been a long time unto the *Macedonian*; and Souldiers of *Philip*, until they ran away from his adverſity. Theſe He ſaid had gotten *Corinth*; and muſt now have War be made for their ſakes, to the end that they might alſo be Lords of *Argos*: whereas the *Ætolians*, that had firſt made War with *Philip*, and always been friends unto the *Romans*, were now defrauded of ſome places, anciently to them belonging. Neither did he thus contain himſelf, but objected unto the *Romans* fraudulent dealing: foraſmuch as they kept their Garriſons in *Demetrias*, *Chalcis*, and the *Acrocorinth*; having been always wont to profeſs, That *Greece* could never be at liberty, whilſt thoſe places were not free. Alſo now at laſt, what elſe did they ſeek by this diſcourſe of War with *Nabis*, than buſineſs wherewith to find themſelves occupied, that ſo they might have ſome ſeeming cauſe of abiding longer in the Country? But they ſhould do well, if they meant as they ſpake, to carry their Legions home out of *Greece*: which could not indeed be free, till their departure. As for *Nabis*; the *Ætolians* themſelves did promiſe, and would undertake, That they would either cauſe him to yield to reaſon, and relinquiſh *Argos* freely, withdrawing thence his Garriſon; or elſe compel him by force of Arms, to ſubmit himſelf to the good pleaſure of all *Greece*, that was now at unity. Theſe words had been reaſonable, if they had proceeded from better Men. But it was apparent, that no regard of the common liberty wrought ſo much with theſe *Ætolians*; as did their own ravenous deſire of oppreſſing others, and getting unto themſelves, that worſe would uſe it, the whole Dominion in *Greece*, which *Philip* had loſt. Neither could they well diſſemble this; making it no ſmall part of their greivance, That the old League was forgotten; wherein it had been covenanted, That the *Romans* ſhould enjoy the ſpoil of all, but leave the Towns and Lands in poſſeſſion of the *Ætolians*. This, and the remembrance of a thouſand miſchiefs by them done in former times, made the whole Aſſembly, eſpecially the *Achæans*, cry out upon them; entreating the *Romans* to take ſuch order before they went, that not only *Nabis* might be compelled to do right; but the *Ætolian* Thieves be enforced to keep home, and leave their Neighbours in quiet. All this was highly to the pleaſure of *Titus*: who ſaw, that by diſcountenancing the *Ætolians*, He was become the more gracious with all the reſt. But whether it pleaſed him ſo well, that *Antiochus* his Embaſſadors did preſently after lie hard upon him, to draw the Peace to ſome good concluſion; it may be greatly doubted. He caſt them off with a ſlight anſwer: telling them, That the ten Embaſſadors or Counſellors which had been ſent unto him from *Rome* to be his aſſiſtants in theſe matters of weight, were now returned home: and that, without them, it was not in his power to conclude upon any thing.

Now concerning the *Lacedæmonian* War; it was very ſoon ended. For *Titus* uſed the help of all his Confederates; and made as great preparation againſt *Nabis*, both by Land and Sea, as if he ſhould have had to do with *Philip*. Beſides the *Roman* forces, King *Eumenes* with a Navy, and the *Rhodian* Fleet, were invited to the ſervice: as alſo *Philip* of *Macedon* ſent aid by Land; doing therein poorly, whether it were to get favour of the *Romans*, or whether to make one among the number, in ſeeking revenge upon *Nabis*, that had done him injury. But the moſt forward in this Expedition were the *Achæans*, who ſet out ten thouſand Foot, and a thouſand Horſe. As for the *Ætolians*, rather to hold good faſhion, and ſound their diſpoſitions, than in hope to ſpeed, their help was required; whereof they excuſed themſelves as well as they thought beſt. Thus are the *Achæans* now become the prime friends of the *Romans* in *Greece*; having removed the *Ætolians* from that degree of favour: like as they themſelves hereafter (though not in all haſte) ſhall be ſupplanted by the ſame *Lacedæmonians*, againſt whom they are now marching.

Some of the *Argives* more bold than wiſe, began a conſpiracy againſt the *Lacedæmonians* that held their Town; meaning to open their Gates unto the *Roman*. But ere *Titus* drew near, they were all detected and ſlain: excepting a very few, that eſcaped out of the Town. The fame of this Commotion, cauſed the Army to march apace toward *Argos*; with hope to be there, before things were at quiet. But there was no ſtir within the Walls:

the execution done upon the firſt movers, having terrified all the reſt of the Citizens. *Titus* then thought it better, to aſſail *Nabis* in the head of his ſtrength at *Lacedæmon*, than to conſume time about other places; eſpecially at *Argos*: for the freedom whereof ſince the War was made, pity it were, that the calamities of the War ſhould thereon fall moſt heavily.

Nabis had in readineſs an Army of fifteen thouſand, wherewith to defend himſelf againſt theſe Invaders. Five thouſand of them were Mercinaries: the reſt, of his own Country, but ſuch as were of all others the worſt, as manumiſed Slaves, Malefactors, and baſe Peaſants, unto whom his Tyranny was beneficial. Of the good and worthy Citizens he ſtood in doubt: and ſince he could not hope to win their love, his meaning was to hold them quiet by fear. He called them all to an Aſſembly: and compaſſing them round in with his Army, told them of the danger that was toward him and them. If they could agree within themſelves; they might, he ſaid, hope the better to withſtand the common Enemy. But foraſmuch as turbulent heads were invited by light occaſions, to raiſe tumults, and work dangerous Treaſon: it ſeemed unto him the ſafeſt, and (withal) the mildeſt courſe, to arreſt before hand and put in ward, all thoſe whom he found moſt reaſon to ſuſpect. So ſhould he keep them innocent perforce; and thereby preſerve not only the City and his own Perſon from danger, but them alſo from the puniſhment, which elſe they might have incurred. Hereupon he cites and apprehends about fourſcore of them; whom he leads away to Priſon, and the next night puts them all to death. Thus was he ſure that they neither ſhould offend, nor yet break looſe. As for the death of them, if it ſhould happen to be noiſed abroad: what could it elſe do than terrifie the People; who muſt thereby underſtand, that it was a mortal Crime to be ſuſpected? and to the ſame purpoſe, his cruelty extended it ſelf unto ſome poor wretches: whom he accuſed of a meaning to fly to the Enemy. Theſe were openly whipt through all the Streets, and ſlain. Having thus affrighted the Citizens; He turned the more freely all his thoughts toward the Enemy, that came on apace. He welcommed them with a ſally: wherein, as commonly happens, the Souldiers of the Town had the better at firſt; but were at length repelled with loſs. *Titus* abode not many days before *Sparta*: but over-ran the Country; hoping belike to provoke the Tyrant forth to Battel. The *Roman* Fleet at the ſame time, with King *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians*, laid Siege unto *Gyttheum*, the only or principal Haven-town that *Nabis* had. Likely they were to have taken it by force; when there appeared hope of getting it by Treaſon. There were two Governours within the Town, equal in authority: whereof the one, either for fear, or deſire of reward, had a purpoſe to let in the *Romans*. But the other finding what was in hand, and being ſomewhat more faithful, ſlue the Traitor; after whoſe death, he himſelf alone made the better defence. Yet when *T. Quintius* with part of his Army came thither to *Gyttheum*: this Captain of the Town had not the heart to abide the uttermoſt, and await what either Time or his Maſter might do for him, but was contented to give up the place; yet upon Condition, to depart in ſafety to *Sparta* with his Garriſon. *Pythagoras*, the Son-in-law of *Nabis*, and Brother unto his Wife, was come from *Argos*, whereof he had the Government with a thouſand Souldiers Mercinaries, and two thouſand *Argives*: it being (as may ſeem) the Tyrants purpoſe, to relieve *Gyttheum*: which he thought would have held longer out. But when they heard that it was loſt: then began they to think upon finiſhing the War, by ſome reaſonable Compoſition. *Pythagoras* therefore was ſent Embaſſador to *Titus*: requeſting only, that he would appoint a time and place for *Nabis* to meet and ſpeak with him. This was granted. In that Parley the Tyrant ſpeak very reaſonably for himſelf: proving, that he ſuffered wrong and had done none; and that by many good arguments; whereof the ſum was, That whatſoever they now did, or could, object unto him, was of elder date than the League which they had made with him. Whereupon he inferred. That neither for his keeping the Town of *Argos*, nor for any other cauſe by them alledged, they ought to make War upon him; ſince *Argos*, and all other their allegations whatſoever, had not hindred them, in time of their more need of him, from entring into that League with him; which was never broken on his part, nor ought to be on theirs. But *Quintius* was not herewith ſatisfied. He charged him with Tyranny; and gave inſtance, as eaſily he might, of divers barbarous cruelties by him committed. In all which points, foraſmuch as they knew this *Nabis* to be guilty, before they made Peace and Confederacy with him; it was expedient, that ſome other cauſe of this Invaſion ſhould be alledged. Wherefore he ſaid further, That this Tyrant had occupied *Meſſene*, a Town Confederate with the *Romans*: That he had bargained to joyn with *Philip*, when he was their Enemy, not only in League, but alſo in affinity: and That his Fleet had robbed many of their Ships, about the Cape of *Malea*. Now touching this Piracy, ſince in the Articles by *Titus* propounded unto *Nabis* there was no reſtitution mentioned, other than of Ships by him taken from the *Greeks* his Neighbours, with whom he had long held War: it may ſeem to have been objected, only by way of Complement, and to enlarge the Volume of thoſe complaints, that were otherwiſe very frivolous. As for *Meſſene*, and the bargain of Alliance made with *Philip*: they were matters foregoing the League, that was made betweeen the *Romans* and this Tyrant; and therefore not to have been mentioned. All this it ſeems that *Ariſtænus*, the Prætor of the *Achæans*, very well perceived: who therefore doubting leſt the *Romans*, (that were wont to talk ſo much of their own juſtice, honour, and faithful dealing) ſhould now relent, and forbear to moleſt him, who, though a wicked Man, was yet their Confederate, and had never done them wrong; framed his diſcourſe to an other end. He entreated *Nabis* to conſider well of his own eſtate; and to ſettle his fortunes, whilſt he might do it without hazard: alledging the examples of many Tyrants that had ruled in the neighbour-cities, and therein committed great outrages; yet were afterwards contented to ſurrender their Eſtates, and lived in great ſecurity, honour, and happineſs, as private Men. Thus they diſcourſed until night. The next day *Nabis* was contented to relinquiſh *Argos*; and requeſted them, to deliver unto him in writing their other demands, that he might take Counſel with his friends. The iſſue of all was, That, in regard of the charges, whereat the Confederates muſt be, for maintenance of an Army to lye in League all that Winter (as there was no hope of making ſhort work) before the City of *Sparta*: they were contented to make Peace with the Tyrant, upon ſuch Conditions as *Titus* ſhould think meet. Beſides the reſtitution of *Argos*, and all the places thereon depending;

Titus

Titus propounded many other Conditions to *Nabis*, and ſome of them very grievous. He would not ſuffer the *Lacedæmonian* to have ought to do in the Iſle of *Crete*; no, nor to make any Confederacies, nor War, either in that Iſland, or elſewhere; not to build any Town or Caſtle upon his own Lands; not to keep any other ſhipping, than two ſmall Barks; beſides many other troubleſome injunctions; with impoſition of an hundred Talents in Silver to be paid out of hand, and fifty Talents yearly, for Eight years next enſuing. For obſervance of theſe Covenants he demanded Five Hoſtages, ſuch as he himſelf ſhould name; and one of them to be the Tyrants own Son. If it had been the meaning of *Titus*, to withdraw the War from *Nabis*, becauſe it was not grounded upon juſtice: then had it been enough, if not more than enough, to take *Argos* from him; which he himſelf did offer, though it were for fear, to deliver up. But if it were thought reaſonable, to diſpence a little with the *Roman* Faith, in regard of the great benefit which thereby might redound unto the ſtate of their beſt friends in *Greece*, by the extirpation of this Tyranny: then ſhould this Enterpriſe, when once it was taken in hand, have been proſecuted unto the very utmoſt. As for this middle courſe which the *Romans* held: as it was not honourable unto them, to enrich themſelves by the Spoil of one that had not offended them: nor pleaſing to the *Achæans*, who judged it ever after a great blemiſh to the noble acts of *Titus*: ſo did it miniſter unto the *Ætolians*, and to ſuch as curiouſly pried into the faults of thoſe which took upon them to be Patrons of *Greece*, no barren Subject of malicious diſcourſe. For ſince *Philip*, a King, and deſcended of many famous Kings, might not be ſuffered by theſe Maſterly *Romans*, to hold any one of thoſe Countries, or Towns in *Greece*, that had belonged unto his Anceſtors: it was thought very ſtrange, that *Lacedæmon*, once the moſt famous City among all the *Greeks*, was by the ſame *Romans* left in poſſeſſion of a Tyrant, that had uſurped it but yeſterday: and he therein rooted by their authority, as their Friend and Confederate. *Nabis*, on the other ſide, thought himſelf unmercifully dealt withal, by the ſelf-ſame *Romans*; whoſe amity he had preferred in time of a doubtful War, before the love and affinity of the *Macedonian* King, that had committed the City of *Argos* into his hands. But falſly had he dealt with the *Macedonian*: and falſly was he dealt with by thoſe to whom he did betake himſelf. Among theſe Articles propounded, there was nothing that pleaſed him; ſave only that for the baniſhed *Lacedæmonians*, (of whom a great number were in the *Roman* Camp; having among them *Ageſipolis*, the natural King of *Sparta*, that being a young child, was driven out by *Lycurgus*, the firſt of the Tyrants) there was made no proviſion, to have them reſtored unto their City and Eſtates; but only leave required for as many of their Wives, as would be ſo contented, to live abroad with them in baniſhment. Wherefore he forbore to give conſent unto theſe demands: and ſuſtained an aſſault or two, hoping belike, that the Enemies would ſoon be weary. But his fearful nature ſhortly overcame the reſolution, which the ſenſe of theſe injuries had put into him. So yielding unto all that had been propounded, he delivered the Hoſtages; and thereupon obtained Peace, that was confirmed afterwards at *Rome*, by the Senate and People. From this time forward, he thought the *Romans* more wicked than himſelf; and was ready upon the firſt advantage, to do them all Miſchief that he could.

The *Argives* had heard news, that *Lacedæmon* was even at point of being taken. This erected them, and gave them heart to think upon their own good. So they adventured to ſet upon the Garriſon; which was much weakned, by the remove of the three thouſand carried thence by *Pythagoras*, to help the Tyrant at *Sparta*. There needed unto their liberty no more, than that all of them joyntly ſhould ſet their hands to the getting of it; which no ſooner they did than they obtained it. Preſently after this came *T. Quintius* to *Argos*, where he was joyfully welcomed. He was deſervedly acknowledged as author of that benefit, whereon the Citizens had laid hold, without ſtaying for him: and that he might the better entitle himſelf thereto, he cauſed the liberty of the *Argives* to be proclaimed at the *Nemæan Games*; as ratifying it by his authority. The City was annexed again to the Council of *Achaia*; whereby the *Achæans* were not more ſtrengthned, than the *Argives* themſelves were ſecured from danger of relapſe, into the ſame Extremities out of which they had newly eſcaped.

After this, *Titus* found little buſineſs, or none, wherewith to ſet on work his Army in *Greece*. *Antiochus* was about to ſend another Embaſſage to *Rome*, deſiring peace and friendſhip of the Senate. Things being therefore in appearance wholly diſpoſed unto quiet; *Scipio*, the *African*, that was choſen Conſul at *Rome*, could not have his deſire, of being ſent Commander into *Greece*. The unſincere meaning of *Antiochus*, and the tumultuous diſpoſition of the *Ætolians*, were held as conſiderations worthy of regard: yet not ſufficient cauſes of making War. Neither appeared there any more honeſt way of confuting the *Ætolians*, and of throughly perſwading all the *Greeks* (which was not to be neglected, by thoſe that meant to aſſure unto themſelves the Patronage of *Greece*) that the good of the Countrey, was their ſole intent: than by withdrawing thence their Legions, and leaving the Nation unto it ſelf, till occaſion ſhould be ripe, and call them over again. Wherefore after *Titus* had ſpent a Winter there, without any matter of employment, either found, or at any near diſtance appearing; he called an Aſſembly of Delegates, from all parts of *Greece* to *Corinth*: where he meant to bid them farewel. There he recounted unto them all that had paſſed ſince his coming into thoſe parts; and willed them to value the *Roman* friendſhip, according to the difference of Eſtate, wherein the *Romans* found and left them. Hereto he added ſome wholeſome counſel; touching the moderate uſe of their liberty, and the care which they ought to have of living peaceably, and without faction. Laſtly, he gave up *Acrocorinthus* to the *Achæans*; withdrawing thence the *Roman* Garriſon, and promiſing to do the like (which very ſoon he did) at *Chalcis* and *Demetrias*; that ſo it might be known, what liars the *Ætolians* were, who had accuſed the *Romans*, of a purpoſe to retain thoſe places. With joyful acclamations did the *Greeks* teſtifie their good liking of that which *Titus* had ſaid and done: as alſo (at his requeſt) they agreed, to ranſom and enlarge all *Romans*, that had been ſold into their Countrey by *Hannibal*.

Thus *Titus* crowned his actions in *Greece* with an happy end: and by leaving the Countrey before his departure was urged, left therein behind him the memory of his vertue and benefits, untainted by jealouſie and ſuſpicion of any evil meaning. At his coming to the City, he had the honour of a Triumph; which was the goodlieſt of all that *Rome* had until that day beheld. Three days together the

ſhew of his pomp continued: as being ſet out with the Spoils of a Countrey, more aboundant in things worthy of ſuch a Spectacle, than any wherein the *Romans* had before made War. All ſorts of Arms, with Statues, and curious pieces of Braſs or Marble, taken from the Enemy, were carried in the firſt days Pageant. The ſecond day, was brought in, all the Treaſure of Gold and Silver: ſome in the rude Maſs unwrought; ſome, in divers ſorts of Coin; and ſome, in Veſſels of ſundry kinds, that were the more highly prized by the Workmanſhip. Among theſe were Ten Shields, all of Silver, and one of pure Gold. The third day *Titus* himſelf entred the City in his Triumphant Chariot. Before him were carried an hundred and fourteen Crowns of Gold, beſtowed upon him by divers Cities. There were alſo led the Beaſts for Sacrifice, the Priſoners, and the Hoſtages: among which, *Demetrius*, the Son of King *Philip*, and *Armenes*, the Son of *Nabis*, were principal. After him followed his Army; and (which added much grace, and good liking, to the Shew) the *Roman* Captives, by his procurement redeemed from ſlavery in *Greece*.

Not long after his Triumph, he procured audience of the Senate for many Embaſſages, that were come out of *Greece* and *Aſia*. They had all very favourable anſwers, excepting thoſe of King *Antiochus*: whom the Senate would not hear, but referred over to *T. Quintius*, and the Ten that had been his Counſellors; becauſe their buſineſs was ſaid to be ſomewhat intricate. Hereat the Kings Embaſſadors wondred. They ſaid unto *Titus*, and his Aſſociates, That they could not diſcern wherein conſiſted any perplexity of their meſſage. For all Treaties of peace and friendſhip, were either between the Victor, and the vanquiſhed; between thoſe, that having warred together, were upon equal terms of advantage; or between thoſe, that had lived always in good agreement, without any quarrel. Unto the Victor, they ſaid, that the vanquiſhed muſt yield; and patiently endure the impoſition of ſome Covenants, that elſe might ſeem unreaſonable. Where War had been made, and no advantage gotten: there was it uſual to demand and make reſtitution, of things and places claimed, gotten, or loſt; accordingly as both parts could agree. But between thoſe which had never fallen out, there ought no Conditions of eſtabliſhing friendſhip to be propoſed: ſince it was reaſonable, that each part ſhould hold their own; and neither carry it ſelf as ſuperior unto the other, in preſcribing ought that might be troubleſome. Now of this laſt kind, was the League and Friendſhip that had been ſo long in concluſion, betwixt *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. Which being ſo; they held it ſtrange, that the *Romans* ſhould thus inſiſt on points no way concerning them, and take upon them to preſcribe unto the King, what Cities of *Aſia* he ſhould ſet at liberty; from what Cities they would give him leave to exact his wonted Tributes; either putting, or not putting, his Garriſons into them, as the Senate ſhould think fit. Hereto *Quintius* anſwered, That ſince they went ſo diſtinctly to work, he would alſo do the like. Wherefore he propounded unto them two Conditions, and gave them their choice whether to accept: Either that it ſhould be lawful for the *Romans*, to take part in *Aſia* with any that would ſeek their friendſhip; Or, if King *Antiochus* miſliked this, and would have them forbear to meddle in *Aſia*, that then he ſhould abandon whatſoever he had gotten in *Europe*. This was plain dealing; but no reaſonable nor pertinent anſwer, to that which the Kings Embaſſadors had propounded. For if the *Romans* might be hired to abſtain from *Aſia*, by the gift of all that *Antiochus* had lately won in *Europe*: then did not the affairs of *Smyrna*, *Lampſacus*, or any other *Aſiatiques*, whom they were pleaſed to reckon as their Confederates, bind them in honour to make War with a King that ſought their love, and had never done them injury. But they knew very well, that *Antiochus* could not without great ſhame be ſo baſe, as to deliver up unto them the City of *Lyſimachia*, whereon of late he had been at ſo much coſt; in building it up even from the foundations, and re-peopling it with Inhabitants, that had all been diſperſed, or captive to the *Barbarians*. And ſo much the Embaſſadors with great indignation alledged: ſaying, that *Antiochus* deſired friendſhip of the *Romans*; but ſo, as it might ſtand with his honour. Now in point of honour, the *Romans* took upon them, as if their cauſe were far the ſuperior. For it was, they ſaid, their purpoſe to ſet at liberty thoſe Towns, which the King would oppreſs, and hold in ſubjection: eſpecially ſince thoſe Towns were of *Greekiſh* Blood and Language; and fell in that regard under the patronage, which *Rome* had afforded unto all *Greece* beſides. By this colour they might ſoon have left *Antiochus* King of not many Subjects on the hither ſide of *Euphrates*. Neither did they forbear to ſay, That unleſs he would quit what he held in *Europe*, it was their meaning, not only to protect thoſe which relied upon them in *Aſia*, but therein to make new Alliances: namely (as might be underſtood) with ſuch as were his Subjects. Wherefore they urged his Embaſſadors to come to a point, and tell them plainly which of theſe two Conditions their King would accept. For lack of a pleaſing anſwer, which the Embaſſadors could not hereto make, little wanted of giving preſently defiance to the King. But they ſuffered themſelves to be entreated, and were contented once again to ſend over *P. Villius*, and others that had been already with the King at *Lyſimachia*; by whom they might receive a final anſwer, whether theſe demands made by *Quintius*, and his aſſociates, would be accepted, yea, or no. By this reſpite of time, and the fruitleſs Treaties enſuing, *Antiochus* got the leiſure of two years, or thereabouts, to prepare for War, finding in the *Romans*, all that while, no diſpoſition to let him live in peace.

§. V.

Of the long Wars which the Romans *had with the* Gaules, Ligurians, *and* Spaniards. *Of* M. Porcius Cato. *Injuries done by* Maſaniſſa *to the* Carthaginians: *that ſue to the* Romans *for juſtice in vain.*

THE *Inſubrians*, *Boiians*, and other of the *Ciſalpine Gaules*, together with the *Ligurians*; made often, and (in a manner) continual War upon the *Romans* in *Italy*, even from ſuch time as *Hannibal*, and his brother *Mago*, departed thence, until ſuch time as they themſelves were utterly ſubdued: which was not, before the *Romans* were almoſt at the height of their Empire. Theſe Nations having ſerved under *Mago*, for Wages, and afterwards having gotten *Amilcar*, a *Carthaginian*, to be Leader unto them all, as hath been already ſhewed; by this their fellowſhip in Arms, grew to be ſuch willing partakers each of others fortune, that ſeldom afterwards either the *Gaules* or *Liguri-ans* did ſtir alone, but that their Companions, hear-

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hearing it, were ready to second them. How the *Romans* first prevailed, and got large possessions in *Gallia Cisalpina*, now called *Lumbardy*; it hath been long since rehearsed, between the first and second *Punick* Wars. As also it hath since appeared, how they lost the greatest part of their hold in that Countrey, by means of *Hannibal* his passage therethrough. Neither is it likely, that the re-conquest would have been more difficult or tedious unto the *Romans*, than was the first purchase: if, besides the greater employments which they had of their Armies abroad, their forces appointed unto this War had not been distracted by the *Ligurians*; that always made them to proceed warily, having an Eye to the danger at their backs. The *Ligurians* were a stout Nation, light and swift of body; well practised in laying Ambushes, and not discouraged with any overthrow, but forthwith ready to fight again. Their Countrey was mountainous, rough, woody, and full of streight and dangerous passages. Few good Towns they had; but many Castles, exceedingly well fortified by nature: so as without much labour, they could neither be taken nor besieged. They were also very poor; and had little or nothing that might give contentment, unto a victorious Army that should spoil their Land. In these respects they served excellently well, to train up the *Roman* Souldiers to hardness, and military patience: teaching them (besides other Exercises of War) to endure much, and live contented with a little. Their quarrel to *Rome*, grew partly from their love unto the *Gaules*, their neighbours and companions; partly from their delight in robbing and spoiling the Territory of their borders, that were subject unto *Rome*. But their obstinate continuance in the War which they had begun, seems to have been grounded upon the Condition of all Salvages; To be friends or foes, by custom, rather than by judgment: and to acknowledg no such vertue in Leagues, or formal conclusions of Peace, as ought to hinder them from using their advantage, or taking revenge of injuries when they return to mind. This quality is found in all, or most of the *West-Indians*: who, if they be demanded a reason of the Wars between them, and any of their neighbours, use commonly this answer, *It hath still been the custom for us and them, to fight one against the other.*

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Divers overthrows, though none that were great, these *Ligurians* gave unto the *Romans*: but many more, and greater, they received. Often they sought peace, when they found themselves in distress; and brake it again as often, when they thought it profitable so to do. The best was, that as their Countrey was a good place of Exercise unto the *Romans*; so out of their own Countrey they did little harm: not sending any great Armies far from home; perhaps, because they knew not how to make War, save on their own ground.

The Countrey of *Spain*, as it was the first part of the Continent out of *Italy* that became subject unto the *Romans*: so was it the last of all their Provinces, which was wholly and throughly by them subdued. It is likened in Figure by some Geographers, unto an Ox-hide: and the *Romans* found in it the property of that Ox-hide, which *Calanus*, the *Indian*, shewed unto the Great *Alexander*, as an Emblem of his large Dominions. For, treading upon any side of it, the further parts would rise from the ground. And thus was it with *Spain*. Seldom did it happen, that those parts, from which the *Roman* Armies lay furthest, were not up in Rebellion. The *Spaniards* were a very hardy Nation, and easily stirred up to Arms; but had not much knowledg in the Art of War, nor any good Captains. They wanted also (which was their principal hinderance) good intelligence among themselves: and being divided into many small Signories, that had little other communion than of language, they seldom or never provided in general for the common good of their Countrey; but made it their chief care, each of them to look unto their own Territory. Such private respects made them often to fall asunder; when many had united themselves together, for chacing out of the *Romans*. And these were the causes of their often overthrows; as desire of liberty, rather than complaint of any wrong done to them, was the cause of their often taking Arms.

The *Carthaginians* had been accustomed, to make evacuation of this Cholerick *Spanish* humour; by employing, as Mercinaries in their Wars abroad, those that were most likely to be unquiet at home. They had also taken Souldiers from one part of the Countrey, and used them in an other: finding means to pay them all, out of the profits which they raised upon the whole Countrey; as being far better husbands, and of more dexterity than were the *Romans*, in that kind. But contrariwise the *Romans*, using the service of their own Legions, and of their sure friends the *Latines*, had little business for the *Spaniards*; and therefore were fain to have much business with them. *Spain* was too far distant, and withal too great, for them to send over Colonies thither, whereby to hold it in good order, according to the course that they took in *Italy*. Wherefore it remained, that they should always maintain such Armies in the Countrey, as might serve to hold it in obedience perforce; and such heedful Captains, as might be still ready to oppose the *Barbarians* in their first Commotion. This they did: and thereby held the Countrey, though seldom in peace.

Very soon after the departure of *Scipio*, there was raised War in *Spain* against the *Romans*, even upon the same general ground, that was the foundation of all the *Spanish* Wars following. It was thought unreasonable, that the *Spaniards* should one while help the *Carthaginians* against the *Romans*, and another while the *Romans* against the *Carthaginians*; basely forgetting to help themselves against those that were strangers, yet usurped the Dominion over them. But the Forces which *Scipio* had left behind him in that Countrey, being well acquainted with the manner of War in those parts, suppressed this Rebellion by many Victories: and, together with subjection, brought peace upon the Countrey; which lasted five years. This Victory of the *Romans*, though it happily ended the War; yet left it still remaining the cause of the War; which after five years brake out again. The *Spaniards* fought a Battel with the *Roman* Proconsul, whom they slew; and had a great Victory, that filled them with greater hopes. Yet the happy success of their Wars in *Greece*, made the *Romans* think it enough to send thither Two Prætors, and with each of them some Two Legions. These did somewhat; yet not so much, but that *M. Porcius Cato*, who was Consul the year following, and sent into that Province; found at his coming little less to do, than the re-conquering of all *Spain*. But it fell out happily, that all the *Spaniards* were not of one mind: some were faithful to *Rome*; and some were idle beholders of the pains that

that others took. Yet when *Cato* had won a great Victory upon the chief of them; they roſe againſt him in many parts of the Country, and put him to much new trouble. Whilſt he was about to make a journey againſt thoſe that were as yet unſubdued: ſome of the lately vanquiſhed, were even ready to rebel. He therefore diſarmed them: which they took ſo heavily, that many of them ſlew themſelves for very grief. Hearing of this, and well underſtanding, that ſuch deſparation might work dangerous effects; He called unto him the principal among them: and commending unto them peace and quietneſs, which they never had diſturbed but unto their own great loſs, He prayed them to deviſe what courſe might be taken, for holding them aſſured unto *Rome*, without further trouble. None of them could, or would give counſel in a matter of this nature. Having therefore talked with them once or twice, and finding their invention barren in this kind of Subject, He gave expreſs charge, That upon a day appointed they ſhould throw down the Walls of all their Towns. Afterwards he carried the War about from place to place; and with ſingular induſtry finiſhed it in ſhort time. Neither thought he it any diſgrace to him or to *Rome*, in this time of danger, to imitate the *Carthaginians*, and hire an Army of the *Celtiberians*, againſt other of their Countrymen: excuſing the indignity, ſuch as it ſeemed, with a jeſt, That if he were vanquiſhed and ſlain, then ſhould he need to pay them nothing; whereas if he had the Victory, he could pay them with the Enemies Money. Finally he brought the War to ſo good end, that in long time after, though *Spain* were often troubleſome, yet was it in no danger of being loſt. He increaſed alſo the publick Revenues in that Province, by cauſing ſome Mines of Iron and Silver to be wrought, that had before lain unregarded. Herein he did benefit the Common-wealth, by a Vertue much agreeable to his own peculiar diſpoſition.

For this *M. Cato* was not only very notable in the Art of War, which might well be then termed, The Occupation of the *Romans*; but ſo well furniſhed with all other uſeful qualities, that very little was wanting in him, which might ſeem requiſite to the accompliſhment of a perfect man. He was very skilful in the *Roman* Laws, a man of great Eloquence, and not unprofitable in any buſineſs either private or publick. Many Books he wrote: whereof the Principal were, of the *Roman* Antiquities, and of Husbandry. In matter of Husbandry he was notable, and thereby moſt increaſed his ſubſtance; being of mean birth, and the firſt of his Houſe. Strong of body he was, and exceeding temperate: ſo as he lived in perfect health to very old age. But that which moſt commended him unto the better ſort of the *Romans*, was his great ſincerity of life, abſtinence from Bribes, and faſhioning himſelf to the ancient laudable Cuſtoms of the City. Herein he had merited ſingular commendations, if the vehemency of his nature had not cauſed him to malign the Vertue of that Noble *Scipio* the *African*, and ſome other Worthy Men; that were no leſs honeſt than himſelf, though far leſs rigid, and more gallant in behaviour. Otherwiſe he was a very good Citizen, and one of ſuch temper, that he could faſhion himſelf to all occaſions, as if he never were out of his Element. He loved buſineſs ſo well, or rather hated vice ſo earneſtly; that even unto the end of his life, he was exerciſed in defending himſelf, or accuſing others. For at the age of fourſcore and ſix years, he pleaded in his own defence: and four years after, he accuſed *Sergius Galba* unto the People. So began the Nobility of *Cato* his Family; which ended in his great Grandchild *M. Cato* the *Utican*: one, that being of like Vertue and Fervency, had all his good purpoſes daſht, and was finally wearied out of his life, by men of ſuch Nobility and greatneſs as this his Anceſtor had continually vexed.

The *Spaniſh* Wars, after *Cato* his departure out of the Countrey, though they were not very dangerous, yet were they many; and the Country ſeldom free from inſurrection, in one part or other. The *Roman* Prætors therefore, of which two every year were ſent over Commanders into *Spain* (that was divided into two Governments) did rarely fail of ſuch work, as might afford the honour of Triumph. One ſlew thirteen thouſand *Spaniards* in a Battel: another took fifty Towns; and a third enforced many States of the Country to ſue for Peace. Thus every one of them, or moſt of them, did ſome laudable ſervice; yet ſo, that commonly there were of Men, Towns and People, new that rebelled, in ſtead of the old that were ſlain, taken or reclaimed. At the cauſes hereof I have already pointed: and therefore think it enough to ſay, That the buſineſs in *Spain* required not the employment of a *Roman* Conſul, from ſuch time as *Cato* thence departed, until the *Numantian* War brake out; which was very long after.

In all other Countries to the Weſt of the *Ionian* Seas, the *Romans* had Peace: but ſo had not the *Carthaginians*. For when *Hannibal* was gone from them, and that the Enemies of the *Barchine* Houſe promiſed all Felicity which *Rome* could grant, unto themſelves and their obedient City: *Maſaniſſa* fell to diſputing with the Sword, about the title to to the beſt part of their Lands. He began with *Emporia*, a fruitful Region about the leſſer *Syrtis*: wherein among other Cities was that of *Leptis*, which daily paid a Talent unto *Carthage* for Tribute. This Country the *Numidian* challenged; and by winning ſome part of it, ſeemed to better his claim unto the whole. He had a great advantage: for that the *Carthaginians* might not make any War, without leave obtained from their Maſters the *Romans*. They had none other way of redreſs, then by ſending to *Rome* their Complaint of his doings. And ſurely they wanted not good matter to alledge, if the Judges had been unpartial. For beſides that *Scipio*, in limiting out unto them their bounds, had left them the poſſeſſion of this Country: *Maſaniſſa* himſelf, now very lately, purſuing a Rebel that fled out of his Kingdom, deſired leave of the *Carthaginians*, for himſelf to paſs through it in his way to *Cyrene*: thereby acknowledging (had it otherwiſe been queſtionable) that the Countrey was theirs. This notwithanding, *Maſaniſſa* had wherewith to juſtifie his proceedings, eſpecially unto the *Roman* Senate. He gave the *Fathers* to underſtand by his Embaſſadors, what faithleſs people the *Carthaginians* were, and how ill-affected to the State of *Rome*. There had lately been ſent unto them from *Hannibal* one, that ſhould perſwade them to take part with *Antiochus*. This man they had examined, upon ſome ſuſpicion of his Errand; yet neither arreſting him nor his Ship, had thereby afforded him means to eſcape. Hence the *Numidian* concluded, That certainly it was their purpoſe to rebel; and therefore good policy to keep them down. As for the Countrey of *Emporia*: it had always he ſaid, been theirs, that were able to hold it by ſtrong hand: and ſo belonged ſometimes unto the *Numidian* Kings; though now of late it was in poſſeſſion of the *Carthaginians*. But if truth were known:

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the Citizens of *Carthage* had no very warrantable title, unto any more ground, than that whereon there City ſtood; or ſcarcely to ſo much. For they were no better than Strangers in *Aſrick*, that hed gotten leave there to build upon ſo much ground as they could encompaſs with an Ox-hide cut into ſmall Thongs. Whatſoever they held without ſuch a compaſs, was purchaſed by fraud, and wrongful encroachments. This conſidered, *Maſaniſſa* requeſted of the Senate, That they would not adjudge unto ſuch Uſurpers, the Countrey ſometimes appertaining to the Anceſtors of him their aſſured Friend. The *Romans* having heard theſe allegations on both ſides, found the matter ſo doubtful, that they could not on the ſudden tell what to determine. Wherefore becauſe they would do nothing raſhly; they ſent over three Embaſſadors, of whom *P. Scipio* the *African* was one and the chief to decide the controverſie: yet ſecretly giving them inſtructions, to leave all as they found it, without making any end one way or other. The Embaſſadors followed their directions, and left all doubtful. So was it likely that *Maſaniſſa* with a ſtrong Army ſhould quickly prevail, againſt thoſe that could no more than talk of their right, and exclaim againſt the wrong. By ſuch Arts were the *Carthaginians* held not only from ſtirring in favour of King *Antiochus*, if they had thereto any diſpoſition; but were prepared by little and little unto their final deſtruction: that came upon them, when the *Romans* had leiſure to expreſs the utmoſt of their hatred.

§. VI.

The Ætolians *labour to provoke* Antiochus, Philip, *and* Nabis, *to war upon the* Romans; *by whom they hold themſelves wronged and diſgraced.* Nabis *beſieged* Gyttheum, *and waſteth ſome part of* Achæa. *The exact skill of* Philopœmen, *in advantage of Ground: whereby he utterly vanquiſheth* Nabis. Antiochus *being denied Peace by the* Romans, *joyns with the* Ætolians. *The* Ætolians *ſurprize* Demetrias; *and by killing* Nabis *their Confederate, ſeize upon* Sparta. *But they are driven out by the Citizens: who at* Philopœmen *his perſwaſions, annext themſelves to the* Achæans.

ALL *Greece* being at Peace, and the *Roman* Armies thence departed: it grieved much the *Ætolians* to think, that they who had promiſed unto themſelves the whole Spoil of *Philip*, and the higheſt reputation among the *Greeks*; were not only diſappointed of their covetous hopes, but quite forſaken by their ancient dependants; and of all other the moſt unregarded. Yet was there made a great acceſs to their Eſtate; by adding much unto them, of that which had been taken from the *Macedonian*. This might have well ſufficed them, if their deſires had not been immoderate; and their indignation, more vehement, than their deſire. But they were not ſo pleaſed with that which they had, ſince they thought it no more than part of their due; as they were vexed with the denial of that which they claimed, and with finding themſelves to be wholly diſ-eſteemed, wherein they thought that they had unſufferable wrong. Wherefore they deviſed in a Parliament, which they ſhortly held, by what means they might beſt right themſelves; and give the *Romans* a ſorrowful knowledge of the difference, between their Enmity and Friendſhip. To this purpoſe they ſoon agreed, as concurring all in one affection, That they would not only perſwade *Antiochus* to make War upon the *Romans*, as one to whom the *Romans* had long refuſed Peace; but that they would deal with the King of *Macedon* their ancient Enemy, and with *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, to join all together in a new Confederacy: whoſe joynt forces could not in all likelihood but far ſurmount thoſe of the *Romans*, *Achæans*, *Rhodians*, and King *Eumenes*, with all that were of their Faction. This was a great enterpriſe, which the *Ætolians* took in hand: and well beſeeming them, for they were great darers. They ſent Embaſſadors to all theſe Kings, with perſwaſions as they thought moſt forcible. But *Philip* was irreſolute; and *Antiochus* willing to try firſt all other Courſes. *Nabis* the *Lacedæmonian*, who neither (as *Philip*) had loſt much, nor (as *Antiochus*) was in fear of any War; yet ſhewed himſelf of all other the moſt forward: and not ſtaying ſo much as to ſeek any good pretence, began immediately to lay ſiege to *Gyttheum*, that had been lately taken from him by the *Romans*. The *Achæans*, to whoſe care chiefly *Titus* at his departure had commended the affairs of *Peloponneſus*, were not ſlow to admoniſh *Nabis* of his Duty: neither would they have ſtayed long from repreſſing his violence by open War; had not ſome of them thought it wiſdom to ask Counſel of the *Romans*, and particularly of *T. Quintius*, before they engaged themſelves in a buſineſs of ſuch importance. Whilſt thus they ſpent the time in ſending Embaſſadors, and were adviſed by *Quintius* to let all alone, and to wait for the coming of the *Roman* Forces that would ſhortly be amongſt them: *Nabis* was bold to give them juſter cauſe of complaint, by waſting their own Territory.

Philopœmen was then Prætor of the *Achæans*, who had long been abſent in *Crete*; making War there for his minds ſake and recreation. Unto him the *Achæans* referred themſelves, giving him leave to order the War at his pleaſure; either ſtaying until the *Romans* came; or doing otherwiſe, as he ſhould think beſt. He made all haſte to relieve *Gyttheum* by Sea; fearing leſt the Town, and the *Achæan* Garriſon within it, ſhould be loſt, if he uſed any delay. But *Philopœmen* was ſo bad a Seaman, that he knew not a ſtrong Ship from a rotten. He made a Quadrireme Gally his Admiral, that had fourſcore years ago been counted a gallant Veſſel, in the Navy of *Antigonus Gonatas*. Neither was the reſt of his Fleet ſo good, as might encounter with that of the *Lacedæmonian*. Only it fell out well, that he committed himſelf to a light Pinnace or Brigandine, that fought better with her Wings, than with her Tallons. For his Admiral Gally was ſtemmed at the firſt; and being rotten with age, ſprang ſo many Leaks, and took in Water ſo faſt, that ſhe was fain to yield without further reſiſtance. When the reſt of the Fleet ſaw what was become of their Admiral; all were preſently diſcouraged, and ſaved themſelves with what ſpeed they could. But *Philopœmen* was not herewith daunted. If he had failed in Sea-ſervice, which was none of his Occupation; He ſaid that he would make amends by Land. The Tyrant withdrew part of his Army from the Siege of *Gyttheum*, to ſtop the *Achæans* if they ſhould invade his Countrey. But upon theſe which were placed in guard of *Laconia*, *Philopœmen* came unexpected; fired their Camp; and put all ſave a very few of them to the ſword. Then marched he with all his Army towards *Lacedæmon*: within ten mile whereof he was, when the Tyrant met him; that had already taken *Gyttheum*. It was not expected that *Nabis* would have been ready for them ſo ſoon. Or if he ſhould come from *Gyttheum*, with any

any part of his Forces: yet was it thought that he muſt overtake them, and charge them in Rere. They marched therefore almoſt ſecurely, in a long Troop reaching ſome five miles: having their Horſe and the greateſt part of their Auxiliaries at their backs to bear off any ſudden impreſſion. But *Nabis*, who formerly underſtood, or at leaſt ſuſpected, what courſe they would take: appeared in the front of them with all his Army; encamped there where they meant to have lodged. It was the cuſtom of *Philopœmen*, when he walked or travelled abroad with his Friends, to mark the ſituation of the Countrey about him; and to diſcourſe, what might befal an Army marching the ſame way. He would ſuppoſe, That having with them there ſuch a number of Souldiers, ordered and ſorted in ſuch manner, and marching towards ſuch a place; he were upon that ground encountred by a greater Army, or better prepared to the fight. Then would he put the queſtion, whether it were fit for him to hold on his way, retire, or make a ſtand? what piece of ground it were meet for him to ſeize upon; and in what manner he might beſt do it? in what ſort he ſhould order his Men? where beſtow his Carriages; and under what Guard? in what ſort encamp himſelf? and which way march the day following? By ſuch continual meditation, he was grown ſo perfect, that he never met with any difficulty, whence he could not explicate himſelf and his followers. At this time he made a ſtand: and having drawn up his Rere, he encamped near unto the place where he was; within half a mile of the Enemy. His Baggage, with all thereto belonging, he beſtowed on a Rock; encompaſſing them round with his Souldiers. The ground was rough, the ways bad, and the day almoſt quite ſpent; ſo as *Nabis* could not at the preſent greatly moleſt him. Both Armies were to water at one Brook; whereto the *Achæans* lay the nearer. This watering therefore was like to miniſter the firſt occaſion of skirmiſh. *Philopœmen* underſtood this; and laid an Ambuſh in place convenient; whereinto the Mercinaries of *Nabis* fell, and were ſlaughtered in great numbers. Preſently after this, he cauſed one of his own Auxiliaries to go to the Tyrant, as a Fugitive, and tell him, that the *Achæans* had a purpoſe to get between him and *Lacedæmon*; whereby they would both debar his return into the City, and withal encourage the People, to take Arms for the recovery of their Freedom. The Tyrant hearing this, marched haſtily away; and left his Camp, which hardly otherwiſe would have been forced. Some Companies he made to ſtay behind, and ſhew themſelves upon the Rampart, whereby to conceal his departure. But *Philopœmen* was not ſo to be beguiled. He eaſily won the Camp; and gave chace to *Nabis*: whoſe followers being overtaken, had no courage to turn about and make head. The Enemies being thus diſperſed, and fled into Woods, where they lay in covert all that day; *Philopœmen* conceived aright, that their fear and neceſſity would teach them to creep homewards, and ſave themſelves, when it grew dark. Wherefore in the Evening, when he had gathered together all thoſe of his Light-armature, which had followed the chace whilſt it was day; He led forth the reſt that had well refreſhed themſelves, and occupied the two moſt ordinary paſſages unto *Lacedæmon*. So *Nabis* his Men, when it was dark night, perceiving in *Philopœmens* Camp great ſtore of lights, thought that all had been at reſt: and therefore adventured to make an eſcape home. But they were ſo way-laid, that hardly one quarter of them got into *Sparta*. Thirty days together after this, did *Philopœmen* waſte the Countrey round about; whilſt *Nabis* durſt not iſſue forth of his Town; and then returned home, leaving the Tyrant in a manner without Forces.

The *Roman* Embaſſadors were then in *Greece*, and *T. Quintius* among them; labouring to make their Party ſtrong againſt *Antiochus* and *Nabis*, whom they knew to be ſollicited by the *Ætolians*. Very fair countenance they alſo made unto *Philip*; and with comfortable promiſes drew him to make ſhew, whatſoever he thought, of good Correſpondence. They promiſed to reſtore unto him his Son: and were contented to let him hope, that he ſhould receive other favours at their hands; and regain poſſeſſion of many places, by them taken from him. Thus did the *Romans* prepare for War againſt *Antiochus* in *Greece*: whilſt their Embaſſadors that were with him in *Aſia*, denied otherwiſe to grant him Peace, than if he would yield unto one of the Conditions, by them ſo often propounded. The long abſence of this King in *Syria*, where he had accompliſhed the marriage between *Ptolemy* and his Daughter: together with the death of young *Antiochus* the Kings Son, which happened during the Treaty, and hindred, or ſeemed to hinder the King, from giving audience in Perſon to the Embaſſadors; cauſed them to return home to *Rome*; as uncertain of their anſwer as at their ſetting forth. One thing that might have been, and partly was, beneficial unto them, they brought to paſs during their abode at *Epheſus*; either by cunning or (as *Livy* rather thinks) by chance. Finding *Hannibal* there, they diſcourſed often with him, and blamed him for having thus fled unto *Antiochus*, upon a cauſeleſs ſuſpicion wherein he held the *Romans*: that honoured his Vertue, and intended him no harm. Many have affirmed that *P. Scipio* was one of theſe Embaſſadors; and that he, among other diſcourſes with *Hannibal*, demanded once, *Which of all the famous Captains that had lived*, Hannibal *judged the moſt worthy*? So *Hannibal* gave to *Alexander* of *Macedon* the firſt place: to *Pyrrhus* the ſecond: and the third he challenged unto himſelf. But *Scipio* who thought his own Title better, than that it ought to be ſo forgotten: asked yet further, What wouldeſt thou have ſaid then, *Hannibal*, if thou hadſt vanquiſhed me? to whom the *Carthaginian* replyed, Then would not I have given the firſt place to *Alexander*, but have claimed it as due unto my ſelf. Now whether this were ſo or otherwiſe: the often and friendly conference of *Hannibal* with the *Roman* Embaſſadors, made him ſuſpected of *Antiochus*: who therefore did forbear a while to uſe his Counſel. Yet afterwards, when *Hannibal* perceived this change in the King: and plainly deſiring him to tell the cauſe thereof, heard what it was; He eaſily recovered his former Grace and Credit. For he told how his Father had cauſed him to ſwear at the Altars, when he was a little Boy, That he never ſhould be Friend unto the *Romans*. Wherefore he willed the King not to regard any vain ſurmiſes: but to know thus much, That as long as he thought upon War with *Rome*, ſo long would *Hannibal* do him all good ſervice: whereas contrariwiſe if he intended to make Peace, then ſhould it behove him to uſe the Counſel of ſome other Man.

The *Ætolians*, and their Friends, were no leſs buſie all this while, in making their Party ſtrong againſt the *Romans*: than were the *Romans*, in muſtring up their Friends in *Greece*. They had ſo often dealt with *Antiochus*, vaunting much of their

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own Forces, and arrogating to themſelves the honour of the Victory againſt *Philip*; that finally they prevailed with him: eſpecially when the *Roman* Embaſſadors had left him without hope of Peace, unleſs he would buy it at too dear a rate. They dealt in like ſort with the *Macedonian*. But in vain. He underſtood the *Romans*, and himſelf, too well. Wherefore it concerned them to improve their own Forces to the utmoſt: as knowing, that all the Burthen muſt lie upon *Antiochus* and themſelves, without help from any; ſave only from ſome few that were diſcontented in *Greece*. Whilſt they were about this, and had with them an Embaſſador of the King *Antiochus* that animated them to reſolution: the *Athenian* Embaſſadors, whom *Titus* had requeſted to be at their meeting, ſtayed their vehemency a little; by exhorting them, not to conclude raſhly, without firſt hearing the *Romans*, that lay near at hand. For want of a ready anſwer hereto they were contented to approve the motion. *Titus* hearing this, thought the buſineſs worthy of his Preſence. For ſince *Antiochus* had now declared himſelf againſt the *Romans*: it would be no ſmall piece of ſervice, to withdraw from his Friendſhip, thoſe by whoſe encouragement he had made the adventure. Wherefore he came to their *Panætolium*, or Great Aſſembly of the Nation; where he forgot nothing that might ſerve to appeaſe them. He willed them to conſider the weight of the Enterpriſe which they took in hand; whereby *Greece* was like to become a Champaign-field, on which, to the ruin of the Countrey, the *Romans*, and King *Antiochus*, that commanded no ſmall part of the World, ſhould fight for the Maſtery: the *Ætolians*, as Maſters in that kind of Fence, ſetting them on, and becoming * *the Sticklers*. As for thoſe grievances which did thus exaſperate them and urge them to ſuch violent courſes, He willed them to conſider how ſlight they were, and how much better they might do to ſend Embaſſadors to *Rome*, that ſhould either plead their right in the Senate, or (if their right unto the places which they claimed, were not good) make requeſt to have what they deſired: than thus to ſet the World in an uproar, and be afterwards the firſt that ſhould repent it. But what he ſaid or could ſay, it skilled not much. They had already done ill, to make the Embaſſador of the King, whoſe help they had ſought, wait ſo long for an anſwer, and ſtay doubting what good end they ſhould make with the *Romans*. Neither was it news unto them to hear thoſe comfortable words, That by ſending to *Rome*, they might happen to obtain what they deſired; either as their right, or elſe by way of favour. For with ſuch Terms had they been feaſted once already: and were by the Senate rejected unto *Titus*: who, having it in his own power, gave them no ſatisfaction; yet would now again refer them to the Senate. This were only loſs of time, and might abate their credit with *Antiochus*. Wherefore without more ado they made a Decree, That King *Antiochus the Great* ſhould be entreated to come over into *Greece*, as well to ſet the Countrey at liberty, as alſo to decide the controverſies depending between the *Romans* and *Ætolians*. Such a Decree they would not have made, had they not underſtood the Kings mind before. Having made it; they forgot no point of bravery, whereby to vaunt themſelves to the Kings Embaſſadors, and againſt the *Romans*. *Titus* deſired of their Prætor, to let him ſee a Copy of this new Decree. The Prætor anſwered, That then he had other things to do: but that this Decree, and their further anſwer, they would ſhortly ſet him know, if he came to their Camp in *Italy* upon the River of *Tibris*. Gentler words would have done better, as the *Ætolians* are like to underſtand hereafter. But having thus begun, they meant henceforth to go roundly to work. The care of the War they referred unto the more private Council of their Nation; that no occaſion might ſlip in waiting for the authority of a general Aſſembly. The *Apocleti* (ſo were the Privy Council of *Ætolia* called) went as hotly to work, as any of the youngeſt heads could have done. They laid a Plot, how to get into their hands at one time the Towns of *Chalcis Demetrias*, and *Sparta*: to each of which they ſent men for the purpoſe. *Demetrias* they took upon the ſudden: entring, ſome of them as Friends to conduct home a Principal man of the City: who for ſpeaking words againſt *T. Quintius*, had been driven to fly thence, but was, by interceſſion of thoſe that loved him, again recalled. His *Ætolian* companions that were not many, ſeized upon a Gate; whereat they let in a Troop which they had left not far behind them; and ſo fell to murdering the chief of the *Roman* faction. At *Chalcis* they ſped not ſo well. Thither alſo they had a baniſhed Man to bring home: but they came ſo ſtrong, that their purpoſe was diſcovered, and the Town prepared to defend it ſelf againſt them. Being therefore demanded the cauſe of this hoſtility, they gave a gentle anſwer: ſaying, That they came not thither as Enemies, but only to deliver the Town from the *Romans*: who more inſolently domineered over it, than ever the *Macedonians* had done. By ſuch Rhetorick they prevailed no more than they could do by plain force. For the Townſmen replyed, that they neither found any abridgement of their Liberty, nor needed any Garriſon to keep them from the *Romans*; from whom they neither feared any danger, nor received injury. So this buſineſs was daſht. The attempt upon *Sparta* was more ſtrange and deſperate. *Nabis* their good Friend, was Lord of the Town: ſtyling himſelf King; but more truly, by all men called Tyrant. He had well-near loſt all, by means of the overthrow which *Philopæmen* had lately given him: ſince, he durſt not ſtir abroad; and daily expected the miſchief, that on all ſides threatned him. Wherefore he ſent Meſſengers, one after other, to the *Ætolians*: requeſting them, that as he had not been ſlow to ſtir in their behalf, but adventured himſelf upon the utmoſt of danger, when all others were backward; ſo they would be pleaſed to ſend him what help they might, ſince his bad fortune had cauſed him preſently to need it. It hath been often ſaid, that the ravenous *Ætolians* were only true to themſelves, and regarded neither faith nor friendſhip, otherwiſe then as it might conduce to their own ends. And ſo dealt they now. For ſince *Nabis* his Mercinary Forces, which upheld his Tyranny, were in a manner conſumed: they thought it expedient for their Eſtate, to put him out of the way; and, by ſo doing, to aſſure *Lacedæmon* unto themſelves. To this purpoſe, they ſent thither *Alexamenus*, one whom they thought a man fit for ſuch a work. To him they gave a thouſand Foot, and thirty Horſe, choſen for the purpoſe. Theſe thirty were by *Damocritus* the Prætor brought into the Council of the *Apocleti*, where they were commanded to be no wiſer than they ſhould be, nor to think that they were ſent to make War with the *Achæans*, or to do ought elſe, ſave only what *Alexamenus*, ſhould command them: which were it never ſo deſperate, and in ſeeming againſt all reaſon; yet muſt they underſtand, that unleſs they performed it, they ſhould have

* *Liv. l. 35. admiſtis Ætolis forte, laniſtis.*

no good welcome home. So *Alexamenus* came to the Tyrant, whom he encouraged with brave words: telling him, that *Antiochus* was already in *Europe*, and would be anon in *Greece*, meaning to cover all the Land and Sea with his mighty Armies; and that the *Romans* were like to find other manner of work, than of late with *Philip*: since the Elephants of this great King, without other help, would suffice to tread them down. As for the *Ætolians*, He said, that if need should so require, they would presently send away to *Lacedæmon* all the forces that they could raise: But that they were very desirous at the present, to make as goodly a Muster as they could before the great King; which caused them to send him thither afore with no greater Company. Hereupon he willed *Nabis* to take heart; bring forth his Men, that had been long pent up in the City, and train them without the Walls: as if shortly he should employ them in work of conquest, rather than defence. *Nabis* was glad of this: and daily exercised his Men in the field; riding up and down with his *Alexamenus*, and no more than three or four Horse about him, from one point to another, to order and behold them. During this time of exercise, *Alexamenus* made it his fashion to step aside alone to his *Ætolians*, and say somewhat as he thought fit: which done, he still returned again to *Nabis*. But when he saw time for the great work that he had in hand: He then went aside to his thirty Horse-men, and bad them remember the task enjoyned them at their setting forth; telling them that they were all in case of banished Men, unless they would anon come up to him, and help him to finish that which they should see him take in hand. Herewithal the Tyrant began to draw near them: and *Alexamenus* making towards him, charged him on the sudden, and struck him down. The thirty *Ætolians* never stood to deliberate upon the matter: but all flew in; and, before any succour could arrive, had made an end of this wretched *Nabis*. Presently upon the fact committed, the Tyrant his Mercinaries ran unto the dead Body: where instead of seeking revenge they stood foolishly gazing as beholders. *Alexamenus* with his *Ætolians* hasted into the City, and seized on the Palace: where he fell to ransacking the Treasure; and troubled himself with none other care, as though all were already done. Such of his followers as were dispersed in the Town, did also the like; with the greater indignation of the Citizens. who seeing themselves free by the death of the Tyrant, could not endure to see those that had slain him, begin to tyrannize anew. Wherefore all the Town was shortly in Arms: and for lack of another Captain, they took a little Boy of the Royal stock, that had been brought up with *Nabis* his Children; whom they mounted upon a Good Horse, and made him their chief. So they fell upon the *Ætolians* that were idely straggling about; and put them all to the Sword. *Alexamenus* with not many of his Company, were slain in keeping the Citadel: and those few that escaped thence into *Arcadia*, were taken by the Magistrates; who sold them all as Bond-slaves. In this doubtful Estate of things at *Lacedæmon*, *Philopœmen* came thither: who calling out chief of the City, and speaking such words unto them, as *Alexamenus* should have done after he had slain the Tyrant; easily perswaded them for their own good and safety, to incorporate themselves with the *Achæans*. Thus by the enterprise, no less dishonourable than difficult, of the *Ætolians*, and the small but effectual, travel of *Philopœmen*; the *Achæans* made a notable purchase: and *Lacedæmon*, that had hitherto been governed either by Kings, or by Tyrants that called themselves Kings, became the member of a Common-wealth; whereof the name had scarce any reputation when *Sparta* ruled over all *Greece*.

§. VII.

Antiochus, *perswaded by* Thoas *the* Ætolian, *comes over into* Greece, *ill attended. Sundry passages between him, the* Ætolians, Chalcidians *and others. He wins* Chalcis, *and thereby the whole Isle of* Eubœa. *The vanity of the Kings Embassadors, and the* Ætolians, *with the Civil answer of* Titus *to their discourse, before the* Achæans. *That it concerned the* Greeks *to have desired Peace, between the* Romans *and* Antiochus; *as the best assurance of their own liberty. Of many petty Estates that fell to the King. Of* Aminander; *and an idle vanity, by which King* Philip *was lost.* Hannibal *gives good Counsel in vain. Some Towns won in* Thessaly. *The King retires to* Chalcis; *Where he marrieth a young Wife, and revels away the rest of Winter. Upon the coming of the* Roman *Consul all forsake* Antiochus. *He with two thousand* Ætolians *keeps the Streights of* Thermopylæ. *He is beaten, and flies into* Asia: *leaving all in* Greece *unto the Victors.*

ANtiochus was troubled much in *Asia* with *Smyrna* and *Lampsacus*, that would not hearken to any Composition. He thought it neither safe nor honourable, to leave them Enemies behind him; and to win them by force, was more than hitherto he was able. Yet was he desirous with all speed convenient to shew himself in *Greece*; where he had been told, that his presence would effect wonders. It was said, That in all the Country there was a very small number, which bore hearty affection unto the *Romans*: That *Nabis* was already up in Arms: That *Philip* was like a Bandog in a Chain, desiring nothing more than to break loose; and that the *Ætolians*, without whom the *Romans* had done nothing, nor nothing could have done, were ready to confer upon him the greatness, which they had unworthily bestowed upon insolent *Barbarians*. Of all this the least part was true. Yet that which was true made such a noise, as added credit unto all the rest. Whilst therefore the King was thinking to send *Hannibal* into *Africk*, there to molest the *Romans*, and so give him the better leisure of using his own opportunities in *Greece*: *Thoas* the *Ætolian* came over to him, and bad him lay all other care aside: for that his Countrimen had already taken *Demetrias*; a Town of main importance, that should give him entertainment, whence he might proceed as became the greatness of his vertue and fortune. This did serve to cut off all deliberation. As for *Hannibal*: *Thoas* was bold to tell the King, first, That it was not expedient for him to divide his forces at such a time, when the very reputation of his numbers, brought into *Greece*, might serve to lay open unto him all places, without need of using violence: and secondly, That in any such great enterprise there could not be chosen a more unfit Man to be employed in the Kings service, than was that famous *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*. For he said, That the King should as greatly

greatly feell the loſs of a Fleet or Army, periſhing under ſuch a notable Commander if his fortune were bad, as if the ſame had miſcarried under one of meaner quality: whereas nevertheleſs if *Hannibal* prevailed; *Hannibal* alone ſhould have all the honour, and not *Antiochus*. In this regard he was of opinion, That ſuch a renowned Warriour ſhould be always near unto the Kings Perſon, to give advice: which being followed as often as it was found commodious, the good ſucceſs would wholly redound unto the honour of him that had the Sovereign Command; even of the King himſelf. *Antiochus* gladly hearkned unto this admonition; being jealous of the vertue, that ſhined brighter than the Majeſty of his own fortune. And thereupon he laid aſide the determination; which tended more to the advancement of his deſires, than did any thing elſe by him then or after thought upon.

Preſently after this He made ready for *Greece*. Before his ſetting forth, in a frivolous pomp of Ceremony, he went up from the Sea-ſide to *Ilium*; there to do ſacrifice to *Minerva* of *Troy*. Thence paſſing over the *Ægean* Sea, He came to *Demetrias*. *Eurylochus* the *Magnetian*, the ſame whom the *Ætolians* had lately waited on home, when by that pretext they wan *Demetrias*; was now the chief Man and Ruler of his Nation. He therefore with his Countrimen, in great frequency, came to do their duties to the King *Antiochus*, and bid him welcome. The King was glad of this: and took it as a ſign of good luck, to be ſo entertained at the beginning. But it may be ſuſpected, that the *Magnetians* found not the like cauſe of joy. For whereas they had expected a Fleet and Army ſomewhat like to that of *Xerxes*: they ſaw three hundred Ships, of which no more than forty were ſerviceable for the Wars; with an Army of ten thouſand Foot, five hundred Horſe, and ſix Elephants. The *Ætolians* no ſooner heard of his coming, than they called a Parliament; and made a Decree, whereby they invited him into their Country. He knew before that they would ſo do; and was therefore well onward on his way towards them, when they met him that brought the Decree. At his coming to *Lamia*, the *Ætolians* gave him as joyful entertainment as they could deviſe. Being brought into their Council, He made an Oration: wherein he deſired them to hold him excuſed, that he came not followed with a greater Army. This was, he ſaid, in true eſtimation a ſign of his good will: in that he ſtaid not to make all things ready; but haſted unto their aid, even whilſt the ſeaſon was unfit for navigation. Yet it ſhould not be long, ere the hope of all thoſe which had expected him, would be ſatisfied unto the full. For it was his meaning to fill all *Greece* with Armies, and all the Sea-coaſt with his Fleets. Neither would he ſpare for any charge, travel, or danger, to follow the buſineſs which he had undertaken: even to drive the *Romans* and their authority out of *Greece*; leaving the Country free indeed, and the *Ætolians* therein the chief. Now as the Armies that were following him, ſhould be very great: ſo was it his meaning, that all proviſions to them belonging ſhould be correſpondent; becauſe he would not be any way burdenſome unto his Confederates. But at the preſent he muſt needs entreat them, having thus haſtily come over unto their aid, unprovided of many neceſſaries; that they would help him with Corn and other Victuals, whereof he ſtood in need. So he left them to their conſultation: the concluſion whereof was, after a little diſpute, (for a vain motion was made by ſome, that the differences between the *Romans* and them ſhould be put by Compromiſe to the deciſion of *Antiochus*) That they would yield unto the Kings deſire, and aſſiſt him with all their forces. Here we may obſerve, how vain a thing it is for an abſolute Prince to engage himſelf, as did *Antiochus*, in a buſineſs of dangerous importance, upon the promiſed aſſurance of a State that is meerly popular. For if the vehemency of *Thoas*, and ſome other of that Faction, had not prevailed in this Council: the *Ætolians*, for gain of two or three Towns, yea for hope of ſuch gain that might have deceived them; were like to have abandoned this King their friend, unto the diſcretion of the *Romans*. And what remedy had there been, if this had ſo fallen out? He could have bemoaned himſelf to *Thoas*, and complained of the wrong: but he muſt have been contented with this anſwer, That the fault was in thoſe of the oppoſite ſide; whom *Thoas* would therefore have pronounced to be very wicked Men. It happened much better for the preſent; though in the future it proved much worſe, both for him, and for the *Ætolians*. He was choſen General of all their forces: and thirty Commiſſioners were appointed to be about him, as a Council of War for the Nation. Theſe armed ſuch as readily they could, whilſt it was in diſpute where they ſhould begin the War. *Chalcis* was thought the meeteſt place to be firſt undertaken: whither if they came ſuddenly, they ſhould not peradventure need to uſe much force. The King had brought with him into *Ætolia* but a thouſand Foot; leaving the reſt behind him at *Demetrias*. With theſe he haſted away directly toward *Chalcis*; being overtaken by no great number of the *Ætolians*, which accompanied him thither. At his coming, the Magiſtrates, and ſome of the chief Citizens, iſſued forth to parle with him. There the *Ætolians* began, as they had lately done before, to tell, how the *Romans* had only in words and falſe ſemblance ſet *Greece* at liberty. But ſuch liberty as might be true and uſeful, they ſaid would never be obtained; until by removing the neceſſity of obeying their pleaſure that were moſt mighty, every ſeveral Eſtate had where to find redreſs of any preſſure. And to this end was the great *Antiochus* come thither; a King well able to counterpoiſe, yea to over-weigh the *Romans*: who nevertheleſs deſired them only, ſo to joyn with him in League, as that if either the *Romans* or He ſhould offer them wrong, they might keep it in their power, to ſeek redreſs at the other hands. The *Chalcidians* made hereto the ſame anſwer, which, to the like allegations, they had made not long before: That their freedom was not imaginary, but abſolute; for which they were to thank the *Romans*; without whoſe good liking, they would enter into no new confederacy. That which they ſpake of themſelves, they could likewiſe affirm of all the *Greeks*: foraſmuch as none of them payed any Tribute; was kept under, by any Garriſon; or lived otherwiſe than by their own *Laws*, and without being tied unto condition which diſpleaſed them. Wherefore they wondered, why the King ſhould thus trouble himſelf, to deliver Cities that were already free. But ſince he, and the *Ætolians*, requeſted their friendſhip: they beſought both him, and the *Ætolians*, to do a friendly Office, in departing from them quietly, and leaving them in ſuch good caſe as they were. With this anſwer the King departed: for he was not, as then, ſtrong enough to force

them. But very ſoon after, he brought thither a greater power; which terrified them, and made them yield, before all the ſuccours could arrive, which *Titus* had ſent for their defence.

The chief City of *Eubœa* being thus gotten; all the reſt of the Iſland ſhortly yielded to *Antiochus*. Four or five hundred *Roman* Souldiers, that came over-late to have defended *Chalcis*, repoſed themſelves at *Delium*, a little Town of *Bœotia*, lying over againſt the Iſland; where was a Temple and Grove, conſecrated unto *Apollo*, that had the priviledge of an inviolable Sanctuary. In this place were ſome of them walking, and beholding the things there to be ſeen, whilſt others were buſied as they found cauſe: without fear of any danger; as being in ſuch a place, and no War hitherto proclaimed. But *Menippus*, one of *Antiochus* his Captains, that had wearied himſelf in many vain Treaties of Peace; took advantage of their careleſneſs, and uſed them with all extremity of War. Very few of them eſcaped: fifty were taken; and the reſt ſlain. Hereat *Quintius* was grieved: yet ſo as it pleaſed him well to conſider, that his *Romans* had now more juſt cauſe, than before, to make War upon the King.

Antiochus liked well theſe beginnings, and ſent Embaſſadors into all quarters of *Greece*; in hope, that his reputation ſhould perſwade very many to take his part. The wiſer ſort returned ſuch anſwer, as the *Chalcidians* had done. Some reſerved themſelves until he ſhould come among them: knowing that either, if he came not, He muſt hold them excuſed for not daring to ſtir; or, if He came, the *Romans* muſt pardon their juſt fear, in yielding to the ſtronger. None of thoſe that lay far off, joyned with him in true meaning; ſave the *Eleans*, that always favoured the *Ætolians*, and now feared the *Achæans*. Little reaſon there was, that he ſhould think to draw the *Achæans* to his party. Nevertheleſs he aſſayed them, upon a vain hope that the envy, which *Titus* was ſaid to bear unto *Philopœmens* vertue, had bred a ſecret diſlike between that Nation and the *Romans*. Wherefore both He and the *Ætolians* ſent Embaſſadors to the Council at *Ægium*, that ſpared not brave words, if the *Achæans* would have ſo been taken. The Kings Embaſſador told of great Armies and Fleets that were coming: reckoning up the *Dahans*, *Medians*, *Elimæans* and *Caduſians*; names that were not every day heard of, and therefore as he thought, the more terrible. Then told he them what notable Men at Sea, the *Sydonians*, *Tyrians*, *Aradians*, and *Pamphylians* were; ſuch indeed as could not be reſiſted. Now concerning Money, and all Warlike furniture; it was, he ſaid, well known, that the Kingdoms of *Aſia* had always thereof great plenty. So as they were much deceived: who conſidering the late War made againſt *Philip*, did think that this with *Antiochus* would prove the like: the caſe was too far different. Yet this moſt powerful King, that for the liberty of *Greece* was come from the utmoſt parts of the Eaſt; requeſted no more of the *Achæans*, than that they would hold themſelves as neutral, and quietly look on, whilſt He took order with the *Romans*. To the ſame effect ſpake the *Ætolian* Embaſſador: and further added, That in the Battel at *Cynoſcephalæ*, neither *Titus* had done the part of a General, nor the *Romans* of good Souldiers: but that both He and his Army had been there deſtroyed, had they not been protected by vertue of the *Ætolians*, which carried the day. *Titus* was preſent at the Council, and heard all this: to which he made as fit anſwer, as could have been deſired. He told the *Achæans*, That neither the Kings Embaſſador, nor the *Ætolian*, did ſo greatly labour to perſwade thoſe unto whom they addreſſed their Orations; as to vaunt themſelves the one unto the other. So as a man might well diſcern, what good correſpondence in vanity it was, that had thus lincked the King and the *Ætolians* together. For even ſuch brags as here they made, before the *Achæans* who knew them to be liers, had the *Ætolians* alſo made unto King *Antiochus*: proclaiming the victory over *Philip* to be meerly their Act: and the whole Country of *Greece* to be dependant on them. Interchangeably had they been feaſted by the King, with ſuch tales as his Embaſſador told even now; of *Dahans*, and *Aradians*, and *Elimæans*, and a Many others; that were all but a company of *Syrians*, ſuch as were wont to be ſold about for bondſlaves, and good for little elſe. Theſe diverſe names of raſcal People were, he ſaid, like to the diverſity of Veniſon, wherewith a friend of his at *Chalcis* (no ſuch vaunter as were theſe Embaſſadors) had ſometime feaſted him. For all that variety, whereat he wondred, was none other, as his Hoſt then merrily told him; than ſo many pieces of one tame Swine, dreſt after ſeveral faſhions with variety of Sawces. Setting therefore aſide this vanity of idle pomp: it were good to make judgment of the great King, by his preſent doings. He had, notwithſtanding all this great noiſe, no more than ten thouſand Men about him: for which little Army he was fain, in a manner, to beg Victuals of the *Ætolians*; and take up Money at uſury, to defray his charges. And thus he ran up and down the Country; from *Demetrias* to *Lamia*; thence back to *Chalcis*; and being there ſhut out, to *Demetrias* again. Theſe were the fruits of lies; wherewith ſince both *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians* had each deluded other; meet it was that they ſhould, as perhaps already they did, repent, whilſt wiſer Men took heed by their example. To a favourable Auditory much perſwaſion is needleſs. The *Achæans* did not love ſo well the *Ætolians*, as to deſire that they ſhould become Princes of *Greece*: but rather wiſhed to ſee them, of all other, made the verieſt abjects. Wherefore they ſtood not to hearken after news, what *Antiochus* did, how he ſped in *Eubœa*, or what other Cities were like to take his part: but readily proclaimed War againſt him, and againſt the *Ætolians*.

How the hatred between theſe two Nations grew inveterate; ſufficiently appears in the ſtory foregoing. Now have they gotten each their Patrons; the one, the *Romans*; the other King *Antiochus*. Herein did each of them unwiſely: though far the greater blame ought to be laid, on the turbulent ſpirits of the *Ætolians*. For when the *Romans* departed out of *Greece*, and left the Country at reſt: there was nothing more greatly to have been deſired, than that they might never find occaſion to return with an Army thither again. And in this reſpect ought the *Greeks* to have ſought, not how *Smyrna* and *Lampſacus* might recover their liberty (which had never been held a matter worth regarding, until now of late) but how the powers of the Eaſt and Weſt, divided and kept aſunder by their Country, as two Seas by an *Iſthmus* or neck of land, might be kept from overflowing the Bar that parted them. Neither had the *Romans* any better pretence for their ſeeking to make free thoſe baſe *Aſiatiques*, which originally were *Greekiſh*; than the general applauſe wherewith all the Nation entertained this their loving offer.

Yet

Yet were *Lysimachia*, and the Towns in *Thrace*, lately gotten by *Antiochus*, pretended as a very great cause of fear, that should move them to take Arms even in their own defence. But if all *Greece* would have made intercession, and requested that things might continue as they were, promising joyntly to assist the *Romans*, with their whole Forces both by Land and Sea, whensoever King *Antiochus* should make the least offer to stir against them: then had not only this quarrel been at an end; but the *Roman* Patronage over the Countrey, had been far from growing, as soon after it did, into a Lordly rule.

The *Achæans* were at this time, in a manner, the only Nation of *Greece*, that freely and generously declared themselves altogether for the *Romans*, their friends and benefactors. All the rest gave doubtful answers of hope unto both sides: or if some few, as did the *Thessalians*, were firm against *Antiochus*; yet helped they not one another in the quarrel, nor shewed themselves his Enemies, till he pressed them with open force. The *Bœotians* willingly received him, as soon as he entered upon their borders, not so much for fear of his power, as in hatred of *Titus* and the *Romans*, by whom they had been somewhat hardly used. *Aminander*, the *Athamanian*, besides his old friendship with the *Ætolians*, was caught with a bait; which it may be doubted, whether he did more foolishly swallow, or *Antiochus* cast out. He had married the daughter of an *Arcadian*, that was an idle-headed man, and vaunted himself to be descended from *Alexander* the Great: naming his two Sons, in that regard, *Philip* and *Alexander*. *Philip*, the elder of these brethren, accompanied his Sister to the poor Court of *Athamania*: where having made his folly known, by talking of his Pedigree; he was judged by *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*, a man fit for their turns. They made him believe, that in regard of his high Parentage, and the famous memory of *Alexander*, his fore-father; it was their purpose, to do their best for the conquest of *Macedon* to his behoof: since no man had thereto so good title as he. But for the enabling of them hereunto; it behoved him to draw *Aminander* to their party, that so they might the sooner have done with the *Romans*. *Philip* was highly pleased herewith; and by perswasions of himself, or of his Sister, effected as much as they desired. But the first piece of service done by this imaginary King (whether it proceeded from his own Phrenzy, in hope to get love of the *Macedonians* that should be his Subjects; or whether from some vanity in King *Antiochus* that employed him) wrought more harm to his friends, than he and *Aminander* were able to do good. There were two thousand men committed to his leading: with which he marched unto *Cynoscephalæ*, there to gather up the bones of the slaughtered *Macedoans*: whom their King had suffered all this while to lie unburied. The *Macedons* troubled not themselves to think on this charitable act, as if it were to them any benefit at all: but King *Philip* took it in high indignation; as intended meerly unto his despight. Wherefore he presently sent unto the *Romans*; and gave them to understand, that he was ready, with all his power, to aid them wherein soever they should be pleased to use him.

The *Ætolians*, *Magnetians*, *Eubœans*, *Bœotians*, and *Athamanians*, having now all joyned with him; *Antiochus* took counsel of them about the prosecution of the War in hand. The chief question was, Whether it were meet for him to invade *Thessaly*, that would not hearken to his perswasions; or whether to let all alone until the Spring: becaus it was now mid-winter. Some thought one thing, and some another: confirming each his own Sentence, with the weightiest Reasons which he could alledg; as in a matter of great importance. *Hannibal* was at this meeting: who had long been cast aside, as a Vessel of no use; but was now required to deliver his Opinion. He freely told the King, That what he should now utter, was even the same which he would have spoken, had his counsel at any time before been asked since their coming into *Greece*. For the *Magnetians*, *Bœotians*, and other their good friends, which now so willingly took their parts: what were they else than so many poor Estates, that, wanting force of their own, did adjoyn themselves for fear unto him, that was strongest at the present; and would afterwards, when they saw it expedient, be as ready to fall to the contrary side, alledging the same fear for their excuse? wherefore he thought it most behoveful, to win King *Philip* of *Macedon* unto their party: who (besides that being once engaged, he should not afterwards have power to recoil and forsake them at his pleasure) was a mighty Prince, and one that had means to sustain the *Roman* War with his proper Forces. Now that *Philip* might be easily perswaded to joyn with them; the benefit likely to redound unto himself, by their Society, was a very strong Argument: though indeed what need was there, of proving by inference the likelihood of his hope? For, said he, *These* Ætolians *here present; and namely this* Thoas, *being lately Embassador from them into* Asia, *among other Motives which he then used to excite the King unto this Expedition, insisted mainly on the same point. He told us, that* Philip *was moved beyond all patience, with the Lordly insolence of the* Romans: *likening that King to some Wild Beast, that was chained, or locks up within some Grate, and would fain break loose. If this be so, let us break his Chain, and pull down the Gate; that he may regain his liberty, and satisfie his angry stomach, upon those that are common Enemies to us and him. But if it prove otherwise, and that his fear be greater than his indignation; then shall it behove us to look unto him, that he may not seek to please his good Masters the* Romans, *by offending us. Your Son* Seleucus, *is now at* Lysimachia, *with part of your Army: if* Philip *will not hearken to your Embassage; let* Seleucus *be in readiness, to fall upon* Macedon, *and find him work to defend his own on the other side, without putting us here to trouble. Thus much concerning* Philip; *and the present War in* Greece. *But more generally for the managing of this great Enterprise, wherein you are now embarqued against the* Romans; *I told you my* Opinion *at the beginning. Whereto had you then given ear; the* Romans *by this time should have heard other news, than that* Chalcis *in* Eubœa *was become ours.* Italy *and* Gaule *should have been on fire with War: and, little to their comfort, they should have understood, that* Hannibal *was again come into* Italy. *Neither do I see what should hinder us even now from taking the same course. Send for all your Fleet, and Army hither (but in any case let Ships of burden come along with them, loaden with store of Victuals: For as the case now stands, we have here too few hands, and too many mouths.) Whereof let the one half be employed against* Italy; *whilst you in person with the other half, tarrying on this side the* Ionian *Sea, may both take order for the Affairs of* Greece, *and therewithal make countenance, as if you were even ready to follow us into* Italy: *yea, and be ready to follow us indeed, if it shall be requisite. This is my advice: who though perhaps I am not very skilful in all sorts of War: yet how to war with*

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the Romans, *I have been inſtructed by long experience, both to their coſt and mine own. Of this counſel which I give, I promiſe you my faithful and diligent ſervice for the execution: but what counſel ſoever you ſhall pleaſe to follow; I wiſh it may be proſperous.* Many were pleaſed with the great Spirit of the man, and ſaid, he had ſpoken bravely: but of all this was nothing done; ſave only that one was ſent into *Aſia*, to make all things ready there. In the mean while they went in hand with *Theſſaly*; about which they had before diſputed. There when they had won one Town by force, many other places, doubting their own ſtrength, were glad to make ſubmiſſion. But *Lariſſa*, that was chief of the Countrey, ſtood out: not regarding any terrible threats of the King, that lay before the Walls with his whole Army. This their faith and courage was rewarded by good fortune. For *M. Bæbius*, a *Roman* Propraetor did ſend help thither. Likewiſe *Philip* of *Macedon*, profeſſed himſelf Enemy unto *Antiochus*: where by the fame of the ſuccour coming to *Lariſſa*, grew ſuch, as wrought more than the ſuccour could have done, had it arrived. For *Antiochus* perceiving many Fires on the Mountains tops afar off, thought that a great Army of *Romans* and *Macedonians* had been coming upon him. Therefore excuſing himſelf by the time of the year, he brake up his Siege, and marched away to *Chalcis*. At *Chalcis* he fell in love with a young Maiden, daughter unto a Citizen of the Town: whom, without regard of the much diſproportion that was between them, both in years and fortune, he ſhortly married; and ſo ſpent the Winter following, as delightfully as he could, without thinking upon the War in hand. His great men and Captains followed his Example; and the Souldiers as readily imitated their Captains: in ſuch wiſe, that when he took the Field, he might evidently perceive in what looſe manner of Diſcipline his Army had paſſed the Winter. But *M. Acilius Glabrio*, the *Roman* Conſul, ſhall meet him very ſhortly, and help him to reclaim them from this looſeneſs of Nuptial Revels; by ſetting them to harder Exerciſe.

M. Acilius was choſen Conſul with *P. Cornelius Scipio Naſica*. The War againſt *Antiochus* fell to him by lot; whereas otherwiſe he was no way ſo honourable, as *Naſica* his Colleague: unto whom fell a charge, of far leſs credit and importance. *Naſica*, beſides the great Nobility of his Family, had been long ſince, in time of the *Punick War*, crowned with the title of *The beſt man in Rome*: when the Senate, for very fear and ſuperſtition, durſt not have ſo pronounced him, had they not ſo thought him; as being commanded by Oracle, That none other man than the very beſt, ſhould entertain an old ſtone, which the Devil then taught them to call *the Mother of the Gods*. But no prerogative of Birth, Vertue, or good Opinion, gave ſuch advantage to the better man, as to make choice of his own Province; or arrogate more unto himſelf, than his lot ſhould afford him. This unpartial diſtribution of Employments, helped well to maintain peace and concord. *P. Scipio* therefore was appointed to make War againſt the *Boijans*: wherein he purchaſed the honour of a Triumph, nothing ſo glorious as was that of his Colleague; though purchaſed with harder ſervice, requiring the more ability in matter of War. But *M. Acilius* went over into *Greece*, with ten thouſand Foot, two thouſand Horſe, and fifteen Elephants. *Ptolemy*, King of *Ægypt*, notwithſtanding his late Alliance with King *Antiochus*: and *Philip*, King of *Macedon*, had lately ſent Embaſſadors to *Rome*, making offer to come each of them in perſon with all his Forces into *Ætolia*, there to aſſiſt the Conſul in this War. *Ptolemy* ſent alſo Gold and Silver, toward the defraying of charges; as one that meant none other than good earneſt. But he was too young, and dwelt too far off. So his Money was returned unto him with thanks; and his loving offer as lovingly refuſed. Unto *Philip*'s Embaſſadors anſwer was made, That this his friendly offer was gratefully accepted: and that the Senate and People of *Rome* would think themſelves beholding to him, for the aſſiſtance that he ſhould give to *Acilius* the Conſul. *Maſaniſſa* likewiſe, and the *Carthaginians*, did ſtrive, which of them ſhould be moſt forward in gratifying the *Romans*. Each of them promiſed a great quantity of Grain; which they would ſend partly to *Rome*, partly to the Army in *Greece*. And herein *Maſaniſſa* far out-went the poor City of *Carthage*: as alſo, in that he offered to lend the Conſul five hundred Horſe, and twenty Elephants. On the other ſide, the *Carthaginians* undertook to ſet out a Fleet at their own charges: and to bring in at one payment all the Tribute-money, which was behind, and ought to be diſcharged by many yearly Penſions. But the *Romans* did neither think it good, to let them arm a Fleet; nor would let them redeem themſelves out of Tribute, by paying all at once. As for the Corn; it was accepted with Condition, That they ſhould be contented to receive the price of it.

The haſty and ridiculous iſſue of this War, that began with ſuch noiſe and preparations, were hardly credible: were not the difference exceeding great, between the *Roman* and the *Aſiatick* Souldier. *Antiochus* had gotten this Spring a few Towns of *Acarnania*, after the ſame manner as he had prevailed in other parts of *Greece*; partly by fair words, and treaſon of the Rulers; partly by terror, that was like to prove their Excuſe, when they ſhould again forſake him. But King *Philip* and *Bæbius*, having recovered many places; and the *Roman* Conſul being arrived, againſt whom none made reſiſtance; he was glad to withdraw himſelf. *Aminander* fled out of his *Athamania*: which the *Macedonian* took and enjoyed; as in recompence of his good ſervice to the *Romans*. *Philip*, the Brother of *Aminander*'s Wife, was taken by the Conſul; made a Mocking-ſtock; and ſent away Priſoner to *Rome*. The *Theſſalians* uſed much more diligence in returning to their old friends, than they had done in yielding to the King. All their Cities, one after other, gave up themſelves: the Garriſons of *Antiochus*, compounding only for their own lives, and departing unarmed: yet ſo, that a thouſand of them ſtaid behind, and took pay of the *Romans*. This did wonderfully perplex *Antiochus*: who having withdrawn himſelf to *Chalcis*, and hearing how things went, cried out upon his friends: and ſaid, That they had betrayed him. He had taken a great deal of toil during one half of a Winter, and ſpent the other half in ſuch Nuptials, as were little to his honour: after which, in time of need, he found all the promiſes of the *Ætolians* meerly verbal; and himſelf reduced into terms of great extremity. He therefore admired *Hannibal* as a wiſe man, yea a very Prophet, that had foreſeen all this long before. Nevertheleſs he ſent word to the *Ætolians*, that they ſhould now make ready all their Forces: as conſidering their own need to be no leſs than his. But the *Ætolians* had cauſe to think, that they themſelves were ſhamefully diſappointed by *Antiochus*: who having promiſed to do great wonders,

*L. 3. 6. 3.

ders, was in all this while seconded by no greater numbers out of *Asia*, than so many as would fill up the same ten thousand which he first brought over. Yet came there some of them, though fewer than at any time before, which joyned with him. Hereat the King was angry: and could get no better satisfaction, than that *Thoas* and his fellows had done their best, in vain, to have made all the Nation take Arms. Since therefore neither his own men came over to him out of *Asia*, nor his friends of *Greece* would appear in this time of danger: He seized upon the Streights of *Thermopylæ*: as meaning to defend them against the *Romans*, until more help should come. Of the Streights of *Thermopylæ* there hath been spoken enough * before, upon many occasions: and then chiefly, when they were defended by *Leonidas* against the huge Army of *Xerxes*. Wherefore it may easily be conceived, how the *Romans*, that landed about *Apollonia*, and so came onwards into *Thessaly*, were unable to pass that Ledge of Mountains, dividing the one half of *Greece*: unless they could win this difficult entrance. But there was great difference between *Leonidas* and *Antiochus*. The former of these, with an handful of men, defended this passage two or three days together, against a World of men coming to invade the Countrey. The latter, having taken upon him to do great Miracles, and effect what he listed himself in *Greece*: did commit himself unto the safety of this place, when he was charged by not many more than he had in his own Army. There whilst he lay, he sent earnest Massages one after other to the *Ætolians*, entreating them not to forsake him thus: but at leastwise now to help, and keep the tops of the Mountains, left the *Romans* finding any by-path, should come down upon him. By this importunity, he got of them two thousand, that undertook to make good the few passages: by which only, and not without extreme difficulty, it was possible for the Enemy to ascend. The *Roman* Consul in like sort, prepared to force the Streights: without staying to expect King *Philip*: that was hindered by sickness from accompanying him. He had with him *M. Porcius Cato*, and *L. Valerius Flaccus*, that had both of them been Consuls. These he sent forth by night with two thousand men, to try whether by any means they could get up to the *Ætolians*. He himself encouraged his Army: not only by telling them, with what base-conditioned Enemies they had to deal: but what rich Kingdoms *Antiochus* held, that should bountifully reward them if they were Victors. This was on the day before the Battel. All that night *Cato* had a sore journey (for what happened unto *L. Valerius* it is uncertain, save only that he failed in his intent) and so much the worse, for that he had no skilful Guide. Seeing therefore his men exceedingly tired, with climbing up steepy Rocks, and crooked ways: He commanded them to repose themselves; whilst he, being a very able man of body, took in hand the discovery, accompanied with no more than one of like mettle to himself. After a great deal of trouble, he found at length a path: which he took to be, as indeed it was, the best way leading unto the Enemies. So thither he brought his men; and held on the same path till toward break of day. It was a place not haunted, because in time of peace there was a fair way through the Streights below, that required no such trouble of climbing: neither had this entrance of the *Thermopylæ* been so often the Seat of War, as might cause any Travellers to search out the passages of those desolate Mountains. Wherefore the way that *Cato* followed, though it were the best; yet did it lead him to a Bog at the end, which would suffer him to pass no further. So he staid there until day light: by which he discovered both the Camp of the *Greeks* underneath him; and some of the *Ætolians* very near unto him, that were keeping watch. He therefore sent forth a lusty Crew of his men, whom he thought fittest for that service; and willed them by any means to get him some Prisoners. This was effected: and he thereby understood, that these *Ætolians* were no more than six hundred; as also that King *Antiochus* lay beneath in the Valley. So he presently set upon the *Ætolians*; overthrew them; slew a great part of them; and chaced the rest: that by flying to their Camp, guided him unto it. The Fight was already begun between the Armies below: and the *Romans*, that had easily repelled the Kings men, and driven them into their Camp, found it in a manner a desperate piece of work to assault the Camp it self; which occupied the whole breadth of the Streights; was notably fortified; and not only defended by *Antiochus* his long Pikes, which were best at that kind of service; but by Archers and Slingers that were placed over them on the Hill-side, and poured down a shower of Weapons on their heads. But *Cato* his approach determined the matter. It was thought at first, that the *Ætolians* had been coming to help the Kings men: but when the *Roman* Arms and Ensigns were discovered, such was the terror, that none made offer of resistance; but all of them forsook the Camp, and fled. The Slaughter was not great: for that the badness of the way, did hinder the *Roman* Army from making pursuit. Yet this days loss drave *Antiochus* out of *Greece*, who directly fled to *Chalcis*; and from thence, with the first opportunity, got him back into *Asia*.

* *L.* 3. *Ch.* 6. *§.* 3.

All the Cities that had embraced the friendship of *Antiochus*, prepared forthwith to entertain the *Romans*, and entreat for pardon: setting open their Gates; and presenting themselves unto the Consul, in manner of Suppliants. Briefly, in few days all was recovered that *Antiochus* had gained: the *Ætolians* only standing out, because they knew not what else to do. Neither did the Consul give them any respite. At his return from *Chalcis*, he met with King *Philip*, that having recovered health, came to joyn with him against *Antiochus*: over whom, since the Victory was already gotten, He did gratulate unto the *Romans* their good success; and offered to take part with them in the *Ætolian* War. So it was agreed, That the Consul should besiege *Heraclea*; and *Philip*, *Lamia*; at the same time. Each of them plied his work hard; especially *Philip*, who fain would have taken *Lamia* before the Consul should come to help him. But it could not be. For his *Macedonians* that used to work by Mine, were overmuch hindred by the stony ground. Yet was *Lamia* even ready to be taken, when the Consul, having won *Heraclea*, came thither; and told *Philip*, that the Spoil of these Towns was a reward unto those that had fought at *Thermopylæ*. Herewith *Philip* must be contented; and therefore went his way quietly. But *Acilius*, that could so ill endure to see *Philip* in likelihood of thriving by the *Romans* victory, got not *Lamia* himself; until such time as another Consul, was ready to ease him of his charge.

The loss of *Heraclea* did so affright the *Ætolians*, that they thought no way safer than to desire Peace. Yet had they sent unto King *Antiochus* presently after his flight; entreating him not to for-

forsake them utterly, but either to return with all those forces which he had purposed to bring into *Greece*; or if any thing withheld him from coming in person, at leastwise to help them with Money and other aid. They prayed him to consider, that this did not only concern him in honour; but appertained unto his own safety: since it would be much to his hurt, if the *Ætolians* being wholly subdued, the *Romans*, without any Enemies at their backs, might set upon him in *Asia*. He considered well of this; and found their words true. Therefore he delivered unto *Nicander*, one of their Embassadors, a sum of Money, that might serve to defray the charges of the War: promising, that ere long he would send them strong aid, both by Land and Sea. *Thoas*, another of their Embassadors, he retained with him; who willingly staid, that he might urge the King to make his word good. But when *Heraclea* was taken from them; then did the *Ætolians* lay aside all hope, of amending their fortune by the help of *Antiochus*; and made suit unto the Consul to obtain Peace, upon any reasonable Condition. The Consul would scarce vouchsafe to give them audience; but said, He had other business in hand: only He granted them Ten days of Truce, and sent *L. Valerius Flaccus* with them to *Hypata*; willing them to make him acquainted with as much, as they would have delivered unto himself. At their coming to *Hypata*; they began, as men favouring their own cause, to alledg how well they had deserved of the *Romans*. Whereto *Flaccus* would not hearken. He told them plainly, That the memory of all such good Offices past, was quite obliterated by the Malice which they had shewed of late. Wherefore he willed them to acknowledg their fault, and to intreat pardon. Better they thought to do so even betimes, than to stay till they were reduced into terms of more extremity. Hereupon they agreed to commit themselves unto the Faith of the *Romans*; and to that effect sent Embassadors to the Consul. This Phrase of *committing unto the Faith*; signified, in their use of it, little else, than the acknowledgment of a Fault done, and the craving of pardon. But the *Romans* used those words in another sense; and counted them all one, as * *yielding to discretion*. Wherefore when the Consul heard them speak in this manner: He asked them whether their meaning were agreeable to their words. They answered that it was: and shewed him the Decree of their Nation, lately made to this purpose. Then said He, I command you first of all, That none of ye presume to go into *Asia*, upon any business, private or publick: then, That ye deliver up unto me *Dicæarchus* the *Ætolian*, *Menestratus* the *Epirot*, *Aminander* the *Athamanian*, and such of his Countreymen as have followed him in revolting from us. Whilst he was yet speaking, *Phameas*, the Embassador, interrupted him; and prayed him not to mistake the Custom of the *Greeks*, who had yielded themselves *unto his Faith*; *not unto Slavery*. *What?* (said the Consul) *Do ye stand to plead Custom with me, being now at my discretion? Bring hither a Chain.* With that, Chains were brought; and an Iron Collar, by his appointment, fitted unto every one of their necks. This did so affright them, that they stood dumb, and knew not what to say. But *Valerius*, and some others, intreated the Consul, not to deal thus hardly with them, since they *came* as Embassadors; though *since*, their Condition was altered. *Phameas* also spake for himself: and said, That neither He, nor yet the *Apocleti*, or ordinary Council of the Nation, were able to fulfil these injunctions; without approbation of the general Assembly. For which cause He intreated yet further Ten days respite; and had granted unto him Truce for so long.

* *Legat. excerpt. è Polyb.* 13.

This Surceasance of War, during Ten and other Ten days together, began presently after the taking of *Heraclea*; when *Philip* had been commanded away from *Lamia*, that else he might have won. Now because of the indignity herein offered unto that King, and to the end that he might not return home with his Army, like one that could not be trusted in Employment: especially the *Romans* being like hereafter to have further need of him, in the continuance of this War: He was desired to set upon the *Athamanians*, and some other petty Nations, their borderers, whilst the Consul was busie with the *Ætolians*; taking for his reward, all that He could get. And He got in that space all *Athamania*, *Perrhæbia*, *Aperantia*, and *Dolopia*. For the *Ætolians*, hearing what had befaln their Embassadors, were so enraged, That although they were very ill provided for War; yet they could not endure to hear more talk of peace. And it happened, that *Nicander* about the same time was come back from *Antiochus*, with Money, and hopeful promises: the *Romans* abiding still about *Heraclea*; and *Philip* having lately risen from before *Lamia*, yet not being far gone thence. His Money *Nicander* conveyed into *Lamia*, by very unusual dexterity. But he himself being to pass further to the Assembly of the *Ætolians*, there to make report of his Embassage, was very much perplexed about this his journey, which lay between the *Roman* and *Macedonian* Camps. Yet he made the adventure: and keeping as far as he could from the *Roman* side, fell upon a Station of *Macedonians*; by whom he was taken, and led unto their King. He expected no good; but either to be delivered unto the *Romans*, or used ill enough by *Philip*. But it seems, that the King had not hitherto concocted well the indignity, of his being sent away from *Lamia*. For He commanded his Servants to intreat *Nicander* friendly: and he himself being then at Supper, did visit him as soon as he rose up; giving him to understand, That the *Ætolians* did now reap the fruits of their own madness; forasmuch as they could never hold themselves contented, but would needs be calling strangers into *Greece*. They had pleased themselves well, in their acquaintance, first with the *Romans*, and then with King *Antiochus*: but himself, being their neighbour, they could never well endure. It was now therefore, He said, high time for them to have regard unto his friendship, whereof hitherto they had never made any trial: for surely their good affection, one unto the other, would be much more available unto each of them, than their mutual catching of advantages; whereby they had wrought themselves much displeasure. Thus much the King willed *Nicander* to signifie unto his Countreymen; and privately to hold in mind the courtesie which he then did him, in sending him safe home. So giving him a Convoy to guard him to *Hypata*; He lovingly dismissed him. For this benefit, *Nicander* was always after dutifully affected to the Crown of *Macedon*: so as in the War of *Perseus* he made himself suspected unto the *Romans*; and therefore was had away to *Rome*; where he ended his life.

When the Consul understood, that the *Ætolians* refused to make their submission, in such wise as he required it; he forthwith meant to prosecute the War against them, without any longer forbearance. They were preparing to make Head against him at *Naupactus*: whither he therefore di-

directly marched, to try what they could or durſt. The Siege of *Naupactus* was of greater length, than the *Romans* had pre-conceived it: for it was a ſtrong City, and well manned. But *Acilius* ſtood upon point of honour; wherein he thought that he ſhould have been a loſer, by riſing from before it without Victory. So he ſtaid there well-near all the following time of his Conſulſhip; whilſt the *Macedonian* King, and the *Achæans*, made far better uſe of the *Roman* Victory. *Philip*, as is ſaid before, being allowed to take in ſuch places as had revolted unto *Antiochus*, and were not hitherto reclaimed, wan the ſtrong City of *Demetrias*; and with an haſty courſe of Victory, ſubdued the *Athamanians* and others. The *Achæans* called to account the *Eleans* and *Meſſenians*: which had long been addicted to the *Ætolian* ſide; and followed it in taking part with *Antiochus*. The *Eleans* gave good words; whereby they ſaved themſelves from trouble a while. The *Meſſenians* being more ſtout, before they were invaded, had none other help, when the *Achæan* Prætor waſted their Countrey, than to offer themſelves unto the *Romans*. *Titus* was then at *Corinth*: to whom they ſent word, That at his Commandment, their Gates ſhould be opened; but that unto the *Achæans* it was not their meaning to yield. A Meſſage from *Titus* to the *Achæan* Prætor, did ſuffice to call home the Army, and finiſh the War: as alſo the peremptory Command of the ſame *Titus*, cauſed the *Meſſenians* to annex themſelves unto the *Achæans*, and become part of their Common-weal. Such was now the Majeſty of a *Roman* Embaſſador. *Titus* did favour the *Achæans*; yet could not like it well, that either they, or any other, ſhould take too much upon them. He thought it enough, that they had their liberty, and were ſtrong enough to defend it againſt any of their neighbours. That they ſhould make themſelves great Lords, and able to diſpute with the *Romans* upon even terms; it was no part of his deſire. They had lately bought the Iſle of *Zacynthus*, which had once been *Philip*'s, and was afterward given by him to *Aminander*, who ſent a Governour thither. But when *Aminander* in this preſent War, was driven out of his own Kingdom by *Philip*: then did the Governour of *Zacynthus* offer to ſell the Iſland to the *Achæans*; whom he found ready Chapmen. *Titus* liked not of this; but plainly told them, That the *Romans* would be their own Carvers, and take what they thought good, of the Lands belonging to their Enemies, as a reward of the Victory which they had obtained. It was bootleſs to diſpute. Wherefore the *Achæans* referred themſelves unto his diſcretion. So he told them, That their Common-wealth was like a Tortoiſe, whereof *Peloponneſus* was the ſhell: and that holding themſelves within that compaſs, they were out of danger; but if they would needs be looking abroad, they ſhould lie open to blows, which might greatly hurt them. Having ſetled things thus in *Peloponneſus*, He went over to *Naupactus*: where *Glabrio*, the Conſul, had lain Two Months, that might have been far better ſpent. There, whether out of compaſſion which He had upon the *Ætolians*, or out of diſlike of King *Philip*'s thriving ſo faſt: He perſwaded the Conſul to grant unto the beſieged, and to the whole Nation, ſo long Truce, that they might ſend Embaſſadors to *Rome*; and ſubmitting themſelves, crave pardon of the Senate. Moſt like it is, that *Naupactus* was in great danger: elſe would not the *Ætolians* have made ſuch earneſt ſuit as they did unto *Titus*, for procuring of this favour. But if *Glabrio* had been ſure to carry it, in any ſhort ſpace; it may well be thought he would not have gone away without it; ſince the winning of that Town, wherein was then the whole flower of the Nation, would have made the promiſed ſubmiſſion much more humble and ſincere. When they came to *Rome*, no intreaty could help them to better Conditions, than one of theſe two; That either they ſhould wholly permit themſelves to the good pleaſure of the Senate; Or elſe pay a thouſand Talents, and make neither Peace nor War with any, further than as the *Romans* ſhould give approbation. They had not ſo much Money: neither could they well hope to be gently dealt withal, if they ſhould give themſelves away *unto diſcretion*; which what it ſignified, they now underſtood. Wherefore they deſired to have it ſet down, in what Points, and how far forth, they ſhould yield unto the good pleaſure of the Senate. But hereof they could get no certain anſwer: ſo that they were diſmiſſed as Enemies, after long and vain attendance.

Whilſt the *Ætolians* were purſuing their hopes of Peace, the Conſul had little to do in *Greece*; and therefore took upon him gravely to ſet things in order among the tractable *Achæans*. He would have had them to reſtore the baniſhed *Lacedæmonians* home into their Countrey; and to take the *Eleans* into the fellowſhip of their Common-wealth. This the *Achæans* liked well enough: but they did not like it, that the *Romans* ſhould be medling in all occurrences. Wherefore they deferred the reſtitution of the baniſhed *Lacedæmonians*: intending to make it an Act of their own meer Grace. As for the *Eleans*, they were loth to be beholding to the *Romans*, and thereby to diſparage the *Achæans*: into whoſe Corporation they were deſirous to be admitted; and ſaw that they ſhould have their deſire, without ſuch compulſive mediation.

The *Roman* Admiral, *C. Livius*, much about the ſame time, fought a Battel at Sea with *Polyxenidas*, Admiral to the King *Antiochus*. King *Eumenes* brought help to the *Romans*, though it was not great: and five and twenty Sail of *Rhodians* came after the battel, when they were following the Chace. The Kings Fleet was the better of Sail: but that of the *Romans* the better manned. Wherefore *Polyxenidas* being vanquiſhed in fight, was yet out of danger, as ſoon as he betook himſelf to a ſpeedy retreat.

And ſuch end had the firſt years War, between King *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. After this, as many of the *Greeks* as had followed the vain hopes of the *Ætolians*, were glad to excuſe themſelves by *fear*; thinking themſelves happy when by Embaſſadors they had obtained Pardon. On the contrary ſide, *Philip* of *Macedon*, Arch-Enemy of late unto the *Romans*, did now ſend to gratulate this their Victory: and, in recompence of his good affection, had reſtored unto him *Demetrius*, his younger Son; whom ſome few years they had kept as an Hoſtage. Alſo King *Ptolemy* of *Egypt*, gratulating the *Roman* Victory, ſent word how greatly all *Aſia* and *Syria* were thereby terrified. In which regard He deſired the Senate not to foreſlow time; but to ſend an Army, as ſoon as might be, into *Aſia*: promiſing, that his aſſiſtance, wherein ſoever it pleaſed them to uſe it, ſhould not be wanting. This *Ptolemy* was the Son in-law of King *Antiochus*: but he was the Friend of Fortune. He underſtood long before, as did all that were indifferent beholders of the Contention, that the *Romans* were like to have the upper hand. The ſame did *Antiochus* now begin

to ſuſpect, who had thought himſelf a while as ſafe at *Epheſus*, as if he had been in another World: but was told by *Hannibal*, That it was not ſo far out of *Greece* into *Aſia*, as out of *Italy* into *Greece*; and that there was no doubt, but the *Romans* would ſoon be there, and make him try the chance of a battel for his Kingdom.

§. VIII.

Lucius Scipio, *having with him* Publius, *the* African, *his Elder Brother, for his Lieutenant, is ſent into* Greece. *He grants long Truce to the* Ætolians, *that ſo he might at leiſure paſs into* Aſia. *Much troubleſome buſineſs by Sea; and divers fights. An invaſion upon* Eumenes *his Kingdom; with the Siege of* Pergamus, *raiſed by an handful of the* Achæans. L. Scipio, *the Conſul, comes into* Aſia: *where* Antiochus *moſt earneſtly deſireth Peace, and is denied it. The Battel of* Magneſia: *wherein* Antiochus *being vanquiſhed, yieldeth to the* Romans *good pleaſure. The Conditions of the Peace. In what ſort the* Romans *uſed their Victory.* L. Cornelius Scipio, *after a moſt ſumptuous Triumph over* Antiochus, *is ſurnamed* The Aſiatique, *as his Brother was ſtiled* The African.

Lucius Cornelius Scipio, the Brother of *P. Scipio, the African*, was choſen Conſul at *Rome*, with *C. Lælius*. *Lælius* was very gracious in the Senate: and therefore being deſirous (as generally all Conſuls were) of the more honourable Employment, offered to refer to the arbitrement, of the Senate, if *L. Cornelius* would be ſo pleaſed, the diſpoſition of their Provinces; without putting it to the hazard of a Lottery. *Lucius* having talked with his Brother *Publius*, approved well of the motion. Such a queſtion had not of long time been put unto the *Fathers*: who therefore were the more deſirous, to make an unblamable Decree. But the matter being otherwiſe ſomewhat indifferent; *P. Scipio, the African*, ſaid openly thus much, That if the Senate would appoint his Brother to the War againſt *Antiochus*, He himſelf would follow his Brother in that War, as his Lieutenant. Theſe Words were heard with ſuch approbation, that the controverſie was forthwith at an end. For if *Antiochus* relied upon *Hannibal*, and ſhould happen to be directed wholly by that great Captain: what better man could they oppoſe, than *Scipio*; that had been victorious againſt the ſame great Worthy. But indeed a worſer man might have ſerved well enough the turn. For *Hannibal* had no abſolute Command, nor ſcarce any truſt of great importance: excepting now and then in conſultation; where his Wiſdom was much approved, but his liberty and high Spirit as much diſliked. It is worthy of remembrance; as a ſign of the freedom that he uſed in his cenſures, even whilſt he lived in ſuch a Court. *Antiochus* muſtered his Army in preſence of this famous Captain: thinking, as may ſeem, to have made him wiſh, that he had been ſerved by ſuch brave men in *Italy*. For they were gallantly decked, both Men, Horſes, and Elephants, with ſuch coſtly Furniture of Gold, Silver, and Purple; as glittered with a terrible bravery on a Sun-ſhine day. Whereupon the King, well-pleaſing himſelf with that goodly Spectacle, asked *Hannibal* what he thought; and whether all this were not enough for the *Romans? Enough* (ſaid *Hannibal*) *were the* Romans *the moſt covetous men in all the World*: meaning, that all this Coſt upon the backs of Cowardly *Aſiatiques*, was no better than a Spoil to animate good Souldiers. How little this anſwer pleaſed the King; it is eaſie to gueſs. The little uſe that he made of this *Carthaginian*, teſtifies that his diſlike of the Man, cauſed him to loſe the uſe of his Service, when he ſtood in greateſt neceſſity thereof.

The *Scipio*'s made all haſte away from *Rome* as ſoon as they could. They carried with them, beſides other Souldiers newly preſt to the War, about five thouſand Voluntaries, that had ſerved under *P. Africanus*. There was alſo a Fleet of Thirty *Quinquereme* Gallies, and Twenty *Triremes* newly built, appointed unto *L. Æmylius Regillus*, that was choſen Admiral the ſame year for that Voyage. At their coming into *Greece*, they found the old Conſul *Glabrio* beſieging *Amphiſſa*, a City of the *Ætolians*. The *Ætolians* after that they were denied Peace, had expected him once again at *Naupactus*. Wherefore they not only fortified that Town: but kept all the paſſages thereto leading; which heedleſly, as in a time of confuſion, they had left unguarded the laſt year. *Glabrio* knowing this, deceived their expectation, and fell upon *Lamia*: which being not long ſince much weakned by *Philip*, and now by him attempted on the ſudden, was carried at the ſecond aſſault. Thence went He to *Amphiſſa*; which he had almoſt gotten; when *L. Scipio*, his Succeſſor, came with thirteen thouſand Foot, and five hundred Horſe, and took charge of the Army. The Town of *Amphiſſa* was preſently forſaken by the Inhabitants: but they had a Caſtle, or higher Town, that was impregnable; whereinto they all retired. The *Athenian* Embaſſadors had dealt with *P. Scipio*, in behalf of the *Ætolians*; intreating him to ſtand their Friend, and help them in obtairing ſome tolerable Condition of Peace. He gave them gentle words: and willed them to perſwade the *Ætolians*, that they ſhould faithfully, and with true meaning deſire it. This was gladly taken. But many Meſſages paſſing to and fro; though *Publius* continued to put them in good hope; yet the Conſul made ſtill the ſame anſwer, with which they had been chaced from *Rome*. The concluſion was, That they ſhould ſue for a longer time of reſpite from War: whereby at more leiſure they might attend ſome better diſpoſition of the Senate; or any helpful commodity which time ſhould afford. So they obtained half a years Truce: after which, the Winter was like to afford them another half years leiſure of breathing. Hereof were not they more glad, than was *P. Scipio*; who thought all time loſt, which withheld the War from paſſing over into *Aſia*.

The buſineſs of *Ætolia* being thus laid aſide: and the old Conſul, *Glabrio*, ſent home into *Italy*: the *Scipio*'s marched into *Theſſaly*; intending thence to take their way by Land, through *Macedon* and *Thrace*, unto the *Helleſpont*. Yet they conſidered, That hereby they muſt commit themſelves unto the loyalty of King *Philip*; who might either do them ſome miſchief by the way, if he were diſpoſed to watch a notable advantage: or at the leaſt, would he be unfaithful, though he were not ſo couragious; yet might he take ſuch order with the *Thracians*, that even for want of Victuals, if by no greater inconvenience, they ſhould be diſgracefully forced to return. He had promiſed them the utmoſt of his furtherance: wherein, whether he meant ſincerely, they thought to make ſome trial; by cauſing a Gentleman to ride

ride Poſt unto him, and obſerve his doings, as he ſhould take him on the ſudden. The King was merry at a Feaſt, and drinking, when the Meſſenger came: whom he lovingly bad welcom; and ſhewed him the next day, not only what proviſion of Victuals he had made for the Army, but how he had made Bridges over the Rivers, and mended the bad ways by which they were to paſs. With theſe good news *Gracchus* returned back in haſte unto the *Scipio's*: who entring into *Macedon*, found all things in a readineſs, that might help to advance their journey. The King entertained them royally; and brought them on their way, even to the *Helleſpont*; where they ſtaid a good while, until their Navy was in readineſs to tranſport them into *Aſia*.

Much was done at Sea in the beginning of this year; though for the moſt part, little of importance. *Polyxenidas*, the Admiral of *Antiochus*, was a baniſhed *Rhodian*; true to the King, and deſirous of revenge upon his Countreymen that had expelled him. He, hearing that the *Rhodian* Fleet was at *Samos*, the *Romans* and *Eumenes* having not as yet put to Sea; thought to do ſomewhat upon thoſe that were ſo early in their diligence, before their fellows ſhould arrive to help them. Yet went he craftily to work; and ſent word, as in great ſecrecy, to the *Rhodian* Admiral, That if the Sentence of his baniſhment might be repealed, He would, in requital thereof, betray all the Kings Fleet. After many paſſages to and fro, this was believed: and the *Rhodian* Admiral grew ſo careleſs, expecting ſtill, when he ſhould receive a Watch-word from *Polyxenidas*, that he himſelf was taken by *Polyxenidas* in his own Haven. The Kings Fleet ſetting forth from *Epheſus* by night; and, for fear of being diſcovered, reſting one day in harbour by the way; came the ſecond night to *Samos*: where, by morning, it was ready to enter the Haven. *Pauſiſtratus* the *Rhodian* Admiral, ſeeing this, thought it his beſt way of reſiſtance, to beſtow his Men on the two Head-lands, or points of the Haven; ſo to guard the mouth of it: for that he ſaw no likelihood of defending himſelf by Sea. But *Polyxenidas* had already landed ſome Companies, in another part of the Iſland: which falling upon the back of *Pauſiſtratus*, compelled him to alter his directions, and command his Men aboard. This could not be without great confuſion; ſo as the Enemies took him out of all order; and ſunk or boarded all his Navy, five excepted, that by a ſudden device made ſhift to eſcape. Each of them hung out a burning Creſſet upon two poles, at the Beak-head: and then rowed forwards directly upon the Enemy: who having not bethought himſelf what ſhift to make againſt ſuch unexpected danger of firing, was content to give way unto theſe deſperate Gallies; for fear leſt they ſhould burn, together with themſelves, a part of the Kings Fleet.

Not long after this, the *Romans* had ſome loſs by tempeſt: whereof *Polyxenidas* could not take ſuch advantage as he had hoped; becauſe, putting to Sea for that purpoſe, He was driven back again by the like foul Weather. But the *Rhodians*, to ſhew that they were not diſcouraged, ſet forth Twenty other Gallies: the *Romans* alſo, with King *Eumenes*, repaired their Fleet; and all of them together, in great bravery, preſented battel to *Polyxenidas*, before the Haven of *Epheſus*. When he durſt not accept it: they went from place to place, attempting many things, as either they were intreated by the *Rhodians*, or perſwaded by ſome appearing hopes of doing good. Yet performed they little or nothing: for that one while they were hindred by ſtorms at Sea; and another while by ſtrong reſiſtance, made againſt them at Land.

Eumenes, with his Fleet, was compelled to forſake them; and return home to the defence of his own Kingdom. For *Antiochus* waſted all the grounds about *Elæa* and *Pergamus*: and leaving his Son *Seleucus*, to beſiege the Royal City of *Pergamus*, did with the reſt of his Army ſpoil the whole Countrey thereabout. *Attalus*, the brother of King *Eumenes*, was then in *Pergamus*; having with him no better men to defend the City, than were they that lay againſt it. Wherefore he had reaſon to ſtand in fear; being too much inferior in number. There came to his aid a thouſand Foot, and an hundred Horſe of the *Achæans*, old Souldiers all, and trained up under *Philopœmen*; whoſe Scholar, in the Art of War, *Diophanes*, their Commander was. This *Diophanes*, beholding from the Walls of *Pergamus*, which was an high Town, the demeanor of the Enemy; began to diſdain, that ſuch men as they ſhould hold him beſieged. For *Seleucus* his Army, which was encamped at the Hill-foot, ſeeing that none durſt ſally forth upon them, grew ſo careleſs; as otherwiſe, than by ſpoiling all behind their backs, they ſeemed to forget that they were in an Enemies Countrey. *Diophanes* therefore ſpake with *Attalus*; and told him, that he would go forth to viſit them. *Attalus* had no liking to this adventure; for he ſaid, that the Match was nothing equal. But the *Achæan* would needs have his will: and iſſuing forth, encamped not far from the Enemy. They of *Pergamus* thought him little better than mad. As for the beſiegers; they wondred at firſt what his meaning was: but when they ſaw that he held himſelf quiet, they made a jeſt of his boldneſs; and laughed to ſee with what an handful of men he looked ſo ſtoutly. So they returned unto their former negligence and diſorders. Which *Diophanes* perceiving, He commanded all his Men to follow him, even as faſt as they well might: and he himſelf, with the Hundred Horſe, brake out on the ſudden upon the Station that was next at hand. Very few of the Enemies had their Horſes ready ſadled, but more few, or none, had the hearts to make reſiſtance: ſo as he drave them all out of their Camp; and chaced them as far as he might ſafely adventure, with great ſlaughter of them, and no loſs of his own. Hereat all the Citizens of *Pergamus* (who had covered the Walls of the Town, Men and Women, to behold this Spectacle) were very joyful; and highly magnified the vertue of theſe *Achæans*. Yet would they not therefore iſſue forth of their Gates, to help the *Achæans* in doing what remained to be done. The next day *Seleucus* encamped half a Mile further from the Town, than he had done before: and againſt him went forth *Diophanes* the ſecond time; who quietly reſted a while in his old Station. When they had ſtaid many hours, looking who ſhould begin; *Seleucus*, in fair order, as he came, withdrew himſelf toward his lodging, that was further off. *Diophanes* moved not whilſt the Enemy was in ſight: but as ſoon as the ground between them hindred the proſpect, he followed them in all haſte; and ſoon overtaking them with his Horſe, charged them in Rear; ſo as he brake them, and with all his Forces, purſued them at the heels, to their very Trenches. This boldneſs of the *Achæans*, and the baſeneſs of his own men, cauſed *Seleucus* to quit the Siege, little to his honour. Such being the quality of theſe *Aſiatiques*, *Philopœmen* had cauſe to tell the *Romans*, That he envied their Victory. For when

Antiochus lay feasting at *Chalcis*, after his Marriage, and his Souldiers betook themselves to Riot, as it had been in a time of great security: a good man of War might have cut all their throats, even as they were tipling in their Victualing-houses; which *Philopœmen* said that he would have done, had He been General of the *Achæans*, and not, as he then was, a private man.

Antiochus was full of business: and turning his care from one thing to another, with a great deal of travel, brought almost nothing to pass. He had been at *Pergamus*: into which *Eumenes*, leaving the *Romans*, did put himself, with a few of his Horse, and light Armature. Before *Pergamus* he left his Son, as before hath been shewed, and went to *Elæa*: whither he heard that *Æmylius*, the *Roman* Admiral, was come, to bring succour to *Eumenes*. There he made an Overture of Peace: about which to consult, *Eumenes* was sent for by *Æmylius*, and came from *Pergamus*. But when it was considered, that no conclusion could be made without the Consul; this Treaty brake off. Then followed the Overthrow newly mentioned; which caused *Seleucus* to give over the Siege of *Pergamus*. Afterwards, four or five Towns, of scarce any worth or note, were taken by the King: and the *Syrian* Fleet, being of seven and thirty sail, was beaten by the *Rhodian* which was of like number. But of this victory the *Rhodians* had no great cause to reioyce: for that *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*, who, together with *Apollonius* a Courtier of *Antiochus*, was Admiral of the *Syrians*, did them in manner as great hurt as they could do to *Apollonius*; and having the victory taken out of his hand by *Apollonius* his flight, yet made such a Retreat, that the *Rhodians* durst not far adventure upon him. Now of these Actions, which were but as Præfaces unto the War; the last and greatest was a Victory of the *Romans* by Sea, against *Polyxenidas*, the Kings Admiral. The Battel was fought by *Myonnesus*, a Promontory in *Asia*: where *Polyxenidas* had with him fourscore and nine Gallies; and five of them greater than any of the *Romans*. This being all the strength which he could make by Sea: we may note the vanity of those brags, wherewith *Antiochus* vaunted the last year, That his *Armada* should cover all the Shoars of *Greece*. The *Romans* had Eight and Fifty Gallies; the *Rhodians*, Two and Twenty: the *Roman* being the stronger built, and more stoutly manned; the *Rhodian* more light timber'd, and thin plankt, having all advantage of speed, and good Sea-men. Neither forgot they to help themselves by the same device, with which, five of their Gallies had lately escaped from *Samos*. For with fire in their Prows they ran upon the Enemy: who declining them for fear, laid open his side: and was thereby in greater danger of being stemmed. After no long fight, the Kings Navy hoisted Sail: and having a fair Wind, bore away toward *Ephesus* as fast as they could. Yet Forty of their Gallies they left behind them: whereof Thirteen were taken: all the rest burnt or sunk. The *Romans*, and their fellows, lost only two or three Ships: but got hereby the absolute Mastery of the Sea.

The report of this misadventure, may seem to have taken from *Antiochus* all use of reason. For as if no hope had been remaining, to defend those places that he held in *Europe*: He presently withdrew his Garrisons from *Lysimachia*: which might easily have been kept, even till the end of Winter following, and have reduced the besiegers (if the Siege had been continued obstinately) to terms of great extremity. He also gave over the Siege of *Colophon*: and laying aside all thought, save only of defence, drew together all his Army; and sent for help to his Father-in-law, King *Ariarathes*, the *Cappadocian*.

Thus the *Roman* Consul, without impediment, not only came to the *Hellespont*; but had yielded unto him all places there, belonging to *Antiochus* on *Europe* side. The Fleet was then also in readiness, to transport him over into *Asia*: where *Eumenes* had taken such care before, that He landed quietly at his own good ease; even as if the Countrey had been his already. The first news that he heard of the Enemy, was by an Embassador that came to sue for Peace. This Embassador declared in his Masters name, That the same things which had hindered him from obtaining Peace of the *Romans* heretofore, did now perswade him, that he should easily come to good agreement with them. For in all Disputations heretofore, *Smyrna*, *Lampsachus*, and *Lysimachia*, had been the places about which they varied. Seeing therefore the King had now already given over *Lysimachia*; and was further purposed, not to strive with the *Romans* about *Lampsacus* and *Smyrna*: what reason was there, why they should need to trouble him with War? If it was their desire, that any other Towns upon the Coast of *Asia*, not mentioned by them in any former Treaties, should be also set at liberty, or otherwise delivered into their hands: the King would not refuse to gratifie them therein. Briefly let them take some part of *Asia*: so as the bounds, dividing them from the King, might not be uncertain; and it should be quietly put into their hands. If all this were not enough: the King would likewise bear half the Charges, whereat they had been in this War. So praying the *Romans* to hold themselves contented with these good offers, and not to be too insolent upon confidence of their fortune; He expected their answer. These offers which to the Embassador seemed so great, were judged by the *Romans* to be very little. For they thought it reasonable, that the King should bear all the charges of the War, since it began through his only fault: and that he should not only depart out of those few Towns which he held in *Æolis* and *Ionia*; but quite out of *Asia the less*, and keep himself on the other side of Mount *Taurus*. When the Embassador therefore saw, that no better bargain could be made, He dealt with *P. Scipio* in private: and to him he promised a great quantity of Gold, together with the free restitution of his Son; who (it is uncertain by what mischance) was taken Prisoner, and most honourably entertained by the King. *Scipio* would not hearken to the offer of Gold: nor otherwise to the restitution of his Son, than upon Condition, That it might be with making such amends for the benefit, as became a private man. As for the publick business: He only said thus much, That since *Antiochus* had already forsaken *Lysimachia*, and suffered the War to take hold on his own Kingdom: there was now none other way for him, than either to fight, or yield to that which was required at his hands. Wherefore, said he, tell your King in my name, that I would advise him to refuse no Condition whereby he may have peace.

The King was not any whit moved with this advice. For seeing that the Consul demanded of him no less, than if he had been already subdued: little reason there was, that he should fear to come to battel; wherein he could lose, as he thought, no more, than by seeking to avoid it he must give away. He had with him three-

threescore and ten thousand Foot, and twelve thousand Horse; besides two and fifty *Indian* Elephants, and many Chariots armed With Hooks or Sythes, according to the manner of the Eastern Countries. Yet was he nothing pleased, to hear that the Consul drew near him apace, as one hastning to fight. But howsoever he was affected; He made so little shew of fear, that hearing *P. Scipio* to lie sick at *Elæa*, He sent thither unto him his Son without ransom: as one both desirous to comfort this noble Warriour in his sickness, and withal not desirous to retain the young Gentleman for a pledge of his own safety. Thus ought his bounty to be constant. Otherwise it might be supected, that herein he dealt craftily. For since he could have none other ransom of *Scipio*, than such as an honourable man, that had no great store of Wealth, might pay: better it was to do such a courtesie before the Battel, as would afterwards have been little worth; than to stay until the *Romans*, perhaps victorious, should exact it at his hands. *P. Scipio* was greatly comforted with the recovery of his Son: so as the joy thereof was thought, to have been much available unto his Health. In recompence of the Kings humanity, He said only thus much unto those that brought him this acceptable present, *I am now able to make your King none other amends, than by advising him not to fight, until he shall hear that I am in the Camp.* What he meant by this, it is hard to conjecture. *Antiochus* resolved to follow his Counsel: and therefore withdrew himself from about *Thyatira*, beyond the River of *Phrygius* or *Hyllus*, unto *Magnesia* by *Sipylus*: where encamping, he fortified himself as strongly as he could. Thither followed him *L. Scipio* the Consul; and sate down within four miles of him. About a thousand of the Kings Horse, most of them *Gallo-Greeks*, came to bid the *Romans* welcome: of whom at first they slew some; and were anon, with some loss driven back over the River. Two days were quietly spent, whilst neither the King nor the *Romans* would pass the Water. The third day the *Romans* made the adventure: wherein they found no disturbance; nor were at all opposed, until they came within two miles and an half of *Antiochus* his Camp. There as they were taking up their lodging, they were charged by three thousand, Horse and Foot: whom the ordinary *Corps du gard* repelled. Four days together after this, each of them brought forth their Armies; and set them in order before the Trenches, without advancing any further. The fifth day the *Romans* came half way forward, and presented Battel; which the King would not accept. Thereupon the Consul took advice what was to be done. For either they must fight upon whatsoever disadvantage, or else resolve to abide by it all Winter, far from any Countrey of their Friends, and therefore subject unto many difficulties: unless they would stain their Honour by returning far back, to winter in a more convenient place; and so defer the War untill the next Spring. The *Roman* Souldier was throughly perswaded of that Enemies base temper. Wherefore it was the general Crie, that this great Army should be be assailed, even in the Camp where it lay: as if rather there were so many Beasts to be slaughtered, than Men to be fought with. Yet a day or two passed, in discovering the Fortifications of *Antiochus*, and the safest way to set upon him. All this while *P. Scipio* came not. Wherefore the King, being loth to dishearten his Men, by seeming to stand in fear of the Enemy; resolved to put the matter to trial. So when the *Romans* took the Field again, and ordered their Battels: He also did the like; and advanced so far, that they might understand his meaning to fight.

The *Roman* Army consisted of four Legions, two *Roman* and two *Latin*: in each of which were five thousand and four hundred Men. The *Latines*, as usually, were in the points; the *Romans* in the main Battel. All of them, according to their wonted Form, were divided into Maniples. The *Hastati* had the leading: after them followed the *Principes*, at such distance as was usual; and last of all, the *Triarii*. Now besides these, there were about three thousand Auxiliaries; partly *Achæans*; and partly such as belonged to *Eumenes*: which were placed in an equal Front beyond the *Latines* in the right Wing. Utmost of all (save some five hundred *Cretians*, and of the *Trallians* were almost three thousand Horse: of which, *Eumenes* had brought thither eight hundred; the rest being *Roman*. The left Wing was fenced by the Bank of the River: yet four Troops of Horse were placed there; though such help seemed in a manner needless. Two thousand Voluntaries, *Macedonians* and *Thracians*, were left to guard the Camp. The Consul had with him sixteen *African* Elephants, which he bestowed in his Rere: forasmuch as had they come to fight with those of *Antiochus*, they only would have served to discourage his men: as being sure to be beaten: the *Indian* being far the greater, and more couragious Beasts: whereof *Antiochus* had likewise much advantage in number.

The Kings Army being compounded of many Nations, diversly appointed, and not all accustomed to one manner of fight, was ordered according to the several kinds, in such wise as each might be of most use. The main strength of his Foot consisted in sixteen thousand, armed all *Macedonian* like, and called *Phalangiers*. These he placed in the midst, and divided into ten Battallions: every one having two and thirty in File, and fifty in Front. Between every Battallion were two Elephants, goodly Beasts, and such as being adorned with Frontals, high Crests, Towers on their Backs, and besides him that governed the Elephant, four men in every Tower, made a gallant and terrible Shew. On the right hand of these were fifteen hundred Horse of the *Gallo-Greeks*: then, three thousand Barbd Horse; and a Regiment of almost a thousand Horse called the *Agema*, that were all *Medians*, the choice of the Countrey, and accompanied by some others. All which Troops of Horse divided in their several kinds, do seem to have followed one another in depth, rather than to have been stretched out in Front. Adjoyning to these were sixteen Elephants together in one flock. A little further to the right hand was the Kings own Regiment: called the *Argyraspides* or *Silver-shields*, by a name borrowed from their Furniture, but nothing like so valiant as those of the same name that had served under Great *Alexander*: then twelve hundred Archers on Horseback, three thousand light-armed Foot, two thousand and five hundred Archers of *Mysia*; with four thousand Slingers and Archers of the *Cirtæans*, and *Elymæans*. On the left hand of the *Phalangiers*, were placed the like numbers of *Gallo-Greeks* and Barbd Horse: as also two thousand Horse that were sent from *Ariarathes*, with two thousand and seven hundred of divers Nations, and a Regiment of a thousand Horse more lightly armed, that were calle *the Kings Troop*, being *Syrians*, *Phrygians*, and *Lydians*. In Front of all these Horse were the Chariots armed with Hooks or Sythes, and the

the *Dromedaries*, whereon ſet *Arabians* with long Rapiers that would ſerve to reach from thoſe high Camels. Beyond theſe were, as in the right wing, a rabble of many Nations, *Carians*, *Cilicians*, *Pamphylians*, *Piſidians*, *Cyrtæans*, *Elymæans*, and many others, having alſo with them ſixteen Elephants. *Antiochus* himſelf commanded in the right Wing: *Seleucus* in the left: and three of his principal Captains commanded over the *Phalangiers*.

The firſt onſet was given by the *Dromedaries*, and armed Chariots: of which the one, being like to terrifie the Horſe; the other, to break the Squadrons of the Foot; *Eumenes* with a few light-armed *Cretians*, Archers, Darters, and Slingers, eaſily made fruſtrate the danger threatned by them both. For with ſhoutings, and noiſes, and ſome wounds, they were driven out of the Field; and running back upon their own men, did the ſame harm which they had intended to the Enemies. Wherefore the *Roman* Horſe following this advantage, charged upon the left Wing: where they found no reſiſtance; ſome being out of order; others being without courage. It is ſhameful to rehearſe, and ſo ſtrange, that it may hardly ſeem credible: that the *Phalangiers*, with ſuch variety of *Auxiliaries*, made little or no reſiſtance; but all of them fled, in a manner as ſoon as they were charged. Only the King, *Antiochus* himſelf, being in the left Wing of his own Battel: and ſeeing the *Latines*, that ſtood oppoſite unto him weakly flancked with Horſe; gave upon them couragiouſly, and forced them to retire. But *M. Æmilius*, that had the Guard of the *Roman* Camp, iſſued forth with all his power to help his Fellows: and, what by perſwaſion, what by threats, made them renew the Fight. Succour alſo came from the right Wing, where the *Romans* were already Victorious: whereof when *Antiochus* diſcovered the approach, he not only turned his Horſe about, but ran away upon the ſpur without further tarriance. The Camp was defended a little while: and with no great valour; though by a great multitude that were fled into it. *Antiochus* is ſaid to have loſt in this Battel fifty thouſand Foot, and four thouſand Horſe; beſides thoſe that were taken. Of the *Romans*, there were not ſlain above three hundred Foot, and four and twenty Horſe: of *Eumenes* his followers five and twenty.

Antiochus fled to *Sardes*, and from thence to *Apamea*, the ſame night; hearing that *Seleucus* was gone thither before. He left the cuſtody of *Sardes*, and the Caſtle there, to one whom he thought faithful. But the Townſ-men and Souldiers were ſo diſmayed with the greatneſs of the Overthrow; that one mans faith was worth nothing. All the Towns in thoſe parts, without expecting Summons, yielded up themſelves by Embaſſadors: whom they ſent to the *Romans*, whilſt they were on the way. Neither were many days ſpent ere *Antiochus* his Embaſſador was in the Camp: having none other Errand, than to know what it would pleaſe the *Romans* to impoſe upon the King his Maſter. *P. Scipio* was now come to his Brother; who obtained leave to make the anſwer, becauſe it ſhould be gentle. They required no more than they had lately done: which was, that he ſhould quite abandon his Dominions on this ſide of *Taurus*. For their charges in that War they required fifteen thouſand Talents: five hundred in hand; two thouſand and five hundred, when the Senate and People of *Rome* ſhould have confirmed the Peace; and the other twelve thouſand, in twelve years next enſuing by even Portions. Likewiſe they demanded four hundred Talents for *Eumenes*; and ſome ſtore of Corn, that was due to him upon a reckoning. Now beſides twenty Hoſtages which they required, very earneſt they were to have *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*, and *Thoas* the *Ætolian*, with ſome others who had ſtirred up the King to this War, delivered into their hands. But any wiſe man might ſo eaſily have perceived, that it would be their purpoſe to make this one of their principal demands; as no great art was needful to beguile their malice. The Kings Embaſſador had full commiſſion, to refuſe nothing that ſhould be enjoyned. Wherefore there was no more to do, than to ſend immediately to *Rome* for the ratification of the Peace.

There were new Conſuls choſen in the mean while at *Rome*, *M. Fulvius*, and *Cn. Manlius Volſo*. The *Ætolians* deſiring Peace, but could not obtain it; becauſe they would except neither of the two Conditions to them before propounded. So it was decreed, that one of the Conſuls ſhould make War upon the *Ætolians*, the other upon *Antiochus* in *Aſia*. Now though ſhortly there came news, that *Antiochus* was already vanquiſhed in Battel, and had ſubmitted himſelf unto all that could be required at his hands: yet ſince the State of *Aſia* was not like to be ſo throughly ſetled by one Victory, but that many things might fall out worthy of the *Romans* care; *Cn. Manlius*, to whom *Aſia* fell by lot, had not his Province changed.

Soon after this came the Embaſſadors of King *Antiochus* to *Rome*, accompanied with the *Rhodians* and ſome other: yea by King *Eumenes* in Perſon; whoſe preſence added a goodly luſtre to the buſineſs in hand. Concerning the Peace to be made with King *Antiochus*, there was no diſputation: it was generally approved. All the trouble was about the diſtribution of the purchaſe. King *Eumenes* rekoned up his own deſerts: and comparing himſelf with *Maſaniſſa*, hoped that the *Romans* would be more bountiful to him than they had been to the *Numidian*, ſince they had found him a King indeed, whereas *Maſaniſſa* was only ſuch in Title; and ſince both he and his Father had always been their Friends, even in the worſt of the *Roman* Fortune. Yet was there much ado to make him tell what he would have: He ſtill referring himſelf to their courteſie; and they deſiring him to ſpeak plain. At length he craved that they would beſtow upon him, as much of the Countrey by them taken from *Antiochus*, as they had no purpoſe to keep in their own hands. Neither thought he it needful, that they ſhould trouble themſelves with the care of giving liberty to many of the *Greek* Towns, that were on *Aſia* ſide. For ſince the moſt of thoſe Towns had been partakers with the King in his War; it was no reaſon that they ſhould be gainers by his overthrow. The *Rhodians* did not like of this. They deſired the Senate to be truly Patrons of the *Grecian* liberty; and to call to mind, that no ſmall part of *Greece* it ſelf had been ſubject unto *Philip*, and ſerved him in his War: which was not alledged againſt them as a cauſe why they ſhould not be made free, after that *Philip* was overcome. But the main point whereon they inſiſted, was this, That the Victory of the *Romans* againſt King *Antiochus* was ſo great, as eaſily might ſatisfie the deſires of all their Friends. The Senate was glad to hear of this; and very bountifully gave away ſo much, that every one had cauſe to be well pleaſed.

Such

Such end had the War againſt King *Antiochus*: after which, *L. Cornelius Scipio*, returning home, had granted unto him the honour of a Triumph: the Pomp whereof exceeded in Riches, not only that of *Titus Quintius Flaminius*, but of any ten that *Rome* had beheld until that day. Now forasmuch as the ſurname of *The African* had been given unto *P. Scipio*, it was thought covenient by ſome, to reward *L. Scipio* with the Title of *The Aſiatick*: which the fortune of his Victory had no leſs deſerved; though the vertue requiſite to the purchaſe thereof, was no way correſpondent.

§. IX.

The Ætolians *and the* Gallo-Greeks, *vanquiſhed by the* Roman *Conſuls*, Fulvius *and* Manlius. Manlius *hardly obtains a Triumph: being charged (among other objections) with attempting to have paſſed the bounds appointed as fatal to the* Romans *by* Sibyl. *Of* Sibyls *Prophecies; the Books of* Hermes; *and that Inſcription*, Simoni Deo Sancto. *The Ingratitude of* Rome *to the two* Scipio's. *Of the beginning of Faction among the* Roman *Nobility.*

Marc. Fulvius and *Cn. Manlius* had the ſame charge divided between them, which *L. Cornelius Scipio*, now ſtyled *Aſiaticus*, had lately undergone. It was found more than one mans work, to look at once to *Greece* and to *Aſia*. And for this reaſon was it apparent, that *L. Scipio* had granted ſo long a Truce to the *Ætolians*. But ſince, in this long *Interim* of Truce, that haughty little Nation had not ſought to humble it ſelf to the *Roman Majeſty*, it was now to be brought unto more lowly Terms than any other of the *Greeks*. The beſt was, that ſo great a ſtorm fell not unexpected upon the *Ætolians*. They had foreſeen the danger, when their Embaſſadors were utterly denied Peace at *Rome*: and they had provided the laſt remedy; which was, to entreat the *Rhodians* and *Athenians* to become interceſſors for them. Neither were they ſo dejected, with any terrible apprehenſions, that they could not well deviſe, upon helping themſelves, even by re-purchaſe of Countries loſt, where they ſpied advantage.

Poor King *Aminander* lived in Exile among them, whilſt *Philip* of *Macedon* kept, for him, poſſeſſion of his Lands and Caſtles. But the *Athamanians* (beſides that many of them bore a natural affection to their own Prince) having been long accuſtomed to ſerve a Mountain Lord, that converſed with them after an homely manner; could not endure the proud and inſolent manner of Command, uſed by the Captains of *Philip* his Garriſons. They ſent therefore ſome few of them to their King, and offered their ſervice toward his reſtitution. At the firſt there were only four of them; neither grew they, at length, to more than two and fifty, which undertook the work. Yet aſſurance, that all the reſt would follow, made *Aminander* willing to try his fortune. He was at the borders with a thouſand *Ætolians*, upon the day appointed: at what time his two and fifty adventurers, having divided themſelves into four parts, occupied, by the ready aſſiſtance of the Multitude, four the chief Towns in the Countrey, to his uſe. The fame of this good ſucceſs at firſt; with Letters running from place to place, whereby men were exhorted to do their beſt in helping forward the Action: made the Lieutenants of *Philip* unable to think upon reſiſtance. One of them held the Town of *Theium* a few days; giving thereby ſome leiſure unto his King to provide for the reſcue. But when he had done his beſt, he was forced thence; and could only tell *Philip*, whom he met on the way, that all was loſt. *Philip* had brought from home ſix thouſand men; of whom, when the greater part could not hold out, in ſuch a running march, he left all ſave two thouſand behind him, and ſo came to *Athenæum*, a little *Athamanian* Caſtle that ſtill was his, as being on the Frontier of *Macedon*. Thence he ſent *Zeno*, who had kept *Theium* a while, to take a place lying over *Argithea*, that was chief of the Countrey. *Zeno* did as he was appointed: yet neither he, nor the King, had the boldneſs to deſcend upon *Argithea*: for that they might perceive the *Athamanians*, all along the Hill ſides, ready to come down upon them, when they ſhould be buſie. Wherefore nothing was thought more honourable than a ſafe Retreat; eſpecially when *Aminander* came in ſight with his thouſand *Ætolians*. The *Macedonians* were called back from-wards *Argithea*, and preſently withdrawn by their King towards his own Borders. But they were not ſuffered to depart in quiet, at their pleaſure. The *Athamanians* and *Ætolians* way-layed them, and purſued them ſo cloſely, that their Retreat was in manner of a plain Flight, with great loſs of Men and Arms; few of thoſe eſcaping that were left behind, as to make a countenance of holding ſomewhat in the Countrey, until *Philip* his return.

The *Ætolians*, having found the buſineſs of *Athamania* ſo eaſie, made attempt in their own behalf, upon the *Amphilochians* and *Aperantians*. Theſe had belonged unto their Nation, and were lately taken by *Philip*; from whom they diligently revolted, and became *Ætolian* again. The *Dolopians* lay next; that had been ever belonging to the *Macedonian*, and ſo did ſtill purpoſe to continue. Theſe took Arms at firſt: but ſoon layed them away; ſeeing their Neighbours ready to fight with them in the *Ætolian* Quarrel, and ſeeing their own King ſo haſtily gone, as if he meant not to return.

Of theſe Victories the joy was the leſs; for that news came of *Antiochus* his laſt Overthrow, and of *M. Fulvius* the new Conſul his haſtning with an Army into *Greece*. *Aminander* ſent his excuſes to *Rome*, praying the Senate, not to take it in deſpight, that he had recovered his own from *Philip*, with ſuch help as he could get. Neither ſeems it that the *Romans* were much offended to hear of *Philip* his loſſes: for of this fault they neither were ſharp Correctors, nor earneſt Reprovers. *Fulvius* went in hand with the buſineſs, about which he came, and layed ſiege to *Ambracia*, a goodly City, that had been the chief Seat of *Pyrrhus* his Kingdom. With this he began; for that it was of too great importance to be abandoned by the *Ætolians*: yet could not by them be relieved, unleſs they would adventure to fight upon equal Ground. To help the *Ambracians*, it was not in the *Ætolians* power: for they were at the ſame time, vexed by the *Illyrians* at Sea, and ready to be driven from their new Conqueſt, by *Perſeus* the Son of *Philip*, who invaded the Countries of the *Amphilochians* and *Dolopians*. They were unable to deal with ſo many at once; and therefore as earneſtly ſought Peace with the *Romans*, as they ſtoutly made head againſt the reſt. In the mean while, the *Athenian* and *Rhodian* Embaſſadors came; who beſought the Conſul to grant them Peace. It helped well that *Ambracia* made ſtrong reſiſtance, and would not be terrified.

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by any violence of the aſſaylants, or danger that might ſeem to threaten. The Conſul had no deſire to ſpend half his time about one City, and ſo be driven to leave unto his ſucceſſor the honour of finiſhing the War. Wherefore he gladly hearkened unto the *Ætolians*, and bad them ſeek Peace with faithful intent, without thinking it over-dear, at a reaſonable price; conſidering with how great a part of his Kingdom their friend *Antiochus* had made the ſame purchaſe. He alſo gave leave to *Aminander*, offering his Service as a mediator, to put himſelf into *Ambracia*, and try what good his perſwaſions might do with the Citizens. So, after many demands and excuſes, the concluſion was ſuch, as was grievous to the weaker, but not unſufferable. The ſame Embaſſadors of the *Athenians* and *Rhodians* accompanied thoſe of the *Ætolians* to *Rome*, for procuring the confirmation of Peace. Their eloquence and credit was the more needful in this interceſſion, for that *Philip* had made very grievous complaint about the loſs of thoſe Countries, which they had lately taken from him. Hereof the Senate could not but take notice; though it hindred not the Peace, which thoſe good Mediators of *Rhodes* and *Athens* did earneſtly ſollicite. The *Ætolians* were bound to uphold the Majeſty of the People of *Rome*, and to obſerve divers Articles, which made them leſs free, and more obnoxious to the *Romans*, than any People of *Greece*; they having been the firſt that called theſe their Maſters into the Country. The Iſle of *Cephalenia* was taken from them by the *Romans:* who kept it for themſelves (as not long ſince they had gotten *Zacynthus* from the *Achæans*, by ſtiffly preſſing their own right) that ſo they might have poſſeſſion along the coaſt of *Greece*, whilſt they ſeemed to forbear the Country. But concerning thoſe places, whereto *Philip*, or others, might lay claim, there was ſet down an Order ſo perplexed, as would neceſſarily require to have the *Romans* Judges of the controverſies, when they ſhould ariſe. And hereof good uſe will be ſhortly made: when want of employment elſewhere, ſhall cauſe a more Lordly Inquiſition to be held, upon the affairs of *Macedon* and *Greece*.

Cn. Manlius, the other Conſul, had at the ſame time War in *Aſia*, with the *Gallo-Greeks* and others. His Army was the ſame that had followed *L. Scipio*; of whoſe victory, his acts were the conſummation. He viſited thoſe Countries on the hither ſide of *Taurus*, that had ſcarce heard of the *Romans*; to whom they were abandoned by *Antiochus*. Among theſe there were ſome petty Lords, or Tyrants, ſome free Cities, and ſome that were together at Wars, without regard of the great alteration hapned in *Aſia*. From every of theſe he got ſomewhat; and by their quarrels found occaſion to viſit thoſe Provinces, into which he ſhould elſe have wanted an Errand. He was even loaden with booty, when, having fetcht a compaſs about *Aſia*, he came at length upon the *Gallo-Greeks*. Theſe had long dominiered over the Country: though of late times, it was rather the fame and terrour of their forepaſſed acts, than any preſent vertue of theirs, which held them up in reputation. Of the *Romans* they had lately ſuch trial, when they ſerved under King *Antiochus*, as made them to know themſelves far the worſe Men. Wherefore they thought it no ſmall part of their ſafety, that they dwelt upon the River *Halys*, in an Inland Country, where thoſe Enemies were not like to ſearch them out. But when ſuch hopes failed; and when ſome Princes of their own Nation, that had been friends of *Eumenes*, exhorted the reſt to yield: then was no Counſel thought ſo good, as to forſake their Houſes and Country, and, with all that they could carry or drive, to betake themſelves unto the high Mountains of *Olympus* and *Margana*. Theſe Mountains were exceeding hard of aſcent, though none ſhould undertake the cuſtody. Being therefore well manned and victualled for a long time; as alſo the natural ſtrength being helpt, by ſuch fortification as promiſed greateſt aſſurance: it was thought, that the Conſul would either forbear the attempt of forcing them, or eaſily be repelled; and that finally, when he had ſtaied there a while, Winter, and much want, ſhould force him to diſlodge. Yet all this availed not. For whereas the *Gallo-Greeks* had been careleſs of furniſhing themſelves with caſting Weapons, as if the Stones would have ſerved well enough to that purpoſe: the *Romans*, who came far otherwiſe appointed, found greater advantage in the difference of Arms, than impediment in diſadvantage of ground. Archers and Slingers did eaſily prevaile againſt caſters of Stones; eſpecially being ſuch as were theſe *Gallo-Greeks*, neither exerciſed in that manner of fight, nor having prepared their Stones before hand, but catching up what lay next, the too great, and the too little, oftner than thoſe of a fit ſize. Finally, the *Barbarians*, wanting defenſive Arms, could not hold out againſt the Arrows and Weapons of the *Roman* light armature: but were driven from a piece of Ground, which they had undertaken to make good, up into their Camp on the top of the Mountain; and being forced out of their Camp, had no other way left, than to caſt themſelves headlong down the ſteep Rocks. Few of the Men eſcaped alive: all their Wives, Children, and Goods, became a prey unto the *Romans*. In the very like manner, were the reſt of that Nation overcome ſoon after, at the other Mountain: only more of them ſaved themſelves by flight, as having fairer way at their backs.

Theſe Wars being ended: *Fulvius* and *Manlius* were appointed, by the Senate, each of them to retain as Proconſul his Province for another year. *Fulvius*, in his ſecond year, did little or nothing. *Manlius* gave Peace to thoſe whom he had vanquiſhed, as likewiſe to *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian*, and ſome others, not by him vanquiſhed, but ſubmitting themſelves for fear of the *Roman* Arms. He drew from them all what profit he could: and laid upon them ſuch conditions, as He thought expedient. He alſo did finiſh the league of Peace with *Antiochus*; whereto He ſwore, and received the Kings oath by Embaſſadors, whom he ſent for that purpoſe. Finally, having ſet in order the matters of *Aſia*, he took his way toward the *Helleſpont*, loaden with ſpoil, as carrying with him (beſides other treaſures) all that the *Gallo-Greeks* had in ſo many years extorted, from the wealthy Provinces that lay round about them. Neither did this Army of *Manlius* return home rich in Money alone, or Cattel, or things of needful uſe, which the *Roman* Souldiers had been wont to take as the only good purchaſe; but furniſhed with ſumptuous Houſhold-ſtuff, and Slaves of price, excellent Cooks, and Muſicians for Banquets; and, in a word, with the ſeeds of that luxury, which finally over-grew and choaked the *Roman* vertue.

The Country of *Thrace* lay between *Helleſpont* and the Kingdom of *Macedon*, which way *Manlius* was to take his Journey homeward. *L. Scipio* had found no impediment among the *Thracians*: either for that he paſſed through them, without any ſuch booty as might provoke them; or perhaps *Liv. l. 39.*

haps rather, becauſe *Philip* of *Macedon* had taken order, that the *Barbarians* ſhould not ſtir. But when *Manlius* came along with an huge train of baggage, the *Thracians* could not ſo well contain themſelves. Neither was it thought, that *Philip* took it otherwiſe than very pleaſantly, to have this *Roman* Army robbed, and well beaten on the way. He had cauſe to be angry; ſeeing how little himſelf was regarded, and what great rewards were given to *Eumenes*. For he underſtood, and afterwards gave the *Romans* to underſtand, that *Eumenes* could not have abidden in his own Kingdom, if the People of *Rome* had not made War in *Aſia*: whereas contrariwiſe, *Antiochus* had offered unto himſelf three thouſand talents, and fifty Ships of War, to take part with him and the *Ætolians*; promiſing moreover to reſtore unto him all the *Greek* Cities, that had been taken from him by the *Romans*. Such being the difference between him and *Eumenes*, when the War began: he thought it no even dealing of the *Romans*, after their victory, to give away not only the half of *Aſia*, but *Cherſonneſus* and *Lyſimachia* in *Europe*, to *Eumenes*; whereas upon himſelf they beſtowed not any one Town. It agreed not indeed with his Nobility, to go to *Rome* and beg Provinces in the Senate, as *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians* had lately done. He had entertained lovingly the two *Scipio's*, whom he thought the moſt honourable Men in *Rome*; and was grown into near acquaintance with *Publius*, holding correſpondence with him by Letters, whereby he made himſelf acquainted with the Wars in *Spain* and *Africk*. This perhaps he deemed ſufficient, to breed in the *Romans* a due reſpect of him. But *Eumenes* took a ſurer way. For the *Scipio's* had not the diſpoſing of that which they wan from *Antiochus*: as neither indeed had *Manlius*, nor the ten Delegates aſſiſting him; but the Senate of *Rome*, by which thoſe Delegates were choſen, and inſtructed how to proceed. When *Philip* therefore ſaw theſe upſtart Kings of *Pergamus*, whom he accounted as baſe companions, advanced ſo highly, and made greater than himſelf; yea himſelf unregarded, contemned, and expoſed to many wrongs: then found he great cauſe to wiſh, that he had not ſo haſtily declared himſelf againſt *Antiochus*, or rather that he had joyned with *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*, by whom he might have been freed from his inſolent Maſters. But what great argument of ſuch diſcontentedneſs the *Macedonian* had, we ſhall very ſhortly be urged to diſcourſe more at large. At the preſent it was believed, that the *Thracians* were by him ſet on, to aſſail the *Romans* paſſing through their Country. They knew all advantages: and they fell, unexpected, upon the carriages, that were beſtowed in the midſt of the Army; whereof part had already paſſed a dangerous Wood, through which the baggage followed; part was not yet ſo far advanced. There was enough to get, and enough to leave behind: though both the getting, and the ſaving, did coſt many lives, as well of the *Barbarians* as of the *Romans*. They fought until it grew night: and then the *Thracians* withdrew themſelves; not without as much of the booty, as was to their full content. And of ſuch trouble there was more, though leſs dangerous, before the Army could get out of *Thrace* into *Macedon*. Through the Kingdom they had a fair march into *Epirus*; and ſo to *Apollonia*, which was their handle of *Greece*.

To *Manlius*, and to *Fulvius*, when each of them returned to the City, was granted the honour of Triumph. Yet not without contradiction: eſpecially to *Manlius*; whom ſome of the ten Delegates, appointed to aſſiſt him, did very bitterly tax, as an unworthy Commander. Touching the reſt of their accuſation; it ſufficeth that he made good anſwer, and was approved by the chief of the Senate. One clauſe is worthy of more particular conſideration. Reprehending his deſire to have hindred the Peace with *Antiochus*; they ſaid, *That with much ado he was kept from leading his Army over* Taurus, *and adventuring upon the calamity threatned by* Sibyls *verſes, unto thoſe that ſhould paſs the fatal bounds.* What calamity or overthrow this was, wherewith *Sibyls* Prophecy threatned the *Roman* Captain or Army, that ſhould paſs over *Taurus*, I do not conceive. *Pompey* was the firſt, that marched with an Army beyond thoſe limits: though the victories of *Lucullus* had opened unto him the way, and had before hand won, in a ſort, the Countries on the other ſide of the Mount; which *Lucullus* gave to one of *Antiochus* his Race, though *Pompey* occupied them for the *Romans*. But we find not, that either *Lucullus* or *Pompey* ſuffered any loſs, in preſuming to neglect the bounds appointed by *Sibyl*. Indeed the accompliſhment of this Prophecy, fell out near about one time, with the reſtitution of *Ptolemy* King of *Ægypt*; that was forbidden unto the *Romans* by the ſame *Sibyl*. It may therefore ſeem to have had reference unto the ſame things that were denounced, as like to happen upon the reduction of the *Ægyptian* King. Whether the Oracles of *Sibyl* had in them any truth, and were not, as *Tully* noteth, *ſowed at random in the large field of Time*, there to take root, and get credit by event; I will not here diſpute. But I hold this more probable, than that the reſtitution of *Ptolemy* to his Kingdom by *Gabinius* the *Roman*, ſhould have any way betokened the coming of our Saviour: as ſome both ancient and modern *Chriſtian* Writers, have been well pleaſed to interpret *Sibyl* in that Prophecy. Of the *Sibylline* predictions I have ſometimes thought reverendly: though not knowing what they were (as I think, few Men know) yet following the common belief and good authority. But obſervation of the ſhameful Idolatry, that upon all occaſions was advanced in *Rome* by the Books of *Sibyl*, had well prevailed upon my credulity, and made me ſuſpect, though not the faith and pious meaning, yet the judgment of *Euſebius*: when that learned and excellent work of Maſter *Caſaubon* upon the *Annals* of Cardinal *Baronius*, did altogether free me from mine error; making it apparent, That not only thoſe Prophecies of *Sibyl*, wherein *Chriſt* ſo plainly was foreſhewed, but even the Books of *Hermes*, which have born ſuch reputation, were no better than counterfeited pieces, and at firſt entertained (whoſoever deviſed them) by the undiſcreet zeal of ſuch, as delighted in ſeeing the *Chriſtian* Religion ſtrengthned with forreign proofs. And in the ſame rank, I think, we ought to place that notable Hiſtory, reported by *Euſebius* from no mean Authors, Of the honour which was done to *Simon Magus* in *Rome*; namely of an Altar to him erected, with an Inſcription *Simoni Deo Sancto*, that is, *To Simon the holy God*. For what can be more ſtrange, than that a thing ſo memorable, and ſo publick, ſhould have been quite omitted by *Tacitus*, by *Suetonius*, by *Dion*, and by all which wrote of thoſe times? Philoſophers and Poets would not have ſuffered the matter to eſcape in ſilence, had it been true; neither can it be thought that *Seneca*, who then lived and flouriſhed, would have abſtained from ſpeaking any word of an Argument ſo famous. Wherefore I am perſwaded

Liv. l. 38.

Tull. de Divin. l. 2.

Iſaac. Caſaub. Exercitat. 1. ad Annal. Bar. n. 10. *&* 11.

Euſeb. Eccl. hiſt. l. 2. *c.* 13.

ſwaded, that this inſcription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*, was by ſome bad *Criticiſm*, taken amiſs in place of *Semoni Sango*: a title four hundred years older than the time of *Simon Magus*. For the goods of one *Vitruvius* a Rebel, had many ages before been conſecrated *Semoni Sango*, that is, *To the Spirit or Demi-god Sangus*, in whoſe Chappel they were beſtowed. So as either by the ill ſhape of the old *Roman* Letters, or by ſome ſpoil that Time had wrought upon them; it might eaſily come to paſs, that the words ſhould be miſs-read, *Simoni Sancto*, and that ſome *Chriſtian* who had heard of *Simon Magus*, but not of *Sangus*, thereupon ſhould frame the conjecture, which now paſſeth for a true Hiſtory. Such conjectures, being entertained without examination, find credit by Tradition, whereby alſo, many times, their faſhion is amended, and made more Hiſtorical, than was conceived by the Author. But it cannot be ſafe, to let our faith (which ought to ſtand firm upon a ſure foundation) lean over hardly on a well painted, yet rotten, poſt.

Now concerning the Triumph of *Cn. Manlius*, it may be numbred among a few of the richeſt, which ever the City beheld. Out of that which he brought into the Treaſury, was made the laſt paiment of thoſe Monies, which the Common-wealth had borrowed from private Men, in the ſecond *Punick War*. So long was it, that *Rome* had ſtill ſome feeling of *Hannibal*: which being paſt, there was remaining neither care, nor memory, of any danger. This Triumph of *Manlius* was deferred by him, even as long as he well could: for that he thought it not ſafe, to make his entrance into the City, until the heat of an Inquiſition, then raging therein, ſhould be allayed. The two *Scipio's* were called, one after other, into judgment, by two Tribunes of the People; Men, only by this accuſation, known to Poſterity. *P. Scipio* the *African*, with whom they began, could not endure that ſuch unworthy Men ſhould queſtion him, of purloining from the Common Treaſury, or of being hired with bribes by *Antiochus*, to make an ill bargain for his Country. When therefore his day of anſwer came; he appeared before the Tribunes, not humbly as one accuſed, but followed by a great train of his friends and Clients, with which he paſſed through the middeſt of the Aſſembly, and offered himſelf to ſpeak. Having audience, he told the People, That upon the ſame day of the year he had fought a great Battel with *Hannibal*, and finiſhed the *Punick War* by a ſignal victory. In memory whereof, he thought it no fit ſeaſon to brabble at the Law; but intended to viſit the *Capitol*, and there give thanks to *Jupiter* and the reſt of the Gods, by whoſe grace, both on that day and at other times, he had well and happily diſcharged the moſt weighty buſineſs of the Common-wealth. And hereto he invited with him all the Citizens: requeſting them, *That if ever ſince the ſeventeenth year of his life, until he now grew old, the honourable places by them conferred upon him, had prevented the capacity of his age, and yet his deſerts had exceeded the greatneſs of thoſe honourable places; then would they pray, that the Princes and great ones of their City might ſtill be like to him.* Theſe words were heard with great approbation: ſo as all the People, even the Officers of the Court, followed *Scipio*; leaving the Tribunes alone, with none about them, excepting their own Slaves and a Crier, by whom ridiculouſly they cited him to judgment, until for very ſhame, as not knowing what elſe to do, they granted him, unrequeſted, a further day. After this, when the *African* perceived that the Tribunes would not let fall their ſuit, but enforce him to ſubmit himſelf to a diſgraceful trial: he willingly relinquiſhed the City, and his unthankful *Romans*, that could ſuffer him to undergo ſo much indignity. The reſt of his time he ſpent at *Liternum*: quietly, with a few of his inward friends, and without any deſire of ſeeing *Rome* again. How many years he lived, or whether he lived one whole year, in this voluntary baniſhment; it is uncertain. The report of his dying in the ſame year, with *Hannibal* and *Philopœmen*, as alſo of his private behaviour at *Liternum*, render it probable, that he outlived the Tribuneſhip of his accuſers; who meant to have drawn him back to his anſwer, if one of their Colleagues (as one of them had power to hinder all the reſt from proceeding) had not cauſed them to deſiſt. Howſoever it was; the ſame Tribunes went more ſharply to work with *L. Scipio* the *Aſiatique*. They propounded a Decree unto the People, touching Money received of *Antiochus*, and not brought into the common Treaſury; That the Senate ſhould give charge unto one of the Prætors, to inquire, and judicially determine, thereof. In favour of this Decree an Oration was made by *Cato*, the ſuppoſed Author of theſe contentions, and inſtigator of the Tribunes. He was a Man of great, but not perfect, vertue: temperate, valiant, and of ſingular induſtry; frugal alſo, both of the publick, and of his own; ſo as in this kind he was even faulty: for though he would not be corrupted with bribes, yet was he unmerciful and unconſcionable, in ſeeking to encreaſe his own wealth, by ſuch means as the Law did warrant. Ambition was his vice; which being poyſoned with envy, troubled both himſelf, and the whole City, whilſt he lived. His mean birth cauſed him to hate the Nobility: eſpecially thoſe that were in chief eſtimation. Neither did he ſpare to bite at ſuch as were of his own rank, Men raiſed by deſert, if their advancement were like to hinder his: but lately before this, when *Glabrio*, whoſe Lieutenant he had been at *Thermopylæ*, was his Competitor for the Cenſorſhip, and likely to carry it, he took an Oath againſt him, which was counted as no bettter than malicious perjury, That he had not brought into the common Treaſury ſome Veſſels of Gold and Silver, gotten in the Camp of *Antiochus*. Now the hatred which he bare unto the *Scipio's* grew partly (beſides his general ſpight at the Nobility) from his own firſt riſing, wherein he was countenanced by *Fabius Maximus*, who brooked not the *African*; partly from ſome check, that was given unto himſelf, in the *African* voyage, by *P. Scipio*, whoſe Treaſurer he then was. For when *Cato* did utter his diſlike of the Conſuls bad husbandry (judging Magnificence to be no better) in ſome peremptory manner; *Scipio* plainly told him, That he had no need of ſuch double diligence in his Treaſurer. Wherefore, either not caring what lies he publiſhed, or for want of judgment thinking unworthily of the vertue that was far above him, *Cato* filled *Rome* with untrue reports againſt his General; whoſe noble deeds confuted ſufficiently the Author of ſuch falſe tales. And thus began the hatred: which being not regarded nor thought upon by the *Scipio's*, whilſt it was nouriſhed by their Enemy, brake out upon advantage, eſpecially againſt *L. Scipio*, his Brother being dead, or out of the way. A ſevere inquiry and judgment being appointed of purpoſe againſt *Scipio*, matters were ſo carried, that he was ſoon condemned in a ſum of Money, far exceeding his ability to pay. For *non payment*, his

his body ſhould have been layed up in Priſon: but from this rigour of the Law he was freed by *Tiberius Gracchus*, the ſame Tribune who had cauſed the ſuit againſt the *African* to be let fall. In his eſtate, which was confiſcated to the uſe of the City, when there neither appeared any ſign of his having been beholding to *Antiochus*, nor was found ſo much as what he had been condemned to pay; then fell his accuſers, and all whoſe hands had been againſt him, into the indignation of the People. But for this was *L. Scipio* no whit the better. His kindred friends, and clients made ſuch a collection for him, as would have ſet him in better eſtate than before, if he had accepted it. He took no more than ſuch of his own goods, as were of neceſſary uſe, being redeemed for him by his neareſt friends.

And thus began the civil War of the *Tongue*, in the *Roman* pleadings: which had either not been, or not been much regardable, until now, ſince the *Punick* War. Security of danger from abroad, and ſome want of ſufficient employment, were eſpecial helps to the kindling of this fire; which firſt caught hold upon that great Worthy, to whoſe vertue *Rome* was indebted, for changing into ſo great ſecurity her extream danger. But theſe factious contentions did no long while contain themſelves within heat of words, and cunning practice. For when the Art of leading the multitude, in ſuch quarrelſome buſineſs, grew to perfection, they that found themſelves over-matched by their adverſaries, at this kind of Weapon, began to make oppoſition, firſt with Clubs and Stones, afterward with Swords; and finally, proceeded from frays and murders in the Streets, unto Battel in the open Field. *Cornelia*, Daughter of *Scipio* the *African*, a Lady of rare vertue, that in honour of her two Sons was more commonly named *Mother of the Gracchi*, ſaw thoſe her two Sons, whilſt they were but young, ſlaughtered in *Rome* together with ſome of their friends, by thoſe whom they oppoſed, and their death not revenged by order of Law, but rather approved by the Senate. At theſe times the Senators began to take upon them authority, more than was to them belonging. They conferred upon the Conſuls all the whole power of the City, under this form, *Let the Conſuls provide, that the Commonweal receive no detriment.* By this Decree of theirs, and by their proclaiming any Citizen *Enemy to the State*, they thought to have won a great advantage over the multitude. But after the death of C. *Gracchus*, and of *Saturninus* a popular Man, whom by ſuch authority they did put out of the way; it was not long ere *Marius*, a famous Captain of theirs, was ſo condemned, who by force of Arms returned into the City, and murdered all the principal Senators: whereupon began the civil Wars; which giving unto *Sylla*, who prevailed therein, means to make himſelf abſolute Lord of *Rome*, taught *Cæſar*, a Man of higher ſpirit, to affect and obtain the like Sovereign power, when by the like Decree of the Senate he was provoked. It is true, that never any Conſul had finally cauſe to rejoyce, of his having put in execution ſuch authority to him committed by the Senate. But as the fury of the multitude, in paſſing their Laws, by hurling of Stones, and other violence, made the City ſtand in need of a Sovereign Lord: ſo the vehemency of the Senate, in condemning as Enemies thoſe that would not ſubmit themſelves, when they were over-topped by voices in the Houſe, did compel *Cæſar*, or give him at leaſt pretence, to right himſelf by Arms: wherewith prevailing againſt his adverſaries, he took ſuch order, that neither Senate, nor People, ſhould thenceforth be able to do him wrong. So by inteſtine diſcord, the *Romans* conſuming all or moſt of their principal Citizens, loſt their own freedom, and became Subjects unto the arbitrary Government of One: ſuffering this change in three generations, after this beginning of their inſolent rule, wherein they took upon them as the higheſt Lords on Earth, to do even what they liſted. Yet had not *Rome* indeed attained hitherto unto compleat greatneſs, nor believed of her ſelf as if ſhe had, whilſt a King ſate Crowned on the Throne of *Alexander*, continuing and upholding the reputation of a former Empire. Wherefore this conſummation of her honour was thought upon betimes. How it was effected, the ſequel will diſcover.

CHAP. VI.

The ſecond Macedonian War.

§. I.

The Condition wherein thoſe Princes and Eſtates remained, which were aſſociates of the Romans, *when the War with* Antiochus *was finiſhed. The* Romans *quarrel with* Philip. *They deal inſolently with the* Achæans. *The* Macedonian, *being unready for War, abtains Peace at* Rome, *by his Son* Demetrius; *of whom thenceforth he becomes jealous.*

AFter the overthrow of *Antiochus*, although *Philip* of *Macedon*, *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*, the Commonweal of the *Achæans*, and all other the States of *Greece*, were governed by the ſame Laws and Magiſtrates, as they formerly had been, before the arrival of the *Romans* in thoſe parts: yet in very truth (the publick declaration excepted) they were none other than abſolute Vaſſals to the People of *Rome*. For of thoſe five Prerogatives belonging to a Monarch, or unto Sovereign power, in whom ſoever it reſt; namely, *To make Laws, To create Magiſtrates, To arbitrate Peace and War, To beat Mome*; and *To reſerve* (as the *French* call it) *le der-*

mier reſort, or *the laſt Appeals*, the *Romans* had aſſumed four; and the greateſt of them ſo abſolutely, that is, *The Appeal*, or laſt reſort, as every petty injury offered to each other by the forenamed Kings or States, was heard and determined either by the *Roman* Embaſſadors, or Commiſſioners, in thoſe places whence the Complaint came or otherwiſe by the Senators themſelves within *Rome*: from whoſe arbitrement, or direction, if either King, or Commweals, declined, He or they were beaten, and enforced to obedience; or had their Eſtates and Regalities utterly diſſolved. Nevertheleſs it is true, that they had their own Laws, and Officers of their own ordaining: yet ſo, as neither their Laws were of force, when the *Romans* interpoſed their will to the contrary; neither was their election of Maſtrates ſo free, as that they had not therein eſpecial regard unto the good pleaſure of theſe their Maſters.

And to ſuch degree of ſervitude the ſeveral Eſtates of *Greece* did bow very gently: either as being thankful for their deliverance from a yoke more ſenſibly grievous; or, as being skilful in the art of flattery, and therein taking delight, ſince therein conſiſted their chief hope of thriving; or, as being more fearful of diſpleaſing the ſtrongeſt, than mindful of their own honour. But *Eumenes* living further off, and being moſt obſequious unto the *Romans*, was not, of long time, queſtioned about any of his doings: his conformity unto them in matter of War and Peace, together with the diverſion of their thoughts another way, giving him leave to uſe his own even as he liſted, until they ſhould otherwiſe diſpoſe of him. Neither was it a little available to him, that his Kingdom bordered upon the Nations, by them not throughly ſubdued. For upon the ſame reaſon (as well as upon his own high deſerts) were they very loving unto *Maſaniſſa*, and to his Houſe, until *Carthage* was ruined, and their Dominion ſetled in *Africk*: as likewiſe afterwards to the Kings of *Mauritania*, *Cappadocia*, and others: holding People in ſubjection unto themſelves, by the Miniſtry of Kings: eſpecially of ſuch Kings, as were uſeful and obſequious unto them.

Now the *Macedonian* was of a more noble temper, and ſhewed himſelf not forgetful of his own former greatneſs, the honour of his Race, or the high reputation of his Kingdom. But ſuch magnanimity was none otherwiſe conſtrued by the *Romans*, than as want of due reverence to their Eſtate, and a valuation of himſelf againſt them: which, in the pride of their fortune, they could not endure. Wherefore, notwithſtanding that he had lately given paſſage to their Armies through his Country, prepared the ways for them, and furniſhed them both with Victuals, and other things needful, to tranſport them over the *Helleſpont* into *Aſia*, againſt *Antiochus*: yet upon the complaint of *Eumenes*, and the States of *Theſſaly* and *Thrace*, he was commanded to abandon the Cities of *Ænus* and *Maronea*, with all Pieces and Places demanded by any of his Neighbours; whereof many of them he had lately conquered, by direction, or licence, even from the *Romans* themſelves.

Theſe Towns of *Ænus* and *Maronea* had been part of *Lyſimachus* his Kingdom: who from *Thrace* Northwards, and to the Northweſt, extended his dominion very far. He is thought to have made himſelf Lord of *Tranſylvania*: in which Province it is ſaid, * That innumerable Medals of Gold have been found, in the age of our Grandfathers, each of them weighing two or three Crowns, and ſtamped with his Image on the one ſide, on the other ſide with *Victory*. Of all theſe Lordſhips, the poſſeſſion, or rather the title (for he lived not to ſettle his Eſtate in *Europe*) fell to *Seleucus Nicator* by right of War, wherein he vanquiſhed and ſlue *Lyſimachus*: as alſo, by the like right, *Ptolemy Ceraunus* thought them his own, when he had murdered *Seleucus*. But the inundation of the *Gaules*, which the Kingdom of *Macedon* could not ſuſtain, did ſhortly and eaſily waſh away from that Crown, together with the more part of *Thrace*, all thoſe heaps of Land newly thereto annexed. Somewhat of this was afterwards regained by *Antigonus* the Son of *Demetrius*, and his Succeſſors: though not much; for they were otherwiſe buſied. The fury of the *Gaules* being over-paſt, thoſe Countries which lately had been oppreſſed by them, recovered their liberty; and not only held it, but learned, ſome of them, eſpecially the *Dardanians* and wild *Thracians*, to find their advantages, and make uſe of them, even upon *Macedon*. Againſt the miſchiefs commonly done by theſe, King *Philip* did provide the moſt convenient remedies: by ſhutting up the ways, whereby the *Dardanians* might enter into his Kingdom; and by occupying *Lyſimachia*, with ſome other Towns in *Thrace*, which he fortified, as Bulwarks of his own Country, againſt the *Barbarians*. Now, although it behoved him thus to do, for the defence of his own Eſtate: yet foraſmuch as theſe Towns were, in a manner, at abſolute liberty, his poſſeſſion of them was thought to partake more of violence than of juſtice. And in this reſpect he was formerly accuſed by the *Ætolians*, of wrongful uſurpation and oppreſſion, in his having occupied *Lyſimachia*. Hereto he made a good anſwer, That his Garriſon did only ſave it from the *Thracians*: who, as ſoon as he thence withdrew his Men, did ſeize upon the Town, and ruine it. The like perhaps he might have ſaid, touching *Ænus* and *Maronea*; That they were Places unable to defend themſelves, and Gates, by which the *Barbarians* might have entrance into his Kingdom. But this Plea had not availed him, in the diſputation about *Lyſimachia*: and in the preſent queſtion, the *Romans* were not without their own title; ſince *Antiochus* had gotten all the Country thereabout, whilſt *Philip* was buſied in his former War; and ſince they, by their victory had gotten unto themſelves all the title, which *Antiochus* thereto could pretend. Wherefore he only ſubmitted his right unto the good pleaſure of the Senate: referring it unto their diſpoſition, Whether *Ænus* and *Maronea* ſhould be ſet at liberty, whether left in his hand, or whether beſtowed upon *Eumenes*; who begged them, as an appendix to *Lyſimachia* and *Cherſoneſus*, that were already his by their gift. What they would determine, he might eaſily perceive, by the demeanor of their Embaſſadors towards him: who ſitting as Judges between him and all that made complaint upon him, gave ſentence againſt him in every Controverſy. Nevertheleſs, he ſent Embaſſadors to *Rome*, there to maintain his right unto theſe Towns, wherein he thought, that equity (if it might prevail) was wholly on his ſide. For he had holpen their Conſuls in the War againſt *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*: wherein whatſoever he had gotten for himſelf, was now taken from him by their Embaſſadors: and would they now deprive him of thoſe two Towns, lying ſo fitly for the guard of his Kingdom, which he had gotten to himſelf out of the ruines of *Antiochus*, like as out of his own ruines *Antiochus* had gotten in thoſe quarters a great deal more? By ſuch allegations either he was likely to prevail, or at leaſtwiſe

* *Hiſt. of Hungary by Mart. Fumee, lib. 5.*

wiſe to gain time, wherein he might bethink himſelf what he had to do. It was not long ere he had word from *Rome*, That the Senate were no more equal to him than had been their Embaſſadors. Wherefore, conſidering how inſolently the *Maronites* had behaved themſelves, in pleading againſt him for their liberty, he took counſel of his own Paſſions; and (as by nature he was very cruel) gave order to *Onomaſtus*, that was Warden of the Sea-coaſts, to handle theſe *Maronites* in ſuch ſort, as they might have little joy of the liberty by them ſo earneſtly deſired. *Onomaſtus* employed *Caſſander*, one of the Kings men dwelling in *Maronea*, and willed him to let in the *Thracians* by night, that they might ſack the Town, and uſe all cruelties of War. This was done, but ſo ill taken by the *Roman* Embaſſadors, who had better notice, than could have been feared of theſe Proceedings; that the King was by them directly charged with the crime, and called more ſtrictly, than became his Majeſty, to an accompt. He would have removed the blame from himſelf, and laid it even upon the *Maronites*; affirming, That they, in heat of their Factions, being ſome inclinable to him, other ſome to *Eumenes*, had fallen into ſuch an outrage, that they had cut one anothers Throats. And hereof he willed the Embaſſadors to inquire, among the *Maronites* themſelves: as well knowing, that they who ſurvived were either his own Friends; or ſo terrified and amazed by the late execution of his vengeance among them, that they durſt not utter an offenſive word. But he found the *Romans* more ſevere and more throughly informed in the buſineſs, than to reſt contented with ſuch an anſwer. He was plainly told, that if he would diſcharge himſelf of the Crime objected; he muſt ſend *Onomaſtus* and *Caſſander* to *Rome*, there to be examined as the Senate ſhould think fit. This did not a little trouble him. Yet he collected his Spirits, and ſaid that *Caſſander* ſhould be at their diſpoſition: but concerning *Onomaſtus*, who had not been at *Maronea*, nor near to it, he requeſted them not to preſs him; ſince it ſtood not with his honour, ſo lightly to give away his Friends. As for *Caſſander*, becauſe he ſhould tell no Tales; he took order to have him poyſoned by the way. By this we ſee, That the Doctrine, which *Machiavel* taught unto *Cæſar Borgia*, To employ men in miſchievous Actions, and afterwards to deſtroy them when they have performed the Miſchief; was not of his own invention. All Ages have given us Examples of this goodly Pollicy, the latter having been apt Scholars in this Leſſon to the more ancient: as the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth here in *England*, can bear good witneſs; and therein eſpecially the Lord *Cromwell*, who periſhed by the ſame unjuſt Law that himſelf had deviſed, for the taking away of another mans life,

Such actions of *Philip* made an unpleaſant noiſe at *Rome*, and were like to have brought upon him the War which he feared, before he was ready to entertain it. Wherefore he employed his younger Son *Demetrius* as Embaſſador unto the Senate: giving him inſtructions, how to make anſwer to all complaints; and withal to deliver his own grievances, in ſuch wiſe that if ought were amiſs, yet might it appear that he had been ſtrongly urged to take ſuch courſes. The Sum of his Embaſſage was, to pacifie the *Romans*, and make all even for the preſent. *Demetrius* himſelf was known to be very acceptable unto the Senate; as having been well approved by them, when he was Hoſtage in *Rome*: and therefore ſeemed the more likely to prevail ſomewhat; were it only in regard that would be born unto his Perſon.

Whilſt this buſineſs with the *Macedonian* hung in ſuſpence, and whilſt he, by his readineſs to make ſubmiſſion, ſeemed likely to divert from himſelf ſome other way the *Roman* Arms: the ſame Embaſſadors, that had been Judges between him and his Neighbours, made their Progreſs through the reſt of *Greece*; and took notice of the controverſies, which they found between ſome Eſtates in the Country. The greateſt cauſe that was heard before them, was the complaint of the baniſhed *Lacedæmonians* againſt the *Achæans*. It was objected unto the *Achæans*, That they had committed a grievous ſlaughter upon many Citizens of *Lacedæmon*: That unto this cruelty they had added a greater, in throwing down the Walls of the City: as alſo further, in changing the Laws, and abrogating the famous Inſtitutions of *Lycurgus*. Hereto *Lycortas*, then Prætor of the *Achæans*, made anſwer, That theſe baniſhed *Lacedæmonians*, who now took upon them to accuſe the Nation that had once protected them, were notoriouſly known to be the men, who had themſelves committed that murder, whereof ſhameleſly they laid the blame upon others: the *Achæans* having only called thoſe unto judgment, that were ſuppoſed to be chief Authors of a Rebellion againſt both them and the *Romans*; and theſe Plaintiffs having ſlain them, upon private, though juſt hatred, as they were coming to make anſwer for themſelves. Concerning their throwing down the Walls of *Lacedæmon*, he ſaid it was moſt agreeable to *Lycurgus* his ordinance: who, having perſwaded his Citizens to defend their Town and liberty by their proper Vertue, did inhibite unto them all kinds of Fortifications; as the Retreats and Neſts either of Cowards, or (whereof *Lacedæmon* had woful experience) of Tyrants and Uſurpers. Further he ſhewed, how the ſame Tyrants that had built theſe Walls, and hemmed in the *Spartans*, had alſo quite aboliſhed *Lycurgus* his Ordinances, and governed the City by their own lawleſs Will. As for the *Achæans*, they communicated their own Laws, which they held for the beſt, or elſe would ſoon change them and take better, unto the *Lacedæmonians*: whom they found without Laws, or any tolerable form of Policy. For concluſion, *Lycortas* plainly told *App. Claudius*, the chief of the Embaſſadors, That he and his Countrymen held it ſtrange, being Friends and faithful Allies of the *Romans*, to ſee themſelves thus conſtrained, to anſwer and give account of their actions, as Vaſſals and Slaves unto the *People of Rome*. For if they were indeed at liberty: why might not the *Achæans* as well require to be ſatisfied about that which the *Romans* had done at *Capua*, as the *Romans* did buſie themſelves, to take account how things went at *Lacedæmon*? For if the *Romans* would ſtand upon their greatneſs, and intimate, as they began, that the liberty of their Friends was nothing worth, longer than ſhould pleaſe themſelves to ratifie it: then muſt the *Achæans* have recourſe unto thoſe Agreements, that were confirmed by Oath, and which without perjury could not be violated; as reverencing, and indeed fearing the *Romans*, but much more the Immortal Gods. To this bold anſwer of *Lycortas*, *Appius* found little to reply. Yet taking State upon him, he pronounced more like a Maſter than a Judge, That if the *Achæans* would not be ruled by fair means, and earn thanks whilſt they might; they ſhould be compelled with a miſchief

chief, to do what was required at their hands, whether they would or no. This alteration was in the Parliament of the *Achæans*; which groaned to hear the Lordly Words of *Appius*. Yet Fear prevailed above Indignation: and it was permitted unto the *Romans* to do as they listed. Hereupon the Embassadors restored some banished and condemned men: but the *Roman* Senate, very soon after, did make void all Judgments of death or Banishment, that had been laid by the *Achæans* upon any Citizen of *Lacedæmon*; as likewise they made it a matter of disputation, whether or no the City and Territory of *Lacedæmon*, should be suffered to continue a Member of the *Achæan* Commonwealth; or taken from them, and made, as it had been, an Estate by it self. By bringing such a matter into question, the *Romans* well declared, That they held it to depend upon their own will, how much or how little any of their Confederates should be suffered to enjoy: though by contributing *Sparta* to the Council of *Achaia*, they discovered no less, as to them seemed, the love which they bare unto the *Achaians*, than the Power which they had over them.

Into such slavery had the *Greeks*, and all Kings and Common-weals whatsoever, bordering upon any part of the *Mediterran* Seas, reduced themselves; by calling in the *Romans* to their succour. They wanted not the good Counsel and perswasions of many wise and temperate men among them; they had also the examples of the *Italians*, *Spaniards*, *Gaules*, and *Africans*, all subdued by the *Romans*, and, by seeking Patronage, made meer Vassals; to instruct them, what in the like case they should expect: yet could not the true reasons of Estate and Policy so prevail with them, but their private Passions, and neighbouring Hatred, which hath evermore bought Revenge at the price of self-ruine, brought them from the Honour which they enjoyed, of being free Princes and Cities, into most base and fearful Servility.

All this made well for *Philip* of *Macedon*: who though he saw the *Greeks* very far from daring to stir against those, by whom both he and they were kept in awe; yet was he not without hope, that (few of them excepted, whom the *Romans* by freeing from his Subjection had made his implacable Enemies) in hearty affection all the Countrey would be his, whensoever he should take Arms, as shortly he was like to do. Young *Demetrius*, coming home from *Rome*, brought with him the desired Ratification of Peace; though qualified with much indignity soon following. He had been lovingly used at *Rome*, and heard with great favour in the Senate. There being confounded with the multitude of Objections, whereto his youth, unskilful in the Art of wrangling, could not readily make answer: it was permitted unto him, to read such brief Notes as he had received from his Father, and out of those, the Senate were contented to gather satisfaction; more for *Demetrius* his own sake, as they then said and wrote into *Macedon*, than for any goodness in the defence. Such Pride of theirs, in remitting his faults at the entreaty of his Son, together with some insolence of his Son, growing (as appeared) from this favour of the *Romans*; did increase in *Philip* his hatred unto *Rome*, and breed in him a jealousie of his too forward Son. To set him forward in these Passions, there came daily new Embassadors from *Rome*; some bringing one Commandment; some another; and some requiring him to fulfil those things, which had been imposed upon him by their Fore-goers. Neither were there wanting that observed his countenance; and when he had fulfilled all that was required at his hands; yet laid it to his charge that he had done things unwillingly, and would be obedient no longer than he needs must. With these Embassadors young *Demetrius*, was conversant: rather perhaps out of simplicity, and for that they made much of him, than for any ambitious respect; yet a great deal more than was pleasing to his Father. So the rumour grew current through all *Macedon*, That *Perseus*, the elder Son of the King, should not succeed unto his Father; but that the Diadem should be conferred upon *Demetrius*, if not by some other pretence, yet by meer favour of the *Romans*. This offended not only *Perseus*, but *Philip* himself: who suspected his younger Son, as more *Roman* than his own; and accordingly misconstrued all his doings. But ere we proceed unto the bitter fruits of this jealousie; it will not be amiss, to speak of some memorable accidents that were in the mean time.

§. II.

The death of Philopœman, Hannibal, *and* Scipio. *That the Military Profession is of all other the most unhappy: notwithstanding some Examples, which may seem to prove the contrary.*

THE *Romans*, wanting other matter of quarrel in the Continent of *Greece*, had of late been so peremptory with the *Achæans*; that they seemed not unlikely to take part against them, in any Controversie that should be moved. Hereupon the *Messenians*, who against their will were annexed unto the *Achæan* Common-wealth, having long been of a contrary Faction thereto; grew bold to withdraw themselves from that Society, with purpose to set up again an Estate of their own, severed from communion with any other. This was the device of some that were powerful in their City: who finding the multitude only inclinable to their purpose, and not over strongly affected in the business, were careful to seek occasion of reducing things to such pass, that all their Citizens might be entangled in a necessity of standing out, and of not returning to the *Achæan* League. And hereupon they began to do some Acts of Hostility: whereby it was probable that Blood should be drawn, and either side so far exasperated, that little hope of agreement would be left. Upon the fame of their Commotion and Proceedings; *Philopœmen*, then Prætor of the *Achæans*, levyed such Forces as he could in hafte, and went against them. Many Principal Gentlemen of the *Achæans*, especially of the *Megalopolitans*, were soon in a readiness to wait upon him. Besides these, which were all, or for the most part, Horse; he had some Auxiliaries out of *Thrace* and *Crete*, that usually were kept in pay. Thus accompanied, he met with *Dinocrates*, Captain of the *Messenians*; whom he charged and forced to run. But whilst his Horsemen were too earnest in following the Chace; there arrived by chance, a supply of five hundred from *Messene*, which gave new Courage unto those that fled. So the Enemies began to make head again; and with the help of those, who very seasonably came to their aid, compelled *Philipœmens* Horsemen to turn back. *Philopœmen* himself had long been sick of an Ague, and was then very weak: yet the greatness of his Courage would not suffer him to be negligent of their safe-

ſafety, which had ſo willingly adventured themſelves under his Conduct. He took upon him to make the Retreat: and ſuffering his Horſemen to paſs along by him in a narrow Lane, he often turned about againſt the *Meſſenians*; whom his Reputation, and the knowledge of his great Worth, did terrifie from approaching over-near to him. But it fell out unhappily, that being caſt to the Ground by a fall of his Horſe, and being withal in very weak plight of body, he was unable to get up again. So the Enemies came upon him, and took him; yet ſcarce believed their Fortune to be ſo good, although their Eyes were Witneſſes. The firſt Meſſenger that brought this News to *Meſſene*, was ſo far from being believed, that he was hardly thought to be in his right Wits. But when the truth was affirmed by many reports, all the City ran forth to meet him, and behold the Spectacle ſeeming ſo incredible. They cauſed him to be brought into the Theatre, that there they might ſatisfie themſelves with beholding him. The greateſt part of them had compaſſion on his misfortune: and in commemoration both of his Vertue, and of the ſingular Benefits by him done unto them, eſpecially in delivering them from *Nabis* the Tyrant; began to manifeſt their good Will for his delivery. Contrariwiſe, *Dinocrates* and his Faction were deſirous haſtily to take away his life: becauſe they held him a man implacable, and one that would never leave any diſgrace or injury done to him unrevenged. They durſt not one truſt another with the keeping of him: but committed him into a ſtrong Vault under ground, that had been made for the cuſtody of their Treaſure. So thither they let him down faſt bound, and with an Engine laid an heavy Stone upon the mouth of the Vault. There he had not ſtayed long, ere his Enemies had concluded his preſent Death. The Hangman of the City was let down unto him, with a Cup of Poyſon, which *Philopœmen* took in his Hand: and asking no more than whether the Horſemen were eſcaped, and particularly whether *Lycortas* was ſafe; when he heard an anſwer to his mind, he ſaid it was well: and ſo with a chearful countenance, drank his laſt Draught. He was ſeventy years old, and weakned with long ſickneſs, whereby the Poyſon wrought the ſooner, and eaſily took away his Life. The *Achæans*, when they miſſed him in their Flight, were mervelloufly offended with themſelves, for that they had been more mindful to preſerve their own Lives, than to look unto the ſafety of ſo excellent a Commander. Whilſt they were deviſing what to do in ſuch a caſe: They got advertiſement of his being taken. All *Achaia* was by this report vehemently afflicted: So as Embaſſadors were forthwith diſpatched unto *Meſſene*, craving his enlargement: and yet preparation made withal, to obtain it by force, in caſe that fair means would not ſerve. *Lycortas* was choſen General of the Army againſt *Meſſene*: who coming thither and laying ſiege to the Town, enforced it in ſhort ſpace to yield. Then *Dinocrates*, knowing what he was to expect, laid hands upon himſelf, and made an end of his own life. The reſt of thoſe that had been partakers in the Murder, were compelled to wait in Bonds upon the Aſhes of *Philopœmen*, that were carried home in ſolemn Pomp to *Megalopolis*; where they were all of them ſlain at his Funeral, as Sacrifices to his Ghoſt whom they had offended. *Q. Martius* a *Roman* Embaſſador, was then in *Greece*; whence, upon one occaſion or other, the *Roman* Embaſſadors were ſeldom abſent. He would have entermedled in this buſineſs of *Meſſene*, had not *Lycortas* made ſhort work, and left him nothing to do.

About the ſame time was *T. Quintius Flaminius* ſent Embaſſador to *Pruſias*, King of *Bithynia*: not ſo much to withdraw him from proſecuting the War againſt *Eumenes*, as to intreat him, that he would deliver *Hannibal*, the moſt ſpightful Enemy in all the World unto the Senate and People of *Rome*, into his hands. *Pruſias* (therein unworthy of the Crown he wore) did readily condeſcend: or rather (as *Livy* thinks) to gratifie the *Romans*, he determined either to kill *Hannibal*, or to deliver him alive to *Flaminius*. For upon the firſt conference between the King and *Flaminius*, a Troop of Souldiers were directed to guard and environ the lodging where *Hannibal* lay. That famous Captain having found cauſe before this, to ſuſpect the Faith of *Pruſias*, had deviſed ſome ſecret ſallies under ground, to ſave himſelf from any treaſonable and ſudden aſſault. But finding now that all parts about him were fore-cloſed, he had recourſe to his laſt remedy: which he then was conſtrained to practiſe, as well to fruſtrate his Enemies of their triumphing over him, as to ſave himſelf from their torture and mercileſs hands; who, as he well knew, would neither reſpect his famous Enterpriſes, his Honour, nor his Age. When therefore he ſaw no way of eſcape, nor counſel to reſort unto, he took the poyſon into his hand, which he always preſerved for a ſure Antidote againſt the ſharpeſt Diſeaſes of adverſe Fortune; which being ready to ſwallow down, he uttered theſe words: *I will now* (ſaid he) *deliver the* Romans *of that fear, which hath ſo many years poſſeſt them; that fear, which makes them impatient to attend the death of an old man. This Victory of* Flaminius *over me, which am diſarmed, and betrayed into his hands, ſhall never be numbred among the reſt of his heroical deeds: No, it ſhall make it manifeſt to all the Nations of the World, how far the ancient* Roman *vertue is degenerate and corrupted. For ſuch was the nobleneſs of their fore-fathers; as, when* Pyrrhus *invaded them in* Italy, *and was ready to give them Battel at their own doors, they gave him knowledg of the Treaſon intended againſt him by poyſon: Whereas theſe of a latter Race have employed* Flaminius, *a man who hath heretofore been one of their Conſuls, to practiſe with* Pruſias, *contrary to the honour of a King, contrary to his Faith given, and contrary to the Laws of Hoſpitality, to ſlaughter or deliver up his own Gueſt.* He then curſing the perſon of *Pruſias*, *and all his, and deſiring the Immortal Gods to revenge his infidelity*, drank off the poyſon, and died.

In this year alſo (as good Authors have reported) to accompany *Philopœmen* and *Hannibal*, died *Scipio the African*: theſe being, all of them, as great Captains as ever the World had; but not more famous than unfortunate. Certainly, for *Hannibal*, whoſe Tragedy we have now finiſhed, had he been Prince of the *Carthaginians*, and one who by his authority might have commanded ſuch ſupplies, as the War which he undertook, required; it is probable, that he had torn up the *Roman* Empire by the roots. But he was ſo ſtrongly croſt by a cowardly and envious Faction at home; as his proper vertue, wanting publick force to ſuſtain it, did laſtly diſſolve it ſelf in his own, and in the common miſery of his Country and Commonweal.

Hence it comes, to wit, from the Envy of our Equals, and jealouſie of our Maſters, be they Kings, or Commonweals, That there is no Profeſſion more unp oſperous, than that of Men of War, and great Captains, being no Kings. For beſides the Envy and Jealouſie of Men; the Spoils,

Rapes,

Rapes, Famine, Slaughter of the innocent, vaſtation, and burnings, with a world of miſeries laid on the labouring man, are ſo hateful to God, as with good reaſon did *Monluc*, the Marſhal of *France*, confeſs, That *were not the mercies of* GOD *infinite, and without reſtriction, it were in vain for thoſe of his profeſſion to hope for any portion of them: ſeeing the cruelties, by them permitted and committed, were alſo infinite.* Howſoever, this is true, That the Victories, which are obtained by many of the greateſt Commanders, are commonly either aſcribed to thoſe that ſerve under them, to Fortune, or to the cowardiſe of the Nation againſt whom they ſerve. For the moſt of others, whoſe Vertues have raiſed them above the level of their inferiors, and have ſurmounted their Envy: yet have they been rewarded in the end, either with diſgrace, baniſhment, or death. Among the *Romans* we find many Examples hereof; as *Coriolanus*, *M. Livius*, *L. Æmylius*, and this our *Scipio*, whom we have lately buried. Among the *Greeks* we read of not many, that eſcaped theſe rewards. Yea long before theſe times, it was a Legacy that *David* bequeathed unto his victorious Captain *Joab*. With this fare *Alexander* feaſted *Parmenio*, *Philotas*, and others; and prepared it for *Antipater* and *Caſſander*. Hereto *Valentinian*, the Emperor, invited *Ætius*: who, after many other Victories, overthrew *Attila* of the *Hunnes*, in the greateſt battel, for the well fighting and reſolution of both Armies, that ever was ſtrucken in the world; for there fell of thoſe that fought, beſides run-aways, an hundred and fourſcore thouſand. Hereupon it was well and boldly told unto the Emperor, by *Proximus*, That in killing of *Ætius*, he had cut off his own right hand with his left: for it was not long after that *Maximus* (by whoſe perſwaſion *Valentinian* ſlew *Ætius*) murdered the Emperor, which he never durſt attempt, *Ætius* living. And, beſides the loſs of that Emperor, it is true, That with *Ætius*, the glory of the *Weſtern* Empire was rather diſſolved, than obſcured. The ſame unworthy deſtiny, or a far worſe, had *Belliſarius*; whoſe undertakings and victories were ſo difficult and glorious, as after-ages ſuſpected them for fabulous. For he had his Eyes torn out of his head by *Juſtinian*: and he died a blind beggar. *Narſes* alſo, to the great prejudice of *Chriſtian* Religion, was diſgrac'd by *Juſtin*. That Rule of *Cato* againſt *Scipio*, hath been well obſerved in every Age ſince then, to wit, That the Common-weal cannot be accounted free, which ſtandeth in awe of any one man. And hence have the *Turks* drawn another Principle, and indeed a *Turkiſh* one, That every Warlike Prince, ſhould rather deſtroy his greateſt men of War, than ſuffer his one Glory to be obſcured by them. For this cauſe did *Bajaret* the ſecond diſpatch *Baſſa Acomat*; *Selim* ſtrangle *Baſſa Muſtapha*; and moſt of thoſe Princes, bring to ruine the moſt of their *Viſiers*. Of the *Spaniſh* Nation, the great *Gunſalvo*, who drave the *French* out of *Naples*: and *Ferdinando Corteſe*, who conquered *Mexico*; were crowned with Nettles, not with Lawrel. The Earls of *Egmont* and *Horn*, had no Heads left them to were Garlands on. And that the great Captains of all Nations, have been paid with this Copper Coyn; there are Examples more than too many. On the contrary it may be ſaid, That many have acquired the State of Princes, Kings and Emperors, by their great Ability in matter of War. This I confeſs. Yet muſt it be had withal in conſideration, that theſe high Places have been given or offered unto very few, as Rewards of their Military Vertue; though many have uſurped them, by the help and favour of thoſe Armies which they commanded. Neither is it unregardable, That the Tyrants which have oppreſſed the liberty of Free Cities: and the Lieutenants of Kings or Emperors, which have traiterouſly caſt down their Maſters, and ſtepped up into their Seats; were not all of them good men of War: but have uſed the advantage of ſome Commotion, or many of them, by baſe and cowardly Practiſes, have obtained thoſe Dignities, which undeſervedly were aſcribed to their perſonal Worth. So that the number of thoſe, that have purchaſed abſolute Greatneſs by the greatneſs of their Warlike Vertue; is far more in ſeeming, than in deed. *Phocas* was a Souldier, and by help of the Souldiers, he got the Empire from his Lord *Mauritius*: but he was a Coward; and with a barbarous Cruelty, ſeldom found in any other than Cowards, he ſlew firſt the Children of *Mauritius*, a Prince that never had done him wrong, before his Face, and after them *Mauritius* himſelf. This his bloody aſpiring was but as a Debt, which was paid unto him again by *Heraclius*: who took from him the Imperial Crown, unjuſtly gotten; and ſet it on his own Head. *Leontius* laid hold on the Emperor *Juſtine*, cut off his Noſe and Ears, and ſent him into Baniſhment: But Gods Vengeance rewarded him with the ſame Puniſhment, by the hands of *Tiberius*; to whoſe charge he had left his own men of War. *Juſtine*, having recovered Forces, lighted on *Tiberius*; and barbed him after the ſame faſhion. *Philippicus*, commanding the Forces of *Juſtine*, murdered both the Emperor and his Son. *Anaſtaſius*, the Vaſſal of this new Tyrant, ſurpriſed his Maſter *Philippicus*, and thruſt out both his Eyes. But with *Anaſtaſius*, *Theodoſius* dealt more gently: for having wreſted the Scepter out of his Hands, he enforced him to become a Prieſt. It were an endleſs, and a needleſs work to tell, how *Leo* rewarded this *Theodoſius*; how many others have been repayed with their own Cruelty, by men alike Ambitious and Cruel; or how many hundreds, or rather thouſands, hoping of Captains to make themſelves Kings, have by GODS juſtice miſerably periſhed in the Attempt. The ordinary, and perhaps the beſt way of thriving by the practice of Arms, is to take what may be gotten by the Spoil of Enemies, and the Liberality of thoſe Princes and Cities, in whoſe Service one hath well deſerved. But ſcarce one of a thouſand have proſpered by this Courſe. For that obſervation, made by *Solomon*, of unthankfulneſs in this kind, hath been found belonging to all Countries and Ages: *A little City and few men in it, and a great King came againſt it, and compaſſed it about, and builded Forts againſt it: And there was found a poor and wiſe man therein, and he delivered the City by his wiſdom: but none remembred this poor man.* Eccleſ. c. 9. 14, & 15. Great Monarchs are unwilling to pay great Thanks, leaſt thereby they ſhould acknowledge themſelves to have been indebted for great Benefits: which the unwiſer ſort of them think to favour of ſome impotency in themſelves. But in this reſpect they are oftentimes couſened and abuſed: which proves that weakneſs to be in them indeed, whereof they ſo gladly ſhun the opinion. Contrariwiſe, Free Eſtates are bountiful in giving thanks; yet ſo, as thoſe thanks are not of long endurance. But concerning other profit which their Captains have made, by enriching themſelves with the Spoil of the Enemy, they are very inquiſitive to ſearch into it, and to ſtrip the well-deſervers out of their Gettings: yea moſt injuriouſly to rob them of their own, upon a falſe ſuppoſition: that even they whoſe hands are moſt clean from ſuch offences

offences, have purloyned ſomewhat from the common Treaſury. Hereof I need not to produce Examples: that of the two *Scipio's* being ſo lately recited.

In my late Sovereigns time, although for the Wars, which for her own ſafety ſhe was conſtrained to undertake, her Majeſty had no leſs cauſe to uſe the ſervice of Martial Men both by Sea and Land, than any of her Predeceſſors for many years had, yet according to the deſtiny of that Profeſſion, I do not remember, that any of hers, the Lord Admiral excepted, her eldeſt and moſt proſperous Commander, were either enriched, or otherwiſe honoured, for any ſervice by them performed. And that her Majeſty had many adviſed, valiant, and faithful Men, the proſperity of her Affairs did well witneſs, who in all her Days never received diſhonour, by the Cowardiſe or Infidelity of any Commander, by her ſelf choſen and imployed.

For as all her old Captains by Land, died poor Men, as *Malbey*, *Randol*, *Drewry*, *Reade*, *Wilford*, *Layton*, *Pellam*, *Gilbert*, *Cunſtable*, *Bourchier*, *Barkley*, *Bingham*, and others: ſo thoſe of a later and more dangerous employment, whereof *Norice* and *Vere* were the moſt famous, and who have done as great honour to our Nation (for the means they had) as ever any did: thoſe (I ſay) with many other brave Collonels, have left behind them (beſides the Reputation which they purchaſed with many Travels and Wounds) nor Title nor Eſtate to their Poſterity. As for the L. *Thomas Burrough*, and *Peregrine Berty* L. *Willoughby* of *Eresby*, two very worthy and exceeding valiant Commanders, they brought with them into the World their Titles and Eſtates.

That her Majeſty in the advancement of her Men of War, did ſooner believe other Men than her ſelf, a Diſeaſe unto which many wiſe Princes, beſides her ſelf, have been ſubject: I ſay that ſuch a confidence, although it may ſeem altogether to excuſe her Noble Nature, yet can it not but in ſome ſort accuſe her of weakneſs. And exceeding ſtrange it were, were not the cauſe manifeſt enough, that where the proſperous Actions are ſo exceedingly prized, the Actors are ſo unproſperous and ſo generally neglected. The cauſe, I ſay, which hath wrought one and the ſame effect in all times, and among all Nations, is this, that thoſe which are neareſt the Perſon of Princes (which Martial Men ſeldom are) can with no good Grace commend, or at leaſt magnifie a Profeſſion far more Noble than their own, ſeeing therein they ſhould only mind their Maſters of the wrong they did unto others, in giving leſs Honour and Reward to Men of far greater deſerving, and of far greater uſe than themſelves.

But His Majeſty hath already paid the greateſt part of that Debt. For beſides the relieving by Pentions all the poorer ſort, he hath honoured more Martial Men than all the Kings of *England* have done for this hundred years.

He hath given a *Coronet* to the Lord *Thomas Haward* for his chargeable and remarkable Service, as well in the year 1588. as at *Caliz.*, the *Iſlands*, and in our own Seas; having firſt commanded as a Captain, twice Admiral of a Squadron, and twice Admiral in chief. His Majeſty hath changed the Baronies of *Montjoy* and *Burley* into Earldoms, and created *Sidney* Vicount, *Knollys*, *Ruſſel*, *Carew*, *Danvers*, *Arundel* of Warder, *Gerald*, and *Chicheſter*, Barons, for their Governments and Services in the *Netherlands*, *France*, *Ireland*, and elſewhere.

§. III.

Philip *making Proviſion for War againſt the* Romans, *deals hardly with many of his own Subjects. His Negotiation with the* Baſtarnæ. *His Cruelty. He ſuſpecteth his Son* Demetrius. Demetrius *accuſed by his Brother* Perſeus; *and ſhortly after ſlain, by his Fathers appointment.* Philip *repenteth him of his Sons death; whom he findeth to have been innocent: and intending to revenge it on* Perſeus, *he dieth.*

Quintius Martius the *Roman* Embaſſador, who travelled up and down, ſeeking what work might be found about *Greece*, had received inſtruction from the Senate, to uſe the moſt of his diligence in looking into the Eſtate of *Macedon*. At his return home, that he might not ſeem to have diſcovered nothing, he told the *Fathers*, That *Philip* had done whatſoever they enjoyned him; yet ſo, as it might appear, that ſuch his obedience would laſt no longer, than meer neceſſity ſhould enforce him thereunto. He added further, That all the doings and ſayings of that King did wholly tend unto Rebellion, about which he was deviſing. Now it was ſo indeed, that *Philip* much repented him of his faithful obſequiouſneſs to the *Romans*, and foreſaw their intent, which was, to get his Kingdom into their own hands, with ſafety of their honour, if they could find convenient means; or otherwiſe (as to him ſeemed apparent) by what means ſoever. He was in an ill caſe: as having been already vanquiſhed by them; having loſt exceedingly both in Strength and Reputation; having Subjects that abhorred to hear of War with *Rome*; and having neither Neighbour nor Friend, that, if he were thereto urged, would adventure to take his part: yet he provided as well as he could deviſe againſt the neceſſity which he daily feared. Such of his own People as dwelt in the Maritime Towns, and gave him cauſe to ſuſpect that they would do but bad Service againſt the *Romans*, he compelled to forſake their Dwellings, and removed them all into *Emathia*. The Cities and Countrey, whence theſe were tranſplanted, he filled with a multitude of *Thracians*, whoſe Faith he thought a great deal more aſſured, againſt thoſe Enemies that were terrible to the *Macedonians*. Further, he deviſed upon alluring the *Baſtarnæ*, a ſtrong and hardy Nation, that dwelt beyond the River of *Danubius*, to abandon their Seat, and come to him with all their multitude: who, beſides other great Rewards, would help them to root out the *Dardanians*, and take poſſeſſion of their Countrey. Theſe were like to do him notable ſervice againſt the *Romans*: being not only ſtout fighting men; but ſuch, as being planted in thoſe Quarters by him, would bear reſpect unto him alone. The leaſt benefit that could be hoped by their Arrival, muſt be the utter extirpation of the *Dardanians*; a People always troubleſom to the Kingdom of *Macedon*, whenſoever they found advantage. Neither was it judged any hard matter to perſwade thoſe *Baſtarnæ*, by hope of Spoil, and other incitements, unto a more deſperate Expedition, through *Illyria*, and the Countries upon the *Adriatick* Sea, into *Italy* it ſelf. It was not known who ſhould withſtand them upon the way: Rather it was thought that the *Scordiſci*, and peradventure ſome others, through whoſe Countries they were to paſs, would accompany them againſt the *Romans*, were it only in hope of Spoil. Now to facilitate the remove of theſe *Baſtarnæ* from their own Habitations, into the Land of the *Dardanians*, upon the Border of *Macedon*; a long

and tedious Journey unto them, that carried with them their Wives and Children: *Philip* with gifts did purchaſe the good will of ſome *Thracian* Princes, Lords of the Countries through which they were to paſs. And thus he ſought means to ſtrengthen himſelf, with help of the wild Nations, which neither knew the *Romans*, nor were known unto them; ſince he was not like to find aſſiſtance from any civil Nation, about the whole compaſs of the *Mediterranean* Seas. But theſe devices were long ere they took effect: ſo as the *Baſtarnæ* came not before ſuch time as he was dead; his death being the overthrow of that purpoſe. In the mean time he neglected not the trayning of his Men to War, and the exerciſe of them in ſome ſmall Expeditions, againſt thoſe wild People that bordered upon him, and ſtood worſt affected toward him.

But theſe his Counſels and Proceedings were miſerably diſturbed by the calamities that fell upon him, both in his Kingdom, and in his own Houſe. The Families and whole Townſhips, which he had cauſed much againſt their wills to forſake their ancient dwellings, and betake themſelves to ſuch new habitations, as he in his diſcretion thought meeter for them, were vehemently offended at the change. Yet their anger at firſt contained it ſelf within words: he having done them no great wrong in that alteration, otherwiſe than by neglecting their affection to the places wherein they had long lived: which alſo he did unwillingly, being himſelf over-ruled by neceſſity, that ſeemed apparent. This evil therefore would ſoon have been determined, had not his cruel and vindicative nature made it worſe. He could not pardon words proceeding from juſt ſorrow: but imputed all to traiterous malice; and accordingly ſought revenge where it was needleſs. In his rage he cauſed many to die: among whom were ſome eminent Men; and few or none of them deſervedly. This encreaſed the hatred of the People, and turned their former exclamations into bitter curſes. Which grew the more general; when the King in a barbarous and baſe fury, miſtruſting all alike whom he had injured, thought himſelf unlike to be ſafe, until he ſhould have maſſacred all the Children of thoſe Parents, whom tyrannically he had put to death. In the execution of this his unmanly pleaſure, ſome accidents, more tragical than perhaps he could have deſired, gave Men cauſe to think (as they could not in reaſon think otherwiſe) that, not without vengeance poured on him from Heaven, he felt the like miſery in his own Children. It is hard to ſay what the *Romans* intended, in the extraordinary favour which they ſhewed unto *Demetrius*, the Kings younger Son. It may well be (though it may be alſo ſuſpected) that they had no purpoſe to make and nouriſh diſſention between the Brethren, but only to cheriſh the vertue and towardlineſs of *Demetrius*: like as we find it in their Hiſtories. But their notable favour towards this young Prince, and his mutual reſpect of them, bred extream jealouſie in the Fathers head. If any cuſtom of the *Romans*, the manner of their life, the faſhion of their apparel, or the unſightly contriving and building (as then it was) of the Town of *Rome*, were jeſted at in ordinary diſcourſe and Table-talk, *Demetrius* was ſure to be preſently on fire, defending and praiſing them, even in ſuch points as rather needed excuſe. This, and his daily converſation with their Embaſſadors, as often as they came, gave his Father cauſe to think, that he was no fit partaker of any counſel held againſt them. Wherefore he communicated all his devices with his elder Son *Perſeus*: who fearing ſo much leſt his Brother ſhould ſtep between him and the ſucceſſion, converted wholly, unto his deſtruction, that grace which he had with his Father. *Perſeus* was then thirty years old; of a ſtirring ſpirit, though much defective in valour. *Demetrius* was younger by five years, more open and unwary in his actions, yet thought old and crafty enough, to entertain more dangerous practices, than his free ſpeeches diſcovered. The jealous head of the King having entertained ſuch ſuſpitions, that were much encreaſed by the cunning practice of his elder Son, a ſlight occaſion made the fire break out, that had long lain ſmothered. A Muſter, and ceremonious luſtration of the Army, was wont to be made at certain times with great ſolemnity. The manner of it at the preſent was thus. They cleft in twain a Bitch; and threw the head and fore-part, with the entrails, on the right hand, and the hinder part on the left hand of the way, which the Army was to paſs. This done, the Arms of all the Kings of *Macedon*, from the very firſt original, were born before the Army. Then followed the King between his two Sons: after him came his own band, and they of his guard; whom all the reſt of the *Macedonians* followed. Having performed other ceremonies, the Army was divided into two parts: which, under the Kings two Sons, charged each other in manner of a true fight, uſing Poles, and the like, in ſtead of their Pikes and accuſtomed Weapous. But in this preſent skirmiſh there appeared ſome extraordinary contention for the Victory: whether happening by chance, or whether the two Captains did over-earneſtly ſeek each to get the upper hand, as a betokening of their good ſucceſs in a greater trial. Some ſmall hurt there was done, and wounds given, even with thoſe ſtakes, until *Perſeus* his ſide at length recoiled. *Perſeus* himſelf was ſorry for this, as it had been ſome bad preſage: but his friends were glad, and thought, that hereof might be made good uſe. They were of the craftier ſort: who perceiving which way the Kings favour bent, and how all the courſes of *Demetrius* led unto his own ruine, addreſſed their ſervices to the more malicious and crafty head. And now they ſaid, that this victory of *Demetrius* would afford matter of complaint againſt him; as if the heat of his ambition had carried him beyond the rules of that ſolemn paſtime. Each of the Brethren was that day to feaſt his own companions, and each of them had ſpies in the others lodging, to obſerve what was ſaid and done. One of *Perſeus* his Intelligencers behaved himſelf ſo indiſcreetly, that he was taken and well beaten by three or four of *Demetrius* his Men, who turned him out of doors. After ſome ſtore of Wine, *Demetrius* told his companions, that he would go viſit his Brother, and ſee what chear he kept. They agreed to his motion, excepting ſuch of them as had ill handled his Brothers Man: yet he would leave none of his train behind, but forced them alſo to bear him company. They, fearing to be ill rewarded for their late diligence, armed themſelves ſecretly to prevent all danger. Yet was there ſuch good eſpial kept, that this their coming armed was forthwith made known to *Perſeus*: who thereupon tumultuouſly locked up his doors, as if he ſtood in fear to be aſſaulted in his Houſe. *Demetrius* wondered to ſee himſelf excluded, and fared very angerly with his Brother. But *Perſeus*, bidding him be gone as an Enemy, and one whoſe murderous purpoſe was detected, ſent him away with entertainment, no better than defiance. The next day the matter was brought before the King. The elder

Brother

Brother accuſed the younger unto the Father of them both. Much there was alledged, and in effect the ſame that hath been here recited, ſave that by miſconſtruction all was made worſe. But the main point of the accuſation, and which did aggravate all the reſt, was, That *Demetrius* had undertaken this murder, and would perhaps alſo dare to undertake a greater, upon confidence of the *Romans*; by whom he knew that he ſhould be defended and born out. For *Perſeus* made ſhew, as if the *Romans* did hate him; becauſe he bore a due reſpect unto his Father, and was ſorry to ſee him ſpoiled, and daily robbed of ſomewhat by them. And for this cauſe he ſaid it was, that they did animate his Brother againſt him: as alſo that they ſought how to win unto *Demetrius* the love of the *Macedonians*. For proof hereof he cited a Letter, ſent of late from *T. Quintius* to the King himſelf: whereof the contents were, That he had done wiſely in ſending *Demetrius* to *Rome*; and that he ſhould yet further do well to ſend him thither again, accompanied with a greater and more honorable train of *Macedonian* Lords. Hence he enforced, That this Council was given by *Titus*, of purpoſe to ſhake the allegeance of thoſe, that ſhould wait upon his Brother to *Rome*; and make them, forgetting their duties to their old King, become Servants to this young Traitor *Demetrius*. Hereto *Demetrius* made anſwer, by rehearſing all paſſages of the day and night foregoing, in ſuch manner as he remembred them, and had conceived of them: bitterly reprehending *Perſeus*, that converted matters of Paſtime, and what was done or ſpoken in Wine, to ſuch an accuſation, whereby he ſought his innocent Brothers death. As for the love which the *Romans* did bare him; He ſaid that it grew, if not from his own vertue, at leaſtwiſe from their Opinion thereof: ſo as by any impious practice, He were more like to loſe it wholly, than to encreaſe it. In this wretched pleading there wanted not ſuch paſſions, as are incident to Fathers, Children, and Brethren; beſides thoſe that are common to all Plaintiffs and Defendants, before ordinary Judges. The King pronounced like a Father, though a jealous Father, That he would conclude nothing upon the exceſs or Error, whatſoever it were, of one day and night, nor upon one hours audience of the matter, but upon better obſervation of their lives, manners, and whole carriage of themſelves both in word and deed. And herein he may ſeem to have dealt both juſtly and compaſſionately. But from this time forward, he gave himſelf over wholly to *Perſeus*: uſing ſo little conference with his younger Son, that when he had matters of weight in hand, ſuch eſpecially as concerned the *Romans*, He liked neither to have him preſent, nor near unto him. Above all, he had eſpecial care to learn out what had paſſed between *Demetrius* and *T. Quintius*, or any other of the *Roman* great ones. And to this purpoſe he ſent Embaſſadors to *Rome*, *Philocles* and *Apelles*; Men whom he thought no way intereſſed in the quarrels between the Brethren; though indeed they altogether depended on the elder, whom they ſaw the more in grace. Theſe brought home with them a Letter, ſaid to be written by *Titus* (whoſe Seal they had counterfeited) unto the King. The Contents whereof were, A deprecation for the young Prince; with an intimation, as by way of granting it, That his youthful and ambitious deſires had cauſed him to enter into practices unjuſtifiable, againſt his elder Brother; which yet ſhould never take effect, for that *Titus* himſelf would not be Author, or abbettor, of any impious device. This manner of excuſe did forcibly perſwade the King, to think his Son a dangerous Traitor. To ſtrengthen him in this Opinion, one *Didas*, to whom he gave *Demetrius* in cuſtody, made ſhew as if he had pitied the Eſtate of the unhappy Prince; and ſo wrung out of him his ſecert intentions, which he ſhortly diſcovered unto *Philip*. It was the purpoſe of *Demetrius* to fly ſecretly to *Rome*; where he might hope not only to live in ſafety, from his Father and Brother, but in greater likelihood, than he could find at home, of bettering ſuch claim as he had in reverſion unto the Crown of *Macedon*. Whatſoever his hopes and meanings were, all came to nought through the falſhood of *Didas*: who playing on both hands, offered unto the Prince his help for making the eſcape, and in the mean while revealed the whole matter to the King. So *Philip* reſolved to put his Son to Death, without further expence of time. It was thought behoveful to make him away privily, for fear leſt the *Romans* ſhould take the matter to heart, and held it as proof ſufficient at leaſt, of the Kings deſpight againſt them, if not of his meaning to renew the War. *Didas* therefore was commanded to rid the unhappy Prince out of his life. This accurſed Miniſter of his Kings unadviſed Sentence, firſt gave poyſon to *Demetrius*; which wrought neither ſo haſtily, nor ſo ſecretly, as was deſired. Hereupon he ſent a couple of Ruffians, to finiſh the Tragedy: who villainouſly accompliſhed their work by ſmothering that Prince, in whoſe life conſiſted the greateſt hope of *Macedon*.

In all the Race of *Antigonus* there had not been found a King, that had thus cruelly dealt with any Prince of his own Blood. The Houſes of *Lyſimachus* and *Caſſander* fell either with themſelves, or even upon their Heels, by inteſtine diſcord and jealouſies, grounded on deſire of Sovereign rule, or fear of loſing it. By the like unnatural hatred, had almoſt been cut off the Lines of *Ptolemy* and of *Seleucus*: which though narrowly they eſcaped the danger, yet were their Kingdoms thereby grievouſly diſtempered. Contrariwiſe, it was worthy of extraordinary note, how that upſtart Family of the Kings of *Pergamus* had raiſed it ſelf to marvelous greatneſs, in very ſhort ſpace, from the condition of meer ſlavery: whereof a principal cauſe was, the Brotherly love maintained by them, with ſingular commendation of their Piety. Neither was *Philip* ignorant of theſe examples; but is ſaid to have propounded the laſt of them, to his own Children, as a pattern for them to imitate. Certainly he had reaſon ſo to do: not more in regard of the benefit which his Enemies reaped by their concord, than in remembrance of the tender foſterage, wherewith King *Antigonus* his Tutor had faithfully cheriſhed him in his minority. But He was himſelf of an unmerciful nature; and therefore unmeet to be a good perſwader unto kindly affection. The murders by him done upon many of his friends, together with the barbarous outrages, which for the ſatiating of his Blood-thirſty appetite he delightfully had committed upon many innocents, both ſtrangers, and ſubjects of his own; did now procure vengeance down from Heaven, that rewarded Him with a draught of his own Poyſon. After the death of his Son, He too late began to examine the Crimes that had been objected; and to weigh them in a more equal ballance. Then found he nothing that could give him ſatisfaction, or by good probability induce him to think, that malice had not been contriver of the whole proceſs. His only remaining Son *Perſeus* could ſo ill diſſemble the pleaſure which he took, in being

freed from all danger of competition; as there might eaſily be perceived in him a notable change, proceeding from ſome other cauſe, than the remove of thoſe dangers, which he had lately pretended. The *Romans* were now no leſs to be feared than at other times, when he, as having accompliſhed the moſt of his deſires, left off his uſual trouble of mind, and carefulneſs of making proviſion againſt them. He was more diligently courted, than in former times; by thoſe that well underſtood the difference, between a riſing and a ſetting Sun. As for old *Philip*, he was left in a manner deſolate: ſome expecting his death; and ſome ſcarce enduring the tedioufneſs of ſuch expectation. This bred in the King a deep melancholy; and filled his head with ſuſpitious imaginations: the like whereof he had never been ſlow to apprehend. He was much vexed: and ſo much the more, for that he knew, neither well to whom, nor perfectly whereof to complain. One honourable Man, a Couſen of his, named *Antigonus*, continued ſo true to *Philip*, that he grew thereby hateful to *Perſeus*: and thus becoming ſubject unto the ſame jealous impreſſions which troubled the King, became alſo partaker of his ſecrets. This Counſellor, when he found that the anger conceived againſt *Perſeus* would not vent it ſelf, and give eaſe to the King, until the truth were known whether *Demetrius* were guilty or no of the Treaſon objected; as alſo that *Philocles* and *Apelles*, (the Embaſſadors which had brought from *Rome* that Epiſtle of *Flaminius*, that ſerved as the greateſt evidence againſt *Demetrius*) were ſuſpected of forgery in the buſineſs: made diligent inquiry after the truth. In thus doing, he found one *Xychus*, a Man moſt likely to have underſtood what falſe dealing was uſed by thoſe Embaſſadors. Him he apprehended, brought to the Court, and preſented unto the King: ſaying, that this Fellow knew all, and muſt therefore be made to utter what he knew. *Xychus* for fear of torture, uttered as much as was before ſuſpected: confeſſing againſt himſelf, that he had been employed by the Embaſſadors in that wicked piece of buſineſs. No marvel, if the Fathers paſſions were extream, when he underſtood, that by the unnatural practice of one Son, he had ſo wretchedly caſt away another, far more vertuous, and innocent. He raged exceedingly againſt himſelf, and withal againſt the Authors of the miſchief. Upon the firſt news of this diſcovery, *Apelles* fled away, and got into *Italy*. *Philocles* was taken: and either foraſmuch as he could not denie it when *Xychus* confronted him, yielded himſelf guilty, or elſe was put to torture. *Perſeus* was now grown ſtronger, than that he ſhould need to fly the Country: yet not ſo ſtout as to adventure himſelf into his Fathers preſence. He kept on the borders of the Kingdom, towards *Thrace*, whilſt his Father wintered at *Demetrius*. *Philip* therefore, not hoping to get into his power this his ungracious Son; took a reſolution, to aliene the Kingdom from him, and confer it upon *Antigonus*. But his weak Body, and exceſſive grief of mind, ſo diſabled him in the travel hereto belonging; that ere he could bring his purpoſe to effect, he was conſtrained to yield to nature: He had reigned about two and forty years: always full of trouble; as vexed by others, and vexing himſelf, with continual Wars; of which that with the *Romans* was moſt unhappy, and few or none of the reſt found the concluſion, which a wiſe Prince would have deſired, of bringing forth together, both honour and profit. But for all the evil that befel him, he might thank his own perverſe condition: ſince his Uncle King *Antigonus*, had left unto him an eſtate, ſo great, and ſo well ſetled, as made it eaſie for him, to accompliſh any moderate deſires, if he had not abhorred all good counſel. Wherefore he was juſtly puniſhed; by feeling the difference between the imaginary happineſs of a Tyrant, which he affected; and the life of a King, whereof he little cared to perform the duty. His death, even whilſt yet it was only drawing near, was foreſignified unto *Perſeus*, by *Calligenes* the Phyſician: who alſo concealed it awhile from thoſe that were about the Court. So *Perſeus* came thither on the ſudden, and took poſſeſſion of the Kingdom: which in fine he no leſs improvidently loſt, than he had wickedly gotten.

§. IV.

How the Baſtarnæ *fell upon* Dardania. *The behaviour of* Perſeus *in the beginning of his Reign. Some Wars of the* Romans: *and how they ſuffered* Maſaniſſa, *cruelly to oppreſs the* Carthaginians. *They quarrel with* Perſeus. *They allow not their Confederates to make War without their leave obtained. The Treaſon of* Callicrates; *whereby all* Greece *became more obnoxious to* Rome *than in former times. Further quarrels to* Perſeus. *He ſeeks friendſhip of the* Achæans, *and is withſtood by* Callicrates. *The* Romans *diſcover their intent of Warring upon him.*

IMmediately upon the death of *Philip*, came the *Baſtarnæ* into *Thrace*: where order had been taken, long before, both for their free paſſage, and for the indemnity of the Country. This compact was friendly obſerved, as long as none other was known than that *Philip* did live, to recompence all that ſhould be done, or ſuſtained, for his ſervice. But when it was heard, that a new King Reigned in *Macedon*; and not heard withal, that he took any care what became of the enterprize: then was all daſht and confounded. The *Thracians* would no longer afford ſo good Markets unto theſe ſtrangers, as formerly they had done. On the other ſide, the *Baſtarnæ* would not be contented with reaſon, but became their own carvers, Thus each part having loſt the rich hopes repoſed in *Philip*: grew careful of thriving in the preſent with little regard of right or wrong. Within a while they fell to blows: and the *Baſtarnæ* had the upper hand, ſo as they chaſed the *Thracians* out of the plain Countries. But the victors made little uſe of their good fortune. For whether by reaſon of ſome overthrow, received by them in aſſaulting a place of ſtrength; or whether becauſe of extream bad weather, which is ſaid to have afflicted them as it were miraculouſly: all of them returned home, ſave thirty thouſand, which pierced on into *Dardania*. How theſe thirty thouſand ſped in their Voyage, I do not find. It ſeems that by the careleſs uſing of ſome victories, they drew loſs upon themſelves: and finally took that occaſion, to follow their companions back into their own Country.

As for *Perſeus* he thought it not expedient, in the novelty of his Reign, to embroyle himſelf in a War ſo dangerous, as that with the *Romans* was likely to prove. Wherefore he wholly gave his mind to the ſetling of his Eſtate: which well done, he might afterwards accommodate himſelf, as the condition of his affairs ſhould require, either for War or Peace. To prevent all danger of rebellion: he quickly took away the life of *Antigonus*. To win love of his People; he ſate perſonally to hear their cauſes in judgment (though herein

herein he was ſo over-dilligent and curious, that one might have perceived this his vertue of Juſtice to be no better than fained: as alſo he gratified them with many delightful ſpectacles, magnificently by him ſet forth. Above all he had care to avoid all neceſſity of War with *Rome*: and therefore made it his firſt work, to ſend Embaſſadors thither, to renew the League; which he obtained, and was by the Senate ſaluted King and friend unto the State. Neither was he negligent in ſeeking to purchaſe good will of the *Greeks*, and other his Neighbours: but was rather herein ſo exceſſively bountiful, that it may ſeem a wonder, how in few years, to his utter ruine, be became ſo griping and tenacious. His fear was indeed the maſtring paſſion, which over-ruled him, and changed him into ſo many ſhapes, as made it hard to diſcern which of his other qualities were naturally his own. For proof of this, there is requiſite no more, than the relation of his actions paſt and following.

The *Romans* continued, as they had long, buſie in Wars againſt the *Spaniards* and *Ligurians*; People often vanquiſhed, and as often breaking forth into new rebellion. They alſo conquered *Iſtria*; ſubdued the rebelling *Sardinians*; and had ſome quarrels, though to little effect, with the *Illyrians* and others. Over the *Carthaginians* they bore (as ever ſince the Victory) a heavy hand; and ſuffered *Maſaniſſa* to take from them what he liſted. The *Carthaginians*, like obedient vaſſals to *Rome*, were afraid, though in defence of their own, to take Arms: from which they were bound by an Article of Peace, except it were with leave of the *Romans*. *Maſaniſſa* therefore had great advantage over them: and was not ignorant how to uſe it. He could get poſſeſſion by force, of whatſoever he deſired, ere their complaining Embaſſadors could be at *Rome*: and then were the *Romans* not hardly entreated, to leave things as they found them.

So had He once dealt before, in taking from them the Country of *Emporia*: and ſo did he uſe them again and again; with pretence of title, where he had any; otherwiſe, without it. *Gala* the Father of *Maſaniſſa* had won ſome Land from the *Carthaginians*; which afterward *Syphax* wan from *Gala*, and within a while, reſtored to the right owners, for love of his Wife *Sophonisba*, and of *Aſdrubal* his Father-in-law. This did *Maſaniſſa* take from them by force: and by the *Romans*, to whoſe judgment the caſe was referred, was permitted quietly to hold it. The *Carthaginians* had now good experience, how beneficial it was for their Eſtate, to uſe all manner of ſubmiſſive obedience to *Rome*. They had ſcarcely digeſted this injury, when *Maſaniſſa* came upon them again, and took from them above ſeventy Towns and Caſtles, without any colour of right. Hereof by their Embaſſadors they made lamentable complaint unto the *Roman* Senate. They ſhewed how grievouſly they were oppreſſed by reaſon of two Articles in their League: That they ſhould not make War, out of their own Lands; nor with any Confederates of the *Romans*. Now although it were ſo, that they might lawfully withſtand the violence of *Maſaniſſa*, invading their Country, howſoever he was pleaſed to call it his: yet ſince he was confederate with the *Romans*, they durſt not preſume to bear defenſive Arms againſt him, but ſuffered themſelves to be eaten up, for fear of incurring the *Romans* indignation. Wherefore they entreated, that either they might have fairer juſtice; or be ſuffered to defend their own by ſtrong hand; or at leaſt, if right muſt wholly give place to favour, That the *Romans* yet would be pleaſed to determine, how far forth *Maſaniſſa* ſhould be allowed, to proceed in theſe outrages. If none of theſe petitions could be obtained, then deſired they, that the *Romans* would let them underſtand, wherein they had offended ſince the time that *Scipio* gave them Peace; and vouchſafe to inflict on them ſuch puniſhment, as they themſelves in honour ſhould think meet: for that better and more to their comfort it were, to ſuffer at once what ſhould be appointed by ſuch Judges; than continually to live in fear, and none otherwiſe draw breath than at the mercy of this *Numidian* Hangman. And herewithal the Embaſſadors threw themſelves proſtrate on the ground weeping in hope to move compaſſion. Here may we behold, the fruits of their envy to that valiant Houſe of the *Barchines*; of their irreſolution, in proſecuting a War ſo important, as *Hannibal* made for them in *Italy*; and of their halfpenny-worthing, in matter of expence when they had adventured their whole Eſtate, in the purchaſe of a great Empire. Now are they Servants, even to the Servants of thoſe Men, whoſe Fathers they have often chaſed, ſlain, taken, and ſold as bondſlaves in the Streets of *Carthage*, and in all Cities of *Africk* and *Greece*. Now have they enough of that *Roman* Peace, which *Hanno* ſo often and ſo earneſtly deſired. Only they want Peace with *Maſaniſſa*; once their Mercinary, and now their Maſter, or rather their Tormentor, out of whoſe cruel hands, they beſeech their Maſters to take the office of correcting them. In ſuch caſe are they, and adore the *Romans*, whom they ſee flouriſhing in ſuch proſperity as might have been their own. But the *Romans* had far better entreated *Varro*, who loſt the Battel at *Cannæ*; then *Hannibal* that wan it was uſed by the *Carthaginians*: they had freely beſtowed, every Man of them all his private riches, upon the Common-wealth; and employed their labours for the publick, without craving recompenſe: as alſo they had not thought it much, though being in extream want, to ſet out an Army into *Spain*, at what time the Enemy lay under their own Walls. Theſe were no *Carthaginian* vertues: and therefore the *Carthaginians*, having fought againſt their betters, muſt patiently endure the miſeries belonging to the vanquiſhed. Their pitiful behaviour bred peradventure ſome commiſeration, yet their tears may ſeem to have been miſtruſted, as proceeding no leſs from envy to the *Romans*, than from any feeling of their own calamity. They thought themſelves able to fight with *Maſaniſſa*: which eſtimation of their forces was able to make them, after a while, enter into compariſons with *Rome*. Wherefore they obtained no ſuch leave as they ſought, of defending their own right by Arms: but contrariwiſe, when without leave obtained they preſumed ſo far, the deſtruction of *Carthage* was thought an eaſie puniſhment of that offence. At the preſent, they received a gentle anſwer; though they had otherwiſe little amends. *Guluſſa* the Son of *Maſaniſſa* was then in *Rome*; and had not as yet craved audience. He was therefore called before the Senate; where he was demanded the reaſon of his coming; and had related unto him the complaint made by the *Carthaginians* againſt his Father. He anſwered, That his Father not being throughly aware of any Embaſſadors thither ſent from *Carthage*, had therefore not given him inſtructions, how to deal in that buſineſs. Only it was known, that the *Carthaginians* had held Council divers nights, in the Temple of *Æſculapius*: whereupon he himſelf was diſpatched away to *Rome*, there to entreat the Senate, that theſe common Enemies of the *Romans* and

and of his Father, might not be overmuch truſted; eſpecially againſt his Father, whom they hated moſt maliciouſly, for his conſtant faith to the People of *Rome*. This anſwer gave little ſatisfaction. Wherefore the Senate replied, that for *Maſaniſſa* his ſake, they had done, and would do whatſoever was reaſonable; but that it ſtood not with their juſtice, to allow of this his violence, in taking from the *Carthaginians* thoſe Lands, which by the Covenants of the League, were granted unto them freely to enjoy. With this mild rebuke they diſmiſſed *Guluſſa*; beſtowing on him friendly preſents (as alſo they did on the *Carthaginians*) and willing him to tell his Father, that he ſhould do well to ſend Embaſſadors, more fully inſtructed in this matter. This happened when the *Macedonian* War was even ready to begin: at which time the *Romans* were not willing, too much to offend, either the *Carthaginians* (for fear of urging them unſeaſonably to rebellion) or *Maſaniſſa*, at whoſe hands they expected no little help. So were they aided both by the *Carthaginians*, and *Maſaniſſa*: by the *Carthaginians*, partly for fear, partly for hope of better uſage in the future; by *Maſaniſſa*, in way of thankfulneſs; though if it had happened (which was unlikely) that they ſhould be vanquiſhed; he made none other account, than that all *Africk* round about him and *Carthage* therewithal ſhould be his own.

In the midſt of all theſe cares, the *Romans* had not been unmindful of *Perſeus*. They viſited him daily with Embaſſadors: that is, with honourable ſpies to obſerve his behaviour. Theſe He entertained kindly at firſt, until (which fell out ere long) he perceived whereto their dilligence tended. Firſt they quarrelled with him about the troubles in *Dardania*: neither would they take any ſatisfaction, until the *Baſtarnæ* were thence gone; though he proteſted, that he had not ſent for them. Afterward they pryed narrowly into his doings; and were no leſs ill contented with good offices, by him done to ſundry of his Neighbours, than with thoſe wrongs, which they ſaid (that he did unto other ſome. Where he did harm to any; they called it, making War upon their friends: Where he did good; they called ſuch his bounty, ſeeking friends to take his part againſt them. The *Dolopians*, his Subjects, upon what occaſion it is uncertain) rebelled, and with exquiſite torments ſlew *Euphranor*, whom he had appointed their Governour. It ſeems that *Euphranor* had played the Tyrant among them. For they were a People without ſtrength to reſiſt the *Macedonian*: and therefore unlikely to have preſumed ſo far, unleſs either they had been extreamly provoked; or elſe were ſecretly animated by the *Romans*. Whatſoever it was that bred this courage in them: *Perſeus* did ſoon allay it, and reclaim them by ſtrong hand. But the *Romans* took very angrily this preſumption of the King, even as if he had invaded ſome Country of their *Italian* confederates, and not corrected his own Rebels at home. Fain they would have had him to draw in the ſame yoke with the *Carthaginians*; whereto had he humbled once his Neck, they could themſelves have done the part of *Maſaniſſa*; though *Eumenes*, or ſome other fit for that purpoſe, had been wanting. And to this effect, they told him, That conditions of the League between them were ſuch, as made it unlawful, both to his Father heretofore, and now to him, to take Arms without their licence firſt obtained.

To the ſame paſs they would alſo fain have reduced the *Greeks*, and generally all their adherents; even ſuch as had entred into League with them upon equal terms: whom uſually they rewarded with a frown, whenſoever they preſumed to right themſelves by force of Arms, without ſeeking firſt the Oracle at *Rome*. Hereof the *Achæans* had good experience: whoſe confidence in their proper ſtrength made them otherwhiles bold to be their own carvers; and whoſe hope of extraordiary favour at *Rome* cauſed them the more willingly to refer their cauſes to arbitrement. For when they went about to have chaſtiſed the *Meſſenians* by War, *T. Quintius* rebuked them, as too arrogant in taking ſuch a work in hand, without his authority: yet by his authority he ended the matter, wholly to their good liking. Semblably at other times were they reprehended, even with Lordly threats, when they took upon them to carry any buſineſs of importance, by their own power, without ſtanding unto the good grace of the *Romans*. Who nevertheleſs, upon ſubmiſſion, were apt enough to do them right. Thus were they tamed by little and little; and taught to forget their abſolute liberty, as by which they were not like to thrive; eſpecially in uſurping the practice of Arms, which belonged only to the Imperial City. In learning this hard leſſon, they were ſuch untoward Scholars, that they needed, and not long after felt very ſharp correction. Yet was there no ſmall part of blame to be imputed unto their Maſters. For the *Roman* Senate, being deſirous to humble the *Achæans*; refuſed not only to give them ſuch aid as they requeſted, and as they challenged by the tenour of the League between them; but further, with a careleſs inſolency, rejected this honeſt and reaſonable petition, That the Enemy might not be ſupplied from *Italy*, with Victuals or Arms. Herewith not content, The Fathers, as wearied with dealing in the affairs of *Greece*, pronounced openly, That if the *Argives*, *Lacedæmonians* or *Corinthians*, would revolt from the *Achæans*; they themſelves would think it a buſineſs no way concerning them. This was preſently after the death of *Philopœmen*: at what time it was believed, that the Commonwealth of *Achaia* was like to fall into much diſtreſs; were it not upheld by countenance of the *Romans*. All this notwithſtanding; when *Lycortas*, Prætor of the *Achæans*, had utterly ſubdued the *Meſſenians*, far ſooner than was expected; and when as not only no Town rebelled from the *Achæans*, but many entred into their corporation: then did the *Romans* with an ilfavoured grace, tell the ſame Embaſſadors, to whoſe petition they had made ſuch bad anſwer (and who as yet were not gone out of the City) That they had ſtreightly forbidden all manner of ſuccour to be carried to *Meſſene*. Thus thinking, by a fained gravity, to have ſerved their own turns; they manifeſted their condition; both to ſet on the weaker, againſt the ſtronger and more ſuſpected; and alſo to aſſume unto themſelves a Sovereign power, in directing all matters of War, which diſſemblingly they would have ſeemed to neglect. In like manner dealt they with all their confederates: not permitting any of them to make War, whether offenſive or defenſive; though it were againſt meer ſtrangers; without interpoſing the authority of the Senate and People of *Rome*: unleſs peradventure ſometimes they winked at ſuch violence, as did help towards the accompliſhment of their own ſecret malice. Now theſe *Roman* arts howſoever many (for gainful or timerous reſpects) would ſeem to underſtand them; yet were generally diſpleaſing unto all Men endued with free ſpirits. Only the *Athenians*, once the moſt turbulent City in *Greece*, having neither Subjects of their

Polyb. legat. 51. & 53.

their own that might rebel, nor power wherewith to bring any into ſubjection; for want of more noble argument wherein to practice their eloquence that was become the whole remainder of their ancient commendations, were much delighted in flattering the moſt mighty. So they kept themſelves in grace with the *Romans*, remained free from all trouble, until the War of *Mithridates*: being Men unfit for action, and thereby innocent; yet bearing a part in many great actions, as Gratulators of the *Roman* victories, and Pardoncravers for the vanquiſhed. Such were the *Athenians* become. As for thoſe other Common-weals and Kingdoms, that with over nice diligence ſtrove to preſerve their liberties and lands, from conſuming by piece-meal: they were to be devoured whole, and ſwallowed up at once. Eſpecially the *Macedonian*, as the moſt unpliant, and wherein many of the *Greeks* began to have affiance, was neceſſarily to be made an example, how much better it were better to bow than to break.

Neither *Perſeus*, nor the *Romans* were ignorant, how the *Greeks* at this time ſtood affected. *Perſeus* by reaſon of his near Neighbourhood, and of the daily commerce between them and his Subjects, could not want good information, of all that might concern him, in their affairs. He well knew, that all of them now apprehended the danger which *Philopœmen* had long ſince foretold; of the miſerable ſubjection, whereinto *Greece* was likely to be reduced, by the *Roman* patronage. Indeed they not only perceived the approaching danger: but as being tenderly ſenſible of their liberty, felt themſelves grieved with the preſent ſubjection, whereto already they were become obnoxious: Wherefore though none of them had the courage, in matters of the publick to fall out with the *Romans*: yet all of them had the care, to chooſe among themſelves none other Magiſtrates, than ſuch as affected the good of their Country, and would for no ambition, or other ſervile reſpect, be flatterers of the greatneſs which kept all in fear. Thus it ſeemed likely, that all domeſtical conſpiracies would ſoon be at an end; when honeſty and love of the Common-weal, became the faireſt way to preferment. Of this careful proviſion for the ſafety of *Greece*, the *Romans* were not throughly advertiſed: either becauſe things were diligently concealed from their Embaſſadors, whom all Men knew to be little better than Spies, or becauſe little account was made of that intelligence, which was brought in by ſuch Traytors (of whom every City in *Greece* had too many) as were Men unregarded among their own People, and therefore more like to ſpeak maliciouſly than truly; or perhaps becauſe the Embaſſadors themſelves, being all Senators, and capable of the greateſt Office or charge, had no will to find out other matter of trouble, than was fitting to their own deſires of employment. But it is hard to conceal that which many know, from thoſe that are feared or flattered by many. The *Achæans* being to ſend Embaſſadors to *Rome*, that ſhould both excuſe them, as touching ſome point wherein they refuſed to obey the Senate; and inform the Senate better in the ſame buſineſs; choſe one *Callicrates*, among others, to go in that Embaſſage. By their making choiſe of ſuch a Man; one may perceive the advantage, which miſchievous wretches, who commonly are forward in purſuing their vile deſires, have againſt the plain ſort of honeſt Men, that leaſt earneſtly thruſt themſelves into the troubleſome buſineſs of the weal publick. For this *Callicrates* was in ſuch wiſe tranſported with ambition; that he choſe much rather to betray his Country, than to let any other be of more authority than himſelf therein. Wherefore inſtead of well diſcharging his credence, and alledging what was meeteſt in juſtification of his People: he uttered a quite contrary tale; and ſtrongly encouraged the *Romans*, to oppreſs both the *Achæans*, and all the reſt of *Greece*, with a far more heavy hand. He told the Senate, that it was high time for them, to look unto the ſetling of their authority, among his froward Countrimen; if they meant not wholly to forego it. For now there was taken up a cuſtom, to ſtand upon points of confederacy, and Laws: as if theſe were principally to be had in regard; any injunction from *Rome* notwithſtanding. Hence grew it that the *Achæans* both now, and at other times, did what beſt pleaſed themſelves, and anſwered the *Romans* with excuſes: as if it were enough to ſay, That by ſome condition of League, or by force of ſome Law, they were diſcharged, or hindred, from obeying the decrees of the Senate. This would not be ſo, if He, and ſome other of his opinion, might have their wills: who ceaſed not to affirm, That no Columes or Monuments erected, nor no ſolemn Oath of the whole Nation, to ratifie the obſervance of Confederacy or Statute, ought to be of force, when the *Romans* willed the contrary. But it was even the fault of the *Romans* themſelves, That the multitude refuſed to give ear unto ſuch perſwaſions. For howſoever in popular Eſtates, the ſound of liberty uſed to be more plauſible, than any diſcourſe tending againſt it: yet if they which undertook the maintenance of an argument, ſeeming never ſo bad, were ſure by their ſo doing, to procure their own good; the number of them would increaſe apace, and they became the prevalent faction. It was therefore ſtrange, how the *Fathers* could ſo neglect the advancement of thoſe, that ſought wholly to enlarge the amplitude of the *Roman* Majeſty. More wiſely, though with ſeditious and rebellious purpoſe, did the *Greeks*: who many times, yea, and ordinarily, conferred great honours, upon Men otherwiſe of little account or deſert; only for having uttered ſome brave words againſt the *Romans*. The *Fathers*, hearing theſe and the like reaſons, wherewith he exhorted them to handle roughly thoſe that were obſtinate, and by cheriſhing their friends, to make their party ſtrong; reſolved to follow this good counſel, in every point, yea to depreſs all thoſe that held with the right, and to ſet up their own followers, were it by right or by wrong. And to this end, they not only dealt thenceforth more peremptorily with the *Achæans*, than had been their manner in former times; but wrote at the preſent unto all Cities of *Greece*, requiring them to ſee that their Mandate (which was concerning the reſtitution of thoſe that were baniſhed out of *Lacedæmon*) ſhould be fulfilled. Particularly in behalf of *Callicrates*; they adviſed all Men, to be ſuch, and ſo affected, as he was, in their ſeveral Common-weals. With this diſpatch, *Callicrates* returned home a joyful Man: having brought his Country into the way of ruin, but himſelf into the way of preferment. Nevertheleſs he forbore to vaunt himſelf, of his eloquence uſed in the Senate. Only he ſo reported his Embaſſage, that all Men became fearful of the danger, wherewith he threatned thoſe that ſhould preſume to oppoſe the *Romans*. By ſuch arts he obtained to be made Prætor of the *Achæans*: in which Magiſtracy, as in all his courſes following, he omitted nothing, that might ſerve to manifeſt his ready obſequiouſneſs unto thoſe whom he had made his Patrons.

Polyb. Legat. 58.

Now

Now as the *Romans* by threatning Terms wan many Flatterers, and loſt as many true Friends: ſo *Perſeus* on the other ſide, thinking by liberal Gifts, and hopeful promiſes, to aſſure unto himſelf thoſe that ill could brook his Enemies; got indeed a multitude of Partakers, though little honeſter than his Enemies had. Thus were all the Cities of *Greece* diſtracted with Factions: ſome holding with the *Romans*; ſome with the *Macedonian*; and ſome few, reſpecting only the good of the Eſtates wherein they lived. Hereat the Lords of the Senate were highly offended; and thought it an indignity not ſufferable, That a King, no better than their Vaſſal, ſhould dare to become head of a Faction againſt them. This therefore muſt be reckoned in the number of his Treſpaſſes: whereof if not any one alone, yet all of them together, ſhall afford them juſt occaſion to make war upon him. *Perſeus* having finiſhed his buſineſs among the *Dolopians*, made a journey to *Apollo* his Temple at *Delphi*. He took his Army along with him; yet went, and returned, in ſuch peaceable and friendly wiſe, that no place was the worſe for his Journey, but the good affection towards him generally increaſed thereby. With thoſe that were in his way, he dealt himſelf; to ſuch as lay further off, he ſent Embaſſadors or Letters: praying them, That the memory of all Wrongs whatſoever, done by his Father, might be buried with his Father; ſince his own meaning was to hold friendſhip ſincerely with all his Neighbours. The *Romans* perhaps could have been pleaſed better, if he had behaved himſelf after a contrary faſhion, and done ſome acts of Hoſtility in his paſſage. Yet, as if he ought not to have taken ſuch a journey, without their Licence; this alſo was made a valuable matter, and caſt into the heap of his Faults. He laboured greatly to recover the love of the *Achæans*: which his Father had ſo loſt, that by a ſolemn Decree, they forbad any *Macedonian* to enter their Territories. It was Jealouſie perhaps no leſs than Hatred, which cauſed them, at the firſt, to make ſuch a Decree. For howſoever *Philip* had by many vile Acts, eſpecially by the death of the two *Arati*, given them cauſe to abhor him: yet in the publick adminiſtration of their Eſtate, he had, for the more part, been to them ſo beneficial, that not without much ado, and at length, without any general conſent, they reſolved to forſake him. Wherefore it was needful, even for preſervation of Concord among them, to uſe all circumſpection; that he might not, by his Agents, negotiate and hold Intelligence with any, in a Countrey towards him ſo doubtfully affected: eſpecially when by hearkning to his Meſſages, they might make themſelves ſuſpected by their new Friends. But the continuance of this Decree beyond the time of War; and when all danger of Innovation was paſt, was uncivil, if not inhumane, as nouriſhing deadly hatred, without leaving means of reconciliation. And hereof the *Achæans* reaped no good Fruit. For although they were not, in like ſort forbidden the Kingdom of *Macedon*: yet underſtanding what would be due to them, if they ſhould adventure thither, none of them durſt ſet Foot therein. Hence it came to paſs, that their Bondmen, knowing a ſafe Harbour, out of which their Maſters could not fetch them, ran daily away, in great numbers; exceedingly to the loſs of ſuch, as made of their Slaves very profitable uſe. But *Perſeus* took hold upon this occaſion: as fitly ſerving to pacifie thoſe, whoſe enmity fain he would have changed into love. He therefore apprehended all theſe Fugitives, to ſend them home again: and wrote unto the *Achæans*, That as for good will unto them, he had taken pains to reſtore back their Servants; ſo ſhould they do very well to take order for keeping them, that hereafter they might not run away again. His meaning was readily underſtood, and his Letters kindly accepted by the greater part; being openly rehearſed by the Prætor, before the Council. But *Callicrates* took the matter very angrily: and bad them be adviſed what they did: for that this was none other than a plain device, to make them depart from the Friendſhip of the *Romans*. Herewithal he took upon him, ſomewhat liberally, to make the *Achæans* before hand acquainted with the War, that was coming upon *Perſeus*, from *Rome*. He told them, how *Philip* had made preparations for the ſame War; how *Demetrius* had been made away, becauſe of his good affection to the *Romans*; and how *Perſeus*, had, ſince his being King, done many things, tending to the breach of Peace. Briefly he rehearſed all thoſe matters, which were afterwards alledged by the *Romans*; the invaſion of the *Baſtarnæ*, upon the *Dardanians*; the Kings journey againſt the *Dolopians*; his Voyage to *Delphi*; and finally his peaceable behaviour, which was (he ſaid) a dangerous Temptation of men to his Party. Wherefore he adviſed them, to expect the event of things, and not over-haſtily to enter into any degree of Friendſhip with the *Macedonians*. Hereto good anſwer was made by the Prætors Brother: That *Callicrates* was too earneſt, in ſo light a matter; and that, being neither one of the Kings Cabinet, nor of the *Roman* Senate, he made himſelf too well acquainted with all that had paſſed, or was like to follow. For it was well known, that *Perſeus* had renewed his League with the *Romans*; that he was by them ſaluted King, and Friend to the Eſtate; and that he had lovingly entertained their Embaſſadors. This being ſo: why might not the *Achæans*, as well as the *Ætolians*, *Theſſalians*, *Epirots*, and all the *Greeks*, hold with him ſuch Correſpondence, as common Humanity required? Nevertheleſs *Callicrates* was grown a man ſo terrible, by his *Roman* acquaintance, that they durſt not over ſtifly gainſay him. Therefore the matter was referred unto further deliberation: and anſwer made the whilſt, That ſince the King had only ſent a Letter without any Embaſſador; they knew not how to reſolve. Better it was to ſay thus, than that they were afraid to do as they thought moſt reaſonable and convenient. But when *Perſeus* herewith not contented, would needs urge them further, and ſend Embaſſadors: then were they fain without any good pretence, to put on a countenance of Anger, and deny to give Audience: which was proof ſufficient (to one that could underſtand) of the condition wherein they lived. For hearkning to this advince of *Callicrates*; they were ſoon after highly commended by a *Roman* Embaſſador: whereby it became apparent, that the *Romans* intended War upon the *Macedonian*; though hitherto no cauſe of War was given. *Liv. lib. 42.*

§. V.

§. V.

How Eumenes *King of* Pergamus *was hufied, with* Pharnaces, *the* Rhodians, *and others. His Hatred to the* Macedonian: *whom he accuſeth to the* Roman *Senate. The Senate honours him greatly, and contemns his Enemies the* Rhodians; *with the cauſes thereof. The unuſual ſtoutneſs of the* Macedonian *Embaſſadors.* Perſeus *his attempt upon* Eumenes. *The Brotherly love between* Eumenes *and* Attalus. Perſeus *his device to poyſon ſome of the* Roman *Senators: whereupon they decree War againſt him, and ſend him defiance. Other things, concerning the juſtice of this War.*

EUmenes King of *Pergamus* had been troubled about theſe times, by the Kings *Pharnaces* and *Mithridates* his Neighbours. He had taken the right courſe in making firſt his complaint to the *Romans*; by whom he was animated with comfortable Words, and promiſes, That they by their Authority would end the Buſineſs, to his Content. But in concluſion, by the help of the Kings *Pruſias* and *Ariarathes*, he ended the War himſelf; and brought his Enemies to ſeek and accept peace, on ſuch conditions as pleaſed him to give them. After this, being at good leiſure, he began to conſider how the affairs of *Macedon* ſtood under *Perſeus*. His hatred to *Perſeus* was very great; and therefore he was glad to underſtand, that the hatred of the *Romans*, to the ſame his Enemy, was as great, and withal notorious. Now beſides his ancient and hæreditary quarrel with the *Macedonian*, it vexed him exceedingly, That his own honours (whereof the *Greeks*, prodigal in that kind, had heaped immoderate ſtore on his Father and him) began to wax every where ſtale; whilſt *Perſeus*, either by his currying favour, or by the envy born to the *Romans*, had gotten their beſt liking and wiſhes. For deſpight of this indignity, he ſtirred up the *Lycians* againſt the *Rhodians* his old Friends: and in helping theſe Rebels was ſo violent, that he proceeded, in a manner, to open War. But ſmall pleaſure found he, in theſe poor and indirect courſes of Revenge. The *Lycians* could not be ſaved by his Patronage, from ſevere and cruel Chaſtiſement, given to them by the *Rhodians*. This rendred him contemptible: as likewiſe, his Acts of Hoſtility, little different from Robberies, made him hateful to thoſe which loved him before. As for his Honours in the Cities of *Greece*; they not only continued falling into neglect; but were abrogated by a Decree of the *Achæans*, as too unmeaſured, miſ-beſeeming them to give, and affected by him beyond the proportion of his deſervings. All this (which he needed not to have regarded, had he not been too vainly ambitious) befel him, eſpecially for his being over-ſerviceable to the *Romans*, and for his Malice to that Noble Kingdom, which if it fell, the liberty of *Greece* was not like to ſtand. Now for the redreſs hereof; he thought it vain to ſtrive any longer with bounty, againſt ſuch an Adverſary, as by hopeful promiſes alone, without any great performance, had over-topped him in the general favour. And therefore he reſolved even to overturn the Foundations of this Popularity, by inducing the *Romans* utterly to take away from the Eyes of Men, this Idol, the *Macedonian* Kingdom, which all ſo vainly worſhipped. Neither would it prove a difficult matter, to perſwade thoſe that were already deſirous: rather he was like to be highly thanked, for ſetting forward their Wiſhes; and perhaps to be recompenced with ſome piece of the Kingdom, as he had been rewarded, for the like Service, when *Antiochus* was vanquiſhed.

Polyb. Legat. 56. & 59.

Polyb. Legat. 74.

Liv. lib. 42.

To this end he made a ſecond Voyage to *Rome*; where, though he had little to ſay which they knew not before; yet his words were heard with ſuch attention, as if they had contained ſome ſtrange Novelty, and ſo pondered by the Fathers, as if the weight of them were to turn the Ballance, that before was equal. The death of *Demetrius*; the expedition of the *Baſtarnæ* into *Dardania*; that of *Perſeus* himſelf againſt the *Dolopians*, and to *Delphi*; the great Eſtimation of the *Macedonian* in *Greece*; his intermedling in buſineſs of his Neighbours; his Riches, and his great Proviſions; were all the material Points of *Eumenes* his Diſcourſe. Only he deſcended unto Particulars, having ſearched into all (as he profeſſed) like unto a Spy. He ſaid, That *Perſeus* had thirty thouſand Foot, and five thouſand Horſe of his own: Money in a readineſs to entertain ten thouſand Mercinaries for ten years; Arms to furniſh a number thrice as great; the *Thracians* his Friends at hand, ready at a call, to bring him Souldiers as many as he ſhould require; and that he prepared Victuals for ten years, becauſe he would not be driven, either to live upon Spoil, or to take from his own Subjects. Herewithal he prayed them to conſider, that King *Seleucus*, the Son and Succeſſor of *Antiochus* the Great, had given his Daughter *Laodice* in Marriage to *Perſeus*; *Perſeus* not wooing, but *Seleucus* offering the Match; That King *Pruſias* of *Bythinia*, by earneſt ſuit, had gotten to Wife the Siſter of *Perſeus*; and that theſe Marriages were ſolemnized with great Concourſe of Embaſſages from all Quarters. Neither ſpared he to tell them, (though ſeeming loth to utter it plainly) That even the Envy to their Eſtate, was the cauſe, why many that could not endure to hear of Amity with *Philip*, were now grown marvellouſly well affected to his Son. All this, and ſome Facts of *Perſeus*, which might either be denied, or juſtified (as that he had procured the death of ſome which were Friends to the *Romans*; and that he had expelled *Abrypolis* the *Illyrian*, who invaded *Macedon*, out of his Kingdom, or Lordſhip) *Eumenes* failed not to amplifie unto the moſt; ſaying that he thought it his Duty to forewarn them; ſince it would be to himſelf a great ſhame, if *Perſeus* got the ſtart of him, and were in *Italy* making War upon the *Romans*, ere *Eumenes* could come thither to tell them of the danger.

It were too great folly, to believe that the *Romans* ſtood in fear of *Perſeus*, leſt he ſhould ſet upon them in *Italy*. Nevertheleſs, foraſmuch as they loved not to make War without fair pretence, not only of wrong done to them or their Aſſociates, but of further hurt intended: great Thanks were given to *Eumenes*, who had every way furniſhed them with ſuch goodly Colour, to beautifie their Intendment. Now though it were ſo, that he told them little elſe than what they knew before; yet his Perſon and the manner of his coming, made all ſeem greater. For if upon any relation made by their own Embaſſadors, or upon Tales deviſed by their Flatterers and Spies, they had warred againſt *Perſeus*, ere he had committed any open Act of Hoſtility againſt them; their Injuſtice and Oppreſſion would have been moſt manifeſt. But when the wrongs to them done were ſo notorious, and the danger threatning them ſo terrible; that ſuch a Prince as *Eumenes*, came out of his own Kingdom, as far as from

Asia to bid them look to themselves: who could blame them, if they took the speediest order to obtain their own Right and Security? Toward this justification of the War, and magnifying the necessity that enforced them thereto; their more than usual curiosity, in concealing what *Eumenes* had uttered in the Senate, when they could not but understand that his Errand was well known; helped not a little. The *Macedonian* and *Rhodian* Embassadors were at *Rome*, provided of Answers to the Words, which they knew before hand that he would speak; and with matter of recrimination. The vanity, either of him, or of some about him, seems to have disclosed all: when the wariness of the *Fathers*, in hiding that which all men knew, made a notable shew of some fearful apprehension; against which, it behoved their wisdom to neglect no possible remedy. Wherefore careless audience was given to the *Rhodian* Embassadors: who accused *Eumenes*, as one more troublesome to *Asia*, than *Antiochus* had ever been, and a provoker of the *Lycians* to Rebellion. The *Rhodians* had with great Pomp, conveighed by Sea unto *Perseus*, his Bride *Laodice*; which friendly office, as the *Macedonian* bountifully requited, so the *Romans* despightfully accepted. Hence it grew, that when the *Lycians*, as already vanquished, were settling themselves in their obedience to the People of *Rhodes*: Embassadors came from *Rome* with strange News which gave new Life to the Rebellion. For the Senate pronounced, That it stood not with the manner of the *Romans*, to alien quite from their own Protection any People or Nation by them vanquished; and that the *Lycians* were by them assigned unto those of *Rhodes*, not as meer Vassals, but as Dependants and Associates. For Proof hereof, they referred themselves unto the Commentaries of the ten Embassadors, whom they had sent to dispose of things in *Asia*, after the Victory against King *Antiochus*. Hereat *Eumenes*, *Masanissa*, the *Ætolians*, and all other Kings or Estates, that were beholding to *Rome* for increasing the number of their Subjects, had cause to find themselves agrieved if they well considered the matter: since by force of this or the like Decree, those their Subjects might easily be made their Fellows, whensoever it should please the Senate: though it were so, that all men knew the present meaning of the Senate, which was only to plague the *Rhodians* for their good will to *Perseus*, by setting them and the *Lycians* together by the Ears. The *Fathers* could therefore see no reason to dislike *Eumenes*, upon this complaint made by the *Rhodian* Embassadors; which indeed more nearly touched themselves. Rather they honoured the King so much the more: for that others (as they would needs take it) conspired against him, because of his love to *Rome*.

Polyb. Legat. 60. & 61.

Liv. lib. 41.

But the *Macedonian* Embassage they heard not so carelessly as angrily: though peradventure it well contented them to find cause of Anger. For whereas at other times, all care had been taken, to pacifie them with gentle Words and Excuses: now heard they plainer Language, and were told, That King *Perseus* desired much to give them satisfaction, concerning any Deed or Word of his, that might savour of Hostility; but that, if his Travel in this kind proved vain, then would he be ready to defend himself by Arms, and stand to the chance of War, which often falls out contrary to expectation. These big words may seem to have proceeded from the vehemency of *Harpalus*, that was chief of the Embassadors; rather than from instruction given by the King, with whose faint heart they agreed not. Yet was there good reason why *Perseus* himself might, at this time, think to speed better, by a shew of daring, than he was like to do by any submission. For the Eyes of all *Greece* being now cast upon him, as on the greatest hope of deliverance from the *Roman* Servitude; it was not expedient, that he should lessen, or perhaps utterly cut off, the general Expectation, and the good affection born to him, which thereon depended, by discovering his too much weakness of Spirit, unanswerable to a work of such Importance. Wherefore he, or his Embassador for him, was bold to set a good Countenance on a Game not very bad, but subject (in appearance) to Fortune; which might have been his, had he known how to use it.

Now that this Bravery (as better it may be termed than Courage) proceeded from the Kings own Heat; it appears by his daring to adventure soon after, on a Practice that more justly might anger the *Romans*, and give them fairer shew of reason to make War upon him. It was known that *Eumenes*, in returning home, would take *Delphi* in his way, and there do Sacrifice to *Apollo*. *Perseus* deadly hating him, and thirsting after his Blood, resolved to way-lay him, and by making there of him a Sacrifice, to rid his own Hands of a most mischievous Enemy. So there were appointed three or four stout Ruffians to do the Murder: who placing themselves behind a broken Mud Wall on the side of a very narrow Path leading up from the Sea to the Temple; did thence assault the King; whom they sorely bruised with great Stones, and left for dead. They might have finished their work; such was the opportunity of the place which they had chosen; but fear of being apprehended, made them, without staying to see all sure, flee in such haste, that they killed one of their own Companions, who could not hold pace with them, because he should not discover them. *Eumenes* was conveighed away to the little Isle of *Ægina*, where he was cured: being all the while kept so secretly, that the Fame of his Death was current in *Asia*. Hence it came, that his Brother *Attalus* took upon him as King, and either took or would have taken to Wife (supposing it belike a matter of State) *Stratonica* the Daughter of King *Ariarathes*, whom he then thought the Widow of *Eumenes*. It may well be numbred among the rare Examples of Brotherly Love, That when the King returned alive home, *Attalus* going forth to meet him and do his Duty, as in former times, received none other Check, than *That he should forbear to marry with the Queen, until he were well assured of the Kings Death*. More than this, *Eumenes* never spake of these Matters; but bequeathed at his Death, unto the same Brother, both his Wife and Kingdom. As likewise *Attalus* forbore to attempt any thing to the prejudice of the King his Brother; though the *Romans* (with whom he continued and grew in especial favour, when *Eumenes* fell into their hatred) were in good readiness, to have transferred the Kingdom from his Brother to him. By such Concord of Brethren was the Kingdom of *Pergamus* raised and upheld: as might also that of *Macedon* have been, if *Demetrius* had lived and employed his Grace with the *Romans*, to the benefit of *Perseus*.

It is likely that *Perseus* was very glad when he understood, that his Ministers had both accomplished his Will, and had saved all from discovery. But as he was deceived in the main Point, and heard shortly after, that *Eumenes* lived: so

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was he beguiled in that other hope, of the concealment: which he vainly esteemed the less material. For he had written to one *Praxo* a Gentlewoman of *Delphi*, to entertain the men whom he sent about this Business: and she being apprehended by *C. Valerius* a *Roman* Embassador then attending upon the matters of *Greece*, was carried to *Rome*. Thus all came to light. *Valerius* also brought with him to *Rome*, out of *Greece*, one *Rammius* a Citizen of *Brundusium*: who coming newly from the Court of *Macedon*, loaden with a dangerous secret; had presently sought out the Embassador, and thereof discharged himself. *Brundusium* was the ordinary Port for Ships passing between *Italy* and *Greece*. There had *Rammius* a fair House; wherein he gave entertainment, being a Wealthy Man, to Embassadors, and other honourable Personages, both *Romans* and *Macedonians*, journying to and fro. By occasion of such his Hospitality, he was commended to *Perseus*, and invited into *Macedon* with friendly Letters; as one whose many Courtesies to his Embassadors, the King was studious to requite. At his coming he was much made of; and shortly with more Familiarity than he expected or desired, made partaker of the Kings Secrets. The sum of all was, That he must needs do a turn, in giving to such of the *Romans* as the King should hereafter name, a Poyson of rare Quality, sure in Operation, yet not to be perceived either in the taking or afterward. He durst not refuse to accept this Employment: for fear lest the Vertue of this Medicine should be tryed upon himself. But being once at liberty; he discovered all. *Rammius* was but one man, and one whom the King had never seen before, nor was like to see again: and therefore, besides that the Kings Denial ought to be as good as such a Fellows Affirmation, the Accusation was improbable. Thus did *Perseus*, in time shortly following, answer for himself; and in like sort concerning the attempt upon *Eumenes*: denying to have had any hand, either in the one or other: yet withal professing, That such Objections were not to be made unto a King, to prove the rightfulness of making War upon him; but rather unto a Subject pleading for his Life in Judgment. But howsoever the *Romans* neglected the getting of stronger Proof (which might have been easie) than any that we find by them produced: yet the base and cowardly Temper of *Perseus* was very sutable to these Practises. Neither did the Senate greatly stand to dispute the matter with him: These his Treacheries being held inexcusable. And as for his Royal Estate, wherein he supposed that they ought not to touch him for such private Offences, it gave him no priviledge: they judging him to have offended in the nature of a King. Herein surely they wanted not good reason. For if he might not unlawfully make War upon *Eumenes* their Confederate; that is, if he might not send men, to waste the Kingdom of *Pergamus*, or to besiege the Towns; might he send Ruffians to murder the King? If it were no less breach of the League to destroy the Senators by Fire or Famine, than by violence of the Sword: was it lawful for him to do it by Poyson? Wherefore they presently decreed War against him; and sent Embassadors to denounce it unto him, unless he would yield to make such amends as they should require. He seems, at this time, to have been so confident, in the general favour of *Greece*, and other comfortable appearances; that if he desired not War, yet he did not fear it; or at least he thought by shew of Courage, to make his Enemies the more calm. He caused the Embassadors to dance attendance, till being weary they departed without Audience. Then called he them back; and bad them do their Errand. They made a tedious rehearsal of all matters, which they had long been collecting against him, and wherewith *Eumenes* had charged him: adding thereto, that he had entertained long and secret conference in the Isle of *Samothrace*, with Embassadors sent to him out of *Asia*, about some ill purpose. In regard of all which, they peremptorily required satisfaction; as was their manner when they intended to give defiance. Better they might have stood upon the Evidence, brought against him by *Rammius* and *Praxo*. For if those Accusations could be verified, then wanted they not good ground whereon to build: of which otherwise they were destitute; it being no fault in a King, to be strong, well beloved, and well friended. *Perseus* answered, for the present, in a Rage; calling the *Romans*, Greedy, Proud, Insolent, and Underminers of him by their daily Embassadors, that were no better than meer Spies. Finally, he promised to give them in writing their full answer: which was to this effect; That he would no longer stand to the League, made between them and his Father, and renewed by himself indeed only for fear; but wished them to descend to more equal Conditions, whereupon he, for his part, would advise, as they might also do for theirs.

In the Form of the League between *Philip* and the *Romans*, as it is set down by *Polybius*, we find no condition, binding the *Macedonian* to any inconvenience in the future, excepting those which he immediately performed. But *Livy* inserts a Clause, whereby he was expresly forbidden, to make any War abroad, without leave of the *Romans*. It is most likely, that all the *Roman* Confederates were included in this Peace; whereby every one of the Neighbours round about *Macedon*, entring shortly into League with *Rome*, did so bind the Kings Hands, that he could no more make War abroad, than if he had been restrained by plain Covenant. And thus might that seem an Article of the Peace, which never was agreed upon, but only was inferred by consequence. Now if the *Romans* would urge this Point further, and say, that the *Macedonian* might not bear defensive Arms, without their Permission: then had *Perseus* very just reason to find himself agrieved. For since they had allowed his Father, without controul, to make War in *Thrace*, (whilst they themselves were unacquainted with the *Thracians*) and elsewhere abroad, though he asked not their Licence: why should they now interpret the Bargain after another fashion? Was it now become unlawful for him to chastise his own Rebels, or to repay an *Illyrian* that invaded *Macedon*? By such Allegations he maintained the right of his Cause, in very mild sort; when it was too late. At the present, by disclaiming the League, as unjust; he ministred occasion unto the Embassadors, to give him defiance. Having heard the worst of their Message; he commanded them to be gone out of his Kingdom in three days. But either he should have been less vehement; or more constant in his resolution. For if his Heart could serve him to undertake the War; he should couragiously have managed it, and have fallen to work immediately, whilst the Enemy was unprepared; not have lost opportunity, as now and often he did, in hope of obtaining a worse Peace than the former.

Polyb. Legat. 9.

Liv. lib. 33.

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§. VI.

The Romans *ſolicit the* Greeks, *to joyn with them in the War againſt* Perſeus. *How the* Greeks *ſtood affected in that War. The timorouſneſs of* Perſeus. Martius *a* Roman *Embaſſador deludes him with hope of Peace. His Forces. He takes the Field; and wins part of* Theſſaly. *The Forces of* Licinius *the* Roman *Conſul: and what Aſſiſtants the* Romans *had in this War. Of* Tempe *in* Theſſaly: *and what Advantages the* Macedonian *had, or might have had; but loſt by his fear.* Perſeus *braves the* Romans; *fights with them; knows not how to uſe his Victory; ſues for Peace; and is denyed it by the Vanquiſhed.* Perſeus *having the worſe in a Skirmiſh, forſakes all the Countrey lying without* Tempe. *The* Bœotians *rebel againſt the* Romans, *and are rigorouſly puniſhed. The* Roman *Commanders unfortunate in the War againſt* Perſeus. *They vex the* Greeks *their Friends; for whoſe eaſe the Senate makes Proviſion; having heard their Complaints. The flattering* Alabanders.

SO long had the *Romans* been ſeeking occaſion to take in hand this *Macedonian* War, that well they might have been ready for it, when it came; and not (as they were) behind hand in Proviſions. But it was on a ſudden that they met with a confluence of good Pretences to make the War: whereof, if no one alone had weight enough, yet all of them together, ſeemed more than ſufficient. This opportunity of making their Cauſe honeſt in common opinion, was not to be neglected; though otherwiſe they were unprepared for the action. Wherefore knowing, or having reaſon to believe, that their own ſtrength was ſuch as would prevail in the end; they haſtily embraced the fair occaſion of beginning, and referred other cares to the diligence of Time. Neither was this their unreadineſs a ſmall help, towards examining the diſpoſition of the *Greeks*, and others; who muſt afterwards dearly pay for any backwardneſs found in their good Will. There was not indeed any cauſe to fear, that all of the *Greeks*, or other Eaſtern People ſhould conſpire together, and take part with the *Macedonian*: ſuch was the diſſention between their ſeveral Eſtates; howſoever the generality of them were inclined the ſame way. Nevertheleſs Embaſſadors were ſent to deal with them all, and to crave their help againſt *Perſeus*, or rather to demand it, in no leſs ample manner, than heretofore they had yielded it againſt *Philip* and *Antiochus*, in Wars pretending the liberty of *Greece*. The Embaſſadors uſed as gentle words, for faſhions ſake; as if they had ſtood in doubt, that their requeſt might happen to be denied. But the *Greeks* were now grown well acquainted with ſuch *Roman* courteſie: and underſtood, that not only ſuch as made refuſal, but even they who might ſeem to have granted half unwillingly, were like to hear other manner of words, when once this Buſineſs was ended. Wherefore none of them were ſcrupulous in promiſing the beſt of their help to the *Romans*; *the *Achæans* and *Rhodians*, which were chief among them, being rather doubtful, even when thy had done their beſt, leſt it ſhould be ill taken, as if they had halted in ſome part of their duty. It is ſtrange that men could be ſo earneſt to ſet up the ſide, whereof they gladly would have ſeen the ruine. The Vulgar ſort was every where addicted to *Perſeus*; of the Nobles and Rulers, if ſome were vehemently *Roman*, they wanted not Oppoſers, that were wholly *Macedonian*; yea the wiſeſt and moſt honeſt, who regarded only the benefit of their Country, wiſhed better to *Perſeus* then to the *Romans*. And of this number, *Polybius* the chief of Hiſtorians was one; who though he *judged the Victory of *Perſeus*, like to prove hurtful unto *Greece*; yet wiſhed he the *Romans* ill to thrive, that ſo the *Greeks* might recover perfect liberty; for his endeavours in which courſe, he was at length Tyrannically handled, as ſhall be ſhewed hereafter. This conſidered, it appears, that an extraordinary Fear, and not only Reverence of the Imperial City, made the *Achæans*, and other Eſtates of *Greece*, thus conformable to the *Romans*. The occaſion of this their Fear, may be juſtly imputed unto the timerous Demeanour of *Perſeus* himſelf. He had undertaken a War, whereof the benefit ſhould redound, not only to his own Kingdom, but unto all that were oppreſſed by the *Romans*. Yet no ſooner were ſome few Companies brought over Sea, to make a Countenance of meaning ſomewhat againſt him; than he began to ſpeak the Enemy fair, and ſue for Peace at *Rome*. Since therefore it was known, that every ſmall thing would ſerve to terrifie him; and conſequently, that it ſhould at all times be in the *Romans* power, by giving him any tolerable Conditions of Peace, to take Revenge at leiſure upon thoſe which had aſſiſted him: little cauſe was there, why any ſhould adventure to partake with him. He made indeed a great noiſe; leading about his Army; taking by force or compoſition, ſome few Towns; and ſoliciting all to join with him. But wiſe men could not be ſo beguiled. For at the ſame time, he ſought all means of Pacification: and to that end made humble ſuit unto the *Roman* Embaſſadors. *Q. Martius*, the chief of thoſe Embaſſadors, and a Man of more fineneſs in cunning than was uſual among the *Romans*; made ſhew of inclination to the Kings deſire: and gave out ſuch comfortable words, that the King intreated and obtained a meeting at the River *Peneus*. There did *Martius* very gently rebuke the King, and charge him with thoſe Crimes that are before mentioned. Whereto though *Perſeus* made none other anſwer, than the ſame which they could have made for him; yet the Embaſſadors, and eſpecially *Martius*, took it in good part, as therewith ſatisfied: and adviſed him to give the like ſatisfaction to the Senate. That this might conveniently be done; a Truce was agreed upon. Thus had *Martius* his deſire; which was to make the King loſe time. For *Perſeus* had all things then in readineſs, and might have done much, ere the *Roman* Army could have been in *Greece*. But by the interpoſition of this Truce, he no way increaſed his Forces; he ſuffered a moſt convenient ſeaſon of winning upon the Enemy, to ſlip away; and obtained in recompence nothing elſe, than leiſure and vain hope. Yet was he pleaſed herewith, as it had been with ſome Victory: publiſhing a Copy of the Diſputation between him and the *Romans*, whereby he gave men to underſtand, how much he had the better, and what great hope there was of Peace. he ſent Embaſſadors alſo to the *Rhodians*, of whoſe good will to him he was beſt perſwaded; not only to let them know how much he was Superiour in Cauſe; but to intreat them, that they would take upon them, as Moderators, to compound the Differences between him and the *Romans*, if perhaps, notwithſtanding the goodneſs of his Cauſe, he ſhould be denied Peace. Theſe were poor Helps. For hereby it appeared, that his late ſtanding upon point of Honour, was no better than meer Vanity: his own ſafety being the utmoſt of his Ambition. This his fearfulneſs might ſeem excuſable, and the blame thereof to appertain unto the

* *Polyb. Legat.* 73. 78. & 80.

* *Polyb. Legat.* 77.

the *Greeks*; who deceived his expectation, by being wanting to him in a time of neceſſity, that was partly their own: had it not been his office, who took upon him as their Champion, to give ſuch a manly beginning to the War, as might incourage all others to follow him. But his timorous quality being found, Men grew daily more and more averſe from him, and were careful, not to put their ſhoulders to a falling Wall. The *Rhodians*, among whom he had many ſtout partizans, deſired him not to crave any thing at their hands, in which they might ſeem to do againſt the good liking of the *Romans*. The *Bœotians* alſo, who had entred of late into a ſtrict ſociety with the *Macedonian*: renounced it now, and made the like with the *Romans*: to whom further, in a ſort, they yielded themſelves as Vaſſals. Neither was *Martius* contented to accept their ſubmiſſion under a general form; but cauſed their ſeveral Towns to make covenant apart, each for it ſelf; to the end, that being thus diſtracted into many little Common-weals, they might not (were they never ſo deſirous to rebel) have ſuch force to do hurt, as when they agreed, and were incorporated in one, under the City of *Thebes*. This work, of ſeparating the *Bœotians* from *Thebes* their head; was more than *Ageſilaus* could effect, or *Epaminondas* would ſuffer, then when all *Greece* followed the *Lacedæmonians*. So far more available to *Thebes*, being deſtitute of help from abroad, was the Vertue of *Epaminondas*, and a few brave Citizens; than was the Society with King *Perſeus*, againſt a number not ſo great as followed the *Lacedæmonians*.

Martius brought this to effect, whilſt the King ſate ſtill, as being bound by the truce: and having done this, he returned to the City; where vaunting what he had wrought by his craft, he was commended, and (though ſome reproved it as diſhoneſt) employed again by the Senate, with commiſſion to deal as he ſhould think expedient. Touching the Embaſſadors which *Perſeus* had ſent; audience was given to them, for that they ſhould not plainly ſee how their Maſter was deluded: but neither excuſe nor entreaty, would ſerve their turn; the Senate being reſolved before hand what to do. It was enough that they were admitted into the City, and had thirty days reſpite allowed them to depart out of *Italy*: whereas they who came laſt on the ſame Errand, did their Meſſage without the Walls, in the Temple of *Bellona* (the uſual place of giving audience to open Enemies, or to ſuch Commanders, as might not, by reaſon of ſome cuſtom, enter the City) and had only the ſhort warning of eleven days, to be gone out of *Italy*. Neither did this poor courteſie ſerve alone to hide the craft of *Martius*, as if he had meant none other than good earneſt: but it was a likely mean, both to keep a long while from *Perſeus* the knowledge of his buſineſs, and to ſtagger his reſolution, when he ſhould need it moſt firm.

And accordingly it fell out. For *Licinius*, the *Roman* Conſul, was at *Apollonia*, in a manner as ſoon, as the *Macedonian* Embaſſadors were with their King at *Pella*. Which though it were enough to have rouzed *Perſeus*, and have made him lay aſide all cowardly hope of getting pardon: yet was he content to deliberate a while, Whether it were not better to offer himſelf tributary to the *Romans*, and to redeem their good will with ſome part of his Kingdom, that ſo he might enjoy the reſt; than to put all at once to hazard. But finally, the ſtouteſt counſel prevailed: which alſo was the wiſeſt; and ſo would have proved, had it been ſtoutly and wiſely followed. He now began, as if the War had not begun until now, to do what ſhould have been done long afore. He cauſed all his forces to be drawn together; and appointed their Rendezvous at *Citium*, a Town in *Macedon*. All being in readineſs, he did Royal Sacrifice, with an hundred Beaſts, to I know not what *Minerva*, that was peculiarly honoured in his Country: and then, with all his Courtiers, and thoſe of his guard, ſet forward to *Citium*. His Army he found conſiſting of nine and thirty thouſand Foot, and four thouſand Horſe: whereof about twelve thouſand Foot, and a thouſand Horſe, were ſtrangers, of ſundry Nations, moſt part *Thracians*; the reſt his own *Macedonians*. Theſe he animated with lively Speeches; laying before them the glory of their Anceſtors, the inſolency of the *Romans*, the goodneſs of his cauſe, the greatneſs of his proviſions, and the many advantages which they had of the Enemy, eſpecially in numbers. They anſwered him chearfully, with loud acclamations, and bade him be of good courage. From all Cities of *Macedon* there came likewiſe Meſſengers, offering to help him with Money and Victuals, according to their ſeveral abilities. He gave them thanks: but anſwered, That his own Proviſions would abundantly ſuffice; willing them only to furniſh him with Carts, for his Engines and Munition.

Out of his own Kingdom he iſſued forth into *Theſſaly*: knowing that the *Romans* were to paſs through that Country, in their Journey towards him. Some Towns of *Theſſaly* opened their Gates unto him, without making offer to defend themſelves; ſome he balked, thinking them too ſtrong or well manned; and ſome he wan by force. Of theſe laſt was *Mylæ*; a Town thought impregnable, and therefore, not more ſtoutly then proudly defended by the Inhabitants, who gave contumelious Language to the aſſailants. It was taken by reaſon of a ſally; which the Townſmen raſhly made, and being driven back, received the *Macedonians*, that entred pell mell with them at the Gate. All cruelty of War was practiſed here, to the greater terror of the obſtinate. So *Velatiæ* and *Connus* (Towns of much importance, eſpecially *Connus*, which ſtood in the ſtreights of *Oſſa*, leading into *Tempe*) yielded at the firſt. Having well fortified this paſſage, the King marched onwards to *Sycurium*, a Town ſeated on the foot of mount *Oſſa*; where he reſted a while, expecting news of the Enemy.

Licinius the Conſul brought with him only two *Roman* Legions: being promiſed other ſtrength of auxiliaries, which was thought ſufficient. *Eumenes*, and *Attalus* his Brother, came to him in *Theſſaly*, with four thouſand Foot and a thouſand Horſe. Thither alſo came, from every part of *Greece*, ſuch aid as the ſeveral Eſtates could afford, or thought expedient to ſend: which from the moſt of them was very little. Of the Kings abroad; *Maſaniſſa* ſent thither his Son *Miſagenes*, with a thouſand Foot, as many Horſe, and two and twenty Elephants. *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian*, by reaſon of his affinity with *Eumenes*, was friend to the *Romans*, and had ſent to *Rome* his young Son, there to be brought up: yet he did little or nothing in this War; perhaps becauſe *Eumenes* himſelf began within a while, but when it was too late, to be otherwiſe adviſed than he had been in the beginning. *Pruſias* was content to be a looker on: as being allied to *Perſeus*, and yet fearing the *Romans*. *Antiochus*, and *Ptolemy* (though *Ptolemy* was then young, and under Tutors) had buſineſs of their own; the *Syrian* meaning to invade the *Ægyptian*: yet each of them promiſed help to the *Romans*, which they cared not to perform. *Gentius* the *Illyrian* was inclinable to the *Macedonian*:

yet made good countenance to the *Romans*, for fear. It was a pretty trick, wherewith *M. Lucretius*, the *Roman* Admirals Brother, ſerved him, for this his counterfeit good will. This King had four and fifty Ships, riding in the Haven of *Dyrrachium*, uncertain to what purpoſe: all which *Lucretius* took away, after a very kind ſort; making ſhew to believe, That for none other end than to ſerve the *Romans*, their good friend *Gentius* had ſent thither this Fleet. But whatſoever *Gentius* thought in the beginning; he fooliſhly loſt both his Kingdom and himſelf, in the end of this War; by offering, rather then giving, his help to *Perſeus*.

With none other company than what he brought over the Sea, *Licinius* came into *Theſſaly*: ſo tyred with a painful Journey, through the mountainous Country of *Athamania*, which ſtood in his way from *Epirus*; that if *Perſeus* had been ready, attending his deſcent into the Plains, the *Romans* muſt needs have taken a great overthrow. He refreſhed himſelf and his wearied Army, by the River *Peneus*; where he encamped, attending his Auxiliaries, that came in as faſt as they could. It was not any ſlender help, that could enable him to deal with *Perſeus*. Therefore he reſolved, to abide where he then was, and keep his Trenches, until his numbers were ſufficiently increaſed: contenting himſelf in the mean while, to have gotten quiet entrance into the Country. The Land of *Theſſaly*, in which theſe two Armies lay, was better affected to the *Romans*, than any part of *Greece* beſides: as having been freed by them from a more heavy yoke of bondage to the *Macedonian*, when there was little hope or expectation of ſuch a benefit. It was generally rich, fruitful, and abounding in all things needful to Mans life. In the midſt of it, but ſomewhat more to the Eaſt, was that beautiful valley of *Tempe*, ſo exceedingly full of all delights, that the name was often uſed at large, to ſignifie the moſt pleaſant and goodly places. This valley, of it ſelf was not great: but adding to it thoſe huge Mountains, *Oſſa* and *Olympus* (famous in Poëſie) with their Spurres or Branches, by which it was on all ſides encloſed; it occupied the better part of *Theſſaly*. And this way were the *Romans* to enter into *Macedon*; unleſs they would make an hungry Journey, thorow the Countrey of the *Daſſaretians*, as in the former War with *Philip*, they had long, in vain, attempted to do. *Perſeus* therefore had no ſmall advantage, by being Maſter of the Streights leading into *Tempe*: though far greater he might have had, if by miſpending of time he had not loſt it. For if in defending the ragged paſſages of theſe Mountains, he were able to put the *Romans* often to the worſe; yea to win upon them (for a while) every year more than other, both in ſtrength and reputation: queſtionleſs he might have done far greater things, had he ſeized upon the Streights of *Aous*, which his Father once kept, and defended all the Country behind the Mountains of *Pindus*. Surely not without extream difficulty, muſt the *Romans* have either travelled by Land, with all their Carriages and impediments, through places wherein was no relief to be found; or elſe have committed their Armies, and all things thereto needful, unto the mercy of Seas that were very dangerous; if they would have ſought other way into *Macedon*, than through the heart of *Greece*: upon neither of which courſes they once deviſed, notwithſtanding any trouble which they found in this preſent War. It may perhaps be ſaid, that the *Greeks*, and others, whom the King muſt have left on his back, would have made him unable to defend any places too far from his own home. But they were all, excepting the *Theſſalians*, better affected now to him, than they had been to his Father in the former War. The *Ætolians*, upon whom the *Athamanians* depended, grew into ſuſpicion with the *Romans* (as we ſhall find anon) even as ſoon as they met with *Perſeus*. The *Bœotians*, how politick ſoever *Martius* had wrought with them, adventured themſelves deſperately in the *Macedonians* quarrel: what would they have done, if he at firſt had done his beſt? The *Rhodians*, *Illyrians*, yea and *Eumenes* himſelf after a while began to waver, when they ſaw things go better with *Perſeus*, then they had expected. So that if in ſtead of diſcouraging his friends, by ſuing baſely for Peace; he had raiſed their hopes, by any brave performance in the beginning; and encreaſed the number of his well willers, yea and bought down with Money (as he might have done) ſome of his Enemies, and among them *Eumenes*, who offered for good recompence, to forget his broken Head: then might the *Romans* perhaps have been compelled to forſake their imperious Patronage over *Greece*; and to render the liberty, by them given, entire; which otherwiſe was but imaginary. Such benefit of this War, ſince it was hoped for afterwards, might with greater reaſon have been expected at firſt, from greater advantages. But as a fearful Company running from their Enemies, till ſome River ſtay their flight; are there compelled by meer deſperation to do ſuch acts, as done, while the Battel laſted, would have won the Victory: ſo fell it out with *Perſeus*. In ſeeking to avoid the danger of that War, whereof he ſhould have ſought the honour; he left his friends that would have ſtood by him, and gave them cauſe to provide for their own ſafety: yet being overtaken by neceſſity, he choſe rather to ſet his back to the Mountains of *Tempe*, and defend himſelf with his proper forces; than to be driven into ſuch miſery, as was inevitable, if he gave a little further ground. What was performed by him or the *Romans*, all the while that he kept his footing in *Theſſaly*, it is hard to ſhew particularly; for that the Hiſtory of thoſe things is much periſhed. Wherefore we muſt be contented with the Sum.

The Conſul having no deſire to fight, until ſuch time as all his forces were arrived; kept within his Trenches, and lay ſtill encamped by the River of *Peneus*, about three miles from *Lariſſa*. That which perſwaded the Conſul to protract the time; did contrariwiſe incite the King, to put the matter unto a haſty trial. Wherefore he invited the *Romans* into the Field; by waſting the Land of the *Pheræans* their Confederates. Finding them patient of this indignity, he grew bold to adventure even unto their Trenches: out of which if they iſſued, it was likely, that his advantage in Horſe would make the Victory his own. At his coming they were troubled; for that it was ſudden: yet no way terrified; as knowing themſelves to be ſafely lodged. They ſent out a few of King *Eumenes* his Horſe, and with them ſome light Armed Foot, to entertain skirmiſh. The Captain, and ſome other of theſe were ſlain: but no matter of importance done; for that neither *Licinius*, nor *Eumenes*, found it reaſonable to hazzard Battel. Thus day after day, a while together, *Perſeus* continued offering Battel: which they ſtill refuſed. Hereby his boldneſs much encreaſed; and much more, his reputation: to the grief of thoſe, who being ſo far come to make a Conqueſt, could ill digeſt the ſhame, that fell upon them by their enduring

enduring these bravadoes. The Town of *Sycurium*, where *Perseus* then lay, was twelve Miles from the *Romans*: neither was there any convenient watering in that long march, which used to take up four hours of the Morning; but he was fain to bring Water along with him in Carts, that his Men might not be both weary and thirsty when they came to fight. For remedy of these inconveniences, he found out a lodging, seven Miles nearer to the Enemy, whom he visited the next day by the Sun rising. His coming at such an unusual hour, filled the Camp with tumult: insomuch as though he brought with him only his Horse and light Armature, that were unfit to assail the Trenches, yet the Consul thought it necessary, and resolved to give check to his pride. Wherefore he sent forth his Brother *C. Licinius*, King *Eumenes*, *Attalus*, and many brave Captains, with all his power of Horse, his Velites, and all the rest of his light armature, to trie their fortune: he himself remaining in the Camp, with his Legions in readiness. The honour of this Morning, was the *Macedonian* Kings; for he obtained the Victory in a manner entire, (though the *Thessalians* made a good Retreat) with little loss of his own. But he discovered his weakness ere Night, by hearkening, as Princes commonly do, to Counsel given by one of his own temper. For whereas the *Romans* were in great fear left he should assault their Camp; and to that purpose, upon the first news of his success, his Phalanx was brought unto him by the Captains, though unsent for: he nevertheless took it for sound advice, which indeed was timorous and base. To work warily, and moderate his Victory; by which means it was said, That either he should get honest conditions of Peace, or at leastwise many companions of his fortune. Certainly it was like that his good fortune would exalt the hope and courage of his friends. Yet had it been greater; and had he won the *Roman* Camp, his friends would have been the more, and the bolder. But over-great was his folly, in hoping then for Peace: and in suing for it, even when he had the Victory, what else did he, than proclaim unto all which would become his partakers, that neither good nor bad fortune should keep him from yielding to the *Romans*, whensoever they would be pleased to accept him? At this time the joy of his Victory would admit none of these considerations. He had slain of the *Roman* Horse two hundred, and taken of them Prisoners the like number. Of their Foot he had slain about two thousand: losing of his own no more than twenty Horse and forty Foot. The *Roman* Camp, after this disaster, was full of heaviness and fear: it being much doubted that the Enemy would set upon it. *Eumenes* gave counsel to dislodge by Night, and remove to a surer place beyond the River *Peneus*. The Consul, though ashamed to profess, by so doing, in what fear he stood; yet thought it better to acknowledge the loss past, than by standing on proud terms, to draw upon himself a greater calamity. So he passed the River in the dead of the Night, and incamped more strongly on the further side. The *Ætolians* were sorely blamed for this loss: as if rather a Trayterous meaning, than any true fear, had occasioned their flight, wherein the rest of the *Greeks* followed them. Five of them that were Men of especial mark, had been observed, to be the first which turned their backs: an observation likely to cost them dear, at a time of better leisure. As for the *Thessalians*, their vertue was honoured with reward: so as the *Greeks* might learn, by examples of either kind, that if they would shun indignation, or incur favour, then must they adventure no less for their Lords the *Romans*, than gladly they would do for their own liberty. Thus fared it with the Consul and his Army. *Perseus* came the next day to correct the former days errour; which how great it was, he not until then found. The *Romans* were gotten into a place of safety; whither they could never have attained, if the King had either pressed his victory, or given better heed to them that Night: his light Armature alone being sufficient to have routed them, whilst they were conveying themselves to the other side of *Peneus*. But it was vain to tell what might have been done, since there was no remedy. The *Romans* were beaten, even the flower of their City, the Gentlemen of *Rome*; out of whom were chosen their Senators, and consequently the Generals themselves, Prætors, Consuls, and all that bore office or command among them; yea they were beaten so shamefully, that they stole away by night, and suffered him to gather up the spoils of them without resistance, as yielding themselves overcome. With such brave words did the King set out the glory of his action; dividing the spoils among his followers. But there was much wanting within him, to have made his honour sound. He came nearer to the *Romans*, and encamped at *Mopselus*, a place in the mid-way between *Tempe* and *Larissa*: as if it were his meaning to press them somewhat harder. Nevertheless he was easily perswaded to use the occasion which he seemed to have, of obtaining Peace. Therefore he sent unto the Consul, and offered to yield unto the same conditions, wherein his Father had been bound to the *Romans*, if the War might so take end. It were needless, here again to shew the folly of this his course. Towards the accomplishment of this desired Peace, there was in the Consul no greater power, than to grant a truce, whilst Embassadors might go to *Rome*: it resting in the Senate and People, to approve the conditions, and ratifie the League. And of such a Truce granted by *Martius*, he had lately found no small discommodity redounding. But *Licinius* dealt plainly, and returned answer, That other hope of Peace there was none; save that *Perseus* would yield both his Kingdom and Person, simply and absolutely, to discretion of the Senate. A manly part it was of *Licinius* to be so resolute in adversity. On the other side, it argued a very faint heart in *Perseus*, that having received an answer so peremptory, he still persisted, making vain offers of greater tribute. Finding that the Peace, which he so much desired, could not be purchased with Money, the King withdrew himself back to *Sycurium*. There he lay hearkening what the Enemy did; whose forces were well repaired by the coming of *Misagenes* the Son of *Masanissa*, with the aid before mentioned. This distance between the King and them, caused the *Romans* to wax the more bold in making their harvest: about which business they ranged over all the Fields. Their careless demeanour gave him hope to do some notable exploit: which he attempted, both upon their Camp, and upon those that were abroad. The Camp he thought to have fired on the sudden: but the alarm being taken in good season, he failed in the enterprize. As for the forragers; he had a good hand upon them, if he could have withdrawn it, and given over in time. But whilst he strove to force a Guard, he was visited by the Consul; by whom either in a skirmish of Horse, or (for the report is divers) in a great Battel, he was overcome. This misadventure, whether great or small, caused *Perseus*,

ſens after a few days to fall back into *Macedon*; as being naturally given to fear danger, even where none was: whereby what loſs he felt will appear hereafter. He left all behind him, ſave only *Tempe*, weakly guarded: and conſequently an eaſie prey to the *Romans*.

After the Kings departure, *Licinius* went ſtreight unto *Connus*; hoping to have taken it, and ſo to have gotten entrance into *Tempe*. But finding the work too hard, he returned back upon the *Perrhæbians* and others; from whom he wan ſome Towns, and among the reſt, *Lariſſa*. There were ſundry Towns thereabout, bearing the ſame name of *Lariſſa*: ſo that this which the Conſul took, may ſeem, not to have belonged unto the *Theſſalians*; unleſs, perhaps, after his Victory, *Perſeus* did greater acts than we find recorded, and got ſome part of *Theſſaly*.

Of matters happening in *Greece* at this time, it is hard to give a preciſe account; for that the Hiſtories of them are greatly defective. One may think it ſtrange, that the *Bœotians*, whom a *Roman* Embaſſador could terrifie, and bring altogether to his own will, ſhould not be afraid of a *Roman* Army, then on foot in *Greece*, and a Navy on their Coaſt. But more ſtrange it is, that the *Thebans*, from whom their dependants were taken by the art of *Martius*; were more true to *Rome*, than other petty Towns, which by that ſame diſtraction of the *Bœotians*, became within themſelves more abſolute, than formerly they had been. The cauſes hereof were to have been ſought among the changes happening in their variable factions: whereof the knowledge is now loſt. Some of them rebelled, and were throughly puniſhed by *Lucretius* the *Roman* Admiral; who got ſo much by ſpoiling them, that he would have brought others to rebel in like ſort, if by extream oppreſſion he could have driven them ſo far. Neither was *Licinius* the Conſul undiligent in the ſame kind. What his doings were, after ſuch time as he was at leiſure from *Perſeus*, I find no where mentioned. Only this is ſaid in general; That in the War which he made, he * cruelly and covetouſly demeaned himſelf.

* *Liv. lib.* 43.

After the ſame faſhion dealt they, that commanded in the year following; *Hoſtilius* the Conſul, and *Hortenſius* the Admiral, or Prætor of the Fleet. *Hoſtilius* ſhewed more of his induſtry, in picking quarrels with the Confederates of *Rome*, than in proſecuting the War againſt the *Macedonian*. For concerning the *Roman* War upon his Kingdom, after that the Conſul had ſought paſſage in vain over certain Mountains, *Perſeus* ſeemed, in a manner, * free from it. He was troubled indeed on that ſide which looked towards *Illyria*, by *Ap. Claudius*, whom the Conſul ſent thither with an Army of four thouſand, and who, by levies made upon the Confederates, doubled this his Army. But *Claudius* thinking to have taken *Uſcana*, a border Town of *Illyria*, by Treaſon, came thither in ſuch careleſs order, that the inhabitants which had made ſhew of treaſon, with purpoſe only to train him into danger, ſallied forth upon him, overthrew him, and chaſed him ſo far, that hardly he eſcaped with a fourth part of his Company. Yet this Town of *Uſcana* ſhortly after became *Roman*: which howſoever it happened, *Perſeus* very ſoon recovered it, and many other places therewithal: *Cotys*, a *Thracian* King, ſecuring him on the one ſide of *Macedon*; and *Cephalus* an *Epircte* revolted from the *Romans*, on the other. *Perſeus* likewiſe made a painful Journey into *Ætolia*: where he was promiſed to be admitted into *Stratus*, that was the ſtrongeſt City in that Region. Of this hope, though he were diſappointed by thoſe of the *Roman* faction; yet in his return home, he took in *Aperantia*; and ſhortly heard good news, That *Ap. Claudius* was again throughly beaten by *Clevas*, one of his Lieutenants. Such ſucceſs had the *Macedonian* War under *Hoſtilius*. The ſame Conſul offended much the *Greeks*, by the ſtrict inquiſition which his Embaſſadors made into Mens affection towards *Rome*. For theſe Embaſſadors travelling thorow all the Cities of *Peloponneſus*, gave out ſpeeches tending to ſhew, That they liked no better of thoſe who ſought not by might and main to advance their buſineſs, than of thoſe which were of the *Macedonian* faction. Their meaning was, to have accuſed by name, in the Parliament of *Achaia*, *Lycortas* that worthy Commander, who nobly followed the ſteps of *Philopœmen*; and together with him, his Son *Polybius*, who ſoon after was General of the *Achæan* Horſe; but more notable by that excellent Hiſtory which he wrote, than by his great employments, which he well and honorably diſcharged. The ſum of the accuſation ſhould have been; That theſe were not hearty friends unto the *Romans*, but ſuch as abſtained from raiſing troubles, more for lack of opportunity, than for any love to the common quiet. But ſince no colour of truth could be found, that might give countenance to ſuch a tale; it was thought better, for the preſent, to let it alone, and give gentle words, as if all were well. In like manner dealt they among the *Ætolians*: They demanded hoſtages; and found ſome in the Council that approved the motion: as alſo among the *Acarnanians*, there were that entreated to have *Roman* Garriſons beſtowed in their Towns. But neither the one nor the other of theſe propoſitions took effect. They of the *Roman* faction, accuſed not only ſuch as were inclinable to the *Macedonian*, but alſo the good *Patriotes*; making it no leſs then a matter of Treaſon, to be a *Gretian* in *Greece*. On the contrary ſide, there wanted not ſome, who roundly told theſe Pick-thanks of their baſe flattery; rating them openly in ſuch ſort, that one of them hardly eſcaped being ſtoned, even in preſence of the Embaſſadors. Thus was all full of accuſations and excuſes: among which the Embaſſadors carried themſelves, as Men that could believe none ill; though it were well enough known what they thought. The beſt was, that an order from the Senate was brought into *Greece*, and publiſhed, to this effect: That it ſhould be free for all Men, to refuſe obedience to any *Roman* Magiſtrate, impoſing any burthen for the preſent War, unleſs it were ſuch, as the Senate had likewiſe thought meet. Of this Decree the whole Country was glad: for it was, or ſeemed, a good remedy of many inconveniences. But they that ſtanding on priviledge hereof, refuſed to fulfil every Commandment, were numbered among the *Patriotes*; which in the end of this War proved little better, if not worſe, than to have been Traytors. The Senate was driven to ſet down this order; by reaſon of the many and vehement complaints brought to *Rome*, concerning the wrongs done by *Roman* Magiſtrates, and eſpecially by the Admirals, *Lucretius* and *Hortenſius*. *Lucretius* was condemned in a great Sum of Money, for the wrongs by him done: highly to the commendation of the *Romans*, in that they loved not to have their Subjects oppreſſed. *Hortenſius* being ſtill in office, had warning to amend.

* *Polyb. Legat.* 70.

Polyb. Legat. 74.

Among

Among the great number of Embaſſages that came to *Rome* about this time, either to ſeek redreſs of injuries, or to offer their Services: it is note-worthy, that from *Alabanda*, a Town of the leſſer *Aſia*, there was preſented unto the Senate, and well accepted, a moſt baſe piece of flattery. Theſe *Alabanders* brought three hundred Horſemens Targets, and a Crown of Gold, to beſtow upon *Jupiter* in the Capitol. But having a deſire to gratifie the *Romans* with ſome exquiſite token of their dutiful obedience, wherein they would be ſingular; and being not able to reach unto any great performance: they built a Temple, unto the Town *Rome*, and appointed Anniverſary games to be celebrated among them, in honour of that *Goddeſs*. Now who can wonder at the arrogant folly of *Alexander*, *Antigonus*, *Ptolemy*, and the like vain Men, that would be thought Gods; or at the ſhameleſs flattery of ſuch as beſtowed upon Men, and not the moſt vertuous of Men, divine honours; when he ſees a Town of Houſes, wherein powerful Men dwell, Worſhipped as a Goddeſs, and receiving (without ſcorn of the givers, or ſhame of the preſent) the Title of *Deity*, at the gift of ſuch a raſcal City as *Alabanda*?

§. VII.

Q. Martius *the* Roman *Conſul, with extream difficulty and danger, enters into* Tempe. *The cowardize of* Perſeus *in abandoning* Tempe. *The Town of* Dium *quitted by* Martius; *repaired and fortified by the King. The* Romans *attempt many places, with ill ſucceſs. Their affairs in hard eſtate.* Martius *a cunning and a bad Man.* Polybius *ſent Embaſſador to* Martius *from the* Achæans. Polybius *his honeſt wiſdom beneficial to the* Achæans. *King* Eumenes *grows averſe from the* Romans. Perſeus *negotiates with* Antiochus *and* Eumenes. *His falſe dealing with* Gentius *King of* Illyria; *whom he draws into the* Roman *War. He ſends Embaſſadors to the* Rhodians; *who vainly take upon them to be Arbitrators between him and the* Romans. Perſeus *loſeth a mighty ſuccour of the* Baſtarnæ, *by his wretched parſimony.*

After two years of the *Macedonian* War, things were further out of tune in *Greece*, than when the War began, which had been thought likely to reform all thoſe Countries, and bring them to what paſs the *Romans* deſired, as it did in the end. *Perſeus* had hitherto the better, and was ſtronger now, than when he lived in Peace. He had enlarged his borders on the *Illyrian* ſide; his friends, in all parts of *Greece*, took courage daily; and his reputation grew ſuch, as cauſed thoſe that were before wholly *Roman*, to ſuſpect what the iſſue of the War might prove, and thereupon to become wiſe for themſelves. Contrariwiſe, *Licinius* and *Hoſtilius* the Conſuls, had one after the other ſpent their time in vain, ſeeking way into *Macedon*; and defaced the glorious enterprize of conqueſt, by many loſſes received. The *Roman* Admirals had ſo demeaned themſelves, that many Towns, even of the beſt affected to *Rome*, kept them out by force. Generally, the fear was great on the *Roman* ſide; and the Army much leſſened, not only by caſualties of War, but by the facility of the Tribunes or Colonels, or elſe of the Conſul himſelf (for they laid the blame one upon the other) in licencing the Souldiers to depart. *Quintius Martius* the new Conſul, who ſucceeded unto *Hoſtilius*, was to amend all this: which nevertheleſs was more than he knew how to do: though he brought with him a ſtrong ſupply of Men. He began hotly to ſet the War on foot, which a long time had ſlept. And he began the right way: not ſeeking to force the Streights that were ſurely Guarded, but taking pains to clime the Mountains, which were thought able to forbid all paſſage over them, without help or need of any cuſtody. The King heard of his approach; and being uncertain what way he meant to take, diſtributed his own forces, to the defence of all places which might give entrance, or permit aſcent. But the Conſul proceeded in his Journey: with hope, either not to be diſcovered by the Enemy, or to break through all oppoſition, or at leaſtwiſe, to fight on as convenient ground, as they ſhould have that lay to ſtop him; and at length, if all failed, to make a ſafe Retreat. He ſent before him four thouſand of his moſt expedite Foot, to diſcover the ways. Two day was this Company troubled, in overcoming the difficulty of no more than fifteen miles: after which they had ſight of the Enemy, that lay to deny their paſſage. They occupied therefore a ſafe piece of ground; and ſent back word to the Conſul, where they were; intreating him to haſten unto them: which he did. The *Macedonians* were not a whit diſmayed at his arrival; but met him, and fought with him, two or three days together; each returning to their own Camp at night, with little loſs on either ſide. This bickering was on the narrow ridge of a Mountain, which gave ſcarcely room unto three to march in front. So that very few hands came to be employed: all the reſt were beholders. In this caſe, it was impoſſible to get forwards: yet a ſhame to return. Wherefore *Martius* took the only courſe remaining; and indeed the beſt. Part of his Men he left with *Popilius*, to attend upon the *Macedonians*: whilſt he, with the reſt, fetcht a compaſs about, and ſought out ways that never had been trodden. Herein he found extream difficulty: which notwithſtanding he overcame. Beſides the troubles commonly incident to ſuch Journeys, through places unfit for habitation: he was compelled, by labour of hand to make paths where none were, yea where Nature might ſeem to have intended, that none ſhould be. So ſteep he found the deſcent of the Mountains, in this way which he took: that of ſeven miles, which they travelled the firſt day, his Men were compelled, for the more part, to rowl themſelves down; as not daring to truſt their Feet. Neither was this the worſt. For they met with Rocks, that ſtood one over another, ſo upright, and cumberſome to get down; that their Elephants were afraid of the giddy proſpect, and caſting their Governours, made a terrible noiſe, which affrighted the Horſes, and bred great confuſion. Having therefore gone, or wallowed, four miles of this grievous Journey; there was nothing more deſired by the Souldiers, than that they might be ſuffered to creep back again, the ſame way which they had come. But ſhift was made to let down the Elephants, by a kind of Bridges, like unto falling Draw-bridges: whereof the one end was joyned to the edge of the Cliff; the other ſuſtained by two long Poſts, faſtened in the ground below. Upon theſe two Poſts, or Poles, which indeed (not being very ſtrong, ſince it was intended that they ſhould be either cut or broken) were faſtened two Rafters, anſwerable in length to the diſtance, between the higher and the lower fall: ſo as the end of one Bridge might reach to the beginning of another. Theſe were covered with Planks and Turf; that they might ſeem continent with the Ground;

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ſo to make the Beaſts adventurous, to go upon them. If there were a Plain of any good extent from the foot of a Rock, to the next downfal; then might the Bridge be ſhorter. When an Elephant was gone a pretty way, upon one of theſe; the Poſts upholding the Frame were cut aſunder; thereby cauſing him to ſinck down unto the next Bridge: whence he was conveyed, in like manner, to the third, and onward ſtill, to the very bottom. Thus went they down ſliding, ſome on their feet, others on their Buttocks, till they came to an even valley. By this it appears, how throughly provided the *Romans* uſed to be in their Journeys, of things needful in all occaſions: as alſo what ineſtimable pains they took in this deſcent, about the conveyance of themſelves and all their Carriages down the Mountains. The next day they reſted: ſtaying for *Popilius* and his Company, who hardly, or perhaps never, ſhould have overtaken them, if the Enemy had followed, and ſet upon him from aloft. The third and fourth days Journeys were like unto the firſt: ſave that cuſtom, and the nearneſs to their ways end without meeting Enemy, cauſed them the better to endure the labour.

Perſeus could not be ignorant of the *Romans* coming towards him: ſince they fought with his Men upon the paſſage, three days together; he lying ſo nigh, that he might well near have heard the noiſe. Yet was he ſo poſſeſſed with fear; that he neither ſtirred to help his own Men, or to hinder the Conſul, nor made any proviſion for that which might fall out; but as one void of counſel, ſate kearkening after the event. Four only paſſages there were, leading into *Tempe*: the firſt by *Connus*; which the *Romans* were unable to force: the ſecond and third were the ſame which *Martius* had attempted in vain, and another like unto it: the laſt, by the City of *Dium* out of *Macedon*. All theſe were ſufficiently guarded: and whoſoever would ſeek any other way, muſt be fain to take ſuch pains as *Martius* had undergone. The entrance by *Dium* was fairer than any of the reſt: whereof only the King had benefit; for that his Enemies could not get thither, ſave through the valley it ſelf, into which they muſt firſt pierce another way. *Dium* ſtood upon the foot of the huge Mountain *Olympus*, about a Mile from the Sea: of which Mile, the River *Helicon* becoming there a Lake, and called *Baphyras*, took up the one half; the reſt being ſuch as might eaſily have been fortified. Beſides all theſe, there was in the midſt of *Tempe*, a paſſage which ten Men might eaſily keep: where the Spurs of the Mountains, reaching far into the Valley, drew near to the very Banks of *Peneus*, a goodly and deep River which ran thorow it. Wherefore nothing had been more eaſie, than to make the Conſul repent him of his troubleſome Journey: if *Perſeus* could have ſeen his own advantages. For the *Roman* Army was not only in ill caſe to fight, after the vexation of that miſerable travel: but muſt needs have either periſhed for want of Victuals, or been enforced to return the ſame way that it came, if the King had maintained the ſtreight of *Dium*. To have returned, and climed up with their Elephants and Carriages, againſt thoſe Rocks, from which, with extream labour, they could hardly get down, it ſeems a matter of impoſſibility: eſpecially conſidering, how the Enemy, from above their heads, would have beaten upon them; being now aware of the Path which they had taken, though he knew it not when they ſtole away from him. It may therefore be thought ſtrange, that the *Romans* did not rather take their Journey into *Macedon*, from the ſide of *Illyria*, whence that Kingdom had often been invaded, as lying open on that part: than put themſelves to the trouble of breaking into *Tempe*; whence, after that they were there arrived, there was no means to eſcape, without forcing one of thoſe paſſages, which they deſpaired to win. But the Cowardize of *Perſeus*, did commend the counſel by them followed, as wiſe. For he no ſooner heard that the Enemy was come over the Mountains into *Tempe*; than he fared like one out of his wits; ſaying, That he was vanquiſhed, and had loſt all without Battel. Herewithal he began to take out of *Dium*, what he could carry away in haſte; and ſtraightways abandoned the Town. In the ſame vehemency of amazement, he ſent a ſtrait commandment to *Theſſalonica*, that the Arſenal there ſhould be ſet on fire; and to *Pella*, that his Treaſures there ſhould be caſt into the Sea: as if the *Romans* were like preſently to be maſters of theſe two Cities. *Nicias*, who was appointed to drown the Treaſure, performed it haſtily as well as he could: though ſoon after, his Maſter grew ſorry for the loſs; and it was all, in a manner, recovered by Divers from under the Water. But *Andronicus*, who had charge to ſet on fire the Kings Arſenal, deferred the execution; foreſeeing that repentance might follow: and ſo he prevented the damage. Whether, *Nicias*, for his abſolute and blind obedience, or *Andronicus*, for his careful providence, merited the greater commendation, or more eaſie pardon; it reſted in the King to interpret. The reward of their ſervice was this. *Perſeus* growing aſhamed of his mad cowardize, that appeared in this haſty direction, cauſed them both to be ſlain. Alſo thoſe poor Men, which had fetcht his Treaſure out of the Sea by their diving, were payd their wages after the ſame ſort; that ſo there might be no witneſs of the Kings baſe folly. Such end muſt they fear, who are privy to diſhonourable actions of great Princes. If *Perſeus* would have gone ſurely to work, for the hiding of his fault; then muſt he ſo Royally have behaved himſelf, that no Man might believe him to be the Author of any unworthy act or counſel. But his vertue was of no ſuch capacity. He thought it enough to lay the blame upon others. And therefore, having called *Hippias* away (the Captain which had ſtopped the Conſul on the Top of the Mountain) and *Aſclepiodatus*, from defence of the paſſages, whereto they were by him appointed, he rated them openly; ſaying, that they had betrayed unto the Enemy, the Gates and Bars of *Macedon*. Of this reproach if they would diſcharge themſelves, by laying it upon him, to whom of right it belonged: then might they have ſped as did *Nicias* and *Andronicus*.

The Conſul *Martius* had great cauſe to rejoyce, for that the King ſo haſtily relinquiſhed his poſſeſſion of *Tempe*, and all the paſſages leading thereinto: ſince the *Roman* Army, this notwithſtanding, was hardly able to ſubſiſt, for want of Victuals. He took *Dium* without reſiſtance, and thence went forward into *Macedon*: wherein having travelled about a days Journey, and gotten one Town that yielded, he was compelled, by meer lack of food for his Men, to return back towards *Theſſaly*. His Fleet came to him, in this time of neceſſity, well appointed to have holpen him in the War: but having left behind, at *Magneſia*, the Ships of burthen, which carried the Proviſions. Wherefore it fell out happily, that one of his Lieutenants had been careful to occupy the Caſtles about *Tempe*, which were forſaken by the *Macedonians*: for by thoſe ways only might Corn be brought into the Army.

To

To meet the ſooner with this Corn, which was deſirouſly expected; he forſook *Dium*, and went to *Phila*; by which fooliſh Journey (if not worſe than fooliſh) he loſt more, than a little the longer faſting had been worth. It is probable, that his Carts, with all or the moſt of his ſtore, were loſt among the Mountains: for otherwiſe it had been madneſs to put himſelf on ſuch an Enterpriſe, ſo ſlenderly provided, as that without enforcement, or ſight of the Enemy, he ſhould be fain to quit it. Howſoever it was; Men thought him a Coward, or at leaſt a bad Man of War; ſince he thus recoyled and gave off, when it moſt behoved him to have proſecuted the Action.

By underſtanding the Folly or Cowardiſe of *Martius*; the King recollected himſelf; underſtood his own Error; ſought to hide it by ſuch poor means as have been ſhewed; and laboured to make what amends he could. He quickly repoſſeſſed the Town of *Dium*, which he haſtily repaired, finding it diſmantled by the *Romans*. This done, he encamped ſtrongly by the River *Enipeus*: meaning there to ſtop the Enemies Proceeding all that Summer. Leſs diligence, more timely uſed, would have been enough not only to have delivered *Martius* into his hand, who had beguiled him with an idle hope of Peace: but to have given him ſuch a Noble Victory, as might cauſe the *Romans* to ſeek a good end of the War upon fair Conditions, and not to begin again in haſte. Yet this recovery and fortification of *Dium*, was to the Conſul an exceeding hinderance. For little or nothing could afterward be done toward the Conqueſt in hand, in all the continuance of his Office. Only the Town of *Heraclea*, ſtanding on the River of *Peneus*, five miles from *Dium*, was taken by force; or rather by a trick of climing upon Mens Heads, ſomewhat after the manner of our Tumblers. But it made ſuch defence as it could; and was not given up for fear. After this, *Martius* did ſet a bold face towards *Dium*; as if he would have taken it again, and have driven the King further off: though his intent or hope, was nothing like ſo great: his chief care being to provide for his wintering. He ſent the Admiral to make attempt upon the Sea-Towns, *Theſſalonica*, *Caſſandrea*, *Demetrias* and others. All theſe were aſſayed: but in vain. The Fields about *Theſſalonica* were waſted; and ſome Companies, that ſundry times adventured forth of the Town, were ſtill put to the worſe. As for the Town it ſelf, there was danger in coming near it, either by Land or Sea; by reaſon of the Engines, which ſhot from the Walls, and reached unto the Fleet. Wherefore the Admiral ſetting ſail from thence, ran along by *Ænia*, and *Antigonea* (landing near to each of them, and both doing and receiving hurt) until he came unto *Pallene*, in the Territory of *Caſſandrea*. There King *Eumenes* joyned with him, bringing twenty Ships of War: and five other were ſent thither from King *Pruſias*. With this acceſs of ſtrength the Admiral was bold to trie his Fortune at *Caſſandrea*: (which was bad. There was a new Ditch lately caſt by *Perſeus*, before the Town: which while the *Romans* were filling up, queſtion was made, what became of the Earth taken thence, for that it lay not upon the Bank. By this occaſion, it was learned, that there were Arches in the Town Wall filled up with that Earth, and covered with one ſingle row of Brick. Hence the Admiral gathered hope of making way into the Town, by ſapping the Walls. To this work he appointed ſuch as he thought meeteſt: giving an Alarm to the other ſide of the Town, thereby to ſhadow his attempt. The Breach was ſoon made. But whilſt the *Romans* were ſhooting for joy, and ordering themſelves for the Aſſault: the Captains within the Town perceived what was done; and ſallying forth unexpected, gave a fierce charge on the Companies that were between the Ditch and the Wall; of whom they ſlew about ſix hundred, and ſuffered few to eſcape unwounded. This diſaſter, and the want of good ſucceſs on that part of the Town which King *Enmenes* aſſailed (a ſupply in the mean while entring the Town by Sea) cauſed the Siege to break up. *Torone* was the next place which the Admiral thought meet to attempt: and thence likewiſe he was repelled. Finding this too well manned; he made way towards *Demetrias*; whereinto *Euphranor*, a *Macedonian* Captain, was gotten before his coming, with ſuch Forces, as were not only ſufficient to have defended the Town, if the Admiral had layed ſiege to it, but to keep the Land about it from Spoil; or at leaſt (as they did) to make the Enemy pay dear for all that he there got. This *Euphranor* had taken his journey to *Demetrias*, by *Melibœa*; whither the Conſul (that he might not be quite without work) had ſent his Lieutenant to beſiege it: and by the terrour of his appearing ſuddenly over their Heads, cauſed the Beſiegers to diſlodge in all haſte, ſetting their Camp on fire.

Such Fortune attended on the *Romans*; or rather, ſo far was their Ability ſhort of their Enterpriſes; ever ſince their Conſul (whether daſtardly, or careleſly) moſt unlike a good Commander, had let go his hold of *Macedon*, by forſaking *Dium*: Yea, it is to be ſuſpected, that ſome greater harm befel them, or at leaſt, that they were in ſome greater danger, than is expreſſed in the broken remaining Hiſtory of this War. For *Martius* perſwaded the *Rhodians*, by *Ageſipolis* their Embaſſador, who came to him at *Heraclea* about other buſineſs of leſs importance, That they ſhould do well to interpoſe themſelves as Mediators, and ſeek to finiſh the War. Now, although *Polybius* do moſt probably conjecture, that this was rather a malicious device of *Martius*, craftily ſeeking to bring the *Rhodians* in danger (as anon it fell out) by their oppoſing the reſolution of the Senate; than that it proceeded from any true fear in him, either of *Perſeus*, or of *Antiochus*, who had then an Army on foot: yet ſince he made ſhew of fear, it is like withal, that ſomewhat had happened, which might make his fear ſeem not counterfeit. And ſo were the *Rhodians* moved to think of him; not only for that the extraordinary courteſie, both of him and of the Admiral, towards their Embaſſador, coming from proud natures, did argue diffidence, where there was no ambition to cauſe it; but much more, for that ſhortly after the Embaſſadors of *Perſeus*, and of *Gentius* the *Illyrian*, did ſet out their buſineſs at *Rhodes*, not more with the ſtrength of a good Fleet, which the *Macedonian* had gotten, than with the Honour of ſome Victory, wherein he had lately ſlain great numbers of the *Roman* Horſe. Thus much we find intimated: though the time, place, or other circumſtances of the Fight be not ſpecified. And hereto may be referred, the report of thoſe that were ſent from *Rome*, to view the Eſtate of *Martius* his Army. For they found the Conſul wanting Meat; the Admiral wanting Men; and, for thoſe few that he had, wanting both Money and Cloaths: and *Ap. Claudius* the Prætor, who lay on the Frontier of *Illyria*, ſo unable to invade *Macedon*, that contrariwiſe, he was in extream danger, ſo as either he muſt quickly be ſent for

Polyb. Legat. 80.

Polyb. Legat. 87.

thence, or a new Army be ſent thither to him. Wherefore it may ſeem, that ſome blow had been taken on the *Illyrian* ſide, which made all to halt; or at leaſt, that the *Romans* with greater loſs, than is before ſpoken of, had been driven from ſome of the Towns which they beſieged.

Now although it were ſo, that *Martius* in very few of his Actions, behaved himſelf like a man of War: yet in exerciſe of Cunning, which one hath moſt aptly termed, *a crooked or ſineſter kind of wiſdom*, he dealt as a Craftſmaſter, with a reſtleſs working diligence. This indeed neither proved his Sufficiency, nor commended his Honeſty: ſince thereby he effected nothing to his own benefit: and nevertheleſs, out of envy, vain-glory, or ſuch delight as weak and buſie-headed Men take, in creating inexplicable troubles, he directly made oppoſition to the good of his Countrey. At ſuch time as *Perſeus*, by the ſucceſs of his doings againſt *Hoſtilius*, had gotten much reputation, and was thought likely to invade *Theſſaly*; *Archo*, *Lycortas*, and other good Patriots among the *Achæans*, judged it expedient for their Nation to help the *Romans*, as in a time of adverſity, whom in proſperity they loved not to flatter. Wherefore *Archo* propoſed a Decree which paſſed: That the *Achæans* ſhould ſend their whole Power into *Theſſaly*, and participate with the *Romans* in all danger. So the Army was levyed; and *Polybius*, with others, ſent Embaſſadors unto *Martius*, to certifie him thereof, and know his pleaſure. *Polybius* found the Conſul buſied in ſeeking paſſage through *Tempe* into *Macedon*. He went along with the Army; and awaited the Conſuls leiſure, till they came to *Heraclea*; where finding the time convenient, he preſented the *Decree*, and offered the ſervice of his Nation, wherein ſoever it ſhould be commanded. *Martius* took this very kindly; but ſaid, that he needed now no manner of help. Forthwith *Polybius* diſpatched home his Companions, to ſignifie thus much: tarrying himſelf behind in the Camp. After a while, word was brought to *Martius*, that *Ap. Claudius* deſired, or rather imperiouſly required of the *Achæans*, five thouſand men, to be ſent him into *Epirus*. It was manifeſt, that *Appius* had need of theſe men; and that if he were ſtrong in Field, he might do notable ſervice, by diſtracting the Forces of *Perſeus*. But the Labyrinthian Head of *Martius* could not allow of ſuch plain reaſon. He called unto him *Polybius*, to whom he declared, that *Appius* had no need of ſuch aid: and therefore willed him to return home, and in any wiſe take order that the Men might not be ſent, nor the *Achæans* be put to ſuch needleſs charges. Away went *Polybius*; muſing, and unable to reſolve, whether it were for love to the *Achæans*, that the Conſul was ſo earneſt in this buſineſs; or rather for envy, and to hinder *App. Claudius* from doing any thing, ſince himſelf could do nothing. But when *Polybius* was to deliver his opinion in the Council, touching this matter: then found he a new doubt, that more nearly concerned his own ſelf, and thoſe of his Party. For as he was ſure to incur the great indignation of the Conſul, if he ſhould neglect what was given him in charge; ſo was it manifeſt on the other ſide, that the words by *Martius* uttered to him in private, would prove no good warrant for him and his Friends, if openly they ſhould refuſe to help *Claudius*, alledging that he had no need. In this caſe therefore, he had recourſe unto the Decree of the Senate: which exempted Men from neceſſity of doing what the *Roman* Commanders ſhould require, unleſs by ſpecial order from the Senate, the ſame were likewiſe appointed. So for lack of warrant from the Senate, this demand of *Appius* was referred unto the advice of the Conſul; by whom it was ſure to be made fruſtrate. Hereby the *Achæans* were ſavers of more than an hundred and twenty Talents: though *Polybius* himſelf ran into danger of *Appius* his diſpleaſure; and for ſuch honeſt dealing in his Countries behalf, was afterwards rewarded by the *Romans* with many a long years impriſonment.

Polyb. Legat. 78.

Whether it were by the like Policy of *Martius*, that King *Eumenes* grew cold in his Affection to the *Romans*; or whether this King began when it was too late, to ſtand in fear, leſt the Fire which he himſelf had helped to kindle, would ſhortly take hold on his own Lodging; or whether the regard of Money were able to overſway all other Paſſions; it is hard to determine: ſince they that had better means to know the truth, have not preciſely affirmed any certainty. One report is, that *Eumenes* did not ſo much as give any help to *Martius*: but coming to have joyned with him, in ſuch friendly manner as he did with the former Conſuls, was not entertained according to his liking; and thereupon returned home in ſuch anger, that he refuſed to leave behind him certain Horſe of the *Gallo-Greeks*, being requeſted to have done it. If this were true; and that his Brother *Attalus* tarrying behind with the Conſul, did the *Romans* good ſervice: then is the reaſon apparent, of the hatred, born afterwards by the Senate to *Eumenes*, and the love to *Attalus*. But it is more generally received, that *Eumenes* gave a willing ear to *Perſeus* his deſire of accord, for meer deſire of gain. And it might well be, that covetouſneſs drew him on, in the courſe, whereinto indignation firſt led him. Howſoever it befel; *Perſeus* cauſed *Eumenes* to be ſounded, and found him ſo tractable, that he was bold to ſolicite him by an Embaſſage. The Tenour of his Advertiſements, both to *Eumenes*, and to *Antiochus*, was, That there could be no perfect Love, between a King and a Free City: that the *Romans* had quarrel alike to all Kings, though they dealt with no more than one at a time, and uſed the help of one againſt another; That *Philip* was oppreſſed by them, with the help of *Attalus*; *Antiochus*, with the help of *Philip* and *Eumenes*; and now *Perſeus* aſſailed, with help of *Eumenes* and *Pruſias*. Herewith he willed *Eumenes* to conſider, that when *Macedon* was taken out of their way, they would be doing with him in *Aſia*, which lay next at hand; yea, that already they began to think better of *Pruſias*, than of him. In like ſort he admoniſhed *Antiochus*, not to look for any good concluſion of his War with the *Ægyptian*, ſo long as the *Romans* could make him give over, by denouncing their Will and Pleaſure. Finally, he requeſted both of them, either to compel the *Romans*, to ſurceaſe from their War upon *Macedon*; or elſe to hold them as common Enemies unto all Kings. *Antiochus* lay far out of the *Romans* way: and therefore was little troubled with ſuch Remonſtrances. *Eumenes* was more nearly toucht; and as he felt part of this to be true, ſo had he reaſon to ſtand in doubt of the reſt. Yet when he ſhould give anſwer; he began to offer a bargain of Peace for Money. He thought the *Romans* to be no leſs weary, than *Perſeus* was afraid. Wherefore he promiſed, for his own part, that if he might have fifteen hundred Talents for withdrawing his Hand from this War, then would he remain a Neuter therein: and that for ſome greater quantity of Money (how much I find not) he would alſo

ſo bring the *Romans* to condeſcend unto Peace: and for aſſurance of his true meaning herein, he offered to give Hoſtages. *Perſeus* liked well to receive the Hoſtages: but not to lay out the Money; eſpecially before hand, as was required. He would fain have Peace with *Rome*, and not with *Eumenes* only. For procuring of this, he promiſed to be at any reaſonable coſt: but he would lay down the Money in the Temple at *Samothrace*: whence it ſhould be delivered unto *Eumenes*, after that the Peace was fully concluded and ratified. The Iſle of *Samothrace* was *Perſeus* his own: and therefore *Eumenes* thought the Money no nearer to him, being there, than if it remained in *Pella*. Beſides, his labour deſerved ſomewhat, howſoever the buſineſs might happen to ſucceed: ſo that needs he would have part of his Wages in *preſt*. Thus the two Kings did no more, than loſe time; and *Eumenes* grew ſuſpected of the *Romans*, as a Traytor.

After the ſame manner dealt *Perſeus* with King *Gentius* the *Illyrian*. He had attempted this *Illyrian* before; who dealt plainly, and ſaid, That without Money he could not ſtir. Hereunto *Perſeus* loved not to hearken; thinking that his Treaſures would ſerve at the laſt caſt, to deliver him from all his Fears. But when the *Romans* had gotten within *Tempe*, then did his fear urge him to Prodigality; ſo as he agreed to pay three hundred Talents, which *Gentius* demanded for a recompence. So the bargain was ſoon made, and Pledges on both ſides delivered for performance. This was openly done by *Perſeus*; to the end that all his Army might have comfort, by ſuch acceſs of ſtrength to their Party. Preſently upon the bargain made, Embaſſadors were ſent to *Rhodes*, from both *Perſeus* and *Gentius*: who deſired the *Rhodians*, to take upon them, as Arbitrators, between *Perſeus* and the *Romans*, and to bring the War to an end. The *Rhodians* thinking that *Martius* the Conſul was no leſs deſirous of Peace than the *Macedonian*, arrogantly promiſed, That they by their Authority, would make Peace; wiſhing the Kings to ſhew themſelves conformable. But the *Roman* Senate, hearing proud Words, to the ſame effect, from the *Rhodian* Embaſſadors; gave an anſwer, as diſdainful, angry, and menacing, as they could deviſe; ſo as this vain Glory of the *Rhodians* was throughly chaſtiſed; and more throughly ſhould have been, if their ſubmiſſion had not been as humble, as their Folly was proud. Such uſe of *Gentius* his Friendſhip, made *Perſeus*; without laying out one ounce of Silver. Now fain he would have haſtned this young and raſh *Illyrian* to enter with all ſpeed into the War: but then muſt the Money be haſtned away. *Pantauchus*, the *Macedonian* Embaſſador, who remained with *Gentius*, exhorted him daily to begin the War by Land and Sea, whilſt the *Romans* were unprovided. But finding what it was that made all to ſtay: he ſent word to *Perſeus*. Hereupon ten Talents were ſent to *Pantauchus*: who delivered it to the young King, as earneſt of that which followed. More followed indeed; and ſealed up with the Seal of the *Illyrians*; but carried by *Macedonians*, and not too faſt. Before this Money came into *Illyria*, *Gentius* had laid hands upon two *Roman* Embaſſadors, and caſt them into Priſon. Which *Perſeus* no ſooner heard, than he recalled his Treaſure-bearers, and ſent them with their load to *Pella*; for that now the *Illyrian* was of neceſſity to make War with the *Romans*, whether he were hired thereto or not.

There came about the ſame time, through *Illyria*, to the aid of *Perſeus*, under one *Clondicus* a Petty King, ten thouſand Horſe and ten thouſand Foot, of the *Gaules*, which were (as *Plutarch* hath it) the *Baſtarnæ*. Theſe had before hand made their bargain, and were to receive preſent pay at the firſt. At their entry into the Kingdom, *Perſeus* ſent one to them; deſiring their Captains to come viſit him, whom he promiſed to gratifie with goodly Rewards; hoping that the Multitude would take good words for payment. But the firſt Queſtion that their General asked, was, Whether the King had ſent Money to give the Souldiers their Pay in hand, according to his bargain? Hereto the Meſſenger [illegible] not what to anſwer. Why then (ſaid *Clondicus*) tell thy Maſter, That the *Gaules* will not ſtir one foot further, until they have Gold, as was agreed, and Hoſtages. *Perſeus* hereupon took counſel: if to utter his own opinion, before men ſo wiſe that they would not contradict him, were to take counſel. He made an invective againſt the incivility and avarice of the *Baſtarnæ*: who came with ſuch numbers, as could not but be dangerous to him and to his Kingdom. Five thouſand Horſe of them, he ſaid, would be as many as he ſhould need to uſe; and not ſo many, that he ſhould need to fear them. It had been well done, if any of his Counſellors would have told him, that there wanted not employment for the whole Army of them, ſince without any danger to the Kingdom, they might be let out by the way of *Perrhæbia*, into *Theſſaly*: where waſting the Countrey, and filling themſelves with Spoil, they ſhould make the *Romans* glad to forſake *Tempe*, even for hunger and all manner of want; therein doing the King notable ſervice, whether they won any Victory, or not. This, and a great deal more might have been alledged, if any Man had dared to give advice freely. In concluſion *Antigonus*, the ſame Meſſenger that been with them before, was ſent again, to let them know the Kings mind. He did his Errand: upon which followed a great Murmur of thoſe many thouſands that had been drawn ſo far to no purpoſe. But *Clondicus* asked him now again, whether he had brought the Money along with him, to pay thoſe five thouſand, whom the King would entertain. Hereto, when it was perceived, that *Antigonus* could make no better anſwer then ſhifting excuſes; the *Baſtarnæ* returned preſently towards *Danubius*, waſting the Neighbour parts of *Thrace*; yet ſuffering this crafty Meſſenger to eſcape unhurt: which was more than he could have well expected.

Thus dealt *Perſeus*, like a careful Treaſurer, and one that would preſerve his Money for the *Romans*, without diminiſhing the ſum. But of this painful Office he was very ſoon diſcharged by *L. Æmylius Paulus* the new Conſul: who in fifteen days after his ſetting forth from *Italy*, brought the Kingdom of *Macedon* to that end, for which GOD had appointed over it a King ſo fooliſh and ſo cowardly.

§. VIII.

Of L. Æmylius Paulus *the Conſul. His Journey. He forceth* Perſeus *to diſcamp. He will not hazard Battel with any diſadvantage. Of an Eclipſe of the Moon.* Æmylius *his Superſtition. The Battel of* Pydna. Perſeus *his flight. He forſakes his Kingdom: which haſtily yields to* Æmylius. Perſeus *at* Samothrace. *He yields himſelf to the* Roman *Admiral; and is ſent Priſoner to* Æmylius.

BY the War of *Macedon*, the *Romans* hitherto had gotten much diſhonour. Which though it were not accompanied with any danger, yet the indignity ſo moved them, that either * they decreed that Province to *L. Æmylius Paulus*, without putting it, as was otherwiſe their manner, to the chance of lot, between him and his fellow Conſul; or at leaſt were gladder that the lot had caſt it upon him, than that ſo worthy a Man was advanced to the dignity of a ſecond Conſulſhip. He refuſed to propound unto the Senate any thing that concerned his Province; until by Embaſſadors, thither ſent to view the E ſtate of the War, it was perfectly underſtood, in what condition both the *Roman* Forces, and the *Macedonian*, at the preſent remained. This being throughly known to be ſuch, as hath been already told; the Senate appointed a ſtrong Supply, not only unto the Conſul, but unto the Navy, and likewiſe to the Army that lay between *Illyria* and *Epirus*; from which *Ap. Claudius* was removed, and *L. Anicius* ſent thither in his place. *Æmylius*, before his departure from *Rome*, making an Oration to the People, as was the Cuſtom, ſpake with much Gravity and Authority. He requeſted thoſe that thought themſelves wiſe enough to manage this War, either to accompany him into *Macedon*, and there aſſiſt him with their Advice; or elſe to govern their Tongues at home, and not take upon them to give directions by hearſay, and cenſure by idle reports: for he told them plainly, that he would frame his doings to occaſions; not to the expectation of the Multitude. The like Speech of his Father *L. Æmylius*, who died valiantly in the Battel of *Cannæ*, might well be living in ſome of their memories: which was enough to make them conform themſelves the more gladly unto the inſtructions given by a wiſe and reſolute Conſul.

* *Plutarch in vit. Æmyl.*

All his buſineſs within the City being diſpatched, *Æmylius* was honourably attended, at his ſetting forth on his Journey; with an eſpecial hope of Men, that he ſhould finiſh the War: though that he ſhould finiſh it ſo ſoon and happily, was more than could have been hoped or imagined. He came to *Brunduſium*; whence, when the Wind came fair, he ſet Sail at break of day, and arrived ſafely at the Iſle of *Corcyra* before night. Thence paſſed he to *Delphi*: where, having done Sacrifice to *Apollo*, after the fifth day he ſet forwards to the Camp; and was there in five days more. So are there but five of the fifteen days remaining, in which he finiſhed the War.

Perſeus lay ſtrongly encamped at *Dium*; having ſpared no labour of Men and Women to fortifie the Banks of *Enipeus*, where it was fordable in dry weather. So as there was little hope, or none, to force him; and conſequently as little poſſibility to enter that way into *Macedon*. One great inconvenience troubling the *Romans*, and much diſabling them to make attempt upon *Dium*, was lack of freſh Water. For there were ten miles between *Dium* and *Tempe*; all the way lying between the Sea Shore and the Foot of *Olympus*, without any Brook or Spring breaking forth on that ſide. But *Æmylius* found preſent remedy for this, by digging Wells on the Shore where he found ſweet Springs; as commonly there is no Shore that wants them, though they riſe not above the Ground. Want of this Knowledge was enough to hinder *Martius* from taking up his Lodging any nearer to the Enemy, than the Town of *Heraclea*, on the River of *Peneus*; where he had watering at pleaſure, but could perform no ſervice of any worth. Yet when the *Roman* Camp had ſuch means to lye cloſe to the *Macedonian*, as it preſently did; the paſſage onward being defended as hath been ſhewed, ſeemed no leſs difficult than before. Wherefore it was neceſſary to ſearch another way; which by enquiry was ſoon found out. There was a narrow paſſage over *Olympus*, leading into *Perræbia*: hard of aſcent, but ſlenderly guarded, and therefore promiſing a fair journey. *Martius* either had not been informed hereof; or durſt not attempt it: or perhaps could not get his Souldiers to make the Adventure; they fearing leſt it would prove ſuch a piece of work, as had been their march over *Oſſa* into *Tempe*. But *Paulus* was a Man of greater Induſtry, Courage, and Ability, to command. He had reformed, even at his firſt coming, many diſorders in the *Roman* Camp; teaching the Souldiers, among other good Leſſons, to be obedient and ready in Execution; without troubling themſelves, as had been their manner, to examine the Doings and Purpoſes of their General. And now he appointed about five thouſand men to this Enterpriſe: whereof he committed the charge unto *Scipio Æmylianus* and *Q. Fabius Maximus*, his own Sons by nature, but adopted; the one of them, by a Son of *Scipio* the *African*; the other by one of the *Fabii*. *Scipio* took with him ſome light-armed *Thracians* and *Cretans*; but his main ſtrength was of Legionaries. For the Kings Guard, upon the Mountain, conſiſted in a manner wholly of Archers and Slingers: who, though at ſome, diſtance they might do notable ſervice againſt thoſe that ſhould climb up unto them; yet when the darkneſs took away their aim, they were like to make a bad Nights work, being to deal with thoſe that were armed to fight at hand. To conceal the buſineſs about which they went, *Scipio* and *Fabius* took a wrong way towards the Fleet; where Victuals were provided for their Journey: it being noiſed, that they were to run along the Coaſt of *Macedon* by Sea, and waſte the Countrey. All the while that they were paſſing the Mountains (which was about three days) the Conſul made ſhew of a meaning to ſet upon *Perſeus* where he lay; rather to divert the Kings Attention from that which was his main Enterpriſe, than upon any hope to do good, in ſeeking to get over *Enipeus*. The Chanel of *Enipeus*, which received in Winter time, a great fall of Waters from the Mountains, was exceeding deep and broad; and the Ground of it was ſuch, as though at the preſent it lay well-near all dry, yet it ſerved not for thoſe that were weightily armed to fight upon. Wherefore *Æmylius* employed none ſave his *Velites*; of whom the Kings light Armature had advantage at far diſtance, though the *Romans* were better appointed for the cloſe. The Engines from off the Towers which *Perſeus* had raiſed on his own Bank, did alſo beat upon the *Romans*, and gave them to underſtand

derſtand, that their Labour was in vain. Yet *Æmylius* perſiſted as he had begun; and recontinued his Aſſault, ſuch as it could be, the ſecond day. This might have ſerved to teach the *Macedonian*, that ſome greater work was in hand: ſince otherwiſe a good Captain, as *Æmylius* was known to be, would not have troubled himſelf with making ſuch Bravado's, that were ſomewhat coſtly. But *Perſeus* only looked unto that which was before his Eyes: until his men that came running fearfully down the mountain, brought word into the Camp, That the *Romans* were following at their Backs. Then was all full of tumult, and the King himſelf no leſs (if not more) amaz'd than any of the reſt. Order was forthwith given to diſlodge, or rather, without order, in all tumultuous haſte, the Camp was broken up, and a ſpeedy Retreat made to *Pydna*. Whether it were ſo, that they which had cuſtody of the Paſſage were taken ſleeping, or whether they were beaten by plain force; *Scipio* and *Fabius* had very good ſucceſs in their Journey. It may well be, that they ſlept until the *Romans* came ſomewhat near to them; and then taking alarm, when their Arrows and Slings could do little Service, were beaten at handy ſtroaks: ſo as the different relations that are cited by *Plutarch* out of *Polybius*, and an Epiſtle of *Scipio*, may each of them have been true. Thus was an open way cleared into *Macedon*: which had been effected by *Martius* in the year fore-going; but was cloſed up again, through his not proſecuting ſo rich an opportunity.

Perſeus was in extream doubt what courſe to take, after this unhappy beginning. Some gave advice, to man his Towns, and ſo to linger out the War: having been taught by the laſt years Example, how reſolute the people were in making defence. But far worſe Counſel prevailed; as generally it doth in turbulent and fearful deliberations. The King reſolved to put all at once to hazard of Battel: fearing belike to put himſelf into any one Town, leſt that ſhould be firſt of all beſieged; and he therein (as cowardly natures always are jealous) not over-carefully relieved. This was even the ſame that *Æmylius*, or any Invador, ſhould have deſired. So a place was choſen near unto *Pydna*, that ſerved well for the *Phalanx*, and had likewiſe on the ſides of it ſome pieces of higher ground, fit for the Archers and light Armature. There he abode the coming of the Enemy; who ſtayed not long behind him. As ſoon as the *Romans* had ſight of the Kings Army; which, with greater fear than diſcretion, had halted away from them, forſaking the Camp that was ſo notably well fortified: they deſired nothing more, than to give Battel immediately; doubting leſt otherwiſe the King ſhould change his mind, and get further off. And to this effect *Scipio* brake with the Conſul; praying him not to loſe occaſion by delay. But *Æmylius* told him that he ſpake like a young Man; and therefore willed him to have patience. The *Romans* were tired with their Journey; had no Camp wherein to reſt themſelves; nor any thing there, ſave only the bare Ground whereon they trode. For theſe and the like reſpects, the Conſul made a ſtand, and ſhewing himſelf unto the *Macedonian*, who did the like, in order of Battel; gave charge to have the Camp meaſured out and entrenched behind the Army; whereinto at good leiſure, he fell back without any manner of trouble. After a nights reſt, it was hoped both by the *Romans* and by the *Macedonians*, that the matter ſhould be determined; each part thinking their own General too blame, for that they had not fought the ſame day. As for the King he excuſed himſelf by the backwardneſs of the Enemy; who advanced no further, but kept upon ground ſerving ill for the *Phalanx*: as on the other ſide, the Conſul had the reaſons before ſhewed, which he communicated to thoſe about him the next day.

That Evening (which followed the third of *September*, by the *Roman* account) *C. Sulpicius Gallus*, a Colonel, or Tribune of a Legion, who had the former year been Prætor, foretold unto the Conſul, and (with his good liking) unto the Army, an Eclipſe of the Moon, which was to be the ſame Night: willing the Souldiers not to be troubled therewith, for that it was natural, and might be known long before it was ſeen. It was the manner of the *Romans*, in ſuch Eclipſes, to beat Pans of Braſs and Baſons, as we do in following a ſwarm of Bees; thinking, that thereby they did the Moon great eaſe, and helped her in her labour. But this Prognoſtication of *Sulpicius* converted their Superſtition into admiration of his deep Skill, when they ſaw it verified. Contrariwiſe, the *Macedonians* howled and made a great noiſe as long as the Eclipſe laſted: rather perhaps becauſe it was their Faſhion, than for that they were terrified therewith as with a Prodigy; betokening their loſs; ſince their deſire to fight was no whit leſſened by it. I will not here ſtand to diſpute, whether ſuch Eclipſes do ſignifie, or cauſe, any alteration in Civil Affairs, and Matters that have ſmall dependance on natural Complexion: for the Argument is too large. More worthy of obſervation it is, how Superſtition captivates the Wiſdom of the Wiſeſt, where the help of true Religion is wanting. *Æmylius*, though he were ſufficiently inſtructed concerning this defect of the Moon, that it was no ſupernatural thing, nor above the reach of Human Underſtanding, ſo as he ſhould need to trouble himſelf with any devout regard thereof: yet could he not refrain from doing his Duty, to this Moon, and congratuling with Sacrifice her delivery, as ſoon as ſhe ſhone out bright again: for which, he is commended even by *Plutarch* a Sage Philoſopher, as a Godly and Religious Man. If *Sulpicius* perhaps did not aſſiſt him in this fooliſh Devotion; yet is it like, that he being a Senator, and one of the Council for War, was partaker the next Morning in a Sacrifice done to *Hercules*; which was no leſs fooliſh. For a great part of the day was vainly conſumed, ere *Hercules* could be pleaſed with any Sacrifice, and vouchſafe to ſhew tokens of good luck in the Entrails of the Beaſts. At length in the Belly of the one and twentieth Sacrifice, was found a promiſe of Victory to *Æmylius*; but with condition, that he ſhould not give the onſet. *Hercules* was a *Greek*, and partial, as nearer in Alliance to the *Macedonian* than to the *Roman*. Wherefore it had been better to call upon the new Goddeſs, lately Cannonized at *Alabanda*; or upon *Romulus*, Founder of their City, on whom the *Romans* had beſtowed his Deity; or (if a God of elder date were more Authentical) upon *Mars* the Father of *Romulus*, to whom belonged the guidance of Military Affairs; and who therefore would have limited his favour with no injunctions contrary to the rules of War.

Now concerning the Battel; *Æmylius* was throughly perſwaded, that the King meant to abide it: for that otherwiſe he would not have

ſtayed

stayed at *Pydna*, when, as a little before, his leisure served to retire whither he listed, the *Romans* being further off. In regard of this, and perhaps of the tokens appearing in the Sacrifices, the Consul thought that he might wait upon advantage, without making any great haste. Neither was it to be neglected, that the Morning Sun was full in the *Romans* Faces: which would be much to their hinderance all the Forenoon. Since therefore *Perseus* kept his ground, that was commodious for the *Phalanx*, and *Æmylius* sent forth part of his Men to bring in Wood and Fodder; there was no likelihood of fighting that day. But about Ten of the Clock in the Morning, a small occasion brought to pass that, which whereto neither of the Generals had over earnest desire. A Horse brake loose at Watering; which two or three of the *Roman* Souldiers followed into the River, wading after him up to the Knees. The Kings Men lay on the further Bank; whence a couple of *Thracians* ran into the Water, to draw this Horse over to their own side. These fell to blows, as in a private quarrel; and one of the *Thracians* was slain. His Countrimen seeing this, hasted to revenge their fellows death, and followed those that had slain him over the River. Hereupon company came in, to help on each part, until the number grew such, as made it past a fray, and caused both the Armies to be careful of the Event. In fine, each of the Generals placed his Men in order of Battel, accordly as the manner of his Country, and the Arms, wherewith they served, did require. The Ground was a flat level, save that on the sides a few Hillocks were raised here and there; whereof each part might take what advantage it could. The *Macedonians* were the greater number, the *Romans* the better Souldiers, and better appointed. Both the King and the Consul encouraged their Men with lively words: which the present condition could bountifully afford. But the King having finished his Oration, and sent on his Men, withdrew himself into *Pydna*: there to do Sacrifice, as he pretended, unto *Hercules*. It is the less marvel, that he durst adventure Battel, since he had bethought himself of such a Stratagem, whereby to save his own Person. As for *Hercules*, he liked not the Sacrifice of a Coward: whose unseasonable devotion could be no better than hypocrisie. For he that will pray for a good Harvest, ought also to Plow, Sow, and Weed his Ground. When therefore the King returned to the Battel, he found it no better than lost: and he, in looking to his own safety, caused it to be lost altogether, by beginning the flight. The acts of this day, such as we find recorded, are, That the *Roman* Elephants could do no manner of good: That the *Macedonian Phalanx* did so stoutly press onwards, and beat off all which came before it, as *Æmylius* was thereat much astonished; That the *Peligni* rushing desperately on the *Phalanx*, were over-born, many of them slain, and the Squadrons following them so discouraged herewith, as they retired apace towards an Hill. These were the things that fell out adverse to the *Romans*; and which the Consul beholding, is said to have rent his Coat-armor for grief. If the King with all his power of Horse, had in like manner done his devoyre, the Victory might have been his own. That which turned the fortune of the Battel, was the same which doubtless the Consul expected, even from the beginning: the difficulty, or almost impossibility, of holding the *Phalanx* long in order. For whilst some of the *Romans* small Battallions pressed hard upon one part of it, and others recoyled from it; it was necessary (if the *Macedonians* would follow upon those which were put to the worse) that some Files having open way before them, should advance themselves beyond the rest that were held at a stand. This coming so to pass, admonished the Consul, what was to be done. The long Pikes of the *Macedonians* were of little use, when they were charged in flank by the *Roman* Targettiers; according to direction given by *Æmylius*, when he saw the Front of the Enemies great Battel become unequal, and the Ranks in some places open, by reason of the unequal resistance which they found. Thus was the use of the *Phalanx* proved unavailable against many small Squadrons, as it had been formerly in the Battel of *Cynoscephalæ*: yea, this form of embattailing was found unserviceable against the other, by reason, that being not every where alike distressed, it would break of it self; though here were little such inconvenience of Ground as had been at * *Cynoscephalæ*. * *Chap.* 4. §. 14.

Perseus when he saw his Battel begin to rout, turned his Bridle presently, and ran amain towards *Pella*. All his Horse escaped, in a manner, untouched, and a great number followed him; the little harm which they had taken, witnessing the little good service which they had done. As for the poor Foot; they were left to the mercy of the Enemy: who slew above twenty thousand of them; though having little cause to be furious, as having lost, in that Battel, only some fourscore, or sixscore Men at the most. Some of the Foot, escaping from the execution, overtook the King and his Company in a Wood: where they fell to railing at the Horsemen, calling them Cowards, Traytors, and such other names, till at length they fell to blows. The King was in doubt lest they had ill meaning to himself: and therefore turned out of the common way, being followed by such as thought it good. The rest of the Company dispersed themselves: every one as his own occasions guided him. Of those that kept along with their King, the number began within a while to lessen. For he fell to devising upon whom he might lay the blame of that days misfortune, which was most due to himself: thereby causing those that knew his nature, to shrink away from him, how they could. At his coming to *Pella*; he found his Pages and houshold Servants, ready to attend him, as they had been wont. But of his great Men that had escaped from the Battel, there was none appearing in the Court. In this Melancholy time, there were two of his Treasurers that had the boldness to come to him, and tell him roundly of his faults. But in reward of their unseasonable admonitions, he stabbed them both to death. After this, none whom he sent for would come at him. This boded no good. Wherefore standing in fear, lest they that refused to come at his call, should shortly dare some greater mischief; he stole out of *Pella* by night. Of his friends he had with him only *Evander* (who had been employed to kill *Eumenes* at *Delphi*) and two other. There followed him likewise about five hundred *Cretians*; more for love of his Money, than of him. To these he gave of his Plate, as much as was worth about fifty Talents, though shortly he cozened them of some part thereof; making shew as if he would have redeemed it; but never paying the Money. The third day after the Battel he came to *Amphipolis*; where he exhorted the Townsmen to fidelity, with Tears; and his own speech being hindered by Tears, appointed *Evander* to speak what himself would have uttered. But the *Amphipolitans* made it their chief care, to look well to

to themſelves. Upon the firſt fame of the overthrow, they had emptied their Town of two thouſand *Thracians* that lay there in Garriſon: ſending them forth under colour of a gainful employment, and ſhutting the Gates after them. And now to be rid of the King; they plainly bad *Evander* be gone. The King hearing this, had no mind to tarry: but embarking himſelf and the Treaſure which he had there, in certain Veſſels that he found in the River *Strymon*; paſſed over to the Iſle of *Samothrace*: where he hoped to live ſafe, by priviledge of the Religious Sanctuary therein.

Theſe miſerable ſhifts of the King make it the leſs doubtful, how all the Kingdom fell into the power of *Æmylius*, within ſo few days after his Victory. *Pydna* which was neareſt at hand, was the laſt that yielded. About ſix thouſand of the Souldiers, that were of ſundry Nations, fled out of the Battel into that Town; and prepared for defence: the confuſed rabble of ſo many ſtrangers hindering all deliberation and conſent. *Hippus* who had kept the paſſage over *Oſſa* againſt *Martius*, with *Pantauchus*, who had been ſent Embaſſador to *Gentius* the *Illyrian*, were the firſt that came in: yielding themſelves and the Town of *Beræa*, whither they had retired out of the Battel. With the like Meſſage came others from *Theſſalonica*, from *Pella*, and from all the Towns of *Macedon*, within two days: the loſs of the head bereaving the whole Body of all ſenſe and ſtrength. Neither did they of *Pydna* ſtand out any longer, when they knew that the King had forſaken his Country: but opened their Gates upon ſuch terms, that the ſack of it was granted to the *Roman* Army. *Æmylius* ſent abroad into the Country, ſuch as he thought meeteſt, to take charge of other Cities: he himſelf marching towards *Pella*. He found in *Pella* no more than three hundred Talents; the ſame whereof *Perſeus* had lately defrauded the *Illyrian*. But within a little while he ſhall have more.

It was ſoon underſtood, that *Perſeus* had taken Sanctuary, in the Temple at *Samothrace*: his own Letters to the Conſul, confirming the report. He ſent theſe Letters by Perſons of ſuch mean condition: that his caſe was pitied, for that he wanted the Service of better Men. The ſcope of his writing was, to deſire favour: which though he begged in terms ill beſeeming a King; yet ſince the Inſcription of his Epiſtle was, *King* Perſeus *to the Conſul* Paulus; the Conſul, who had taken from him his Kingdom, and would not allow him to retain the Title, refuſed to make anſwer thereunto. So there came other Letters, as humble as could be expected: whereby he craved and obtained, that ſome might be ſent to confer with him about matters of his preſent eſtate. Nevertheleſs in this conference, he was marvelous earneſt, that he might be allowed to retain the name of King. And to this end it was perhaps, that he had ſo carefully preſerved his Treaſure, unto the very laſt: flattering himſelf with ſuch vain hopes as theſe; That the *Romans* would neither violate a Sanctuary, nor yet neglect thoſe great riches in his poſſeſſion; but compound with him for Money, letting him have his deſire to live at eaſe, and be called King. Yea it ſeems that he had indeed, even from the beginning, a deſire to live in this Iſle of *Samothrace*: both for that in one of his conſultations about the War he was dehorted by his friends, from ſeeking to exchange his Kingdom of *Macedon*, for * ſuch a paltry Iſland; and for that he offered to lay up the Money which *Eumenes* demanded, in the holy Temple that was there. But he finds it otherwiſe. They urge him to give place unto neceſſity, and without more ado, to yield to the diſcretion and mercy of the People of *Rome*. This is ſo far againſt his mind, that the conference breaks off without effect. Preſently there arrives at *Samothrace Cn. Octavius* the *Roman* Admiral, with his Fleet: who aſſays, as well by terrible threats, as by fair Language, to draw the King out of his lurking hole, wherein, for fear of impriſonment, he had impriſoned himſelf. When all this would not ſerve, a queſtion was moved to the *Samothracians*; How they durſt pollute their Temple, by receiving into it one that had violated the like holy priviledge of Sanctuary, by attempting the Murder of King *Eumenes* at *Delphi*? This went to the quick. The *Samothracians*, being now in the power of the *Romans*, take this matter to heart; and ſend word to the King, That *Evander*, who lives with him in the Temple, is accuſed of an impious fact committed at *Delphi*, whereof unleſs he can clear himſelf in judgment, he muſt not be ſuffered to prophane that holy place, by his abiding in it. The reverence born to his Majeſty, now paſt, makes them forbear to ſay, that *Perſeus* himſelf is charged with the ſame Crime. But what will this avail, when the Miniſter of the Fact being brought into Judgment, ſhall (as is to be feared) appeach the Author? *Perſeus* therefore willeth *Evander* to have conſideration of the little favour that can be expected at the *Romans* hand, who are like to be preſidents and overſeers of this judgment: ſo as it were better to die valiantly, ſince none other hope remains, than hope to make good an ill cauſe; where, though he had a good Plea, yet it could not help him. Of this motion *Evander* ſeems to like well: and either kills himſelf, or hoping to eſcape thence, by deferring the time as it were to get Poyſon wherewith to end his life, is killed by the Kings commandement. The death of this Man, who had ſtuck to *Perſeus* in all times of need, makes all the Kings friends that remained hitherto, to forſake him: ſo as none are left with him, ſave his Wife and Children, with his Pages. It is much to be ſuſpected, that they which leave him upon this occaſion, will tell perillous tales, and ſay, That the King hath loſt the priviledge of this holy Sanctuary, by murdering *Evander* therein. Or if the *Romans* will affirm ſo much, who ſhall dare to gainſay them? Since therefore there is nothing but a point of formality, and even that alſo lyable to diſpute, which preſerves him from captivity; he purpoſeth to make an eſcape, and fly, with his Treaſures, unto *Cotys* his good friend, into *Thrace*. *Oroandes*, a *Cretian*, lay at *Samothrace* with one Ship; who eaſily was perſwaded to waft the King thence. With all ſecrecy the Kings Money, as much as could be ſo conveyed, was carried aboard by night; and the King himſelf, with his Wife and * Children (if rather it were not true, that he had with him only * *Philip* his elder Son, who was only by adoption his Son, being his * Brother by nature) with much ado got out at a Window by a Rope, and over a Mud Wall. At his coming to the Sea ſide, he found no *Oroandes* there: the *Cretian* had played a *Cretian* trick, and was gone with the Money to his own home. So it began to wax clear day, whilſt *Perſeus* was ſearching all along the Shoar: who had ſtayed ſo long about this, that he might fear to be intercepted ere he could recover the Temple. He ran therefore amain towards his Lodging: and thinking it not ſafe to enter it the common way, leſt he ſhould be taken; he hid himſelf in an obſcure corner. His Pages miſſing him, ran up and

* *Liv. lib.* 42.

* *Plutarch. in vit. Æmyl.*

* *Liv. lib.* 45.

* *Liv. lib.* 42.

down making enquiry; till *Octavius* made Proclamation, That all the Kings Pages, and *Macedonians* whatsoever, abiding with their Master in *Samothrace*, should have their Lives and Liberty, with all to them belonging, which they had either in that Isle, or at home in *Macedon*, conditionally; That they should presently yield themselves to the *Romans*. Hereupon they all came in. Likewise *Ion*, a *Thessalonian*, to whom the King had given the custody of his Children, delivered them up to *Octavius*. Lastly, *Perseus* himself, with his Son *Philip*, accusing the Gods of *Samothrace*, that had no better protected him; rendered himself, and made the *Roman* Victory complete. If he had not trusted in those Gods of *Samothrace*, but employed his whole care in the defence of *Macedon*, without other hope of living, than of reigning therein; he might well have brought this War to an happier end. Now, by dividing his cogitations, and pursuing, at once, those contrary hopes of saving his Kingdom by Arms, and himself by flight; he is become a spectacle of misery, and one among the number of those Princes, that have been wretched by their own default. He was presently sent away to *Æmylius*; before whom he fell to the ground so basely, that he seemed thereby to dishonour the Victory over himself, as gotten upon one of abject quality, and therefore the less to be esteemed. *Æmylius* used to him the Language of a gentle Victor: blaming him, though mildly, for having, with so hostile a mind, made War upon the *Romans*. Hereto good answer might have been returned by one of better spirit. As for *Perseus*, he answered all with a fearful silence. He was comforted with hope of life, or (as the Consul termed it) almost assurance; for that such was the Mercy of the People of *Rome*. After these good words, being invited to the Consuls Table, and respectively entreated, he was committed Prisoner to *Q. Ælius*.

Such end had this *Macedonian* War, after four years continuance: and such end therewithal had the Kingdom of *Macedon*; the Glory whereof, that had sometime filled all parts of the World then known, was now translated unto *Rome*.

§. IX.

Gentius, *King of the* Illyrians, *taken by the* Romans.

ABout the same time, and with like celerity, *Anicius* the *Roman* Prætor, who succeeded unto *App. Claudius*, had the like success against King *Gentius* the *Illyrian*. *Gentius* had an Army of fifteen thousand; with which he was at *Lissus*, ready to assist King *Perseus* as soon as the Money should come, whereof he had received only ten Talents. But *Anicius* arrested him on the way; fought with him; overcame him; and drave him into * *Scodra*. This Town was very defensible by nature, besides the help of fortification; and strongly manned with all the force of *Illyria*; which, assisted with the Kings presence, made it seem unpossible to be won, in any not a very long time. Yet *Anicius* was confident in his late Victory; and therefore presented his Army before the Walls, making countenance to give an assault. The *Illyrians*, that might easily have defended themselves within the Town, would needs issue forth and fight. They were, it seems, rather passionate than courageous: for they were beaten; and thereupon forthwith began amazedly to treat about yielding. The King sent Embassadors; by whom, at first, he desired Truce for three days, that he might deliberate concerning his estate. It ill became him, who had laid violent hand on the *Roman* Embassadors, to have recourse to such mediation. But he thought his own fault pardonable, in as much as hitherto there was no greater harm done by him, than the casting of those Embassadors into Prison; where they were still alive. Having obtained three days respite, he passed up a River, within half a Mile of the *Roman* Camp, into the Lake of *Scodra*, as it were to consult the more privately; though indeed, to hearken whether the report were true, that his Brother *Caravantius* was coming to his rescue. Finding that no such help was toward, it is wonder, that he was so foolish as to return into *Scodra*. He sent Messengers craving access unto the Prætor: before whom having lamented his folly past (which, excepting the dishonesty, was not so great as his folly present) he fell down humbly, and yielded himself to discretion. All the Towns of his Kingdom, together with his Wife, Children, Brother, and Friends, were presently given up. So this War ended in thirty days: the People of *Rome* not knowing that it was begun, until *Perpenna*, one of the Embassadors that had been imprisoned, brought word from *Anicius* how all had passed.

* Called now *Scutari*.

§. X.

How the Romans *behaved themselves in* Greece *and* Macedon, *after their Victory over* Perseus.

NOw began the *Romans* to swell with the pride of their fortune; and to look Tyrannically upon those that had been unmannerly toward them before, whilst the War with *Perseus* seemed full of danger. The *Rhodian* Embassadors were still at *Rome*, when the tidings of these Victories were brought thither. Wherefore it was thought good to call them into the Senate, and bid them do their Errand again. This they performed with bad grace; saying, That they were sent from *Rhodes*, to make an Overture of Peace; forasmuch as it was thought, that this War was no less grievous to the *Romans* themselves, than to the *Macedonians* and many others: but that now they were very glad, and in behalf of the *Rhodians* did congratulate with the Senate and People of *Rome*, that it was ended much more happily than had been expected. Hereto the Senate made answer, That the *Rhodians* had sent this Embassage to *Rome*, not for love to *Rome*, but in favour of the *Macedonian*; whose Partizans they were, and should so be taken. By these threats, and the desire of some (covetous of the charge) to have War proclaimed against *Rhodes*; the Embassadors were so affrighted, that in Mourning Apparel, as humble Suppliants, they went about the City; beseeching all Men, especially the great ones, to pardon their indiscretion, and not to prosecute them with vengeance for some foolish words. This danger of War from *Rome* being known at *Rhodes*, all that had been any whit averse from the *Romans* in the late War of *Macedon*, were either taken and condemned, or sent Prisoners to *Rome*; excepting some that slew themselves for fear, whose Goods also were confiscated. Yet this procured little grace; and less would have done, if old *M. Cato*, a Man by nature vehement, had not uttered a mild Sentence, and advertised the Senate, That in decreeing War against *Rhodes*, they should much dishonour themselves, and make it thought,

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* *Cæsar in orat. apud Salust. de Conjurat. Catilinæ.*

thought, that * rather the wealth of that City, which they were greedy to ransack, than any just cause, had moved them thereto. This consideration, together with their good deserts in the Wars of *Philip* and *Antiochus*, helped well the *Rhodians*: among whom, none of any mark remained alive, save those that had been of the *Roman* Faction. All which notwithstanding, many years passed, ere, by importunate suit, they could be admitted into the Society of the *Romans*: a favour which, till now, they had not esteemed, but thought themselves better without it as equal friends.

With the like, or greater severity, did the *Romans* make themselves terrible in all parts of *Greece*. *Æmylius* himself made progress through the Countrey; visiting all the famous places therein, as for his pleasure: yet not forgetting to make them understand what power he had over them. More than five hundred of the chief Citizens in *Demetrias* were slain at one time by those of the *Roman* Faction, and with help of the *Roman* Souldiers. Others fled, or were banished, and their Goods confiscated. Of which things, when complaint was made to the Consul; the redress was such, as requited not the pains of making supplication. His friends, that is to say, those which betrayed unto the *Romans* the Liberty of their Country, he feasted like a King, with excessive chear; yet so, that he had all things very cheap in his Camp: an easie matter, since no Man durst be backward in sending Provisions, nor set on them the due Price. Embassadors likewise were sent from *Rome*; some, to give order for setling the Estate of *Macedon*, towards which they had more particular instruction from the Senate than was usual in such cases; and some, to visit the Affairs of *Greece*. The Kingdom of *Macedon* was set at liberty by *Æmylius* and the Embassadors, his assistants, who had order therefore from the Senate. But this liberty was such as the *Romans* used to bestow. The best part of it was, That the Tribute which had been payed unto the Kings, was lessened by half. As for the rest; the Country was divided into four parts, and they forbidden commerce one with the other. All the Nobility were sent Captive into *Italy*, with their Wives and Children, as many as were above fifteen years old. The ancient Laws of the Country were abrogated; and new given by *Æmylius*. Such mischief the Senate thought it better to do, at the first alteration of things in this Province, and in the time of Conquest, than otherwise to leave any inconvenience that should be worse in the future. But concerning the *Greeks*, that were not Subjects to *Rome*; the things done to them could deserve no better name than meer Tyranny, yea and shameless Perjury; were it not so, that the familiar custom, among Princes and great Estates, of violating Leagues, doth make the Oaths of Confederation seem of no validity. The Embassadors that were sent to visit the *Greeks*, called before them all such Men of note, from every quarter, as had any way discovered an unserviceable disposition towards the *Romans*. These they sent to *Rome*; where they were made sure enough. Some of these had sent Letters to *Perseus*, which fell at length into the *Romans* hands: and in that respect, though they were no Subjects, yet wanted there not colour, for using them as Traytors, or at least as Enemies. But since only two Men were Beheaded, for having been openly on the *Macedonian* side; and since it is confessed, that the good *Patriots* were no less afflicted in this inquisition, than they that had sold themselves to the King: this manner of proceeding was inexcusable Tyranny. With the *Achæans* these Embassadors were to deal more formally: not so much because that Commonwealth was strong (though this were to be regarded by them, having no Commission to make or denounce War) and like to prove untractable, if manifest wrong were offered; as for that there appeared no manner of sign, by Letters, or otherwise, whereby any one of the *Achæans* could be suspitiously charged to have held correspondence with the *Macedonian*. It was also so, that neither *Callicrates*, nor any of his adherents, had been employed by the Nation, in doing or offering their service to the *Romans*, but only such as were the best *Patriots*. Yet would not therefore the Embassadors neglect to use the benefit of the time: wherein, since all Men trembled for fear of *Rome*, the season served fitly to rank the *Achæans* with the rest. And hereto *Callicrates*, was very urgent: fearing, and procuring them to fear in behalf of him and his friends, that if some sharp order were not now taken, he and his Fellows should be made to pay for their mischievous devices, ere long time passed. So the Embassadors came among the *Achæans*: where one of them, in open assembly of the Nation, spake as *Callicrates* had before instructed him. He said, That some of the chief among them, had with Money and other means befriended *Perseus*. This being so; he desired that all such Men might be condemned, whom, after Sentence given, he would name unto them. After Sentence given (cried out the whole Assembly) what Justice were this? name them first, and let them answer; which if they cannot well do, we will soon condemn them. Then said the *Roman* boldly, that all their Prætors, as many as had led their Armies, were guilty of this Crime. If this were true, said *Xenon*, a temperate Man, and confident in his innocence; then should I likewise have been friend to *Perseus*: whereof, if any Man can accuse me, I shall throughly answer him, either here presently, or before the Senate at *Rome*. Upon these words of *Xenon* the Embassador laid hold, and said that even so it were the best way, for him and the rest to purge themselves before the Senate at *Rome*. Then began he to name others, and left not until he had cited above a thousand; willing them to appear, and answer before the Senate. This might even be termed the Captivity of *Greece*; wherein so many of the Honestest and Worthiest Men were carried from home, for none other cause than their love unto their Country; to be punished according to the will of those, who could not endure, that Vertue and regard of the publick Liberty, should dwell together in any of the *Greeks*. At their coming to *Rome*, they were all cast into Prison, as Men already condemned by the *Achæans*. Many Embassages were sent from *Achaia* (where it is to be wondred, that any such honest care of these innocent men could be remaining: since Honesty had been thus punished as a Vice, in so many of the worthiest among them) to inform the Senate, that these Men were neither condemned by the *Achæans*, nor yet held to be offendors. But instead of better answer it was pronounced; That the *Senate thought it not expedient for the Country, that these Men should return into* Achaia. Neither could any solicitation of the *Achæans*, who never ceased to importune the Senate for their liberty, prevail at all; until after seventeen years, fewer than thirty of them were enlarged, of whom that Wise and Vertuous Man *Polybius*, the great Historian was one. All the rest were either dead in Prison; or having made offer to escape, whether upon the way be-

fore they came to *Rome*, or whether out of Jayl, after that they were committed thereto, ſuffered Death as Malefactors.

This was a gentle correction, in regard of what was done upon the *Epirots*. For the Senate being deſirous to preſerve the *Macedonian* Treaſure whole; yet withal, to gratifie the Souldiers, gave order, That the whole Country of *Epirus* ſhould be put to Sack. This was a barbarous and horrible cruelty; as alſo it was performed by *Æmylius* with miſchievous ſubtilty. Having taken leave of the *Greeks*, and of the *Macedonians*, with bidding them well to uſe the Liberty beſtowed upon them by the People of *Rome*; he ſent unto the *Epirots* for Ten of the Principal Men out of every City. Theſe he commanded to deliver up all the Gold and Silver which they had; and ſent along with them, into every of their Towns, what Companies of Men he thought convenient, as it were to fetch the Money. But he gave ſecret inſtruction to the Captains, that upon a certain day by him appointed they ſhould fall to ſack, every one the Town whereinto he was ſent. Thus in one day were threeſcore and ten Cities, all Confederate with the *Romans*, ſpoiled by the *Roman* Souldiers: and beſides other acts of Hoſtility in a time of Peace, a Hundred and fifty thouſand of that Nation made Slaves. It may be granted, that ſome of the *Epirots* deſerved puniſhment, as having favoured *Perſeus*. But ſince they, among this People, that were thought guilty of this offence, yea, or but coldly affected to the *Romans*, had been already ſent into *Italy*, there to receive their due; and ſince this Nation, in general, was not only at the preſent in good obedience, but had, even in this War, done good Service to the *Romans*: I hold this act ſo wicked, that I ſhould not believe it, had any one Writer delivered the contrary. But the truth being manifeſt by conſent of all; it is the leſs marvelous, that God was pleaſed to make *Æmylius* Childleſs, even in the Glory of his Triumph, how great ſoever otherwiſe his Vertues were.

In ſuch manner dealt the *Romans*, after their Victory, with the *Greeks* and *Macedonians*. How terrible they were to other Kingdoms abroad, it will appear by the efficacy of an Embaſſage ſent from them to *Antiochus*: whereof before we ſpeak, we muſt ſpeak ſomewhat of *Antiochus* his foregoers, of himſelf, and of his Affairs about which theſe Embaſſadors came.

§. XI.

The War of Antiochus *upon* Ægypt, *brought to end by the* Roman *Embaſſadors.*

Antiochus the Great, after his Peace with the *Romans*, did nothing that was memorable in the ſhort time following of his Reign and Life. He died the ſix and thirtieth year after he had worn a Crown, and in the ſeventeenth or eighteenth of *Ptolemy Epiphanes*: while he attempted to Rob the Temple of *Bel*, or (according to *Juſtin*) of *Jupiter*. He left behind him three Sons, *Seleucus Philopator*, *Antiochus Epiphanes*, *Demetrius Soter*; and one Daughter, *Cleopatra*, whom he had given in Marriage to *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, King of *Ægypt*. *Seleucus* the fourth of that name, and the eldeſt of *Antiochus* his Sons, Reigned in *Syria* twelve years, according to *Euſebius*, *Appian*, and *Sulpitius*: though *Joſephus* give him but ſeven. A Prince, who as he was ſlothful by nature, ſo the great loſs which his Father *Antiochus* had received, took from him the means of managing any great affair. Of him, about three hundred years before his Birth, *Daniel* gave this judgement, *Et ſtabit in loco ejus viliſſimus & indignus decore regio.* *And in his place* (ſpeaking of *Antiochus* the Father of this Man) *ſhall ſtart up a vile Perſon, unworthy the honour of a King.* Under this *Seleucus*, thoſe things were done which are ſpoken of *Onias* the High Prieſt, in theſe words, and other to the ſame effect. *What time as the holy City was inhabited with all Peace, becauſe of the Godlineſs of* Onias *the Prieſt, it came to paſs, that even the King did honour the place, and garniſhed the Temple with great gifts.* And all that is written in the third Chapter of the ſecond of *Maccabes*, of *Simon* of *Benjamin*, who by *Apollonius* betrayed the Treaſures of the Temple: and of *Heliodorus* ſent by the King to ſeize them; of his miraculous ſtriking by God; and his recovery at the Prayers of *Onias*; of the Kings death, and of his Succeſſor *Antiochus Epiphanes*. It is therefore from the Reign of this King, that the Books of the *Maccabees* take beginning: which Books ſeem not to be delivered by one and the ſame hand. For the firſt Book, although it touch upon *Alexander* the Great, yet it hath nothing elſe of his ſtory, nor of the acts of his Succeſſors, till the time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, the Brother and Succeſſor of this *Seleucus*; from whom downward to the death of *Simon Macchabeus* (who died in the Hundred threeſcore and ſeventeenth year of the *Greeks* in *Syria*) that firſt Book treateth. The Author of the ſecond Book, although he take the Story ſomewhat further off, by way of a Proæme, yet he endeth with the Hundred and one and fiftieth year of the *Grecian* Reign, and with the death of *Nicanor*, ſlain by *Judas*: remembring in the fourth Chapter the practice of *Jaſon*, the Brother of *Onias*, who after the death of *Seleucus*, prevailed with *Antiochus Epiphanes*, his Succeſſor, for the Prieſthood. It is alſo held by *Janſenius* and other grave Writers, that it was in the time of this *Onias*, that *Arius* King of the *Spartans* ſent Embaſſadors to the *Jews*, as to their Brothers and Kinſmen. Which intelligence between them and the *Greeks*, *Jonathan* the Brother and Succeſſor of *Judas*, remembreth in the Preamble of that Epiſtle, which he himſelf directed to the People of *Sparta* by *Numenius* and *Antipater* his Embaſſadors, whom he employed at the ſame time to the Senate of *Rome*; repeating alſo the former Letters word by word, which *Arius* had ſent to *Onias* the High Prieſt, whereto *Joſephus* adds, that the name of the *Lacedæmonian* Embaſſador was *Demoteles*, and that the Letters had a ſquare Volume, and were Sealed with an Eagle holding a Dragon in her Claws.

Dan. 11. v. 21.

Mac. cap. 3

Mac. 1. 12.

Super Eccleſ. c. 5.

Now to this *Seleucus*, the fourth of that name, ſucceeded *Antiochus Epiphanes*, in the hundred and ſeven and thirtieth year of the *Greeks* in *Syriæ*. He was the ſecond Son of the Great *Antiochus*: and he obtained his Kingdom by procuring the death of the King his Brother; which alſo he uſurped from his Brothers Son.

Ptolemy Philometor, his Nephew by his Siſter *Cleopatra*, being then very young, had been about ſeven years King of *Ægypt*.

Ptolemy Epiphanes, the Father of this King *Philometor*, had Reigned in *Ægypt* four and twenty years, in great quiet, but doing little or nothing that was memorable. *Philip* of *Macedon*, and the great *Antiochus*, had agreed to divide his Kingdom between them, whilſt he was a Child. But they found ſuch other buſineſs, ere long, with the *Romans*, as made them give over their unjuſt purpoſe; eſpecially *Antiochus*, who gave, with his Daughter

Strab. lib. 16. Juſt. lib. 35.

Euſeb. in Cron. App. de bell. Syr. Ant. 12. cap. 5.

Daughter in Marriage, unto this *Ptolemy*, the Provinces of *Cæleſyria*, *Phœnice*, and *Judea*, which he had won by his Victory over *Scopas*, that was General of the *Egyptian* Forces in thoſe Parts. Nevertheleſs, *Ptolemy* adhered to the *Romans*: whereby he lived in the greater ſecurity. He left behind him two Sons; this *Ptolemy Philometor*, and *Ptolemy Phyſcon*, with a Daughter, *Cleopatra*. *Cleopatra* was Wife to the elder of her Brethren, and after his death to the younger, by whom ſhe was caſt off, and her Daughter taken in her ſtead. Such were the Marriages of theſe *Egyptian* Kings.

Ptolemy Philometor, ſo called (that is, the lover of his Mother) by a bitter Nick-name, becauſe he ſlew her, fell into hatred with his Subjects, and was like to be chaſed out of his Kingdom: his younger Brother being ſet up againſt him. *Phyſcon* having a ſtrong Party, got Poſſeſſion of *Alexandria*; and *Philometor* held himſelf in *Memphis*, craving Succour of King *Antiochus* his Uncle. Hereof *Antiochus* was glad: who under colour to take upon him the Protection of the young Prince, ſought by all means poſſible to poſſeſs himſelf of that Kingdom. He ſent *Apollonius* the Son of *Mneſtheus* Embaſſador into *Egypt*, and under colour to aſſiſt the Kings Coronation, he gave him inſtructions to perſwade the Governours of the young King *Philometor*, to deliver the King his Nephew with the principal places of that Kingdom into his Hands; pretending an extraordinary care and deſire of his Nephews ſafety and well doing. And the better to anſwer all Argument to the contrary, he prepared a forcible Army to attend him. Thus came he alongſt the Coaſt of *Syria*, to *Joppe*, and from thence on the ſudden he turned himſelf towards *Jeruſalem*, whereby
2. *Mac.* 4. *Jaſon* the Prieſt (a Chaplain fit for ſuch a Patron) he was with all Pomp and Solemnity, received into the City. For though lately, in the time of *Seleucus*, the Brother and Predeceſſor of
Mac. 2. *cap.* 3. *Epiphanes*, that impious Traytor *Simon* of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, Ruler of the Temple, when he would have delivered the Treaſures thereof to *Apollonius* the Governour of *Cæleſyria* and *Phœnicia*, was diſappointed of his wicked Purpoſe by Miracle from Heaven; the ſaid *Apollonius* being ſtricken by the Angel of God, and recovering again at the Prayer of *Onias*: yet ſufficed not this Example to terrifie others from the like ungodly Practiſes. Preſently upon the death of *Seleucus*, this *Jaſon*, the Brother of *Onias*, ſeeking to ſupplant his Brother, and to obtain the Prieſthood for himſelf, offered unto the King three hundred and threeſcore Talents of Silver, with other Rents and
Mac. l. 2. *c.* 4. and Sums of Money. So he got his deſire, though he not long enjoyed it.

This naughty dealing of *Jaſon*, and his being over-reached by another, in the ſame kind, calls to mind a by-word taken up among the *Achæans*, when as that miſchievous *Callierates*, who had been too hard for all Worthy and Vertuous Men, was beaten at his own Weapon, by one of his own Condition. It went thus.

One Fire than other burns more forcibly.
One Wolf than other Wolves does bite more ſore;
One Hawk than other Hawks more ſwift does fly.
So one moſt miſchievous of Men before,
Callicrates, *falſe Knave as Knave may be,*
Met with Menalcidas *more falſe than he.*

And even thus fell it out with *Jaſon*: who within three years after, was betrayed, and overbidden by *Menelaus* the Brother of *Simon*, that for three hundred Talents more, obtained the Prieſthood for himſelf: *Jaſon* thereupon being forced to flie from *Jeruſalem*, and to hide himſelf among the *Ammonites*.

From *Jeruſalem*, *Antiochus* marched into *Phœnicia*, to augment the numbers of his Men of War; and to prepare a Fleet for his Expedition into *Egypt*; with which, and with a mighty Army of Land-Forces, *He went about to reign over* Egypt, *that he might have the Dominion of two Realms, and entred* Egypt *with a mighty Company, with Chariots and Elephants, with Horſemen, and with a great Navy, and moved War againſt* Ptolemaves *King of* Egypt, *but* Ptolemaves *was afraid of him and fled, and many were wounded to death. He wan many ſtrong Cities, and took away the Spoils of the Land of* Egypt. *Mac.* 1. *c.* 1. *v.* 17. *Verſ.* 18. 19. 20. *&c.* *Dan. c.* 11. *v.* 24. Thus was fulfilled the Prophecy of *Daniel*. *He ſhall enter into the quiet and plentiful Provinces, and he ſhall do that which his Fathers have not done, nor his Fathers Fathers.* Never indeed had any of the Kings of *Syria* ſo great a Victory over the *Egyptians*, nor took from them ſo great Riches. For he gave a notable Overthrow to the Captains of *Ptolemy*, between *Peluſium* and the Hill *Caſſius*; after which, he entered and ſackt the greateſt and richeſt of all the Cities of *Egypt*, *Alexandria* excepted, which he could not force. *Hierom. in Dan.* In concluſion, after *that* Antiochus *had ſmitten* Egypt, *he turned again and went up towards* Iſrael *and* Jeruſalem, *with a Mighty People, and entered proudly into the Sanctuary, and took away the Golden Altar, and the Candleſtick for the Light, and all the Inſtruments thereof, and the Table of the Shew-bread, and the pouring Veſſels and the Bowls, and the Golden Baſons, and the Vail, and the Crowns, and the Golden Apparel. He took alſo the Silver and the Gold, and the Precious Jewels, and the Secret Treaſures: and when he had taken away all, he departed into his own Land, after he had murdered many men,* *Mac. l.* 1. *c.* 1.

It was about the beginning of the *Macedonian* War that *Antiochus* took in hand this *Egyptian* buſineſs. At what time he firſt laid claim to *Cæleſyria*; juſtifying his Title by * the ſame Allegations which his Father had made; and ſtiffly averring, that this Province had not been conſigned over to the *Egyptian*, or given in dowry with *Cleopatra*. Eaſie it was to approve his right unto that which he had already gotten, when he was in a fair way to get all *Egypt*. The *Achæans*, *Rhodians*, *Athenians*, and other of the *Greeks*, preſſed him, by ſeveral Embaſſages, to ſome good concluſion. But his anſwer was; that if the *Alexandrians* could be contented to receive their King his Nephew *Philometor*, the elder Brother of the *Ptolemies*, then ſhould the War be preſently at an end; otherwiſe not. Yet when he ſaw that it was an hard piece of work to take *Alexandria* by force; he thought it better to let the two Brothers conſume themſelves with inteſtine War, than by the terrour of his Arms, threatning deſtruction unto both of them, to put into them any deſire of coming to agreement. He therefore withdrew his Forces for the preſent; leaving the *Ptolemies* in very weak eſtate; the younger, almoſt ruinated by his Invaſion: the elder hated and forſaken by his People. *Lib.* 6. * *Cap.* 5. §. 2. *Polyb. Legat.* 81. 82. *&c.*

But how weak ſoever theſe *Egyptians* were, their hatred was thought to be ſo ſtrong, that *Antiochus* might leave them to the proſecution thereof; and follow, at good leaſure his other buſineſs at *Jeruſalem* or elſewhere. So after the Sack of *Jeruſalem*, he reſted him a while at *Antioch*; and then made a Journey into *Cilicia*, to ſuppreſs the Rebellion of the *Tharſians* and other in thoſe parts, who had been given, as it were, by way of dowry,

ry, to a Concubine of the Kings called *Antiochis*. For Governour of *Syria* in his abſence, he left one *Andronicus*, a man of great Authority about him. In the mean while *Menelaus* the Brother of *Simon*, the ſame who had thruſt *Jaſon* out of the Prieſthood, and promiſed the King three hundred Talents for an Income, committing the charge of the Prieſthood to his Brother *Lyſimachus*, ſtole certain Veſſels of Gold out of the Temple: whereof he preſented a part to *Andronicus* the Kings Lieutenant, and ſold the reſt at *Tyre*, and other Cities adjoyning. This he did, as it ſeemeth, to advance the payment of the three hundred Talents promiſed; the ſame being now by *Soſtratus* eagerly demanded. Hereof when *Onias* the Prieſt (formerly dipoſſeſſed by *Jaſon*) had certain knowledge, being moved with Zeal, and deteſting the Sacriledge of *Menelaus*, he reproved him for it; and fearing his revenge he withdrew himſelf into a Sanctuary at *Daphne*.

Daphne was a place of delight adjoyning as a Subburb to *Antioch*. In compaſs it had about ten miles: wherein were the Temples of *Apollo* and *Diana*, with a Grove, ſweet Springs, Banquetting places, and the like; which were wholly, in a manner, abuſed to Luſt, and other ſuch Voluptuouſneſs. Whether it were well done of *Onias*, to commit himſelf to the protection of *Apollo* and *Diana*, or to claim priviledge from the holineſs of a Ground Conſecrated to any of the Heathen Gods, I will not ſtand to diſcourſe. Only I ſay for my own opinion; that the inconvenience is far leſs, to hold this Book as *Apochryphal*; than to judge this fearful ſhift which *Onias* (though a vertuous man) made for his life, either commendable, or allowable, as the Book ſeems to do. As for this refuge, it could not ſave the life of the poor old Man: *For* Menelaus *taking* Andronicus *apart, prayed him to ſlay* Onias. *So when he came to* Onias, *he counſelled him craftily, giving him his right Hand with an Oath, and perſwading him to come out of the Sanctuary: ſo he ſlew him incontinently, without any regard of Righteouſneſs.* Hereof when complaint was made to *Antiochus*, after his return out of *Cilicia*, *He took away* Andronicus *his Garment of Purple, and rent his Cloaths, and commanded him to be led through-out the City, and in the ſame place where he had committed the Wickedneſs againſt* Onias, *he was ſlain as a Murderer.* In taking revenge of this innocent Mans death, I ſhould have thought that this wicked King had once in his life-time done Juſtice. But preſently after this, at the ſuit of one *Ptolemy*, a Traytor to *Ptolemy Philometor*, he condemned innocent Men to death; who juſtly complained againſt *Menelaus*, and his Brother *Lyſimachus*, for a ſecond robbing of the Temple, and carrying thence the Veſſels of Gold remaining. Hereby it is manifeſt, that he was guided by his own outragious Will, and not by any regard of Juſtice: ſince he revenged the death of *Onias*, yet ſlew thoſe that were in the ſame cauſe with *Onias*, *Who had they told their cauſe, yea, before the* Scythians, *they ſhould have been heard as innocent.* By reaſon of ſuch his unſteadineſs, this King was commonly termed *Epimanes*, that is, Mad, in ſtead of *Epiphanes*, which ſignfieth Noble or Illuſtrious.

Mac. lib. 2. cap. 4.

Mac. 2. c. 4. v. 33.

Verſ. 47.

Mac. 2. c. 5. v. 1.

After this, *Antiochus* made a preparation for a ſecond Voyage into *Egypt*, *and then were there ſeen throughout all the City of* Jeruſalem, *forty days long, Horſemen running in the Air with Robes of Gold, and as Bands of Spearmen, and as Troops of Horſemen ſet in Array, encountring and courſing one againſt another.* Of theſe Prodigious Signs, or rather forewarnings of GOD, all Hiſtories have delivered us, ſome more, ſome leſs. Before the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* by *Veſpaſian*, a Star in the form of a Sword appeared in the Heavens, directly over the City; after which there followed a ſlaughter like unto this of *Epiphanes*, though far greater. In the *Cymbrian* Wars, *Pliny* tells us that Armies were ſeen fighting in the Air from the Morning till the Evening.

Plin. lib. 2. c. 57.

In the time of Pope *John* the Eleventh, a Fountain poured out blood in ſtead of Water, in or near the City of *Genoa*; ſoon after which the City was taken by the *Saracens*, with great ſlaughter. Of theſe and the like Prodigious Signs, *Vipera* hath collected many, and very remarkable. But this one ſeemeth to me the moſt memorable, becauſe the moſt notorious. All Men know that in the Emperor *Nero*, the Off-ſpring of the *Cæſars*, as well natural as adopted, took end; whereof this notable Sign gave warning.

Mercur. Vipera de Prodig. lib. 8. Vipera de Priſco & ſacro inſtituto.

When *Livia* was firſt married to *Auguſtus*, an Eagle let fall into her Arms a white Hen, holding a Lawrel Branch in her Mouth. *Livia* cauſed this Hen to be carefully nouriſhed, and the Lawrel Branch to be planted: Of the Hen came a fair increaſe of white Poultrey, and from the little Branch there ſprang up in time a Grove of Lawrel: ſo that afterwards in all Triumphs, the Conquerors did uſe to carry in their Hands a Branch of Bayes taken out of this Grove; and after the Triumphs ended, to ſet it again in the ſame Ground: which Branches were obſerved, when they happened to wither, to foreſhew the death of thoſe Perſons who carried them in Triumph. And in the laſt year of *Nero*, all the Broods of the white Hen died, and the whole Grove of Bayes withered at once. Moreover, the Heads of all the *Cæſars* Statues, and the Scepter placed in *Auguſtus* his Hand, were ſtricken down with Lightning. That the *Jews* did not think ſuch ſtrange Signs to be unworthy of regard; it appears by their calling upon GOD, and praying, that theſe Tokens might turn to good.

Sueton. Galba.

Now, as the firſt Voyage of *Antiochus* into *Egypt* was occaſioned by diſcord of the two Brethren therein reigning: ſo was his ſecond Expedition cauſed by their good agreement. For the elder *Ptolemy* being left in *Memphis*, not ſtrong enough to force his Brother, who had defended *Alexandria* againſt all the Power of their Uncle; thought it the beſt way to ſeek entrance into that Royal City, rather by perſwaſion than by Arms. *Phyſcon* had not as yet forgotten the terrour of the former Siege: the *Alexandrians* though they loved not *Philometor*, yet loved they worſe to live in ſcarcity of Victuals (which was already great among them, and like to grow extream) ſince nothing was brought in from the Countrey; and the Friends of the younger Brother ſaw no likelihood of good iſſue to be hoped for without reconciliation. Theſe good helps, and above all theſe, the loving diſpoſition of *Cleopatra*, who then was in *Alexandria*, encouraged *Philometor* in his purpoſe. But that which made him earneſtly deſirous to accompliſh it, was the fear wherein he ſtood of his Uncle. For though *Antiochus* were gone out of *Egypt* with his Army; yet had he left behind him a ſtrong Garriſon in *Peluſium*: retaining that City which was the Key of *Egypt*, to his own uſe. This conſideration wrought alſo with *Phyſcon*, and with thoſe that were about him; ſo as by the vehement Mediation of *Cleopatra* their Siſter, the two Brethren made an end of all Quarrels.

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When the News of this Accord was brought to *Antiochus*, he was greatly enraged: for notwithſtanding that he had pretended no other thing than the Eſtabliſhment of the King *Philometor* his Nephew, and a meaning to ſubject his younger Brother unto him, which he gave in anſwer to all Embaſſadors; yet he now prepared to make ſharp War upon them both. And to that end he preſently furniſhed and ſent out his Navy towards *Cyprus*, and drew his Land Army into *Cæleſyria*, ready to enter *Egypt* the Spring following. When he was on his way as far as *Rhinocorura*, he met with Embaſſadors ſent from *Ptolemy*. Their Errand was partly to yield Thanks to *Antiochus* for the eſtabliſhing of *Philometor* in his Kingdom; partly to beſeech him, That he would rather be pleaſed to ſignifie what he required to have done in *Egypt*, which ſhould be performed, than to enter it as an Enemy with ſo puiſſant an Army. But *Antiochus* returned this ſhort anſwer, That he would neither call back his Fleet, nor withdraw his Army, upon any other condition, than that *Ptolemy* ſhould ſurrender into his hands, together with the City of *Peluſium*, the whole Territory thereto belonging: and that he ſhould alſo abandon and leave unto him the Iſle of *Cyprus*, with all the right that he had unto either of them for ever. For anſwer unto theſe demands, he ſet down a day certain, and a ſhort one. Which being come and paſt, without any accord made, the *Syrian* Fleet entred *Nilus*, and recovered as well thoſe places which appertained to *Ptolemy* in *Arabia*, as in *Egypt* it ſelf; for *Memphis* and all about it received *Antiochus*, being unable to reſiſt him. The King having now no ſtop in his way to *Alexandria*; paſſed on thitherwards by eaſie Journeys.

Of all theſe troubles paſt, as well as of the preſent danger wherein *Egypt* ſtood; the *Romans* had notice long ago. But they found, or were contented to find, little reaſon for them to entermeddle therein. For it was a Civil War: and wherein *Antiochus* ſeemed to take part with the juſter cauſe. Yet they gave ſignification, that it would be much diſpleaſing unto them, to have the Kingdom of *Egypt* taken from the rightful Owners. More they could not, or would not do; being troubled with *Perſeus*; and therefore loth to provoke *Antiochus* too far. Nevertheleſs, the *Egyptian* Kings being reconciled, and ſtanding joyntly in need of help againſt their Uncle, who prepared and made open War againſt them both: it was to be expected, that not only the *Romans* but many of the *Greeks*, as being thereto obliged by notable Benefits, ſhould arm in defence of their Kingdom. *Rome* had been ſuſtained with Food from *Egypt*, in the War of *Hannibal*; when *Italy* lying waſte, had neither Corn, nor Money wherewith to buy ſufficient ſtore. By help of the *Egyptian*, had *Aratus* laid the Foundation of that greatneſs, whereto the *Achæans* attained. And by the like help, had *Rhodes* been defended againſt *Demetrius Poliorcetes*. Neither were theſe Friendly Turns, which that Bountiful Houſe of the *Ptolemies* had done for ſundry People abroad, ill followed or ſeconded, by other as bad in requital: but with continuance of ſuteable Beneficence, from time to time encreaſed. Wherefore the two Brothers ſent abroad confidently for aid: eſpecially to the *Rhodians* and *Achæans*, who ſeemed moſt able to give it effectually. To the *Romans*, *Phyſcon* and *Cleopatra* had ſent, a year ſince: but their Embaſſadors lay ſtill in *Rome*. Of the *Achæans* they deſired in particular, that *Lycortas* the brave Warriour might be ſent to them as General of all the *Auxiliaries*, and his Son *Polybius* General of the Horſe. Hereunto the *Achæans* readily condeſcended: and would immediately have made performance; if *Callicrates* had not interpoſed his miſchievous Art. He, whether ſeeking occaſion to vaunt his obſequiouſneſs to the *Romans*; or much rather envying thoſe Noble Captains, whoſe Service the Kings deſired; withſtood the common Voice; which was, That their Nation ſhould not with ſuch ſmall numbers as were requeſted, but with all their power, be aiding unto the *Ptolemies*. For it was not now (he ſaid) convenient time to entangle themſelves in any ſuch buſineſs, as might make them the leſs able to yield unto the *Romans* what help ſoever ſhould be required in the *Macedonian* War. And in this Sentence, he with thoſe of his Faction obſtinately perſiſted; terrifying others with big Words, as it were in behalf of the *Romans*. But *Polybius* affirmed, that *Martius* the late Conſul had ſignified unto him, that the *Romans* were paſt all need of help: adding further, that a thouſand Foot, and two hundred Horſe, might well be ſpared, to the aid of their Benefactors, the *Egyptian* Kings, without diſabling their Nation to perform any Service to the *Romans*; for as much as the *Achæans* could, without trouble, raiſe thirty or forty thouſand Souldiers. All this notwithſtanding, the reſolution was deferred from one meeting to another; and finally broken, by the violence of *Callicrates*. For when it was thought that the Decree ſhould have paſſed; he brought into the Theatre where the Aſſembly was held, a Meſſenger with Letters from *Martius*; whereby the *Achæans* were deſired to conform themſelves to the *Roman* Senate, and to labour as the Senate had done, by ſending Embaſſadors to ſet *Egypt* in Peace. This was an advice againſt all reaſon. For the Senate had indeed ſent Embaſſadors to make Peace; but as in a time of greater buſineſs elſewhere, with ſuch mild words, that nothing was effected. Wherefore it was not likely, that the *Achæans* ſhould do any good in the ſame kind. Yet *Polybius* and his Friends durſt not gainſay the *Roman* Council; which had force of an injunction. So the Kings were left in much diſtreſs; diſappointed of their expectation. But within a while was *Perſeus* overcome: and then might the Embaſſador ſent from the *Roman* Senate, perform as much as any Army could have done.

Audience had been lately given by the Senate, unto thoſe Embaſſadors of *Phyſcon* and *Cleopatra*; which having ſtayed more than a whole year in the City, brought nothing of their buſineſs to effect until now. The Embaſſadours delivered their Meſſage in the Name of thoſe that had ſent them: though it concerned (which perhaps they knew not) *Philometor*, no leſs than his Brother and Siſter.

In this Embaſſage of *Ptolemy*, now requeſting help from *Rome*; appeared a notable change of his Fortune, from ſuch as it had been before three or four years laſt paſt. For in the beginning of theſe his Troubles, which began with the *Macedonian* War; either he, or *Eulæus* and *Lenæus* (upon whom the blame was afterwards laid) which had the Government of him, thought his Affairs in ſuch good Eſtate, that not only he determined to ſet upon *Antiochus*, for *Cæleſyria*, but would have interpoſed himſelf between the *Romans* and *Perſeus*, as a Competent Arbitrator; though it fell out well, that this Embaſſador was by

Polyb. Legat. 72.

by a Friend perſwaded, to forget that Point of his Errand. From theſe high Thoughts, he fell on the ſudden, by the Rebellion of his Brother and Subjects, to live under protection of the ſame *Antiochus*. And now at ſuch time as by atonement with his Brother and Subjects, he might have ſeemed to ſtand in no need of ſuch protection; he hath remaining none other help whereby to ſave both his Kingdom and Life, than what can be obtained by their interceſſion which were employed againſt him. This miſerable condition of him, his Brother and Siſter, ſhewed it ſelf even in the Habit of thoſe Embaſſadors. They were poorly clad; the Hair of their Heads and Beards over-grown, as was their manner in time of affliction; and they carried in their Hands Branches of Olive. Thus they entred into the Senate, and there fell grovelling and proſtrate upon the Floor. Their Garments were not ſo mean and mournful nor their Looks and Countenances ſo ſad and dejected, but that their Speech was than either of the other far more lamentable. For having told in what danger their King and Countrey ſtood; they made a pitiful and grievous complaint unto the Senate, beſeeching them to have compaſſion of their Eſtate, and of their Princes, who had always remained Friendly and Faithful to the *Romans*. They ſaid that the People of *Rome* had ſo much heretofore favoured this *Antiochus* in particular, and were of ſuch Account and Authority, with all other Kings and Nations; as if they pleaſed but to ſend their Embaſſadors, and let *Antiochus* know, that the Senate was offended with his Undertaking upon the King their Confederate; then would he preſently raiſe his Siege from before *Alexandria*, and withdraw his Army out of *Egypt* into *Syria*. But that if the Senate protracted any time or uſed any delay; then ſhould *Ptolemy* and *Cleopatra* be ſhortly driven out of their Realms, and make repair to *Rome*, with ſhameful diſhonour to the Senate and People thereof, in that, in the extream Dangers of all their Fortunes, they had not vouchſafed to relieve them.

The Lords of the Senate moved with Compaſſion, ſent incontinently *C. Popilius Lenus*, *C. Decimius*, and *A. Hoſtilius*, as Embaſſadors, to determine and end the War betweeen thoſe Kings. In Commiſſion they had firſt to find King *Ptolemy*, and then *Antiochus*, and to let them both underſtand, that unleſs they ſurceaſed and gave over Arms, they would take that King no more for a Friend to the Senate and People of *Rome*, whom they found obſtinate or uſing delay. So theſe *Romans*, together with the *Alexandrine* Embaſſadors, took their leave, and went onward their way within three Days after.

Whilſt *Popilius* and his Fellows were on their way toward *Egypt*, *Antiochus* had tranſported his Army over *Lucine*, ſome forty Miles from *Alexandria*. So near was he to the end of his Journey, when the *Roman* Embaſſadors met him. After Greeting and Salutations at their firſt Encounter. *Antiochus* offered his Right Hand to *Popilius*: but *Popilius* filled it with a Roll of Paper; willing him to read thoſe Mandates of the Senate, before he did any thing elſe. *Antiochus* did ſo: and having a little while conſidered of the buſineſs, he told *Popilius*, That he would adviſe with his Friends, and then give the Embaſſadors their Anſwer. But *Popilius*, according to his ordinary blunt manner of Speech, which he had by Nature, made a Circle about the King with a Rod which he held in his Hand, willing him to make hm ſuch an Anſwer as he might report to the Senate, before he moved out of that Circle. The King aſtoniſhed at this ſo rude and violent a Commandment, after he had ſtayed and pauſed a while, I will be content (quoth he) to do whatſoever the Senate ſhall ordain. Then *Popilius* gave unto the King his Hand, as to a Friend and Allie of the *Romans*.

Thus *Antiochus* departed out of *Egypt* without any good Iſſue of his Coſtly Expedition; even in ſuch a manner as * *Daniel* had propheſied long before: yea, fulfilling every particular Circumſtance, both of returning, and of doing miſchief to *Jeruſalem* after his return; like as if theſe things had rather been hiſtorified than fore-told by the Prophet. As for the *Roman* Embaſſadors, they ſtayed a while, and ſettled the Kingdom of *Egypt*, leaving it unto the elder Brother, and appointing the younger to reign over *Cyrene*. This done they departed towards *Cyprus*; which they left, as it had been, in the power of the *Egyptian*, having firſt ſent away *Antiochus*'s Fleet, which had already given an overthrow to the *Egyptian* Ships.

* *Dan. cap.* 11. *verſ.* 29, 30, *&c.*

§. XII.

How the Romans *were dreadful to all Kings. Their Demeanour towards* Eumenes, Pruſias, Maſaniſſa, *and* Cotys. *The end of* Perſeus *and his Children. The Inſtability of Kingly Eſtates. The Triumphs of* Paulus, Anicius, *and* Octavius. *With the Concluſion of the Work.*

BY this peremptory demeanour of *Popilius*, in doing his Meſſage, and by the ready obedience of King *Antiochus* to the will of the Senate; we may perceive how terrible the *Romans* were gown, through their Conqueſt of *Macedon*. The ſame *Popilius* had been well contented, a year before this, to lay aſide the roughneſs of his natural Condition, and to give good Language to the *Achæans* and *Ætolians*, when he went Embaſſador to thoſe People of *Greece*, that were of far leſs power than the King *Antiochus*. Likewiſe, *Antiochus* had with good Words, and no more than good Words, diſmiſſed other Embaſſadors which came from *Rome*, in ſuch ſort, as they complained not, much leſs uſed any menacing Terms, though he performed nothing of their Requeſt. But now the Caſe was altered. So found other Kings as well as *Antiochus*.

Eumenes ſent to *Rome* his Brother *Attalus* to gratulate the Victory over *Perſeus*, and to crave help or countenance of the Senate againſt the *Gallo-Greeks*, which moleſted him. Very welcome was *Attalus*, and lovingly entertained by moſt of the Senators: who bad him be confident, and requeſt of the Senate his Brothers Kingdom for himſelf; for it ſhould ſurely be given him. Theſe hopeful promiſes tickled *Attalus* with ſuch Ambition, that he either approved, or ſeemed to approve the motion. But his honeſt nature was ſoon reclaimed by the faithful Counſel of *Stratius* a Phyſician; whom *Eumenes* had ſent to *Rome* of purpoſe to keep his Brother upright. So when he came into the Senate, he delivered the Errand about which he had been ſent; recounted his own ſervices done to the *Romans* in the late War, * wherewithal he forgat not to make of his Brother as good mention as he could: and finally requeſted, That the Towns of *Ænus* and *Maronea* might be beſtowed upon himſelf. * By his omitting to ſue for his Brothers Kingdom, the Senate conceived opinion, that he meant to crave another day of Audience for that buſineſs alone.

* *Liv. lib.* 45.

* *Polyb. Legat.* 93.

Where-

Wherefore, to make him underſtand how gracious he was, they not only granted all his deſire; but in the Preſents which they gave to him (as was their cuſtom to Embaſſadors that came with an acceptable Meſſage) they uſed ſingular Mag-
Polyb. ibid. nificence. Nevertheleſs, *Attalus* took no notice of their meaning; but went his way, contented with what they had already granted. This did ſo highly diſpleaſe the Senate, that whilſt he was yet in *Italy*, they gave order for the liberty of *Ænus* and *Maronea*: thereby making uneffectual their promiſe; which otherwiſe they could not, without ſhame, revoke. And as for the *Gallo-Greeks*, which were about to invade the Kingdom of *Pergamus*; they ſent Embaſſadors to them, with ſuch inſtructions, as rather encouraged than hindered them in their purpoſe. The diſpleaſure of the Senate being ſo manifeſt; *Eumenes* thought it worthy of his labour to make another Voyage to *Rome*. He might well blame the folly of his ſecond Voyage thither, for this neceſſity of the third: ſince, by his malice to *Perſeus*, he had layed open unto theſe ambitious Potentates the way to his own Doors. No ſooner was he come into *Italy*, than the Senate was ready to ſend him going. It was not thought expedient to uſe him as an Enemy, that came to viſit them in love: neither could they, in ſo doing, have avoided the note of ſingular inconſtancy: and to entertain him as a Friend, was more than their hatred to him, for his ingratitude, as they deemed it, would permit. Wherefore they made a Decree, That no King ſhould be ſuffered to come to *Rome*; and by Vertue thereof ſent him home, without expence of much further Complement.

Pruſias King of *Bithynia* had been at *Rome* ſomewhat before; where he was welcomed after a better faſhion. He had learned to behave himſelf as humbly as the proud *Romans* could expect or deſire. For entring into the Senate, he lay down, and kiſſed the Threſhold, calling the *Fathers* his Gods and Saviours: as alſo he uſed to wear a Cap, after the manner of Slaves newly Manumiſed, profeſſing himſelf an enfranchiſed Bondman of the People of *Rome*. He was indeed naturally a Slave, and one that by ſuch abject Flattery kept himſelf ſafe; though doing otherwiſe greater miſchief than any wherewith *Perſeus* had been charged. His Errand was, beſides matter of Complement, to commend unto the Senate the care of his Son *Nicomedes*, whom he brought with him to *Rome*, there to receive Education. Further petition he made, to have ſome Towns added to his Kingdom: whereto, becauſe the Grant would have been unjuſt, he received a cold anſwer. But concerning the Wardſhip of his Son, it was undertaken by the Senate: which, vaunting of the pleaſure lately done to *Egypt*, in freeing it from *Antiochus*, willed him thereby to conſider, what effectual protection the *Romans* gave unto the Children of Kings, that were to their Patronage commended.

But above all other Kings, *Maſaniſſa* held his Credit with the *Romans* good. His Quarrels were endleſs with the *Carthaginians*: which made the Friendſhip of the *Romans* to him the more aſſured. In all Controverſies they gave judgment on his ſide: and whereas he had invaded the Countrey of *Emporia*, holding the Lands, but unable to win the Towns; the *Romans* (though at firſt they could find no pretext, whereby to countenance him in this oppreſſion) compelled finally the *Carthaginians* both to let go all their hold, and to pay five hundred Talents to the *Numidian*, for having hindered him of his due ſo long. Now indeed had *Rome* good leiſure to deviſe upon the ruine of *Carthage*: after which, the Race of *Maſaniſſa* himſelf was ſhortly by them rooted up. But hereof the old King never dreamed. He ſent to *Rome* one of his Sons, to congratulate the Victory over *Perſeus*; and offered to come thither himſelf, there to ſacrifice for joy unto *Jupiter* in the *Capitol*. His good Will was lovingly accepted; His Son rewarded; and he entreated to ſtay at home.

Cotys the *Thracian* ſent Embaſſadors, to excuſe himſelf touching the Aid by him given to *Perſeus*, for that the *Macedonian* had him bound by Hoſtages; and to entreat, That his Son which was taken with the Children of *Perſeus*, might be ſet at liberty for convenient Ranſom. His Excuſe was not taken; ſince he had voluntarily obliged himſelf to *Perſeus*, by giving Hoſtages without neceſſity: Yet was his Son given back to him Ranſom-free; with admonition, to carry himſelf better toward the *Romans* in time following. His Kingdom lay between *Macedon* and ſome barbarous Nations; in which reſpect, it was good to hold him in fair Terms

As for thoſe unhappy Kings, *Perſeus* and *Gentius* they were led through *Rome*, with their Children and Friends, in the Triumphs of *Æmylius* and *Anicius*. *Perſeus* had often made ſuit to *Æmylius*, that he might not be put to ſuch diſgrace: but he ſtill received one ſcornful anſwer, That it lay in his own power to prevent it; whereby was meant, that he might kill himſelf. And ſurely, had he not hoped for greater Mercy than he found, he would rather have ſought his death in *Macedon*, than have been beholding to the Courteſie of his inſolent Enemies for a wretched life. The iſſue of the *Roman* Clemency, whereof *Æmylius* had given him hope, was no better than this: After that he, and his Fellow King, had been led in Chains through the Streets, before the Chariots of their Triumphing Victors, they were committed to Priſon, wherein they remained without hope of releaſe. It was the manner, that when the Triumpher turned his Chariot up towards the *Capitol*, there to do Sacrifice, he ſhould command the Captives to be had away to Priſon, and there put to death: ſo as the Honour of the Vanquiſher, and Miſery of thoſe that were overcome, might be both together at the utmoſt. This laſt Sentence of Death was remitted unto *Perſeus*: yet ſo, that he had little joy of his Life; but either famiſhed himſelf, or (for it is diverſly reported) was kept watching perforce by thoſe that had him in Cuſtody; and ſo died for want of Sleep. Of his Sons, two died; it is uncertain how. The youngeſt called *Alexander* (only in name like unthe Great, though deſtined ſometimes perhaps by his Father, unto the Fortunes of the Great) became a Joyner, or Turner, or at his beſt Preferment, a Scribe under the *Roman* Officers. In ſuch Poverty ended the Royal Houſe of *Macedon*: and it ended on the ſudden; though ſome eightſcore years after the death of that Monarch, unto whoſe Ambition this whole Earth ſeemed too narrow.

If *Perſeus* had known it before, that his own Son, ſhould one day be compelled to earn his Living by Handy-work, in a painful Occupation; it is like, that he would not, as in a wantonneſs of Sovereignty, have commanded thoſe poor Men to be ſlain, which had recovered his Treaſures out of the Sea, by their skill in the feat of Diving. He would rather have been very gentle,

and would have considered, that the greatest Oppressors, and the most untrodden Wretches are all subject unto One High Power, governing all alike with absolute Command. But such is our unhappiness; instead of that Blessed Counsel, *Do as ye would be done unto*; a Sentence teaching all Moderation, and pointing out the way to Felicity; we entertain that arrogant Thought, *I will be like to the most High*: that is I will do what shall please my self. One hath said truly:

Juvenal. Sat. 10.

—∪∪— *Et qui volunt occidere quenquam.*
Posse volunt ———

Even they that have no murd'rous will,
Would have it in their power to kill.

All, or the most, have a vain desire of ability to do evil without controul: which is a dangerous Temptation unto the performance. GOD, who best can judge what is expedient, hath granted such power to very few: among whom also, very few there are, that use it not to their own hurt. For who sees not, that a Prince, by racking his Sovereign Authority to the utmost extent, enableth (besides the danger to his own Person) some one of his own Sons or Nephews to root up all his Progeny? Shall not many excellent Princes, notwithstanding their Brotherhood, or other nearness in blood, be driven to flatter the Wife, the Minion, or perhaps the Harlot, that governs one, the most unworthy of his whole House, yet reigning over all? The untimely death of many Princes, which could not humble themselves to such Flattery; and the common practise of the *Turkish* Emperors, to murder all their Brethren, without expecting till they offend; are too good proofs hereof. Hereto may be added, That the Heir of the same *Roger Mortimer*, who murdered most traiterously and barbarously King *Edward* the second, was, by reason of a Marriage, proclaimed, in time not long after following, Heir Apparent to the Crown of *England*: which had he obtained, then had all the power of *Edward* fallen into the Race of his Mortal Enemy, to exercise the same upon the Line of that unhappy King. Such Examples of the instability whereto all Mortal Affairs are subject; as they teach moderation, and admonish the transitory Gods of Kingdoms, not to authorize by wicked Precedents, the Evil that may fall on their own Posterity: so do they necessarily make us understand, how happy that Country is, which hath obtained a King able to conceive and teach, That

* The true Law of free Monarchies.

* GOD *is the surest and sharpest Schoolmaster, that can be devised, for such Kings, as think this world ordained for them, without controulment to turn it upside-down at their pleasure.* ———

Now, concerning the Triumph of *L. Æmylius Paulus*; it was in all points like unto that of *T. Quintius Flaminius*: though far more glorious, in regard of the Kings own Person, that was led along therein, as part of his own Spoils; and in regard likewise both of the Conquest and of the Booty. So great was the quantity of Gold and Silver carried by *Paulus* into the *Roman* Treasury, that from thenceforth, until the Civil Wars which followed upon the death of *Julius Cæsar*, the Estate had no need to burthen it self with any Tribute. Yet was this Noble Triumph likely to have been hindered by the Souldiers; who grudged at their General, for not having dealt more bountifully with them. But the Princes of the Senate over-ruled the People and Souldiers herein, and brought them to reason by severe Exhortations. Thus *Paulus* enjoyed as much Honour of his Victory as men could give. Nevertheless, it pleased GOD to take away from him his two remaining Sons, that were not given in Adoption: of which, the one died five days before the Triumph; the other, three Days after it. This loss he bore wisely: and told the People, That he hoped to see the Commonwealth flourish in a continuance of prosperity; since the joy of his Victory was requited with his own private Calamity, instead of the publick.

Chap. 3. §. 4.

About the same time, *Octavius* the Admiral, who had brought *Perseus* out of *Samothrace*: and *Anicius* the Prætor, who had conquered *Illyria*, and taken King *Gentius* Prisoner: made their several Triumphs. The Glory of which Magnificent Spectacles; together with the confluence of Embassages from all parts; and Kings either visiting the Imperial City, or offering to visit her, and do their Duties in Person; were enough to say unto *Rome*, *Sume superbiam*; *Take upon thee the Majesty, that thy Deserts have purchased.*

BY this which we have already set down, is seen the beginning and end of the three first Monarchies of the World; whereof the Founders and Erectors thought that they could never have ended. That of *Rome* which made the fourth, was also at this time almost at the highest. We have left it flourishing in the middle of the Field; having rooted up or cut down, all that kept it from the Eyes and Admiration of the World. But after some continuance, it shall begin to lose the Beauty it had; the storms of Ambition shall beat her great Boughs and Branches one against another; her Leaves shall fall off; her Limbs wither, and a Rabble of Barbarous Nations enter the Field, and cut her down.

Now these great Kings, and Conquering Nations, have been the Subject of those Ancient Histories, which have been preserved, and yet remain among us; and withal of so many Tragical Poets as in the Persons of powerful Princes, and other Mighty Men have complained against Infidelity, Time, Destiny; and most of all against the Variable Success of Worldly things, and Instability of Fortune. To these Undertakings, the greatest Lords of the World have been stirred up, rather by the desire of *Fame*, which ploweth up the Air, and soweth in the Wind; than by the affection of bearing Rule, which draweth after it so much Vexation, and so many Cares. And that this is true, the good Advice of *Cineas* to *Pyrrhus* proves. And certainly, as Fame hath often been dangerous to the Living, so is it to the Dead of no use at all; because separate from Knowledge. Which were it otherwise, and the extream ill Bargain of buying this lasting Discourse, understood by them which are dissolved; they themselves would then rather have wished, to have stoln out of the World without noise; than to be put in mind, that they have purchased the report of their Actions in the World, by Rapine, Oppression and Cruelty, by giving in Spoil the Innocent and Labouring Soul to the Idle and Insolent, and by having emptied the Cities of the World of their Ancient Inhabitants, and filled them again with so many and so variable sorts of Sorrows.

Since

Since the fall of the *Roman* Empire, (omitting that of the *Germans*, which had neither greatneſs nor continuance) there hath been no State fearful in the Eaſt, but that of the *Turk*; nor in the Weſt any Prince that hath ſpred his Wings far over his Neſt, but the *Spaniard*; who ſince the time that *Ferdinand* expelled the *Moors* out of *Granado*, have made many Attempts to make themſelves Maſters of all *Europe*. And it is true, that by the Treaſures of both *Indies*, and by the many Kingdoms which they poſſeſs in *Europe*, they are at this day the moſt powerful. But as the *Turk* is now counterpoiſed by the *Perſian*, ſo inſtead of ſo many Millions as have been ſpent by the *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Netherlands* in a Defenſive War, and in Diverſions againſt them, it is eaſie to demonſtrate, that with the charge of two hundred thouſand Pound, continued but for two years or three at the moſt, they may not only be perſwaded to live in Peace, but all their ſwelling and overflowing Streams may be brought back into their natural Channels and old Banks. Theſe two Nations, I ſay, are at this day the moſt eminent and to be regarded; the one ſeeking to root out the Chriſtian Religion altogether, the other the Truth and Sincere Profeſſion there of; the one to joyn all *Europe* to *Aſia*, the other the reſt of all *Europe* to *Spain*.

For the reſt, if we ſeek a reaſon of the Succeſſion and continuance of this boundleſs Ambition in Mortal Men, we may add to that which hath been already ſaid; That the Kings and Princes of the World have always laid before them, the Actions, but not the Ends, of thoſe great Ones which præceded them. They are always tranſported with the Glory of the one, but they never mind the Miſery of the other, till they find the Experience in themſelves. They neglect the Advice of GOD, while they enjoy Life, or hope it; but they follow the Counſel of Death, upon his firſt approach. It is he that puts into Man all the Wiſdom of the World, without ſpeaking a Word; which GOD with all the Words of his Law, Promiſes or Threats, doth not infuſe. *Death*, which hateth and deſtroyeth Man, is believed; GOD, which hath made him and loves him is always deferred. *I have conſidered (ſaith Solomon) all the Works that are under the Sun, and behold, all is vanity and vexation of Spirit*: but who believes it, till Death tells it us. It was Death, which opening the Conſcience of *Charles* the Fifth, made him enjoyn his Son *Philip* to reſtore *Navarre*; and King *Francis* the Firſt of *France*, to command that Juſtice ſhould be done upon the Murderers of the Proteſtants in *Merindol* and *Cabrieres*, which till then he neglected. It is therefore Death alone, that can ſuddenly make Man to know himſelf. He tells the Proud and Inſolent, that they are but Abjects, and humbles them at the inſtant; makes them crie, complain, and repent; yea, even to hate their forepaſſed Happineſs. He takes the account of the Rich, and proves him a Begger; a naked Begger, which hath intereſt in nothing, but in the Gravel that fills his Mouth. He holds a Glaſs before the Eyes of the moſt Beautiful, and makes them ſee therein, their Deformity and Rottenneſs; and they acknowledge it.

O Eloquent, Juſt and Mighty Death! whom none could adviſe, thou haſt perſwaded; what none hath dared, thou haſt done; and whom all the World hath flattered, thou only haſt caſt out of the World and deſpiſed: thou haſt drawn together all the far ſtretched Greatneſs, all the Pride, Cruelty, and Ambition of Man, and covered it all over with theſe two narrow Words, *Hîc jacet*.

Laſtly, Whereas this Book, by the Title it hath, calls it ſelf, The Firſt Part of the *General Hiſtory* of the *World*, implying a *Second*, and *Third* Volume; which I alſo intended, and have hewn out; beſides many other Diſcouragements, perſwading my Silence; it hath pleaſed GOD to take that Glorious *Prince* out of the World, to whom they were directed; whoſe unſpeakable and never enough lamented loſs, hath taught me to ſay with *Job*, *Verſa eſt in Luctum Cithara mea, & Organum meum in vocem flentium*.

FINIS.

To the READER.

THE Use of Chronological Tables is needful to all Histories, that reach to any length of time; and most of all, to those that are most general: since they cannot, like Annals, yearly set down all Occurrences not coherent. This here following, may serve as an Index to the present Part of this Work; pointing unto the several Matters, that having fallen out at one time, are far disjoyned in the Relation. Certainly it is not perfect: neither do I think, that any can be. For howsoever the years of the first Patriarchs may seem to have been well-near compleat, yet in the Reigns of the Kings of Juda and Israel, we find many Fractions, and the last year, or years, of one King reckoned also as the formost of another. The same is most likely to have fallen out in many other; though not so precisely recorded. Hereto may be added the diverse and imperfect forms of the year, which were in use among sundry Nations: causing * the Summer Months, in process of some Ages, to fall into the Winter; and so breeding extream confusion in the reckoning of their times. Neither is it a small part of trouble, to chuse out of so many, and so utterly disagreeing Computations, as have already gotten Authority, what may probably be held for truth. All this, and a great deal more, is to be alledged, in excuse of such Error as a more intentive and perfect Calculator shall happen to find herein. It may serve to free the Book, and likewise the Reader (if but of mean judgment) from any notorious Anachronicism; which ought to suffice. The Book indeed will need it, even in that regard; not only for some Errors of the Press, in the numbring of years, but for some hasty mis-reckonings of mine own; which I desire to have hereby reformed, in hope that the printing of this Table shall not want careful diligence. The Reader, if he be not offended with the rest, shall find reason to be pleased with this, as tending wholly to his own ease.

* See *Lib.* 2. *Chap.* 3. §. 6.

The Titles over the Columns, have reference to that which follows under them; as will readily be conceived. Where two Titles, or more, are over the Head, as | Rome / Nabonassar | there do the Numbers underneath answer proportionably, the higher to the higher, the lower to the lower. For Example: The Walls of Jerusalem were finished in the 319 year from the building of Rome, and in the 314 from Nabonassar. In like manner it is to be understood, That Jehoshaphat began his Reign in the 3774 of the Julian Æra, in the 3092 of the World, and in the 99 year of the Temple. This needs not more illustration; nor indeed so much, to those that are acquainted with works of this kind. To avoid prolixity, I have forborn to insert those years, which I find not signed with some regardable Accident: as with the Birth or Death of some Patriarch; the beginning of some Kings Reign; some change of Government; some Battel fought; or the like. So, of the 13 years wherein Sylvius Capetus reigned over the Latines, I note only the first; that is, omitting all between the 4 of Jehoshaphat, wherein Capetus began, unto the 17, wherein Sylvius Aventinus succeeded, and wherein Jehoram first reigned with Jehoshaphat his Father. For I thought it vain to have filled up a Page with 12 Lines of idle Cyphers; numbring forth 2, 3, 4, 5. and so still onwards, till I had come to the first of Aventinus, and 17 of Jehoshaphat. In setting down the Kings, there is noted over the Head of every one, what Place he held in order of Succession; as whether he were the first, second, fifth, seventh, or so forth, in rank, of those that reigned in his Countrey, without notable interruption: Before the Name is the first year of his Reign; at the end, or foot of the Name, (as the space gives leave) is the whole number of years in which he reigned; in the spaces following underneath are those years of his, which were concurrent with the beginning of some other King, or with the year of any remarkable Accident. Where two numbers, or more, are found before one Kings Name, there is it to be understood, that the same year belonged, not only to the King then beginning, but unto some one, or more, of his

fore-goers: as the first Year of Jehoram *King of* Israel *was the same with the second of his Brother* Ahazia, *and the* 22 *of his Father* Ahab. *So, where two or three names are found in one space; as in the* 3077 *Year of the World,* Zimri, Tibni, *and* Omri: *it is meant, that every one of them reigned in some part of the same Year; which is reckoned the second of* Ela, *and the first of* Omri. *Particularly, under the Years of the* Ægyptian *Kings are set down the Years of those* Dynasties, *which it was thought meet to insert; as likewise, otherwhiles, the Day of the Month upon which* Nabonassar's *Year began: which, how it varied from other Years, may be found in the place last above cited.*

Concerning the Æra, *or account of Years, from* Iphitus, *who began the* Olympiads, *from* Rome *built, from* Nabonassar, *and the like; as much as was thought convenient hath been said, where due place was, in the Book it self: so as it remaineth only to note, that under the title of* Olympiads *is set down first the number of the* Olympiad, *and beneath it, the Year of that* Olympiad: *as that* Cyrus *began his Reign in* Persia, *in the* 55 Olympiad, *and the first Year thereof.*

Now, for that the Years of the World, of the Olympiads, *of* Rome, *of* Nabonassar, *and other, had not beginning in one Month, but some of them in* March, *some in* April, *some about* Midsummer, *and some at other times: the better to express their several beginnings, some painful Chronologers have divided them proportionably in their several Columns; opposing part of the one Year to part of the other: not (as I have here done) cutting all overthwart with one strait Line, as if all had begun and ended at one time. But this labour have I spared, as more troublesome than useful; since the more part would not have apprehended the meaning, and since the learned might well be without it. It will only be needful to observe, that howsoever the* Æra *of the* Olympiads *be* 24 *Years elder than that of* Rome, *and* 29, *than that of* Nabonassar, *yet the Reign of some King may have begun at such a time of the Year as did not suit with this difference. But hereof I take little regard. The more curious will easily find my meaning: the vulgar will not find the difficulty. One familiar example may explain all.* Queen Elizabeth *began her Reign the* 17 *of* November, *in the Year of our Lord* 1558: *She was crowned; held a Parliament; brake it up; threw down Images; and reformed many things in Religion; all in her first Year: yet not all in that Year* 1558, *but the greater part in the Year following; whether we begin with the first of* January, *or with the* 25 *of* March. *The like may be otherwhiles found in this Table; but so, as the difference is never of a whole Year.*

The Julian *Period, which I have placed, as the greater number, over the Years of the World, was devised by that honourable and excellently learned* Joseph Scaliger: *being accommodated to the* Julian *Years, now in use among us. It consisteth of* 7980 *Years; which result from the multiplication of* 19, 28, *and* 15, *that is, of the Cycle of the Moon, the Cycle of the Sun, and the Years of an Indiction. Being divided by any of these, it leaves the number of the present Year; or if no Fraction remain, it shews the last Year of that Cycle to be current. For example, in the* 4498 *of this Period, when was fought the great Battel of* Cannæ, *the Prime or Golden number was* 14, *the Cycle of the Sun* 18, *and consequently the Dominical Letter* F, *as may be found by dividing the same number of the* Julian *Period* 4498, *by* 19 *for the Prime, by* 28, *for the Cycle of the Sun. This* Julian *Period, after the present account, always exceeds the Years of the World by* 682. *Besides the former uses, and other thence redounding, it is a better Character of a Year, than any other* Æra (*as* From the beginning of the World, from the Flood, from *Troy* taken, *or the like*) *which are of more uncertain position.*

More I shall not need to write, as touching the use or explication of these Tables. Neither was thus much requisite to such as are conversant in Works of this kind: it sufficeth if hereby all be made plain enough to the vulgar.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

YEARS OF THE *JULIAN* PERIOD, WORLD, PATRIARCHS, &c.

	Julian. *The World and Adam.*													
	683 1. *Ada.* 930													
	813 131	1. *Seth.* 912												
	918 236	106	1. *Enos* 905											
	1008 326	196	91	1. *Canaan.* 910	*All the Years of the Patriarchs, wherein they begat Children, died, or performed any thing, are reckoned compleat: which is inferred out of the addition of the Years before they begat Children, unto those that followed; making always a compleat summ,* Genesis 5.									
	1078 396	266	161	71	1. *Mahalaleel* 895									
	1143 461	331	226	136	66	1. *Jared.* 962								
	1305 623	493	388	298	228	163	1. *Enoch.* 365							
	1370 688	558	453	363	293	228	66	1. *Methuselah.* 969						
	1557 875	745	640	550	480	415	253	188	1. *Lamech.* 777					
Adam *died about the end of this Year.*	1612 930	800	695	605	535	470	308	243	56					
Henoch *translated.*	1669 98	857	752	662	592	527	365	300	113					
Seth *died about the end of this Year.*	1724 1042	912	807	717	647	582		355	168					
	1739 1057		822	732	662	597		370	183	1. *Noah.* 950				

	Julian. The World.	Enos.	Cainan.	Mahalaleel.	Jared.	Methuselah.	Lamech.	Noah.	Sem.				
Enos *died*	1822 1140	905	815	745	680	453	266	84					
Canaan *died.*	1917 1235		910	842	775	548	361	179					
Mahalaleel *died this year*	1972 1290			895	830	603	416	234					
Jared *died*	2104 1422					735	584	366					
Flood threatned, Gen. 6. 3.	2219 1537					850	663	481					
	2241 1559					872	685	503	1. *Sem.* 600				
Lamech *died*	2333 1651					964	777	595	93				
Methuselah *died this Year a little before the Flood.* Noah *entreth into the Ark.* c. 7. §. 8. & 9. *The Flood.*	2338 1656					969		600	98				
The Flood ceaseth. Noah *issued out of the Ark.*	2339 1657							601	99				
	Julian. World. Flood.	*Noah.*	*Sem.*	1. *Arphaxad* 438									
	2341 1659	603	101										
	2376 1694 37	638	136	36	1. *Salah.* 433								
	2406 1724 67	668	166	66	31	1. *Heber.* 464							
	2440 1758 101	702	200	100	65	35	1. *Peleg.*		*Kings of Assyria.*				
	2470 1788 131	732	230	130	95	65	31	1. *Reu.* 239	1 *Nimrod.* 114				
	2502 1820 163	764	262	162	127	97	63	33	33	1. *Sarug.* 230	*Kings of Egypt.*		
Vide Lib. 2. *c.* 2. §. 2.	2530 1848 191	792	290	190	155	125	91	61	61	29	1 *Cham* 161		
	2532 1850 193	694	292	192	157	127	93	63	63	31	3	1. *Nabor.* 148	
	2561 1879 222	823	321	221	186	156	122	92	92	60	32	30	1. *Terah.* 205
	2584 1902 245	846	344	244	209	179	145	115	2 1 *Relau* 65	83	55	53	24

	Julian. World. Flood.	Noah.	Sem.	Arphaxad.	Salah.	Heber.	Peleg.	Reu.	Assyria.	Sarug.	Egypt.	Nahor.	Terah.	Sicyon.	
	2618 1936 279	880	378	278	243	213	179	149	35	117	89	87	58	1 1. Egyaleus, 52.	
	2649 1967 310	911	409	309	274	244	210	180	3 1. Ninus, 52	148	120	118	89	32	
	2670 1988 331	932	430	330	295	265	231	201	22	169	141	139	110	2 1. Europs 45	
The last year of Peleg's *life.*	2678 1996 339	940	438	338	303	273	239	209	30	177	149	147	118	9	
The death of Nahor.	2679 1997 340	941	439	339	304	274		210	31	178	150	148	119	10	
Noah *died this year.*	2688 2006 349	950	448	348	313	283		219	40	187	159		128	19	
The 16. Dynastie in Ægypt. Vide L. 2. C. 2. §. 3, 4, 5, &c.	2691 2009 352		451	351	316	286		222	43	190	2 1. Mizraim or Osir. 261.		131	22	1. *Abram.* 175
	2701 2019 362		461	361	326	296		232	4 1. Semiramis, 42	200	11		141	32	11
The last year of Reu.	2708 2026 269		468	368	333	303		239	8	207	18		148	39	18
	2715 2033 376		475	375	340	310			15	214	25		155	3 1. Technis, or Stichus 20	25
The last of Sarug.	2731 2049 392		491	391	356	326			31	230	41		171	17	41

	Julian. World. Flood.	Sem.	Arphaxad.	Salah.	Heber.	Assyria.	Ægypt.	Terah.	Sicyon.	Abram.
	2735 2053 396	495	395	360	330	35	45	175	4 1. Apis, 25.	45
	2743 2061 404	503	403	368	338	5 1. Ninias, 38.	53	183	9	53
	2760 2078 421	520	420	385	355	18	70	200	5 1. Thelxion or Thelasion. 52.	70
Abram *receives the Promise.* Terah *died in Haran. L. 2. C. 1. §. 1, 2, 3, &c.*	2765 2083 426	525	425	390	360	23	75	205	6	75

	Julian. World. Promise.	Sem.	Arphaxad.	Salah.	Heber.	Abram.	Assyria.	Ægypt.	Sicyon.
Abram *enters into* Canaan: *and descends into* Egypt. *The first of the 430. years of Servitude.*	2766 2084 1	526	426	391	361	76	24	76	7
Abram *returns into* Canaan.	2767 2085 2	527	427	392	362	77	25	77	8
Abram *his Victory over* Chedorlaomer *and other Kings. L. 2. C. 1. §. 8, 9, &c.*	2775 3093 10	535	435	400	370	85	33	85	16
Ismael born.	2777 2095 12	537	437	402	372	87	35	87	18
Arphaxad dies.	2778 2096 13	538	438	403	373	88	36	88	19

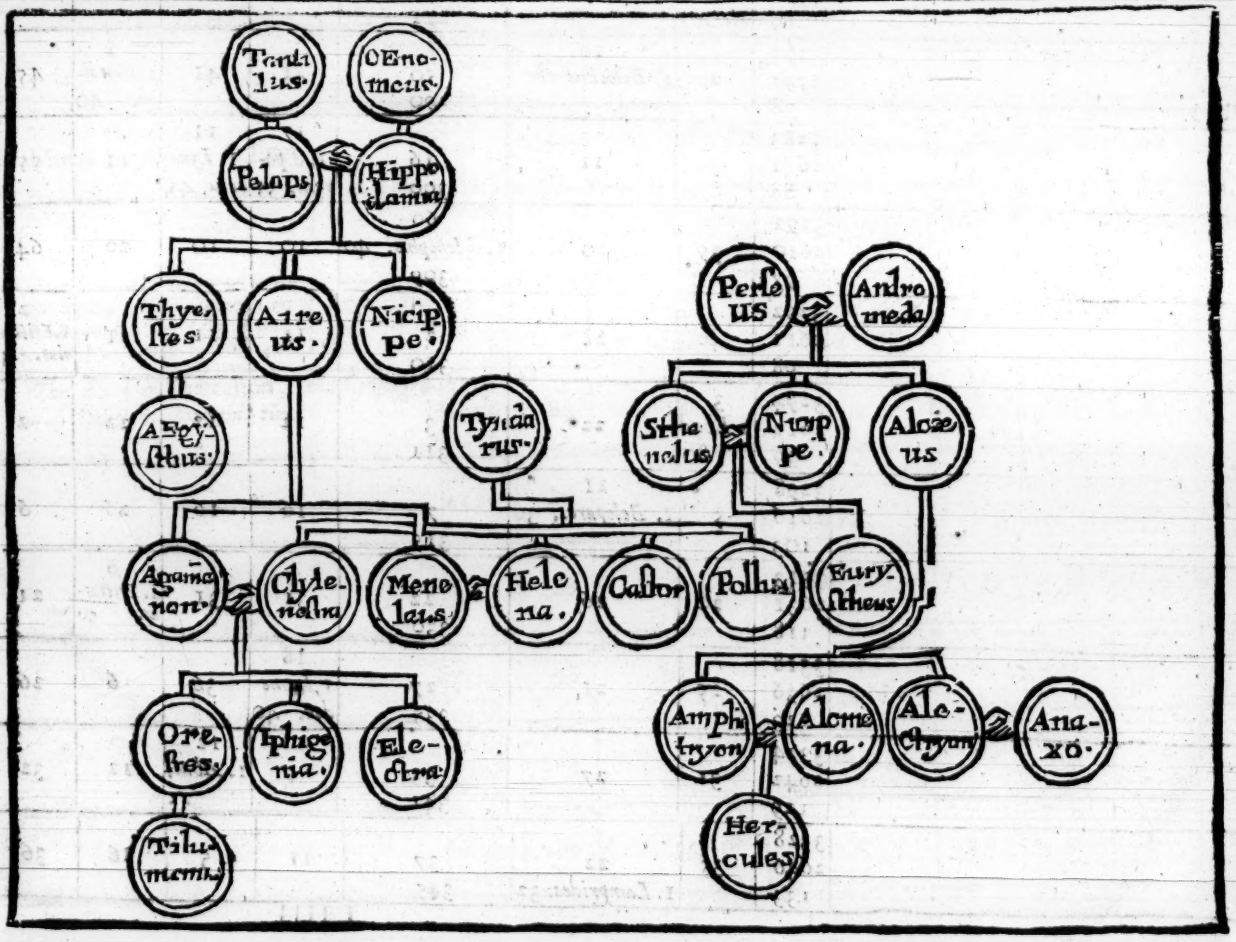
	Julian. World. Promiſ.	Sem.	Salah.	Heber.	Abraham.	Aſſyria.	Ægypt.	Sicyon.	
	2781 2099 18	541	406	376	91	6 I. *Arius* 30	91	22	
Iſaac *born when* Abraham *was* 100 *years old compleat,* 101 *current.*	2791 2109 26	551	416	386	101	11	101	32	I. *Iſaac.* 180
The laſt year of Salah.	2808 2126 43	568	433	403	118	28	118	49	18
	2811 2129 46	571		406	121	7 I. *Araliuſ,* 40.	121	52	21
	2812 2130 47	572		407	122	2	122	6 I. *Ægyptus,* 34.	22
Sarai *the Wife of* Abraham *died this year.*	2827 2145 62	587		422	137	17	137	16	37
Iſaac *took* Rebekkah *to Wife when he was* 40 *years old compleat.*	2831 2149 66	591		426	141	21	141	20	41
The laſt year of Sem.	3840 2158 75	600		435	150	30	150	29	50
	Julian. World. Promiſ.	*Heber.*	*Abraham.*	*Iſaac*	*Jacob.*	*Aſſyria.*	*Ægypt.*	*Sicyon.*	*Argives.*
	2846 2164 81	441	156	56		36	156	7 I. *Thurimachus,* 45	
	2851 2169 86	446	161	61	I. *Jacob* 147	8 I. *Baleus,* 30	161	6	I I. *Inachus,* 50
Abraham *died this year.*	2865 2183 100	460	175	75	15	15	175	20	15
Heber *died this year.*	2869 2187 104	464		79	19	19	179	24	19
The 17 *Dynaſtie, called of the Shepherds, beginning this year laſted* 103 *years.*	2881 2199 116			91	31	9 I. *Armamithres* 38	191 1	36	31
	2891 2209 126			101	41	11	201 11	8 I. *Leucippus* 53	41
	2901 2219 136			111	51	21	211 21	11	2 I. *Phoroneus,* 60
The Flood of Ogyges, *a thouſand and twenty years before the* Olympiads. *See Lib.* I. *Chap.* 2.	2919 2237 154			129	69	10 I. *Belochus Priſcus* 38	229 39	29	19
	2942 2260 177			152	92	24	252 62	52	42	I. *Joſeph* 110
	2944 2262 179			154	94	26	254 64	9 I. *Meſſapius,* 47	44	3
See L. 2. *Chap.* 2. §. 6.	2952 2270 187			162	102	34	3 & 4 I. *Typhon.* & after him *Ierud.* 172	9	52	11
	2954 2272 189			164	104	11 I. *Baleus.* 52	3 74	11	54	

	Julian. World. Promiſe.			Iſaac.	Jacob.	Aſſyria.	Ægypt.	Sicyon.	Argives.	
Joſeph *ſold into* Ægypt.	2959 2277 194			169	109	6	5 1. *Orus.* 79. 115	16	59	18
	2961 2279 196			171	111	8	3 81	18	3 1. *Apis.* 35	20
The laſt Year of Iſaac.	2970 2288 205			180	120	17	12 90	27	10	29
Iſrael *into* Ægypt.	2980 2298 215				130	27	22 100	37	20	39
The eighteenth Dynaſtie *in* Ægypt, *which laſted* 348 *Years.*	2984 2302 219				134	31	26 1	41	24	43
	2991 2309 226				141	38	33 8	10 1. *Perſæus.* 46	31	50
	2996 2314 231				146	43	38 13	6	4 1. *Argus* 70	55
Jacob *dies in* Ægypt.	2997 2315 232				147	44	39 14	7	2	56
	Julian. World. Promiſe.	Joſeph.	Aſſyria.		Ægypt.		Sicyon.	Argives.		
	3006 2324 241	65	12 1. *Altades*, 32.		48 23		16	11		
	3037 2355 272	96	32		79 54		11 1. *Plemnæus*, 48	42		
	3038 2356 273	97	13 1. *Mamitus*, 30.		80 55		2	43		
The laſt Year of Joſeph.	3051 2369 286	110	14		93 68		15	56		
	3066 2384 301		29		108 83		30	5 1. *Piranus or Criaſus*, 54		
	3068 2386 303		14 1 *Mancaleus*, 30		110 85		32	3		
	3074 2392 309		7		6 1. *Seſoſtris the Great*, 33 91		38	9		
	3085 2403 320		18		12 102		12 1. *Orthopolis*, 63	20		
	3098 2416 333		15 1. *Spherus* or, *Iphereus*, 20.		25 115		14	33		
	3107 2425 342		10		7 1. *Seſoſtris the ſecond*, 14 124		23	42		
	3116 2434 351	1. *Moſes.* 120	19		10 133		32	51		

	Julian. World. Promise.	Moses.	Assyria.	Ægypt.	Sicyon.	Argives	
	3118 2436 353	3	16 1. *Mamilas*, or *Mamelus.* 30.	12 135	34	53	
	3120 2438 355	5	3	14 137	36	6 1. *Phorbas.* 35.	
	3121 2439 356	6	4	8 1. *Orus* 2. or *Busiris.* 38. 138	37	2	*Athenians.*
	3148 2466 383	33	17 1. *Sparetus.* 40.	28 165	13 1. *Marathius.* 30	22	
	3151 2469 386	36	4	31 168.	4	32	1 1. *Cecrops.* 50
Moses *visits his Brethren the* Israelites; *kills an* Ægyptian, *and flies into* Midian.	3155 2473 390	40	8	35 172	8	7 1. *Triopas.* 46.	5
	3159 2477 394	44	12	9 1. *Thermutis*, or *Acencheres. Qu.* 12. 176.	12	5	9
	3171 2489 406	56	24	10 1. *Rathoris*, or *Achoris.* 9. 188.	24	17	21
	3178 2496 413	63	31	8 195.	14 1. *Marathus.* 20.	24	28
	3180 2496 415	65	33	11 1. *Chencres.* 16. 197	3	26	30
	3188 2506 423	73	18 1. *Ascatades.* 40	9 205	11	34	38
Moses *his Wonders in* Egypt.	3195 2513 430	80	8	16 212	18	41	45
	Julian. World. Exodus.	*Moses.*	*Assyria.*	*Ægypt.*	*Sicyon.*	*Argos.*	*Athens.*
The Passover. Israel *delivered out of* Egypt. Pharaoh *drowned. The Law given. The first of the* 480 *years from Exodus to building the Temple.*	3196 2514 1	81	9	12 1. *Acherres.* 8. 213	19	42	46
The Flood of Deucalion, *and Conflagration of* Phaeton *about this time.*	3198 2516 3	83	11	3 215	15 1. *Echireus.* 55.	44	48
	3201 2519 6	86	14	6 218	4	8 1. *Crotopus.* 21.	2 1. *Cranaus.* 10.
	3204 2522 9	89	17	13 1. *Cherres.* 15. 221	7	4	4
	3211 2529 16	96	24	8 228	14	11	3 1. *Amphitryon.* 12.
	3219 2537 24	104	32	14 2. *Armeus*, or *Danaus.* 5. 236.	22	19	9
	3222 2540 27	107	35	4 239	25	9 1. *Sthenelus.* 11	12

	Julian. World. Exodus.	Moses.	Assyria.	Ægypt.	Sicyon.	Argos.	Athens.	
	3223 2541 28	108	36	5 240	26	2	4 1 Ericthonius. 50	
	3224 2542 29	109	37	15 1. Rameſſes. 68 241	27	3	2	Troy.
	3228 2546 33	113	19 1. Amyntas. 45	5 245	31	7	6	
	3229 2547 34	114	2	6 245	32	8	7	1 1. Dardanus. 64
	3233 2551 38	118	6	10 250	36	10 1. Danaus. 50	11	5
The 1 ſt Year of Moſes.	3235 2553 40	120	8	12 252	38	3	13	7
	Julian. World. Exodus	Iſrael.	Assyria.	Ægypt.	Sicyon.	Argos.	Athens.	Troy.
The Iſraelites enter the Land of Promiſe.	3236 2554 41	1 1 Joſhua 18	9	13 253	39	4	14	8
	3253 2571 58	18	26	30 270	16 1. Corax 30	21	31	25
	3254 2572 59	2 1. Othoniel. 40	27	31 271	2	22	32	26
	3273 2591 78	20	20 1. Belochus the ſecond. 25	50 290	21	41	5 1. Pandion. 40	45
	3283 2611 88	30	11	16 300	17 1. Epopeus. 35	11 1. Lynceus. 41	11	55
	3292 2610 97	39	20	60 1. Menophis. 40 309	10	10	20	64
	3292 2611 98	40	21	2 310	11	11	21	2 1. Ericthonius. 46
	3294 2612 99	3 1 Ehud 80	22	3 311	12	12	22	2
	3298 2616 103	5	21 1. Belopares. 30	7 315	16	16	26	6
	3313 2631 118	20	16	22 330	31	31	6 1. Erecthe-us. 50	21
	3318 2636 123	25	21	27 335	18 1. Lamedon. 40	36	6	26
	3324 2642 129	31	27	33 341	7	12 1. Abas. 22	12	31
	3328 2646 133	35	22 1. Lamprides. 32	37 345	11	5	16	36

...19 Dynastie: *of the* Larthes, 194 *Years.* See *L. 2. Chap. 26. §. 4.*	3332 2650 137	39	5	17 1. *Zethus, or Sethosis,* 55 1	15	9	20	40
	3339 2657 144	46	12	8 8	22	16	27	3 1. *Tros.* 60
Tantalus *in* Phrygia.	3347 2665 152	54	20	16 16	30	13 1 *Prœtus* 17	35	9
	3358 2676 163	65	31	27 27	1. *Sicyon* 45	12	46	20
	3360 2678 165	67	23 1. *Sosares.* 20	29 29	3	14	48	22
	3363 2681 168	70	4	32 32	6	17	7 1 *Cecrops* *the* 2.40	25
Pelops *in* Pisa, *who gave name to* Peloponnesus	3364 2682 169	71	5	33 33	7	14 1. *Acrisius.* 31	2	26
Ion *and* Xuthus *the Sons of* Hellen. *See L. 2. C. 17. §. 6.*	3374 2692 179	4 1 *Debora* *& Ba.* 40	15	43 43	17	11	12	36
	3380 2698 185	7	24 1. *Lampares.* 30	49 49	23	17	18	42
	3387 2705 192	14	8	18 1. *Ramses.* 66. 56	30	24	25	49
After the Death of Acrisius, *the Kingdom of the* Argives *was divided into many small parts, and overgrown by that of* Mycenæ, *whereof some Kings descended from* Perseus, *others from* Pelops, *as in the Pedigree following.*	3394 2712 199	21	15	8 63	37	31	32	56



	Julian. World. Exodus.	Israel.	Assyria.	Ægypt.	Sicyon.	Mycena.	Athens.	Troy.
	3399 2717 204	26	20	13 68	42		37	4 1. *Ilus.* 55
	3402 2720 207	29	23	16 71	45	1. *Euristheus,* 45	40	4
	3403 2721 208	30	24	17 72	20 1. *Polyhus.* 40	2	8 1 *Pandion the 2.* 25	5
	3410 2728 215	37	25 1. *Pannias,* 45.	24 79	8	9	8	12
	3414 2732 219	5 1 *Gedeon,* 40	5	28 83	12	13	12	16
Pandion *chased out of his Kingdom, which is recovered by his Son* Ægeus, *in few Years after. The omission of this Interregnum, and reckoning the Years in the forty eighth of* Ægeus, *or the numbring them a part by themselves, breed answerable difference in the times of the* Athenians *following: as of* Mnestheus, Carops, *and the rest.*	3427 2745 222	14	18	41 96	25	26	25	29
	3432 2750 237	19	23	46 101	30	31	9 1. *Ægeus.* 48	34
Oedipus *in* Thebes.	3443 2761 248	30	34	57 112	21 1. *Inachus.* 42	42	12	45
	3447 2765 252	34	34	61 116	5	1 *Atreus & Thyestes,* 65	16	49
	3453 2771 158	40	44	19 1. *Amenophis.* 40 122	11	7	12	55
	3454 2772 259	6 1 *Abimelech.* 3	45	2 123	12	8	23	5 1 *Laomedon,* 36
	3455 2773 260	2	26 1. *Sosarmus,* 19	3 124	13	9	24	2
	3457 2775 262	7 1. *Thola,* 23	3	5 126	15	11	26	4
	3474 2792 279	18	27 1. *Mitreus,* 27	22 143	32	28	43	21
	3480 2798 285	8 1. *Jair,* 22	7	28 149	38	31	10 1. *Theseus,* 30	27
	3485 2803 290	6	12	33 154	22 1. *Phestus,* 8	39	6	32
	3490 2808 295	11	17	38 159	6	44	11	6 1. *Priamus,* 40
	3493 2811 298	14	20	20 1. *Annemenes,* 26 162	23 1. *Adrastus,* 4	47	14	4
	3497 2815 302	18	24	5 166	24 1. *Polyphides* 31	51	18	8
	3501 2819 206	22	28 1. *Tantanes,* 32	9 170	5	55	22	12

	Julian. World. Exodus.	Israel.	Assyria.	Ægypt.	Sicyon.	Mycenæ.	Athens.	Troy.
	3502 2820 307	9 I. *Jephta*, 6.	2	10 171	6	56	23	13
	3508 2826 313	10 I. *Ibzan*, 7.	8	16 177	12	62	29	19
	3510 2828 315	3	10	18 179	14	64	11 I *Mneſtheus*, 24	21
	3512 2830 317	5	12	20 181	16	I. *Agamemnon*, 18	3	23
	3515 2833 320	11 I. *Elon*, 10	15	23 184	19	4	6	26
The War at Troy *began this Year.*	3519 2837 324	5	19	21 I. *Thuoris*, 7. 188	23	8	10	30
	3525 2843 330	12 I. *Abdon.* 8	25	7 194	29	14	16	36
The 20 Dynaſtie, *called* Of the Diapolitani *began this Year in* Ægypt, *and laſted* 178 *Years.* See *L.* 2. *Ch.* 26. §. 4.	3526 2844 331	2	26	20 I. *Dynaſtie.* 178	30	15	17	37
	3528 2846 333	4	28	3	25 I. *Pelaſgus*, 20	17	19	39
Troy *taken* 408 *Years before the beginning of the* Olympiads. See *Lib.* 2. *Ch.* 14. §. 1.	3529 2847 334	5	29	4	2	18	20	40. *Troy taken.*
	Julian. World. Exodus	From Troy taken.	Israel.	Assyria.	Ægypt.	Sicyon.	Mycenæ.	Athens.	The Kingdom of the Latins.
	3530 2848 335	1	6	30	5	3	I. *Ægyſthus*, 6	21	
	3533 2851 338	4	13 I. *Sampſon*, 20.	29 I. *Teuteus*, 40	8	6	4	24	1 I. *Æneas*, 3
	3534 2852 339	5	2	2	9	7	5	12 I. *Demophon.* 33	2
	3536 2854 341		4	4	11	9	I. *Oreſtes*, 70	3	2 I. *Aſcanius*, 38
	3548 2866 353	19	16	16	23	26 I. *Zeuſippus* 32	13	15	13
	3553 2871 358	24	14 I. *Eli*, 40.	21	28	6	18	20	18
	3567 2885 372	38	15	35	42	20	32	13 I. *Oxyntes*, 12	32
	3573 2891 378	44	21	30 I. *Thyneus*, 30	48	26	38	7	38
	3574 2892 379	45	22	2	49	27	39	8	3 I. *Syl. Poſthumus* 29

	Julian. World. Exodus.	From Troy taken.	Israel.	Assyria.	Ægypt.	Sicyon.	Mycenæ.	Athens.	Latines.
The Sicyonian Kings ended in Zeusippus.	3579 3879 384	50	27	7	54	32	44	14 1. Aphidas, 1	6
	3580 2898 385	51	28	8	55		54	15 1. Timæ-tes, 8.	7
	3588 2906 393	59	36	16	63		53	16 1. Melan-thus, 37.	15
	3593 2911 398	64	15 1 Samuel & after him Saul, 40	21	68		58	6	20
	3603 2921 408	74	11	31 1. Dercil-lus. 40.	78		68	16	4 1. Sylvius Æneas. 31.
	3606 2924 411	77	14	4	81		1. Tisa-menus, 2	19	4
The assent of the Heraclidæ to Peloponnesus gave end to the Kingdom of Mycenæ, and begin ing to the Kingdom of Sparta, Corinth, and Messene, the Kings where of I forbear to insert into this Table.	3609 2927 414	80	17	7	84			22	7
	3625 2943 420	96	33	23	100			17 1. Codr-21	23
	Julian. World. Exodus.		From Troy taken.	Israel.	Assyria.	Ægypt.	Athens.	Latines.	
	3633 2951 438		104	1. David, 40.	31	108	9	31	
	3634 2952 429		105	2	32	109	10	5 1. Syl. Latinus, 50.	
	3643 2961 448		114	11	32 1. Eupales, 38	118	19	10	
The Medontidæ succeed unto the Athenian Kings, after the death of Codrus. See L. 2. C. 17. §. 10.	3646 2964 451		117	14	4	121	1 1. Medon, 20.	13	
	3666 2984 471		137	34	24	141	2 1. Agas-thus, 36.	33	
Vaphres reigneth in Ægypt. See L. 2. C. 26. §. 5.	3673 2991 478	Temple 1	144	1. Salomon, 40.	31	148	8	40	
Salomon began to build the Temple 480 years compleat after the deliverance out of Ægypt.	3676 2994 481	1	147	4	34	151	11	43	
	3681 2999	6	152	9	33 1 Laosthe-nes. 45.	156	16	48	
	3684 3002	9	155	12	4	159	19	6 1. Syl. Alba 39	
	3692 3010	17	163	20	12	1. Sesac. 26. 167	27	9	
	3702 3020	27	173	30	22	11 177	1 Archip-pus, 19.	19	

	Julian. World.	Temple	From Troy taken.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Athens.	Latines.	
The 21 *Dinasty in* Ægypt, *which lasted* 130 *years.*	3704 3022	29	175	32	24	13 1	3	21	
The Ionick *migration after the taking of Troy* 180 *years.* See *L.* 2. *C.* 17. §. 6.	3709 3027	34	180	37	29	18 6	8	26	

	Julian. World. Templ.	Troy.	Juda.	Israel.	Assyria.	Ægypt	Athens.	Latines.
	3713 3031 38	184	1 1. *Rehoboam.* 17	1 1. *Jeroboam*, 22	33	22 10	12	30
	3718 3036 43	189	6	6	38	1. *Chemmis*, 50. 15.	17	35
	3721 3039 46	192	9	9	41	4 18	4 1. *Terſippus.* 41.	38
	3723 3041 48	194	11	11	43	6 20	3	7 1. *Syl. Atys*, 26.
	3726 3044 51	197	14	14	34 1. *Pirithiades*, 30.	9 23	6	4
	3730 3048 55	201	2 1. *Abijam*, 3.	18	5	13 27	10	8
	3733 3051 58	204	3 1. *Asa*, 41.	21	8	16 20	13	11
	3754 3052 59	205	2	22 2 1. *Nadab*, 2.	9	17 31	14	12
	3735 3053 60	206	3	2 3 1. *Baasha*, 24.	10	18 32	15	13
	3749 3067 74	220	17	15	24	32 46	29	8 1 *Syl. Capys*, 28
	3756 3074 81	227	24	22	35 1. *Ophrateus*, 20.	39 53	36	8
	3758 3076 83	229	26	24 4 1. *Ela*, 2.	3	41 55	38	10
Of these Iſraelitiſh *Kings.* See *L.* 2. *Ch.* 19. §. 5.	3759 3077 84	230	27	2 5 1 { 6 *Zimri.* / 6 *Tibini.* / 7 *Omri.* 12.	4	42 56	39	11
	3762 3080 87	233	30	4	7	45 59	5 1. *Pharbas*, 31.	14
	3768 3086 93	239	36	10.	13	1. *Cheops.* 56. 65	7	20
	3770 3088 95	241	38	12 8 1. *Ahab*, 22.	15	3 67	9	22
	3774 3092 99	245	4 1. *Jehoſhaphat.* 25	5	19	7 71	13	26

	Julian. World. Temple	Troy.	Juda.	Israel.	Assyria.	Ægypt.	Athens.	Latines.	
	3776 3094 101	247	3	7	36 1. Ophratanes. 50	9 73	15	28	
	3777 3095 102	248	4	8	2	10 74	16	9 1. Syl. Capetus, 13.	
Of Jehoram *his sundry beginnings to reign.* See *L.* 2. *C.* 20. §. 1. & 2.	3790 3108 115	261	17 5 1. Jehoram	21 9 1. Ahazia. 2.	15	23 87	29	10 1. Syl. Tiberinus, 8.	
	3791 3109 116	262	18 2	22 2 10 1 Jehoram. 12.	16	24 88	30	2	
	3793 3111 118	264	20 0	3	18	26 90	6 1. Mezades, 30.	4	
	3795 3113 120	266	22 1 Jehoram again, 8.	5	20	28 92	3	6	
Jehoshaphat *dies, and* Jehoram *reigns alone.*	3798 3116 123	269	25 4	8	23	31 95	6	11 1. Syl. Agrippa, 41	
	3802 3120 127	273	8 6 1. Abazia, 1	12	27	35 99	10	5	
	3803 3121 128	274	7 1. Athalia, 7.	11 1. Jehu, 28.	28	36 100	11	6	
	3809 3127 134	280	7 8 1 Joas 40	7	34	42 106	17	12	
Carthage *built. L.* 2. *C.* 22. §. 6.	3819 3137 144	290	11	17	44	52 116	27	22	
	3825 3143 148	294	15	21	48	56 120	7 1. Diognetus, 28	26	
	3824 3142 149	295	16	22	49	1 Cephrenes, 50 121	2	27	
	3826 3144 151	297	18	24	37 Ocrasap. or 1. Anascyndaraxes. 42	3 123	4	29	
	3831 3149 156	302	23	12 1. Jehoahaz, 17.	6	8 128	9	34	
The end of the 21. *Dynastie. The Dynasties following, I omit.*	3833 3151 158	304	25	3	8	10 120	11	36	
	3839 3157 164	310	31	9	14	16	17	12 1. Syl. Alladius, 19.	
Joas *reigned with his Father. Lib.* 2. *C.* 22. §. 7.	3845 3163 170	316	37	15 13 1. Joas.	20	22	23	7	
Joas *reigns alone.*	3847 3165 172	318	39	1. Joas, 16.	22	24	25	9	
	3848 3166 173	319	40 9 1. Amazia, 2.	2	23	25	26	10	

	Julian. World. Temple	Troy.	Juda.	Israel.	Assyria.	Ægypt.	Athens.	Latines.	
	3851 3169 176	322	4	5	26	28	8 1. *Pheredus*, 19	13	
	3858 3176 183	329	11	12	33	35	8	13 1. *Syl. Aventinus.* 3.	
	3862 3180 187	333	15	16 14 1 *Jeroboam.* 41.	37	39	12	5	
	3868 3186 193	339	21	7	38 1. *Sardanapalus.* 20	45	18	11	
	3870 3188 195	341	23	9	3	47	9 1. *Ariphron* 20	12	
	3874 3192 199	345	27	13	7	1. *Mycerinus*, 6.	5	16	
	Julian. World. Temple	*Troy.*	*Juda.*	*Israel.*	*Assyria.*	*Ægypt.*	*Athens.*	*Latines.*	*Media.*
L. 2. C. 22. §. 11.	3877 3196 202	348	1. *Interregnum eleven years.*	16	10	4	8	19	
	3880 3198 205	351	4	19	13	1. *Bocchorus.* 44	11	22	
L. 2. C. 22. §. 12.	3887 3205 212	358	11	26	20. *Sardanapalus slain.*	8	18	29	
L. 2. C. 33. §. 1. & 4.	3888 3206 213	359	10 1. *Uzzia*, or *Azaria*, 52	27		9	19	30	1 1. *Arbaces*, 28.
	3890 3286 215	361	3	29		11	10 1. *Thespeius*, 27	32	3
L. 2. C. 23. §. 4.	3892 3210 217	363	5	31	1 1. *Belesus*, or *Phul.* 48.	13	3	34	5
	3895 3213 220	366	8	34	4	16	6	14 1. *Syl. Procas*, 23.	8
L. 2. C. 23. §. 1.	3903 3221 228	374	16	1. *Interregnum 23 years.*	12	24	14	9	16
	3916 3234 241	387	29	14	25	37	27	22	2 1. *Sosarmus.* 30.
	3917 3235 242	388	30	15	26	38	11 1. *Agamnestor*, 20.	23	2
	3918 3236 243	389	31	16	27	39	2	15 1. *Syl. Amulius*, 44.	3
	3924 3242 249	395	37	22	33	1. *Asychis, & after him Anysis.* 6.	8	7	9
Zacharia began at the very end of the year. L. 2. C. 23. §. 1.	3925 3243 250	396	38	23 15 *Zacharia six Months.*	34	2	9	8	10

	Julian. World. Temple.	Troy.			Juda.	Israel.	Assyria	Ægypt	Athens	Latins.	Media.
	3926 3244 251	397			39	16 Shallum en month. 17 Menahem 10	35	3	10	9	11
This Year nearly concurs with the first of Menahem.	3927 3245 252	398			40	1	36	4	11	10	12
	3930 3248 255	401			43	4	39	1. Sabacus the Æthiopian, 50	14	13	15
	3937 3255 262	408	*Iphitus*	*Olympiads.*	50	18 1. *Pekahia.* 2.	46	8	12 1. *Æschylus*, 23.	20	22
The beginning of the Olympiads. *L. 2. Ch. 23. §. 5.*	3938 3256 263	409	1	1 1	51	2	47	9	2	21	23
	3939 3257 264	410	2	1 2	52	19 1. *Pekah Romeliæ*, 20	48	10	3	22	24
L. 2. Ch. 23. §. 6.	3940 3258 265	411	3	1 3	11 1 *Jotham*, 16	2	2 1. *Teglath Phul Assar*, 27.	11	4	23	25
	Julian. World. Temple	*Iphitus*	*Olympiads.*	*Juda.*	*Israel.*	*Assyria.*	*Ægypt*	*Athens*	*Latins.*	*Media.*	
	3946 3264 271	9	3 1	7	8	7	17	10	29	3 1 *Medidus*, 40	
	3955 3273 280	18	5 2	16 12 1. *Ahaz.* 16	17	16	26	19	38	10	
	3959 3277 284	22	6 2	5	1. *Interregnum 7 Years.*	20	30	23	42	14	
	3960 3278 285	23	6 3	6	2	21	31	13 1. *Alcmeon* 2	43	15	
	Julian. World. Temple	*Rome. Nabon.*	*Iphit.*	*Olympiads.*	*Juda.*	*Israel.*	*Assyria*	*Ægypt*	*Athens*	*Romans.*	*Media.*
Rome *built. Lib. 2. Chap. 24. §. 5.* Carops *the first governing in* Athens *for ten Years: after whom succeeded six chosen each after other for the like time; and thence the office became Annual.*	3962 3280 287	1	25	7 1	8	4	23	33	1 1. *Carops* 10	1 1 *Romulus*, 37	17
	3966 3284 291	5	29	8 1	12	20 1. *Hosea.* 9	27	37	5	5	21
The Æra of Nabonassar. *L. 2. Ch. 25. §. 1.*	3967 3285 292	6 1	30	8 2	13	2	3 1. *Salmanassar*, or *Nabonassar*, 10	38	6	6	22
Ezekia *began in the very end of this Year. L. 2. Ch. 25. §. 1.*	3968 3286 293	7 2	31	8 3	14 13 *Ezekia*, 29	3	2	39	7	7	23
This Year concurs with the first of Ezekia. *Ibid.*	3969 3287 294	8 3	32	8 4	15 1	4	3	40	8	8	24
The beginning of the first Messenian *War. Whereof see L. 2. C. 27. §. 4. It lasted 20 Years.*	3971 3289 296	10 5	34	9 2	3	6	5	42	10	10	26
Samaria besieged by Salmanassar.	3972 3290 297	11 6	35	9 3	4	7	6	43		11	27

...of the ten Tribes.	3974 3292 299	13 8	37	10 1	6	9	8	45		13	29
	3976 3294 301	15 10	39	10 3	8		10 4 1 *Senacherib*, 7	47		15	31
L. 2. C. 26. §. 7.	3980 3298 305	19 14	43	11 3	12	*Kings of the Chaldæans.*	5	1. *Sethon*, 32		19	35
Senacherib's *Army destroyed, and he slain.* *L. 2. C. 25. §. 2.*	3982 3300 307	21 16	45	12 1	14		7	3		21	37
	3983 3301 308	22 17	46	12 2	15	1 *Merodach* or *Mardocempadus.*	5 1. *Asarhaddon*, 10	4		22	38
	3986 3304 311	25 20	49	13 1	18	4	4	7		25	4 1. *Cardicas*, 13
Merodach *gets the whole Empire. This Year or in the end of the Year foregoing. An Eclipse of* ☾	3993 3311 318	32 27	56	14 4	25	1 1. *Merodach*, 40	11	14		32	8
	Julian. World. Temple.	*Rome. Nabon.*	*Iphit.*	*Olympiads.*	*Juda.*	*Chaldæa*	*Ægypt*	*Rome.*	*Media*	*Lydia.*	
Two Eclipses of the Moon, in the second Year of Mardocempadus.	3994 3312 319	33 28	57	15 1	26	2	15	33	9		
	3997 3319 322	36 31	60	15 4	29	5	18	36	12	1 1 *Gyges* 38	
	3998 3316 323	37 32	61	16 1	14 1. *Manasses* 55	6	19	37	13	2	
	3999 3317 324	38 33	62	16 2	2	7	20	1 *Interregnum* 1 *Year.*	5 1 *Deioces*, 53	3	
	4000 3318 325	39 34	63	16 3	3	8	21	2 1. Numa Pompilius 43	2	4	
L. 2. C. 27. §. 2.	4013 3331 338	52 47	76	19 4	16	21	1 *Interregnum*, 2	14	15	17	
	4015 3333 340	54 49	78	20 2	18	23	1. 12 *Princes* 15	16	17	19	
The beginning of the second Messenian *War; which lasted about* 18 *Years. L. 2. Ch. 27. §. 4.*	4029 3347 354	68 63	92	23 4	32	37	15 1. *Psammiticus*, 44	30	31	33	
L. 2. Ch. 28. §. 3.	4033 3351 358	72 67	96	24 4	36	2 1. *Ben Merodach*, 21	5	34	35	37	
	4035 3353 360	74 69	98	25 2	38	3	7	36	37	2 1. *Ardys*, 49	
	4043 3361 368	82 77	106	27 2	46	11	15	3 1. *Tullus Hostilius*, 22	45	9	
	4052 3370 377	91 86	115	29 3	55	20	24	10	6 1. *Phraortes*, 24	18	
	4053 3371 378	92 87	116	29 4	15 1. *Amon*, 2	21	25	11	2	19	

	Julian. World. Temple.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphit.	Olympiads.	Juda.	Chaldea	Ægypt	Rome.	Media	Lydia.	
The Expedition of the Scythians. L. 2. C. 28. §. 3. & 4.	4054 3372 379	93 88	117	30 1	2	3 1 Nabulassar 35	26	12	3	20	
	4055 3373 380	94 89	118	30 2	16 1. Josias, 31	2	27	13	4	21	
L. 2. C. 28. §. 2.	4073 3391 398	112 107	136	34 4	19	20	1. Neco 17	31	22	39	
	4075 3393 400	114 109	138	35 2	21	22	3	4 1. Ancus Martius, 22	24	41	
	4076 3394 401	115 110	139	35 3	22	23	4	2	7 1 Cyaxares 40	42	
	4084 3402 409	123 118	147	37 3	30	31	12	10	9	3 1. Sadyattes 12	
L. 2. Ch. 28. §. 1. & 2.	4085 3403 410	124 119	148	37 4	31 17 Joahaz 3 months.	32	13	11	10	2	
Nabuchodonosor had reigned one Year with his Father; which is to be regarded in Astronomical observations concerning his time. Lib. 2. C. 28. §. 6. & C. 25. §. 1.	4086 3404 411	125 120	149	38 1	18 1 Jehoiakim, 11	33	14	12	11	3	
	4089 3407 414	128 123	152	38 4	4	4 1. Nabuchodonosor the first. 44	17	15	14	6	
	4090 3408 415	129 124	153	39 1	5	2	1 Psammis, 12	16	15	7	
	4096 3414 421	135 130	159	40 3	11 19 1 Jechonias 3 months. 20 Zedekias 11 years.	8	7	22	21	4 1. Halyattes 57	
Zedekiah his journey to Babylon. L. 2. C. 28. §. 6.	4099 3417 424	138 133	162	41 2	4	11	10	5 1. L. Tarquinius Prisc. 28	24	4	
	4102 3420 427	141 136	165	42 1	7	14	1 Aprie or Hophra 10	4	27	7	
Jerusalem taken by Nabuchodonosor; with whose 18 for the more part, and partly with whose 19 this Year concurs.	4106 3424 431	145 140	169	43 1	11	18	5	8	31	11	
	Julian. World.	Rome. Nab.	Iph.	Olympiads.	Captivity.	Chaldea.	Ægypt	Rome.	Media	Lydia.	
Jerusalem destroyed.	4107 3425	146 141	170	43 2	1	19	6	9	32	12	
Ægypt conquered by Nabuchodonosor. L. 3. C. 1. §. 8. & 9.	4111 3429	150 145	174	44 2	5	23	10 1. Pharaoh Hophra slain, and the Kingdom of Egypt governed 40 years by Viceroys. 6	13	36	16	
	4116 3434	155 150	179	45 3	10	28		18	8 1. Astyages 35	21	
Nabuchodonosor lives wild; and his Kingdom is governed by others for him, during seven years. L. 3. C. 1. §. 13.	4125 3443	164 159	188	47 4	19	37 1. Evilmerodach, 2	15	27	10	30	
	4127 2445	166 161	190	48 2	21	39 1. Neglisar, & Nitocris, 4	17	29	12	32	

	Julian. World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphit.	Olympiads.	Juda.	Chaldæa	Ægypt	Rome.	Media	Lydia.	
Nebuchadnezzar *recovers his Sense and Kingdom.*	4131	170	194	49	25	43 1. Lavoroſarach nine months.	21	33	16	36	
	3449	165		2							
Lib. 3. Chap. 1. §. 6. The 37 of Jechonia *his Captivity compleat, and he enlarged.*	4133	172	196	49	27	5 1. Evilmerodach, 26	23	35	18	38	
	3451	167		4							
	4137	176	200	50	31	5	27	6 1. Servius Tullus, 44	22	42	
	3455	171		4							
Forty Years after the Conqueſt of Egypt *paſt,* Amaſis *began his Reign: this being inclusively the 41. and therefore the next year ſeems concurrent with* Amaſis *his firſt.*	4151	190	214	54	45	19	*Amaſis,* 34	15	9 1. Cyaxaret, or Darius the Mede, 26	56	
	3469	185		2							
	4153	192	216	54	47	21	2	17	3	5 1. Crœſus, 14	
	3471	187		4							
	Julian. World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphit.	Olympiads.	Perſia.	Chaldea.	Ægypt	Rome.	Media	Lydia.	Jews.
	4154	193	217	55	1 1. Cyrus in Perſia, 23	22	3	18	4	2	48
	3472	188		1							
The ſeven Sages in Greece.	4159	198	222	56	6	6 1. Balthaſar 17	8	23	9	7	53
	3477	193		2							
Piſiſtratus *makes himſelf Tyrant in* Athens.	4104	203	227	57	11	6	13	28	14	12	58
	3480	198		3							
	4160	205	229	58	13	8	15	30	16	14 *Crœſus taken by Cyrus.*	60
	3484	200		1							
The end of the Chaldæan *Empire.*	4175	214	238	60	22	17. Balthaſar ſlain.	24	39	25		69.
	3492	209		2							
	4176	215	239	60	23	1. Darius the Mede 2	25	40	26		70
	3494	210		3							
The beginning of Cyrus *his Empire.*	4177	216	240	60	1. Cyrus 7	2	26	41	*Years from* 1 Cyrus		*Zorobabel.*
His Edict of liberty to the Jews.	3495	211		4							
	4181	220	244	61	5		30	7 L. Tarquinius Superbus, 25	5	*Only* Zorobabel *and* Nehemias *are remembred as Governors of the* Jews *unto the* 32 *of* Artaxerxes Mnemō. *But there were many before* Nehemias; *as himſelf witneſſeth. Ch. 5. v. 15. ſo that the ſtory of them, their number, and names, are uncertain.*	
	3499	215		4							
	4184	223	247	62	2 1. Cambyſes, 7		33	4	8		
	3502	218		3							
The two firſt Years of Plammenitus *and part of the third may be added to the Years of his Father; if it be true that* Cambyſes *wan* Egypt *preſently upon the death of* Amaſis. *L. 3. C. 4. §. 2.*	4186	225	249	63	3		1 Pſammenitus, 3	6	10		
	3504	220		1							
The Conqueſt of Ægypt *by* Cambyſes.	4188	227	251	63	5		3	8	12		
	3506	222		3							
	Julian. World.	Rome. Nab.	Iphit.	Olympiads.	Perſia.	Ægypt.	Rome.	Greece.	Jews.	From Cyrus.	
Cambyſes *reigned* 7 *Years and* 5 *Months, ſo as this his laſt Year was filled up by the* Magi, *and (as may ſeem) a good part of the next. L. 3. C. 4. §. 4.*	4191	230	254	64	8 *The Magi one year.*		11			15	
	3509	225		2							
	4192	231	255	64	3 1. Darius Hyſtaſpes 36		12			16	
	3510	226		3							

	Julian. and World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphit.	Olympiads.	Persia.	Ægypt.	Rome.	Greece.	Jews; and from Cyrus.
	4197 3515	236 231	260	65 4	6		17	Hippias *the Son of* Pisistratus *Tyrant in* Athens.	21
	4204 3522	243 238	267	67 3	13 Babylon *which had rebelled, taken by* Darius.		24		28
The Tarquines *expelled* Rome. *L.* 4. *C.* 7. §. 1.	4205 3523	244 239	268	67 4	14		25		29
The Carthaginians *first League with* Rome. *L.* 5. *C.* 1. §. 2.	4206 3524	245 240	269	68 1	15		Brutus and Publicola } Consuls		30
L. 3. *C.* 5. §. 4.	4211 3529	250 245	274	69 2	20. Darius *his expedition against the* Scythians.				35
	4212 3530	251 246	275	69 3	21			*The* Athenians *and* Ionians *take* Sardes.	36
	4222 3540	261 256	285	72 1	31		Sp. Cassius *Posth. Cominius. Consuls.*	*The Battel of* Marathon.	46
	4226 3544	265 260	289	73 1	35	Ægypt *rebelleth against* Darius.			50
	4228 3546	267 262	291	73 3	4 1. *Xerxes*, 21				52
The Law Agraria *in* Rome *propounded, for division of Lands: which bred great commotion.*	4229 3547	268 263	292	73 4	2	Ægypt *recovered by* Xerxes.	*Proc. Virginius* } *Cos.* *Sp. Cassius* }		53
An Eclipse of the Sun. L. 3. *C.* 6. §. 2.	4233 3551	272 267	296	74 4	6. *The great muster of* Xerxes *his Army at* Sardes.				57
L. 3. *C.* 6. §. 3. & 6.	4234 3552	273 268	297	75 1	7			*The battels at* Thermopylæ, Artemisium *and* Salamis.	58
L. 3. *C.* 6. §. 9, 10, & 11.	4235 3553	274 269	298	75 2	8. Xerxes *his tragical love.*			*The Battel of* Platea *and* Mycale.	59
L. 3. *C.* 7. §. 1, & 2.	4237 3555	276 271	300	75 4	10			*The* Athenians *rebuild their Walls, and lay the foundation of their Dominion.*	61
	4244 3562	283 278	307	77 3	17			*The great Victories of* Cimon, *at* Eurymedon *and elsewhere.*	68
L. 3. *C.* 7. §. 3.	4248 3566	287 282	311	78 3	21 *The death of* Xerxes *by the Treason of* Artabanus.				72
	4249 3567	288 283	312	78 4	5 1. *Artaxerxes Longimanus* 40			Themistocles *being banished flies to* Artaxerxes.	73
	4251 3569	290 285	314	79 2	3	Inarus *set up as King by the* Ægyptians.			75
L. 3. *C.* 7. §. 5, & 7.	4255 3573	294 289	318	80 2	7. *The Marriage of* Hester.	Inarus *vanquished by the* Persians.			79 Esdras *comes to* Jerusalem. 1. Daniel *his* 70 *Weeks or* 490 *Years begin.*
	4264 3582	303 298	327	82 3	16		*The* Decemviri *chosen to compound a Body of the* Roman *Laws.*	Hippocrates *the great Physician and* Democritus *the Philosopher flourish.*	88 10

The Account from the Solution of the Captivity, is the same with that from Cyrus.	Julian. World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphit.	Olympiads.	Persia.	Ægypt.	Rome.	Greece.	Jews; or from Cyrus and Daniel.
	4265	304	328	82	17		The Decemviri chosen for a 2d year, tyrannize and usurp the place a 3d year.	Cymon's *Voyage to* Cyprus, *in which he died.*	89
	3583	299		4					11
Nehemias *comes to* Jerusalem.	4268	307	331	83	20			*A League for* 30 *years between* Athens *and* Sparta.	92
	3586	302		3					14
	4272	311	335	84	24		Tribuni Militum *first chosen instead of Consuls,* Dionys. Livie *placeth them in the* 110 *Year of* Rome.		96
	3590	306		3					18
	4273	312	336	84	25			*The Conquest of* Samos *by the* Athenians *under* Pericles.	97
	3591	307		4					19
	4278	317	341	86	30			*The* Athenians *aid the* Corcyræans *against the* Corinthians.	102
	3596	312		1					24
The Walls of Jerusalem *finished.* Nehemias *returns to King* Artaxerxes.	4280	319	343	86	32				104
	3598	314		3					26
L. 3. *C.* 8. §. 1.	4283	322	346	87	35			*The first year of the* Peloponnesian *War.*	107
	3601	317		2					29
L. 3. *C.* 9. §. 1. *L.* 3. *C* 8. §. 4.	4289	328	352	88	6 *Xerxes* 2 *months.* 7 *Sogdianus* 8 *months.*			*The Victory of the* Athenians *at* Pylus.	113
	3607	323		4					35
L. 3. *C.* 9. §. 1.	4290	329	353	89	8 1. *Darius Nothus.* 19				114
	3608	324		1					36
L. 3. *C.* 8. §. 5, & 6.	4292	331	355	89	3			*A vain and troublesome Peace between* Athens & Sparta.	116
	3610	326		3					38
L. 3. *C.* 9. §. 1. & *C.* 8. §. 8.	4301	340	364	91	12 Ægypt *rebelleth against the* Persian, *and sets up Kings that Reign successively, till* Ochus *his reconquest.*	1 1 *Amyrtæus* 6		*The* Athenian *Forces in* Sicil *utterly destroyed.*	125
	3619	335		4					47
C. 8. §. 9.	4302	341	365	92	13 Darius *enters into Confederacy with the* Spartans.	2		The Government of the 400 in Athens: which was suppressed the year following.	126
	3620	336		1					48
The Carthaginians *invade* Sicil *with an Army of* 300000. *L.* 5. *C.* 1. §. 4. †. 3.	4304	343	367	92	15	4		*The* Athenians *begin to recover strength.*	128
	3622	338		3					50
L. 3. *C.* 8. §. 10.	4306	345	369	93	17	6		Alcibiades *after many victories returns from banishment to* Athens: *is made General, and banished again.*	130
	3624	340		1					52
	4307	346	370	93	18	2 1. *Nephres,* 6		*The Battel at* Arginusa.	131
	3625	341		2					53
	4308	347	371	93	19	2		Dionysius *the elder usurps Tyranny in* Syracuse.	132
	3626	342		3					54
L. 3. *C.* 8. §. 12.	4309	348	372	93	9 1. *Artaxerxes Mnemon,* 43	3		*The Battel at* Ægos Potamos, *&c.*	133
	3627	343		4					55
	4311	350	374	94	3	5	*The Siege of* Veii, *which lasted* 10 *years*		135
	3629	345		2					57
L. 3. *C.* 10. §. 1.	4313	352	376	94	5. *The expedition of* Cyrus *against* Artaxerxes.	3 1. *Acoris,* 12		Socrates *put to death. The thirty Tyrants put down in* Athens.	137
	3631	347		4					59

	Julian. and World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphit.	Olymp.	Persia.	Ægypt.	Rome.	Greece.	Jews From Cyrus. Daniel.
L. 3. C. 11. §. 4.	4318	357	381	96	10	6		Agesilaus warreth in Asia.	142
	3636	352		1					64
L. 3. C. 11. §. 7.	4320	359	383	96	12	8		The Victory of Conon at Gnidus, &c.	144
	3638	354		3					66
	4321	360	384	96	13	9	Veii taken by Camillus.	Xenophon and Plato flourish.	145
	3639	355		4					67
	4325	364	388	97	17	3 1. Psammiticus the son of Inarus, and after him Nephres. that had been expelled, reigned in all about two years. 2	The honourable victory of Camillus over the Falisci.		149
	3643	359		4					71
L. 4. C. 7. §. 1. L. 3. C. 11. §. 9.	4326	365	389	98	18		Rome taken and burnt by the Gauls.	The Peace of Antalcidas.	150
	3644	360		1					72
	4327	376	390	98	19	4 1. Nectanebus. 18			151
	3645	361		2					73
	4332	371	395	99	24	6	M. Manlius Capitolinus put to death.	The Lacedæmonians take the Citadel of Thebes by Treason.	156
	3650	366		3					78
L. 3. C. 11. §. 11.	4336	375	399	100	28	10		The Thebans recover their Citadel, and make strong War upon the Lacedæmonians.	160
	3654	370		3					82
	4340	379	403	101	32	14	Tribunes of the People continued 5 years in Office, propouna popular Laws, among which, That one of the Consuls should be still a Plebeian.		164
	3658	374		3					86
L. 3. c. 12. §. 1.	4343	382	406	102	35	17		The famous Battel of Leuctra.	167
	3661	377		2					89
L. 3. c. 12. §. 4.	4345	384	408	102	37	4 1. Tachus 8. Eusebius gives only 2. years to Tachus. Reinec. 63 but the story of him proves more. 7	L. Sextus a Plebeian, and L. Æmylius, Consuls.	The hasty growth of the Theban Estate.	169
	3363	379		4					91
	4351	390	414	104	43. Many Provinces rebel against Artaxerxes, and are soon reclaimed.			The great Battel of Mantinæa. Epaminondas dies.	175
	3669	385		2					97 Jonathan
L. 3. c. 12. §. 8.	4352	391	415	104	10 1. Ochus. 23.	8. Tachus betrayed by Agesilaus. 1. Nectanebus 13		Peace in Greece. The Athenians weaken themselves by converting their Treasures to vain uses.	176 about this time high
	3670	386		3					98 Priest.
	4354	393	417	105	3	3		1. Philip King of Macedon 24 years. and part of the 25.	178
	3672	388		1					100
L. 4. c. 1. §. 4.	4359	398	422	106	8	8		6 The Phocian War begins.	183
	3677	393		2					105
	4364	403	427	107	13 Ochus reconquers Ægypt.	13 Nectanebus flies into Æthiopia.		11	188
	3682	398		3					110
L. 4. c. 1. §. 6.	4368	407	431	108	17			15 The end of the Phocian War.	192
	3686	402		3					114
L. 5. c. 1. §. † 4.	4369	408	432	108	18			16 Timoleon his Voyage into Sicil.	193
	3687	403		4					115
	4370	409	433	109	19	Nabonassar. Novemb. the 17.		17 Philip wasteth Illyria, and draws the Thessalians to follow him.	194
	3688	404		1					116
After this, the years from Cyrus and Daniel, are too few, by One.	4375	414	438	110	11 1 Arses 3.			22	199 Jaddus High
	3693	409		2					121 Priest.

	Julian. and World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphit.	Olymp.	Persia.	Ægypt.	Rome.	Greece.	Jews From Cyrus. Daniel.
	4376	415	439	110	2			23 The Battel of Cæronæa Philip chosen Captain General of the Greeks.	2 199
	3694	410		3					121
	4378	417	441	111	12 1. Darius 6 years & somewhat more	Nabon. Novemb. 15.		25 Philip slain by Pausanias. 1. Alexander the great 12 years and five months.	4 201
	3696	412		1					123
	4379	418	442	111	2			2 Thebes razed by Alexander.	5 202
	3697	413		2					124
	4380	419	443	111	3			3 Alexander passeth into Asia.	6 203
	3698	414		3					125
L. 4. c. 2. §. 4.	4381	420	444	111	4 The Battel of Issus.			4	7 204
	3699	415		4					126
L. 4. c. 2. §. 5, 6, & 7. & l. 5. c. 2. §. 8.	4382	421	445	112	5		The Gauls enter into League with the Romans.	5 Alexander wins Tyre and Egypt.	8 Jaddus meeting Alexander is reverenced by him. 205
	3700	416		1					127
	Julian. World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphit.	Olymp.					
An Eclipse of ☽	4383	422	446	112	6 The Battel of Arbela,			Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis won by Alexander.	9 206
	3701	417		2					128
L. 4. c. 2. §. 13.	4384	423	447	112	7 Darius slain by Bessus.			7	10 207
	3702	418		3					129
					Macedon.	Ægypt.		Greece.	Romans.	Jews. Daniel
	4385	424	448	112	8. Alexander changeth Conditions, & putteth to death Parmenio and Philotas.					11
	3703	419		4						130
	4386	425	449	113	9. Alexander passeth into India: kills Clytus and Callisthenes.					12
	3704	420		1						131
Alexander died 17 days before the Summer Solstice. From Nabonassar hitherto are collected 424 years: and hence to the Reign of Augustus, 294. The Summe 718 years, which agrees with this Accompt. Ptolom. Almagest. l. 3. c. 8.	4390	429	453	114	13 Alexander dies at Babylon.	Nabon. Novemb. 12.				16
	3708	424		1						135
	4391	430	454	114	1. Aridæus, 6. and 4. months.	1 1. Ptolemy Lagi, 39.	L. 3. c. 3. §. 1, 2, & 3.	The Lamian War.		1 Onias, 23
	3709	425		2						136
	4394	433	457	115	4	4. Perdiccas slain in Ægypt. Nab. 11. No. 11.	L. 4. c. 3. §. 8, & 9.	Victories of Eumenes.		4
	3712	428		1						139
	4395	434	458	115	5. Antigonus sent against Eumenes.	5				5
	3713	429		2						140
Aridæus slain by Olympias. Antigonus beaten by Eumenes.	4397	436	460	115	7	7				7
	3715	431		4						142
Eumenes betrayed to Antigonus. Olympias slain by Cassander. Antigonus grows dreadful.	4398	437	461	116	1. Cassander, 19	8		Thebes re-edified by Cassander.		8
	3716	432		1						143
Some place the beginning of Seleucus in this twelfth from Alexander, by which account he reigned 32 years.	4402	441	465	117	5	12 Nabonassar. Novemb. 9.	Demetrius beaten at Gaza, by Ptolemy and Seleucus.			12
	3720	436		1						147
Peace between Alexander's Captains: with division of Provinces.	4403	442	466	117	6	13				13
	3721	437		2						148

	Julian. and World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphit.	Olymp.	Macedon.	Ægypt.	Syria and the Kingdom of the Greeks.	Greece.	Romans.	Daniel
The Æra of the Kingdom of the Greeks.	4404 3722	443 438	467	117 3	7	14	1 I. Seleucus. I (30	L. 4. c. 5. §. 7.		14 149
Alxander's Captains assume the Name of Kings.	4406 3724	445 440	469	118 1	9	16 Ptolemy overcome by Demetrius at Cyprus.	3 3	Athens set free by Demetrius the son of Antigonus.		16 151
L. 4. C. 6. §. 4.	4413 3731	452 447	476	119 4	16	23	10 The battel of Ipsus, wherein Antigonus was slain. 10			23 158
	4414 3732	453 448	477	120 1	17	24	11. Seleucus makes Alliance with Demetrius. 11			1 Simon the anci- 17
	4417 3735	456 451	480	120 4	1 Antipater and Alexander the sons of Cassander, 4.	27	14 14			4 162
L. 4. C. 6. §. 7.	4421 3739	460 455	484	121 4	I. Demetrius. 6.	31	18 18			8 166
	Julian. World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphit.	Olympiads.	Macedon.	Egypt.	Syria.	Greece.	Rome.	Jews. Daniel
	4427 3745	466 461	490	123 2	1. Pyrrhus 7. Months.	37	24 24			1. Eleazar high priest 19 172
	4428 3746	467 462	491	123 3	1. Lysimachus, 5	38	25 25			2 173
	4429 3747	468 463	492	123 4	2	39 2 1. Ptolemy Philadelph 9 38	26 26			3 174
The Translation of the Bible by the Septuagint.	4432 3750	471 466	495	124 3	5	4	29 29		The Tarentines rely War in the Eastern part of Italy & call in Pyrrhus against the Romans.	6 177
L. 4. C. 6. §. 9. & C. 7. §. 2.	4433 3751	472 467	496	124 4	6. Lysimachus slain. Seleucus. 7. mon.	5	30. Seleucus slain in the end of the 124. Olymp. Polyb. & Justin. 30.		Pyrrhus his Victory against the Romans.	7 178
L. 4. C. 7. §. 3. & 7.	4434 3752	473 468	497	125 1	1. Ptolomy Ceraunus. Antipater. Meleager. Sosthenes. 2	6 Nabon. Nov. 1.	2 1. Antiochus Soter, 19. 31	The Gauls do great spoil in Macedon and Greece, under Brennus & Belgius.		8 179
	4436 3754	475 470	499	125 3	1 1. Antigonus Gonatas, 36.	8	3 33		Pyrrhus goes into Sicil.	10 181
L. 5. C. 2. §. 6.	4438 3756	477 472	501	126 1	3	10 Nabonassars year begins the first of Otioh.	5 35	About these times the Achæans begun their Society.	Pyrrhus called out of Sicil against the Romans.	12 183
	4439 3757	478 473	502	126 2	4	11	6 36		Pyrrhus overthrown by the Romans.	13 184
L. 4. C. 7. §. 5.	4441 3759	480 475	504	126 4	6	13	8 38	Pyrrhus slain at Argos.	The Tarentines crave Aid of the Carthaginians.	15 186
The Translation by the Septuagint finished, this 17 of Philadelphus.	4445 3763	484 479	508	127 4	10	17	12 42			19 190 Consuls.
	4446 3764	485 480	509	128 1	11	18 Nabonassar. Oct. 29.	13 43			1. Manasses high Priest, 27 191
The more ancient Roman Consuls have been often so uncertain, that Livie hath doubted whom to name.	4450 3768	489 484	513	129 1	15	22 Nabonassar, Oct. 28.	17 47	L. 5. c. 1. §. 3.	The beginning of the first Punick War.	5 195 Ap. Claudius. M. Fulvius.

	Julian. and World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphit.	Olymp.	Macedon.	Egypt.	Syria & Kingdom of the Greeks.	Greece.	Romans.	Jews. Daniel	
	4453	492		129			3			8	L. Valerius.
			516		18	25	1. Antiochus Theus, 16				
	3771	487		4			50			198	T. Octacilius.
	4454	493		130			2			9	C. Duilius.
L. 5. c. 1. §. 6.			517		19	26			Duilius his Victory at Sea.		
	3772	488		1			51			199	Cn Cornelius.
	4457	496		130			5		Regulus paſſeth into Africk.	12	M. Attil. Reg.
			520		22	29					
	3775	491		4			54			202	Cn. Cornelius.
	4458	497		131			6	Marcus Caryanenſis Prætor of the Achæans.		13	L. Manlius.
L. 5. c. 1. §. 8.			521		23	30			Regulus taken Priſoner.		
	3776	492		1			55			203	Q. Cæditius
	4463	502		132			11	Aratus recovers Sicyon & joyns it to the Achæans.		18	L. Cæcilius.
			526		28	35					
	3781	497		2			60			208	C. Furius.
T. Roman Consuls beaten at Lilybæum. The beginning of the Parthian Kingdom.	4464	503		132			12		Regulus his death.	19	C. Atilius.
			457		29	36					
	3782	498		3			61			209	L. Manlius.
	4465	504		132			13		Shipwrack, & unhappy fight of the Romans at Sea.	20	P. Claudius, Pulcher, &
			528		30	37					
	3783	499		4			62			210	L. Junius.
	4467	506		133		3	15			22	L. Cæcilius.
			530		32	1 Ptolemy Euergetes. 26					
	3785	501		2			64			212	M. Fabius.
Amilcar the Carthaginian in Sicil.	4469	508		133			4			24	M. Fabius.
			532		34	3	1. Seleucus Callinicus 2				
L. 5. c. 1. §. 11.	3787	503		4			66			214	C. Atilius.
	4472	511		134	2		4		Luctatius his great Victory at Ægatis.	27	C. Luct. Catul.
			535		1. Demetrius, 10	6					
	3790	506		3			69			217	A. Posthumius
The War of the Mercenaries with the Carthaginians. L. 5. c. 2.	4473	512		134			5	Aratus wins Corinth.	Peace granted to Carthage.	Onias 1	Q. Luctatius.
			536		2	7					
	3791	507		4			70			218	A. Manlius.
	4474	513		135		8	6			1. Simon the just 28	C. Claudius.
			537		3	Nabon.					
	3792	508		1		Oct. 22	71			219	M. Sempronius
The War with the Mercenaries ended.	4476	515		135			8		The Romans take Sardinia from the Carthaginians.	3	Gracchus.
			539		5	10					
	3794	510		3			73			221	Falco.
	4482	521		137	3		14			9	Lepidus.
			545		1. Antigonus Doſon 12	16					
	3800	516		1			79			227	Marcellus.
	4483	522		137			15		A Roman Embaſſadour ſlain by Queen Teuta.	10	M. Æmylius.
			546		2	17					
	3801	517		2			80			228	M. Junius.
	4485	524		137			17		Teuta Queen of Illyria ſubdued by the Romans.	12	L. Poſthumius.
L. 5. c. 2. §. 7.			548		4	19					
	3803	519		4			82			230	C. Fulvius.
	4489	528		138			5			16	L. Æmylius.
L. 5. c. 5. §. 1.			552		8	23	1 Seleucus Ceraunus. 3				
	3807	523		4			86			234	C. Atilius.
Flaminius was also Conſul this year. See L. 5. c. 2. §. 8.	4492	531		139			5		Marcellus his Victory over the Gauls about Milan	19	C. Cornelius.
			555		11	26	1. Antiochus the Great, 36.				
	3810	526		3			89			237	M. Marcellus.
	4493	532		139		4	2			20	P. Cornelius.
L. 5. c. 5. §. 2.			556		12	1. Ptolomy Philometor. 27.					
	3811	527		4			90			238	M. Minutius.
	4494	533		140	4		3			21	L. Veturius.
			557		1. Philip, 42.	2					
	3812	528		1			91			239	C. Luctatius.

	Julian World.	Rome Nab.	Iphitus.	Olympiad.	Macedon.	Ægypt.	Syria & Kingdom of the Greeks.	Greece.	Rome.	Jews and Daniel	Consuls
Hannibal *takes* Saguntum.	4495	534		140			4	Demetrius Pharius chased out of Illyricum.		22	*L. Æmylius.*
			558		2	3					
	3813	529		2			92			240	*M. Livius.*
The beginning of the second Punick *War.*	4496	535		140			5		*The Battel of* Ticinus *and* Trebia.	23	*P. Cor. Scipio.*
			559		3	4		*L. 5. c. 3. §. 4.*			
	3814	530		3			93			240	*T. Sempronius.*
The Olympiads of this year are referred by Polybius l. 5. to the 2 of the 14 Olympiad. The Battel of Trasimene was fought in the spring. The Olympian year began at the Summer Solstice.	4497	536		140	4 ⊙ *Eclips.* Liv. *l.* 22. *bet. the* 11. *reckoning by Julian years.*	5 *War in* Syria *between* Antiochus *and* Ptolemy.	6	Philip *and the* Achæans *make peace with the* Ætol.	*The Battels of* Thrasymene.	24	*C. Flaminius.*
			560								
	3815	531		4			94			242	*Cn. Servilius.*
	4498	537		141		6	7			25	*C. Teret. Varro*
			561		5	Nabonassar's *year begins* Octob. 16.			*The great Battel of* Cannæ.		
	3816	532		1			95			243	*L. Æm. Paul.*
Hannibal *to* Marcellus. Hiero *King of* Syracuse *dies.* Hieronymus *succeeds.*	4499	538		141			8		*Posthumius the* Roman *Consul slain by the* Gauls.	26	*L. Posthumius.*
			562		6	7					*C. Semp. Grac.*
	3817	533		2			96			244	*Q. Fabius.*
The two Scipio's *slain in* Spain. Hannibal *wins* Tarentum	4502	541		142			11	Philip *of the* Achæans *have War with the* Ætolians *and* Romans *in* Greece	Syracuse *won by* Marcellus.	247 Olias 1 great prize	*Ap. Claudius*
			565		9	10			Capua *besieged.*		*Q. Fulvius.*
	3820	536		1			99			39	
Hannibal *at the Walls of* Rome.	4503	542		142			12		*Young* Scipio *sent into* Spain. Capua *won by the* Romans.	2	*Cn Fulvius.*
			566		10	11					
	3821	537		2			100			248	*P. Sulpitius.*
	4507	546		143			16			6	*C. Clau. Nero.*
			570		14	15			*The Battel at* Metaurus.		
	3825	541		2			104			252	*M. Livius.*
	4508	547		143			17		Scipio *drives the* Carthaginians *quite out of* Spain.	7	*Q. Cæcilius.*
			571		15	16					
	3826	542		3			105			253	*L. Veturius.*
	4510	549		144		5	19			9	*Cethegus.*
			573		17	1. *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, 24.			Scipio *invades* Africk.		
	3828	544		1			107			255	*P. Sempronius.*
	4511	550		144			20		*King* Syphax *taken.*	10	*Servilius,* and *Servilius.*
			574		18	2					
	3829	545		2			108			256	
	4512	551		144			21			11	*T. Claudius.*
			575		19	3			Hannibal *vanquished by* Scipio.		
	3830	546		3			109			257	*M. Servilius.*
The end of the second Punick *War, and beginning of the* Macedonian *War with* Philip. *This year and the next were 3 Eclipses of the Moon.*	4513	552		144			22			12	*Lentulus.*
			576		20	4			Scipio *triumphs over* Carthage.		
	3831	547		4			110			258	*Petus.*
	4516	555		145	23 Philip *overcome at the River* Apsus, *by the* Romans.		25			15	*T. Q. Flaminius*
			579			7			*L. 5. c. 4. §. 13.*		
	3834	550		3			113			261	*Sex. Ælius.*
L. 5. c. 4. §. 14.	4517	556		145	*The Battel at Cynoscephalæ.*		26			16	*Cethegus.*
			580			8					
	3835	551		4	24.		114			262	*Q. Minutius.*
Hannibal *expelled* Carthage, *l. 5. c. 5. §. 4. & c. 4. §. 15.*	4518	557		146	25 *Peace between* Philip *& the* Romans.		27	*Liberty of Greece proclaim'd by the Romans*		17	*L. Furius.*
			581			9					
	2836	552		1			115			263	*Marcellus.*
C. 5. §. 5.	4519	558		146			28	War upon Nabis *the Tyrant.*		18	*M. Cato.*
			582		26	10					
	3837	553		2			116			264	*L. Valerius.*
C. 5. §. 7.	4522	561		147			31 *Antiochus at Chalcis*			21	*L. Quintius.*
			585		29	13					
	3840	556		1			119			267	*Cn. Domitius.*
	4523	562		147			32			22	*Acilius Glabrio*
			586		30	14	*Antiochus vanquished at Thermopylæ.*				
	3841	557		2			120.			268	*Nasica.*
	4524	563		147			33		The great Victory of L. Scipio over Antiochus in Asia, which gave beginning to the Roman luxury	23	*L. Scipio.*
			587		31	15		*C. 5. §. 8.*			
	3842	558		3			121			269	*C. Lælius.*

	Julian World.	Rome Nab.	Iphitus.	Olympiad.	Macedon.	Ægypt.	Syria & Kingdom of the Greeks.	Greece.	Rome.	Jews and Daniel	Consuls.
L. 5. c. 5. §. 9.	4527	566		148			36		Scipio *driven to baniſh himſelf from* Rome.	26	*Lepidus.*
	3845	561	590	2	34	18	124			272	*Flaminius.*
	4528	563		148			6 1. *Seleucus Philopator*, 12. 125.			27	*Sp. Poſthumius*
	3846	562	591	3	35	19				273	*Q. Martius.*
L. 5. c. 6. §. 2.	4531	570		149			4		*Scipio, Hannibal,* and *Philopœmen* die. Tully placeth *Scipio's* death two years earlier.	30	*Marcellus.*
	3849	565	594	2	38	22	128			276	*Q. Fabius.*
L. 5. c. 6, §. 3.	4532	571		149	39 *The tyranny of* Philip. *His Son* Demetrius *accuſed to him, & ſlain the next year.*		5			31	*Paulus.*
	2850	566	595	3		23				277	*Cn. Babius.*
C. 6. §. 4.	4533	572		149			6	*allocrates betrays the Achæans and all the Greeks.*		32	*Cethegus.*
	3851	567	596	4	40	24	130			278	*M. Babius.*
	4534	573		150		1. Ptolemæus Philometor, *and his Brother Phyſcon*, 35.	7			33	*A. Poſthumius.*
	3852	568	597	1	41		131			279	*Piſo.*
	4535	574		150	42		8			34	*Piſo.*
	3853	569	598	2	1. *Perſeus*, 11, or 12 *years.*	2	132			280	*Manlius.*
An Eclipſe of ☽ *the 7 of* Philometor 573 *years and 206 days from the beginning of* Nabon. *which agrees with this accompt. It was (by* Julian *years) the laſt of* April, *about one of the Clock in the Morning.*	4540	579		151			7 1. *Antiochus Epiphanes*, 12. 137.			39	*Sp. Poſthum.*
	3853	574	603	3	6	7				285	*Scævola.*
	4541	580		151			2			*Jaſon (as the high Prieſthood and after him Menelaus.* 286.	*L. Poſthum.*
	3859	575	604	4	7	8	138		See *l.* 5. *c.* 6. §. 11.		*M. Popilius.*
	4543	582		152	9		4				*P. Licinius.*
	3861	577	606	2	*The beginning of the War of* Perſeus.	10	140		*cap.* 6. §. 6.	288	*C. Caſſius.*
	4545	584		152		12 Egypt *invaded by* Antiochus *under preſence of helping one King againſt the other.*	6				*Martius.*
	3863	579	608	4	11		142			290	*Servilius.*
A total Eclipſe of the Moon, foregoing the overthrow of Perſeus; *in the year of* Nabonaſſar *here noted.*	4546	585		153	12	13. Antiochus *commanded out of* Egypt *by the* Romans, *ſpoils the Temple.*	7	*C. 6. §. 8, 9, & 11.*	Gentius *King of* Illyria *taken.*	291 *perſecution in* Jury *for Religion.*	*L. Æm. Paul.*
	3864	580	609	1	Perſeus *vanquiſhed and taken.*		143				*C. Licinius.*
	4547	586		153	Macedon *made a* Roman *Province.*	14	8	*The Captivity of all the beſt among the Greeks.*	*Triumphs in* Rome.	*C. 6. §. 10, & 12.*	*Paetus.*
	3865	581	610	2			144				*Junius.*
	4549	588		153		16	10			1. *Judas Maccabæus*, 6.	*Torquatus.*
	3867	581	612	4			146				*Octavius.*

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